

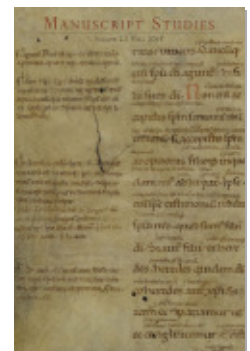


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A Newly Discovered Manuscript of the *Historia de los Reyes Moros de Granada* by Hernando de Baeza

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A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF HISTORICAL inquiry is the consultation of documentary sources contemporary to the events being analyzed; such sources bring together facts and observations pertinent to each historical moment. Naturally, these documents are invaluable, as they provide firsthand access to the past in fields as diverse as economics, law, the history of ideas, and philology. At the same time, the discipline of philology involves, at its core, the critical edition of historical texts, and one of the greatest aspirations of its practitioners remains the study of original documents that reveal the evolution of language and the historical value of the written word as a basic means of communication.

The conquest of Granada in 1492 by the Catholic monarchs—Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon—marked a turning point in the history of Spain, as the last redoubt of a vast and rich Muslim civilization in the Iberian Peninsula came to an end after nearly seven centuries. The menacing and mysterious Moorish kingdom still lives on in our memory under the—*avant la lettre*—romantic view that Ginés Pérez de Hita established in the late sixteenth century through his fictionalized

chronicle titled *Historia de los vandos de los zegries y abencerrages cavalleros moros de Granada*.¹

However, there exist contemporary accounts, written from both Christian and Muslim perspectives, that provide the information necessary to reconstruct the complex negotiations that culminated with the siege of Granada in early 1492. On the Christian side, there are four fundamental chronicles: the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* by Diego de Valera (which ends with the author's death in 1488); the *Décadas* of Alonso de Palencia, which cover the years 1480 to 1489; the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* by Hernando del Pulgar, which continues to 1490; and the *Historia* of Andrés Bernaldez, curate of Los Palacios, Seville, who authored the most complete history of the reign of the Catholic monarchs, extending to 1513.

On the Muslim side, the best source is undoubtedly *Al-Ihāta fī ajbār Garnāta* by Ibn al-Khatīb,² though other works by this author contribute to a more complete understanding of events. The *Nafḥ al-tīb* of al-Maqqarī also contains important details; the work is not contemporary with the events it describes, as it dates from the seventeenth century, but it nonetheless contains important information regarding the Nasrid dynasty.³ Another text of Muslim origin from this era is the anonymous book that historians have entitled the *Narraciones de la época sobre la extinción de la dinastía nazarita*, written in 1538.⁴

But, as Juan de Mata Carriazo has remarked, "The jewel among all texts contemporary with the fall of the kingdom of Granada is the *Relación* written by Hernando de Baeza."⁵ This work, highly regarded and at the same

1 Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Historia de los vandos de los zegries y abencerrages cavalleros moros de Granada* (Zaragoza: M. X. Sánchez, 1595).

2 We know this work partially, since the manuscripts discovered until now have only abstracts or fragments from the original one.

3 Edited by Pascual de Gayangos, who also translated it into English under the title *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 2 vols. (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840–43).

4 A. Bustani and C. Quirós, ed. and trans., *Fragmento de la época sobre noticias de los Reyes Nazarites o Capitulación de Granada* (Larache, Artes Gráficas Boscá, 1940).

5 Juan de Mata Carriazo, "Historia de la guerra de Granada," in *La España de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. José María Jover Zamora (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1969), 17/1, 395.

time sparingly used by scholars, is of great interest because its author worked as an adviser and interpreter in the court that Boabdil maintained at the Alhambra. He was thus a direct witness to many of the events he narrates, and describes other events on the basis of information he obtained directly from the Nazari sultan and his family.

The Relación of Baeza

Until now, two manuscript copies of the *Relación* of Baeza were known, both published in the second half of the nineteenth century. The oldest version is currently housed in the Library of the Royal Monastery of El Escorial, under the call number Y/III/6. In the card catalog, it is succinctly dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, and indeed the script echoes the gothic style in use at that time. The manuscript is in folio format, composed of a total of 479 paper folios, and begins with the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, don Fernando y doña Isabel* of Hernando del Pulgar. Baeza's chronicle follows and occupies folios 465r to 478v. The later binding, with its gold tooling, is typical of books from the library of El Escorial.

The other manuscript is in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, under the call number MSS/11267/21. It formerly belonged to the Duke of Osuna. It is a handwritten copy of the eighteenth century, written in a cursive hand on paper measuring 320 by 220 millimeters; the text occupies thirty-two leaves. The manuscript is unbound and is stored in a box with manuscripts of similar characteristics, among which it is number 21.

A philological comparison of the manuscripts reveals that they largely coincide in their content, and so it seems logical to think that the latter manuscript is a copy of the former, owing its existence to a later commission of a custom copy. There are several similarities between the two manuscripts, but one of the most striking is the abrupt ending of the text in both, leaving it unfinished at the same point. These two witnesses are therefore part of the same manuscript tradition, and almost certainly derive from a lost manuscript in very poor condition, which the scribes were obliged to copy as they found it. It is unlikely that the El Escorial manuscript is missing the sheet or sheets containing the conclusion of the

chronicle, for the last line of text on folio 478v does not extend to the lower margin, as in the remaining leaves, but instead ends a few centimeters higher. The last word is *dexadme*, spoken by Sultan Boabdil in a conversation with the queen, his mother. The text stops abruptly at this point.

Critical editions of these manuscripts were published in the second half of the nineteenth century. The El Escorial edition was made by Marc Joseph Müller and published in 1863 under the title *Cosas de Granada*, a shortened form of the title found in the manuscript that functions as a *regesta* (summary) and reads: “Las cosas que pasaron entre los Reyes de Granada desde el tiempo de el rey don Juan de Castilla, segundo de este nombre, hasta que los Catholicos reyes ganaron el reyno de Granada, scripto y copilado por Hernando de Baeça, el qual se halló presente a mucha parte de lo que cuenta y lo demás supo de los moros de aquel reyno y de sus coronicas.”⁶ The chronicle begins on the verso of this same folio with an inscription that reads: “Hernando de Vaeça de la suma que hizo estando en Granada de las cosas de aquel reyno.”

Five years later, Emilio Lafuente Alcántara published a volume entitled *Relaciones de algunos sucesos de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada* that included the text of the chronicle of Baeza according to the manuscript exemplar in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which had the same title as that found in the first manuscript, albeit in the singular.⁷

Both editions, though scrupulous, followed the methods of edition manuscript sources of their time. In his edition, Müller corrected words that, for him, were dubious in nature, were copied incorrectly, or introduced other errors, placing the original words in footnotes along with explanations of various kinds. The emendations of difficult passages allowed for greater fluency when reading the chronicle. Meanwhile, Lafuente y Alcántara updated the language of the chronicle, adapting it to his time and thus removing some of its character and accuracy. Moreover, he did not indicate

6 Marcus Joseph Müller, “Cosas de Granada,” in *Die Letzten Zeiten von Granada* (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1863), 58–95.

7 Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara, “Las cosas que pasaron entre los reyes de Granada . . .,” *Relaciones de algunos sucesos de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1868), 1–44.

these changes either in footnotes or in his introduction, with the result that the reader must compare the published text with the original manuscript in order to determine the extent of the modifications.

Description of the Manuscript

At the end of the twentieth century, shortly before the year 2000, a third, previously unknown manuscript containing the *Relación* of Hernando de Baeza was found in the private archive of the Escalante family. In order to avoid confusion with other editions, I will henceforth refer to this as the *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada*, in accordance with the title that appears in the codex. For reasons that will become clear, this title should henceforth become the standard way of referring to Baeza's work.⁸

The Escalante family archive was originally located in the small town of Vejeorís de Toranzo in the Toranzo's Valley in Cantabria, Spain, where the old family *casona* remains to this day. The enormous importance of this family in medieval, early modern, and contemporary Cantabria, and its links with another important local family, the Portillas, from which, by all indications, the codex came, allow us to refer to the book as the Escalante-Portilla manuscript. Through careful study of the histories of the two families in the Escalante family archive, we have gleaned some information regarding its origin and preservation for more than five centuries prior to its recent rediscovery.

The Codex's Contents

The text that preserves this unstudied version of Baeza's chronicle is found in a codex consisting of three volumes that were apparently bound together

8 I am currently working on the standardization of the *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada*, taking into account, mainly, the two manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century mentioned in this article, but also other complementary sources that can help to make the text understandable without changing the original significance and sense.

on account of their closely related subject matter soon after they were transcribed. They form a miscellany that is homogeneous in terms of materials and humanistic in cultural motivations, as it manifests a clear desire to recreate an existing manuscript exactly as it was, as will be shown through the course of this article. The three texts bound together are:

- *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada, compuesta por Hernando de Baeça, intérprete*, which occupies folios 1r to 14v.⁹
- *Historia y Anales [que] compuso el doctor Caruajal, hombre muy graue y del consejo real y de la cámara de los Reyes Catholicos, natural Placenzia*. We have normalized this title in accordance with a brief description of the contents added before the text proper. The work occupies folios 15r to 130r.
- *Suma [sobre] cómo serán compellidos los yndios que quedan por allanar y subiectar para que aya lugar la predicación de el sancto euangelio con seguridad y sin temeridad de los predicadores dentro de lo contenido en la demarcación de la bulla de la donación y concessión hecha por su sanctidad del Alexandro 6 y sus successores a los Reyes de la Corona Real de Castilla*. This is an assigned title that I have created in accordance with the subject of the work and the author's description in the first paragraph. The work occupies folios 1r to 21v. The manuscript is signed by the author and is thus his autograph manuscript, unlike the other two, which are unquestionably copies.¹⁰

9 For transcriptions I used the standards developed by Ángel Riesco, dir., "Normas de transcripción paleográfica," *Introducción a la paleografía y la diplomática general* (Madrid: Síntesis, 1999), 325–32; and the rules proposed by the Grupo de Trabajo de Catalogación de Manuscritos de Granada "Catalogación de manuscritos," *V Jornadas de Cooperación Bibliotecaria: Granada, Mayo de 2001*: www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/CE/Cooperacion/CongJornadas/Jornadas/Granada2001.html. See also Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscripts Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Agustín Millares Carlo y José Ignacio Mantecón, *Album de paleografía hispano-americana de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols. (El Albir, Mexico: Fournier, 1955); and Manuel Romero Tallafigo, Laureano Rodríguez Liáñez, and Antonio Sánchez González, *Arte de leer escrituras antiguas: Paleografía de lectura* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1995).

10 Study of the *Suma* proved important in clarifying aspects of the chronicle of Baeza, some of which I will mention later in this article.

All evidence indicates that this is an unaltered codicological unit,¹¹ or to use Gumbert's term, "undisturbed," at least from the time of its binding, and if the three volumes did remain separate for any length of time, it would seem that this would have been for a brief period only, while they remained unbound.¹² Although the final text is quite different from the first two in terms of authorship and script, the folios on which it is written have watermarks identical to some of those in the *Historia y Anales*, which in turn has links in terms of decoration and paper type with the *Historia* of Baeza. Thus it would seem that the three works were produced together and in their present order, from first to third. Also, their contents follow the same temporal progression, first covering the reign of Juan II of Castile (1406–1454) and the end of the Nazari kingdom (1492), then the period of the Catholic monarchs (1468–1516), and finally the evangelization of the Indians in the New World (mainly, the difficulties related to this in the first half of the sixteenth century). The final rubric confirms the material and intellectual authorship of the last manuscript, but when considered with respect to the whole codex, it could serve to identify the initial or at least a very early owner, and his use of the codex.¹³

The binding is of parchment, undecorated, with flexible covers and a simple and modest appearance—all regular features of miscellaneous humanistic codices produced in the fifteenth century. There is one decorative element on the front and rear covers, namely cross-linked twine stitch-

11 For the codicological study, see Armando Petrucci, "Introduzione," in *Segno e testo. International Journal of Manuscripts and Texts Transmission. Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Cassino, 14–17 maggio 2003*, ed. E. Crisci and O. Pecere (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2004), 3–16; Jacques Lemaire, *Introduction à la codicologie* (Louvain-La-Neuve: Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1989); and Pilar Ostos, M. Luisa Pardo, and Elena E. Rodríguez, *Vocabulario de codicología. Versión española revisada y aumentada del Vocabulaire codicologique de Denis Muzerelle* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1997).

12 J. Peter Gumbert, "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex," in Crisci and Pecere, *Segno e testo*, 17–42 at 41.

13 The paleographic study of the three volumes has been also crucial for identifying another important owner of this valuable codex, who made some handmade annotations throughout the Baeza's and Carvajal's chronicles, and the Quiroga's *tractatus*. The complete study and the conclusions will be described in a more extensive work I am currently preparing.

ing that holds together the gatherings that form the codex. There are also a few simple ties along the fore edges, made with the same string or twine, twisted into eyelet shapes to engage with buttons of knotted twine, forming rudimentary clasps.

On the spine, there is an indication of the contents of the first of the three texts, picked out either due to the perceived importance of that work or simply because it was the first of the three items in the volume: *Historia de Granada de Baeza*. Lines drawn between each of the words and a sober ornament in the *G* of Granada highlight the title, which is written vertically from the head to the foot of the spine (figure 1). The writing, in an ocher ink, is typical of the early sixteenth century. It is in a vertical library hand, with clear separation between each of the letters, except in the common ligature *st*, which was also found in printing at the time.¹⁴

The paper, folded in folio, is very similar in dimensions to the *rezute* type made in Italy since the fourteenth century that Maniaci describes, which producers reduced in size during the sixteenth century, but it could also correspond to the average type that had been normalized since the fifteenth century through the increasing use of paper, which generally reduced the size of codices.¹⁵

Two watermarks appear in the paper. The first represents an open hand, with the wrist drawn in a crescent shape and with a straight thread-like line coming out of the middle finger and connecting with a figure shaped like a flower or, in some cases, a star. This figure varies in size and outline, with the thumb more or less separated from the palm, which is usually smooth but sometimes has a line on it. The flower usually has four petals, but sometimes, as we have indicated, it is more reminiscent of a five-pointed star.

The other watermark is of a kind of asp with an articulated or segmented body and a strange head topped with antlers. Like the other watermark, this one varies slightly.

14 See Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992).

15 Marilena Maniaci, *Terminologia del libro manoscritto* (Rome: Istituto Centrale per la Patologia del Libro; Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 1998), 63.



FIGURE 1. The spine of the codex with the inscription *Historia de Granada de Baeza*, Escalante-Portilla manuscript (Spain, first half of the sixteenth century).

The artisanal fabrication of paper, the existence of twin or conjoined watermarks to streamline production, and multiple mutations of each paper mold due to use, make the dating and precise identification of watermarks extremely difficult. It seems, according to Agati, that the hand watermark originally came from Italy, but later was copied in France, Castile, and Catalonia, and is associated with high-quality paper, probably of the type that was called fine or good, which was explicitly intended for writing.¹⁶

16 M. Luisa Agati, *Il libro manoscritto: Introduzione alla codicologia* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2003), 114.

The hand and flower/star watermarks appear throughout the volumes of Baeza and Galíndez de Carvajal, except in folios 22 and 24 of the latter, in which an asp watermark appears, which is found throughout the *Suma* volume. The appearance of the asp watermark in Galíndez de Carvajal's work again indicates a coherent and progressive composition of the codex.

The position of the watermarks allows for an understanding of the production of the bifolios and gatherings that make up the codex.¹⁷ The gatherings present an irregular pattern, suggesting that each volume was sewn independently once the writing was completed, because of the nine gatherings in total, the first and the last contain the history of Baeza and the *Suma*, respectively, while the seven intervening gatherings contain the much longer *Historia y Anales* of Carvajal. Some of the folios are excised, which results in the presence of stubs facilitating their binding and stitching together with the other gatherings; this was done with what would have been folios 15, 17, and 47 of the Carvajal text and folio 1 of the *Suma*. We refer to these as "missing" folios in a relative sense, because such absences are intentional and do not alter the content of the volumes, merely affecting the formal aspect of the codex. This feature suggests that the gatherings were sewn according to a plan devised in advance, an idea corroborated by the location of each of these stubs: in the first case, between the end of the chronicle of Baeza and the beginning of the Carvajal text; in the second, between the Carvajal text and the *Suma*. The tab that would have corresponded to folio 47 coincides with a clarification at the end of folio 46v, "fin de este quaderno," following which there is a symbolic invocation, a cross with a very exaggerated horizontal line, at the top of folio 47r.

It is notable that in this manuscript version of Baeza's *Historia*, the binder or copyist, by removing the blank folio that might have remained between the end of one text and the beginning of the next, prevented (either intentionally or not) the alteration of the text through spurious additions.

In general, the scribe wrote on both sides of the folios according to a clear plan, though we find occasional blank spaces for various circumstantial reasons. The text is written in a single column. The pages containing

17 The rather complex analysis presented in this paragraph was undertaken because it was impossible to disbind the codex.

the first two texts display a general aspect of *horror vacui*, perhaps a reflection of traditions of medieval page layouts, whereas in the *Suma* the pages are very clean, neat, and elegantly laid out—rather more humanistic in nature.

The margins of the first two volumes are irregular, as the scribe has included various paratextual elements, such as paragraph marks, ornamental illuminated initials, artificial line extensions, and cancellations. In the upper margins, the foliation, the invocation (which is always symbolic), and some initial letters are emphasized by being made larger than the rest of the first line through the use of extended stems or by means of exaggerated ligatures.¹⁸ Signatures or perhaps a secondary numbering system are visible in the lower margins.¹⁹ By contrast, the *Suma*'s layout respects the order and cleanliness of the margins, and, apart from some slight line extensions, the only additions are the marginal notes that accompany the text.

Throughout the first two texts there are also numerous indications and notes that refer to specific moments in the process of copying the text.²⁰ These include catchwords, reminders, and workshop notes. For example: *lo que toca al avtor* (What pertains to the author);²¹ *fin deste quaderno* (End of this gathering); *Aquí se ha de poner lo del luzero* (Here you have to put that [section] concerning the luzero);²² *aquí faltaban en la coronyca donde esta se trasladó dos ojas y por eso quedan en blanco para que se hincluan* (Here were missing from the Chronicle two leaves that had been moved, and for this reason they have been left blank, so that they can be added),²³ and so on.

Among these paratextual notes, the *explicit* “Finis Deo e gracias. Amén” at the end of Baeza’s *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada* is particularly

18 Except in fols. 52r–53v, which are radically different both in their general appearance and in their paleography. In these pages, an official document is reproduced, the codicil of Queen Isabella I of Castile.

19 The pagination properly so called appears in the right corner of the top margin on the rectos. The first two volumes are similar and have Arabic numerals at the beginning and then Roman numerals in lowercase. The pagination in the *Suma* starts again from one, and is in Arabic throughout the document.

20 For general concepts of paleography, see Jesús Muñoz y Rivero, *Manual de paleografía diplomática española de los siglos XII al XVII* (Madrid: Vda. de Hernando y Compañía, 1889).

21 Following which there is a large and significant blank space.

22 Fol. 31v.

23 In the left margin of fol. 117v, following which there is an empty space until fol. 118v.

decorative colophon written in successively shorter lines that concludes the narrative immediately following the last complete line of text. These elements demonstrate conclusively that this newly recorded copy of Baeza's chronicle is complete.

Our codex includes what specialists call distinctive lettering, which are letters intentionally highlighted by the scribe by increasing their size, changing their shape, or decorating them. These letters have a supraliteral use, as Elisa Ruiz has noted, wherein aesthetic interests outweigh the letters' function of communication.²⁵ They are first used mainly in headings, titles, and the like, and later as capital letters at the beginning of new divisions of the work, such as chapters or paragraphs, or secondary initial letters, appearing at the start of the internal divisions in the work. This procedure serves to clearly identify the different levels of discourse and make them easily recognizable to the reader.

The use of the distinctive lettering by the scribe of our manuscript is characteristic of this period. The chronicle only has one distinctive initial letter, the capital *H* in "Hernando" (fol. 1r, line 4), a simple or naked Roman capital that occupies two lines at the beginning of the text proper (figure 3). Throughout the chronicle, numerous distinctive secondary initials appear, usually at the beginning of paragraphs, and are quite varied, including different types of Gothic capitals, from the simplest to the most sophisticated. An example of particular interest is the capital *P* at the beginning of line 369, which terminates the ends of the two lines forming the bowl of the letter with decorative fleur-de-lys (figure 2). Examples of secondary initials abound in the text. These range from initials that are only slightly larger than lower-case letters to others that have undergone more drastic modifications. There are also examples of graphic sequences, among which can be mentioned the enclaved capital letters forming the word *CON* in line 258 (figure 4).

The locations of these distinctive letters do not always coincide with the internal textual divisions of the work, for the copyist usually enhances the

25 Elisa Ruiz, *Manual de codicología* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1988), 293–94.

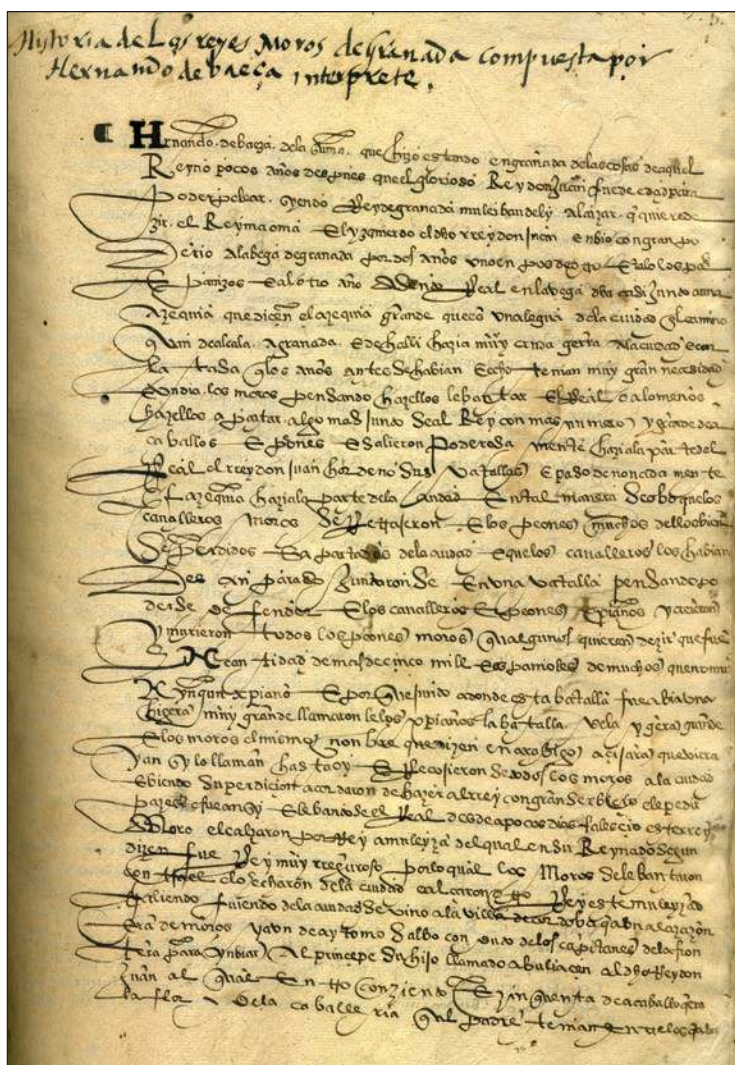


FIGURE 3. Hernando de Baeza, *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada*, Escalante-Portilla manuscript, fol. 1r.

first line of each page and the first word of each line, and even goes so far as to decorate the interior of the text with ornamental letters, either singly or in linked sequences. Stemming from motivations more aesthetic than philosophical, these features give uniformity and dynamism to the appearance of

The first two volumes of our codex were written in a single Gothic hand,²⁶ with few abbreviations and few ligatures, as is typical of the early sixteenth century. It is important to note that the *incipit* and colophon of the Baeza text and the *incipit* and other insertions in the Galíndez de Carvajal text all have the same morphology, drawn by a different hand from those in the rest of the manuscript, which are in a humanistic cursive composed of thicker and darker strokes.

The strong paleographical similarities between Baeza's *Historia* and the *Historia y Anales* demonstrate that both are by the same hand, except for certain additions. To mention just one example, there is a very distinctive *b* that is used from folio 1r of the *Historia* without interruption through to the end of the *Historia y Anales*. The main text of the *Suma*, however, is written by a single hand, different from that in the preceding two volumes, in a humanistic italic with some Gothic influences;²⁷ the accompanying glosses, for their part, are written in a Gothic library hand.

We can thus conclude that the manuscript forms a single codicological unit, as Gumbert defines it, produced as part of a single, planned operation, yielding a precious source for research into the context in which it was conceived and made.²⁸ The binding and the type of paper employed suggest that its owner had a keen interest in the texts gathered in the codex, for each is of high quality.

The succession of historical facts and the chronology narrated in Baeza's *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada* begin with the hostilities between Juan II of Castile and the kingdom of Granada during the second reign of Muhammad IX (ca. 1429–1431). From this point onwards, the author refers to various events that took place at different times, with no apparent reason for the chronological jumps. On numerous occasions he makes prominent use of the first person, appearing not only as a collector of data, but as a participant in some of the events described in the chronicle. Thanks to

26 Ana Belén Sánchez and Jesús Domínguez, "Las escrituras góticas," in *Introducción a la paleografía y la diplomática general*, ed. Á. Riesco (Madrid: Síntesis, 1999), 111–47.

27 Elisa Ruiz, "La escritura humanística y los tipos gráficos derivados," in *Introducción a la paleografía y la diplomática general*, ed. Á. Riesco (Madrid: Síntesis, 1999), 149–76.

28 Gumbert, "Codicological Units," 23.

Baeza, we are privy to private details about the Nasrid royal family and especially about the last sultan, Boabdil (1459–1533); the internal intrigues and Castilian pressures he had to endure; and even how the negotiations for the delivery of Granada into Castilian hands were conducted.

As mentioned earlier, the two previously known manuscripts of Baeza's chronicle have a peculiar characteristic in common: the final part of the text is missing. Both end abruptly, cutting short the conversation between the Nasrid sultan and his mother, the queen. In the Escalante-Portilla codex, we can follow not only the rest of that conversation, but also the final outcome of the events narrated by Baeza in the first person. The contents of the final and unpublished paragraphs are as follows (fols. 14r and 14v):

- Forty-fifth paragraph, beginning on line 851: Boabdil's speech to reduce the anxiety and distress of those present; Aishà's words to Boabdil urging him not to risk his life in the encounter with the Christians.²⁹
- Forty-sixth paragraph, beginning on line 875: Boabdil's decision to moderate the momentum of his forces so as not to fall into the trap of the Castilians; the advice of Aishà to the Grenadian king to reach a good agreement with the Catholic monarchs and seek an honorable surrender of Granada, with the possibility of moving to Africa; the start of negotiations between the Moors of Granada and the Christians, with Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba and Hernando de Zafra acting on behalf of Castile, and taken to the Alhambra by a Moorish spy, against whom Hernando de Baeza warned Boabdil.
- Forty-seventh paragraph, beginning on line 886: Hernando de Baeza's intervention in the negotiation.
- Forty-eighth paragraph, beginning on line 890: negotiations between Granada and Castile, first in the Christian encampment, then in Granada in the house of Abū l-Qāsim al-Mulīh, and finally with the Moorish king himself in the Alhambra, mentioning the most difficult aspects of the negotiation, including respect for the Muslim religion

29 This paragraph begins in the middle of the line, with a double line and paragraph mark separating it from the preceding text. The scribe highlighted this page with various decorative elements that seem intended to mark the climax of the story.

and the dignity of the Sultan of Granada; the agreement to surrender Granada on 10 January 1491; departure of the Christian negotiators from the Alhambra accompanied by the traitor of Grenada.

What follows is a critical edition of folios 14r–14v; the final whole paragraph that starts at the end of folio 13v is included so as not to interrupt the action and the dialogue between sultan Boabdil and his mother:

Con este acuerdo, otro día de maniana el ^{/835} rey se levantó y adobó su cuerpo como lo suelen façer los moros quando / se ponen a peli-
gro de³⁰ muerte, y pidió sus armas, y a la puerta / de la sala de la
Torre de Comares, syendo presente su madre, / muger y hermana, y
muchas damas y donçellas, quando se acabó / de armar pidió la mano
a su madre y dixo que le diese su ^{/840} vendición, y abraçó a rostro
mismo a vn hijito suyo,³¹ lo qual / todo él hordinariamente solía façer
cada día que salía / a la vatalla. (*Calderón*) Y aquel día aniadió³² //f^o
13 v^o// vuana (*sic*)³³ habla diçiendo a la madre e todas las otras que le
perdonasen algunos / enojos que les abría dado. Entonçes se escan-
dalizó la reina, su madre, desta novedad ^{/845} y turbada le dixo: «¿Qué
novedad es esta, fijo mío?». El rei le respondió: «Seniora, no es nin- /
guna, mas es raçón que yo haga es[*to*]». En diçiendo estas palabras, la

30 Smudge in the *d* caused by the copyist correction.

31 Variation with respect to the El Escorial's version, more long and detailed: "y abraçó a la hermana y besóla en el/ pescueço, y a su mujer abraçó y besó en el rostro, y lo mismo a un/ hijito suyo" (RBME, Y-III-6, 478 v^o).

32 Throughout the sixteenth century, the graphic representation of the Spanish phoneme of the *eñe* was progressively determined. Before this, it was represented with a double *n*, or with a characteristic abbreviation: that of a hyphen on top of the *n*. Over time, this hyphen became a *virgula* (short line). In the Escalante-Portilla manuscript, the copyist wrote the *eñe* sound with a "ni," so in my transcription, I have done the same thing when the abbreviation appears. I have not followed this rule for the added texts, because although they may have been written close to the same time, and certainly in the sixteenth century, I do not know the rules followed by this other copyist. It is possible to think that his writing determined the use of the short line, as it was in the transition time between the former figure and the final determination of the letter *eñe*.

33 The El Escorial manuscript has 'vna'.

madre se desaze del/ fijo y díceel (*sic*)³⁴ «Fijo mío, conjuro[o/s con Dios y con la obediencia que me debéis como a vuestra madre, / que me digáys qué quereys fazer, y dónde ys³⁵.» Y quando dezía esto comenzó a llorar, y biendo las/ otras duenias que la madre del rei lloraba, y³⁶ leuantóse tan grande allarido en toda /⁸⁵⁰ la casa, que parecía que lo tenían muerto, y todavía la madre [a]syda de su hijo no le / quiso dexar fasta que le dixo lo que abía pasado y lo que s[e] abía conçertado en el real / de los christianos, a lo qual respondió su madre: «Pues fijo, ¿a quién encomendáys vuestra/ triste madre y muger y fijos y hermana, parientes y criados, y toda esta ciudad y los/ otros pueblos que os son encomendados?; ¿qué quenta daréys a Dios dellos /⁸⁵⁵ poniendo en ellos tan mal recaudo como ponéys dando la horden que days / para [qu]e todos muramos a espada y los que quedaren sean cautivos? Mira bien lo que ha- / zéys, que en las grandes tribulaciones an de ser los grandes consejos». El rei / respondió: «Seniora, muy mejor (*sic*) es morir de vna vez que viuiendo morir muchas vezes.» / La madre le dijo: «Verdad es, hijo, lo que dezís si solamente vos moriédeses y todos se sal-/⁸⁶⁰ basen y la ciudad se libertase, mas tan grande perdición es muy mal hecho.» El rey / respondió: «¡Dexádmel³⁷, seniora, que los caualleros me esperan!» Su madre le dixo: «¡Bibe Dios que no dexe al rei fasta que me prometa oy de no ponerse en el lugar peligroso / y detener su jente, no se aparte de las huertas³⁸ de la ciudad!» Y no soltó de las manos / al rei fasta que en el tahelí que lleuaba le juró de lo así fazer, que aquel³⁹ era

34 It is an orthographic erratum that consists in the change in the letter order of the syllable 'le' to 'el', frequent with this copyist.

35 An archaic conjugation of the verb 'ir': 'is' for 'vais'.

36 This conjunction is not in the El Escorial version, and it is not necessary for the sense of the whole sentence.

37 The text in the El Escorial manuscript ends at this point.

38 Santa Cruz offers the variant 'puertas'. See Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1951), 42. This seems to be proper for the sense of the text, although Grenada had a large number of vegetable gardens.

39 This word was rectified by the copyist by adding an 'a' to the incorrect abbreviation 'qal'.

el juramento ^{/865} que el rei e los grandes de los moros hazían (*cancelaciones y calderón*). /

El rei, pues, salió al canpo y mandó detener la jente para que lo acordando (*sic*)⁴⁰ / en el real de los christianos no habiese (*sic*)⁴¹ efeto, y desde entonçes que vieron de- / zir algunos que su madre aconsejó al rei que tomase algún medyo / con los Reis Católicos cómo ellos y la ciudad y pueblos fuesen libres para ^{/870} se poder pasar allende.⁴² E parece claramente ser así, porque desde / a pocos días començaron los tratos, y Gonçalo Hernández de Córdoba, que después / fue llamada (*sic*) Grand Capitán, juntamente con Fernando de Çafra, secretamente vna noche / entraron por el Alanbra traídos por el rei moro con vn cauallero moro que ya abía / salido dos y avn tres vezes secretamente al real, y porque este (*tachado*)⁴³ caballero no ^{/875} ficiese algún enganio al rei moro como ya otra vez lo abía cometido a façer, yo / lo aconçejé al rey (*calderón*).

Esta (*sic*) conuerdo e mandamiento que me fue enbiado secretamente, con vn cautibo que yo abía soltado de ençima / de Marbella, de sus altezas, en que me mandaban diesén horden cómo aquellos caualleros pudiesen entrar seguros, / porque más çiertas e prestamente darían conclusión los negoçios, asy por la grande costa que se aría en el real, ^{/880} como porque el ynbierno se benía y fatigaba la jente (*calderón*). //f^o 14 r^o//

Entrados estos caballeros en el Alhanbra, se reposaron aquella noche/ en casa de aquel cauallero que los metió, que es el que arriba

40 This is the correct version of Santa Cruz: ‘acordado’. Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, 42.

41 Santa Cruz has ‘viniese a efecto’; it seems it must be interpreted ‘hubiese’. Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, 42.

42 The common expression “pasar allende,” to indicate crossing the sea from Spain to Africa. This is the way Santa Cruz refers to “para poderse pasar en África” (Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, 42). From here on, Santa Cruz’s version seems to draw from other sources, apart from Baeza, and because Santa Cruz mixes other sources, this version is very different from the original ones.

43 Suppression of a ‘t’.

dixe que se llamaba Abucazin el Male,⁴⁴ y allí estubieron todo el día siguiente y avn parte de la noche, y a las diez <oras> de la <segunda> noche, / estando el rei solo conmigo entre las dos puertas (*calderón*) /⁸⁸⁵ (*calderón*) del Cuarto de Comares y de la otra puerta que sale al patio donde está la pila grande a- / sentada en el suelo, vino vn cabalero moro y truxo consigo a Gonçalo Hernández / de Córdoba y a Hernando de Çafra, los quales largamente comunicaron y platicaron / sobre algunos capítulos en que abía enpedimiento para no se fazer el conçierto, avn- / que ya en el Real se abía mucho platicado, y acuérdaseme de dos dellos, que el vno era /⁸⁹⁰ sobre los apóstatas⁴⁵ o elches, que son los christianos [*que*] se tornan moros, que no los tornasen / por fuerça a nuestra sancta fe católica contra su boluntad; y el otro era que el rei moro / en ninguna manera quiso venir en que, al tienpo que saliese de la ciudad para entregalla, se a- / pease, llegado delante de los Reis Católicos, del caballo y les besase la mano, porque de- /⁸⁹⁵ zía que antes se dejaría fazer mill pieças. Y, platicando sobre esto, pareçiome a mí, avn- / que yo allí no era nada, a que lo vno de derecho no debía fazerse, y lo otro era vna banidad, / y tomase por medio que el rei, al tienpo que pareciese en el acatamiento y presencia / de los Reis Católicos, pusiese las manos en el arçón de la silla y hiziese movimiento / para se apeaar del caballo, y que el rei y la reina dixesen al yntérpetre que le dixese / al rei que no se apease, y que fuese así, y que llegase cabalgando con el sonbrero /⁹⁰⁰ en la mano y hiçiese acometimiento a tomar las manos a sus altezas, y ellos / ascondiesen las manos, y llegase y las vesase en el onbro.⁴⁶ Con esto fueron / acordadas las difirencias (*sic*), y los caualleros en nonbre de los Reis Católicos fir- / maron allí los capítulos, y Albucaçin ansymismo, en nonbre del rei moro / y en su presencia y por su mandado, firmó allí. Y el conçierto fue (*calderón*) /⁹⁰⁵ (*calderón*) que a diez

44 He refers to the visir Abū l-Qasīm al-Mulih, a confidant of Boabdil.

45 Smudgy word, with a rectification that makes its reading more difficult; it can be interpreted, in this context, for 'apóstatas'.

46 In the Islamic world, this is a sign of respect.

de henero del anio de mill y quatro- (*calderón*) / cientos y nobenta y vno (*calderón*) / (*calderón*) se entregase la çiudad.⁴⁷ Con este conçierto y acuerdo, luego los caualleros (*calderón*) / (*calderón*) salieron del palacio cabalgando en sus caballos, y el caballero perro (*calderón*) / (*calderón*) moro que los avía traído yva con ellos (*calderón*). / (*Calderón*) Finis Deo e graçias (*calderón*). /⁹¹⁰ (*Calderón*) Amén (*calderón*). / (*Cruz*).

Aquí se acabó la historia de los reyes moros que escriuió / Hernando de Baeça, que muchos años estuvo cautiuo /⁹¹⁵ en Granada⁴⁸.//fol. 14 v°//

And we also include an English adapted translation of the preceding text:

With this agreement, on the morning of the next day the king rose and prepared his body as the Moors customarily do when they will face the danger of death and asked for his weapons. At the door to the room of the Tower of Comares, his mother, wife, sister, and many ladies and maidens being present, when he finished arming he called out for his mother's hand and asked for her blessing, and hugged his sister and kissed her on the neck, and hugged his wife and kissed her on the face, and the same to his young son, which is what he did every day that he went into battle. And that day he added a speech, telling his mother and all the others to forgive him

47 Alonso de Santa Cruz corrects: "cinco de henero del año de mil y quatrocientos y noventa y dos," i.e., 5 January 1492 (Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, 45). Hernando de Baeza seems to employ the dating form of Easter, called *mos gallicanus*, *mos Coloniensis* o *stylus franciscus*, giving a date of 10 January 1492. A similar dating form can be seen in an *arroca* of the Alhambra, inside the corridor that communicates the courtyard of the Mexuar with that of the Arrayanes, both from the Catholic kings era, which gives the date of the conquest of Grenada as 2 January 1491 (Juan Antonio Vilar Sánchez, *Una década fraudulenta: Historia del reino cristiano de Granada desde su fundación, hasta la muerte de la reina Isabel la Católica* [Granada: Alhulia, 2004], 209). In any case, apart from possible mistakes, the date we find in this manuscript is an amazing historical enigma, worthy of deeper study.

48 The letter of this colophon is different from the rest of the copy, which means it was added later, but maybe not long after its conclusion.

some annoyances that he had given them. The queen, his mother, was scandalized by this novelty and asked her son, troubled, "What novelty is this, my son?" The king replied, "My lady, this is no novelty, but there is a reason I do this." The mother dropped her son's hand and said, "My son, I beg you by God and by the obedience that you owe me as your mother that you tell me what you want to do, and where you are going." And when she said this she began to cry, and the other ladies, seeing that the king's mother wept, raised so great a cry throughout the house that it seemed as though he had already died. And the mother, still angry with her son, would not let the matter drop until he had told her what had happened and what had been concluded in the encampment with the Christians. To which his mother answered, "Well, son, to whom do you entrust your sad mother and wife and children and sister, your relatives and servants and all this city and other towns that have been entrusted to you? What account will you give of them to God, showing them so little care as you do, giving the order you give that we will all die by the sword, and those who remain will be captives? Look well what you do, for in great afflictions there must be great counsel." The king replied, "Madam, it is much better to die once than living to die many times." The mother said, "What you say is true, son, if only you were to die, and all the rest should be saved and all the city delivered, but such a big downfall is criminal." The king replied, "Leave me, madam, for the gentlemen are waiting for me." His mother said, "As God lives, I will not leave the king today until he promises not to get into a dangerous place and restrain his people, and not to leave the gates of the city." And she did not let go of the king's hands so he swore on his baldric to do so, and this was the oath that the king and the leaders of the Moors made.

The king then left for the field and gave orders for the people to be restrained to assure that what had been agreed in the encampment with the Christians did not have effect, and since then they saw some say that her mother had advised the king to make an agreement with the Catholic monarchs by which they and the city and people would be free to leave. And it seems clearly to have been

so, because in a few days negotiations began, and Gonçalo Hernandez de Cordoba, who was later named Great Captain, along with Hernando de Çafia, one night secretly entered the Alhambra, brought there by the Moorish king with a Moorish knight who had already secretly slipped away to the encampment two or even three times, and to be sure that knight would not deceive the Moorish king, as he had done previously, I advised the king.

This agreement and order was sent to me secretly, together with a captive whom I had freed above Marbella, from their highnesses. In it they ordered me to arrange things so that those gentlemen could get in safely, because they would conclude the business more surely and quickly, and also because of the great expense that would be entailed in the encampment, because winter was coming and the people were fatigued.

These knights, having entered the Alhambra, stayed that night at the home of the knight who received them, who as I said above was named Abucazin El Male, and they remained there all the next day and part of the night. And at ten o'clock of the second night, the king being alone with me between the two doors of the Palace of Comares and the other door out to the patio where the big fountain in the floor is located, a Moorish knight came and brought with him Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba and Hernando de Çafia, who reported and discussed at length some clauses [of the treaty] that prevented arrival at an agreement, although they had already discussed it at length in the Real. And I remember two of them: one was about the *elches* or apostates, that is, Christians who were becoming Moors, specifying that they could not be converted by force to our holy Catholic faith against their will; and the other specified that the Moorish king would in no way accept that when he came out of the city to surrender it, he would dismount from his horse when he was in front of the Catholic monarchs and kiss their hands, because he said that he would rather allow himself to be cut into a thousand pieces. And talking about these things it seemed to me, though I was a nobody there, that the first [objection] was cor-

rect, and it should not be done, while the other was a vanity, and that it was possible to do something in between: that the king, when he appeared in the venerable presence of the Catholic monarchs, should put his hands on his saddle horn and move to dismount, and the king and queen should tell the interpreter to tell the king not to come down, and that it should be thus, that he should come riding with his hat in his hand and attempt to take the hands of their highnesses, but they would hide their hands, and he would approach and kiss them on the shoulder. With this the differences were settled and the gentlemen, on behalf of the Catholic monarchs, signed there the clauses, and Albucaçin also, on behalf of the Moorish king, in his presence, and by his order, signed there. And the agreement was that on 10 January 1491, the city would be surrendered according to this understanding and agreement. Then the knights left the palace on their horses, and the dog-Moorish knight who had brought them left with them. *Finis Deo*, and thanks. Amen.

Here ends the story of the Moorish kings written by Hernando de Baeza, who for many years was held captive in Granada.

As for the quality of the copy, comparison with the other manuscripts of the *Historia de los reyes moros de Granada* reveals some slips of the pen, erroneous duplication, omission of syllables and words, and metathesis. On the other hand, the copyist was very careful in transliterating Arabic terms, both proper names and place names, for example in line 6, ‘Mulei Baudely Alayzar’; in line 26, ‘açijara queviera’; in line 48, ‘jara y çuma’; and line 727, ‘sala’.⁴⁹

It is important to keep in mind that the transcription of the text in question was made when publication in print was a readily available option. Manuscripts were still used primarily for works of “greater privacy and to

49 On these terms, see Muhammad IX, al-Aysar (*el Izquierdo* or *el Zurdo*), *shadjara kabîra*, *sharî’a*, *sunna*, and *salâ*, respectively.

show respect,” in the words of José Bouza, while print was considered “absolutely impersonal.”⁵⁰ Thus it seems very likely that our manuscript was intended for private use and for transmission within a limited circle. It is a humanistic miscellany produced by and for its owner. In the words of Silvia Rizzo, “in the election and manufacture of unique pieces one sees reflected a taste and personal intervention that go beyond the simple work of a copyist.”⁵¹

Conclusions

The importance of this newly discovered manuscript of the *Historia de los Reyes Moros de Granada* de Baeza resides in its content, which is complete: it allows us to understand the outcome of the surrender of Granada through the eyes of its author.⁵² The work is a complex chronicle, composed of elements from different cultural contexts. We move between high and popular culture, between the Christian and the Islamic, and between Castilian-Latin linguistic heritage and Arabic. Despite the importance of these various elements, what renders this chronicle unique in its genre is its use of Muslim oral, literary, and documentary sources, in addition to the firsthand testimonies collected by Baeza. For, as the author states in the preface to the El Escorial manuscript, and as has been recognized by those who have read and studied his work, the text is “by Hernando de Baeça, who was present for much of what he recounts, and he learned the rest from the Moors of that kingdom and from their chronicles.”

My research, which will be published in full at a later date, is based on two editions of this unpublished manuscript: the first is paleographic, con-

50 Fernando J. Bouza, *Del escribano a la biblioteca: La civilización escrita europea en la Alta Edad Moderna (siglos XV–XVII)* (Madrid: Síntesis, 1997), 11, 36.

51 Sebastiano Gentile and Silvia Rizzo, “Per una tipologia delle miscellanee umanistiche,” in Crisi and Pecere, *Segno e testo*, 379–407 at 407.

52 See Enrique Gozalbes, “El epílogo de la Granada nazarí en la obra de Hernando de Baeza,” in *Mélanges María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti* (Zaghuan: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l’Information, 1999), 1:63–71.

sisting of a careful reproduction of the text as it appears in the Escalante-Portilla manuscript; the second is a critical edition created by comparing the text of the Escalante-Portilla manuscript with that of El Escorial and also with other early texts that had cited the *Historia de los Reyes Moros de Granada* as a source. The former includes punctuation, to assist the reader; the second also includes modern orthographic elements such as accents, and it is hoped that together these will constitute a new standard text of this chronicle. These editions will include the explicit “Finis Deo e graças. Amén,” which certifies the completion of the text by its scribe according to the medieval mentality still prevalent at the time. With this ending, the chronicle’s characters ride off, as it were, into an uncertain future, as in a classic Western in Cinemascope. Baeza’s text thus masterfully recounts for us the surrender agreement between knights and traitors, about which so much ink has been spilled through the centuries. The details of this agreement, revealed through this newly discovered manuscript, are eloquently unmasked.