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HISTORY OF SPAIN

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A
HISTORY OF SPAIN

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC

BY

ULICK RALPH BURKE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,
BY
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ETC., ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES
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To

GEORGE SALMON

Provost of Trinity College, Dublin

these volumes are,

by special permission,

very respectfully dedicated.

INTRODUCTION.

The great difficulty that besets even the most modest compiler of anything like a comprehensive History of Spain, is the difficulty of concentration of interest. The regions to be traversed are so immense and so boundless, the byways are so numerous and so inviting, that it is often hard to know which is the great central track that must be taken, if the end is ever to be reached.

The development and decline of the Roman Empire, the overrunning of Europe by the Northern Barbarians, the origin of the political power of the Christian Church, the rise and fall of Mohammedanism in Western Europe, the discovery and colonisation of America; these are five of the most interesting and most important of the phases of human progress during the last two thousand years; and with each one of these the History of Spain and of the Spaniards is indissolubly connected.

The origin and language of the Basques, and their identification with the early Iberians, the wandering civilisation of the early Celts, the commerce and industry of Tyre and Sidon, the rise and fall of Carthage, though they are to some extent outside the History of Spain, assuredly each and all claim some share of our attention. The lives of Hannibal and of Scipio, of Pompey and of Cæsar, are all largely Spanish; and each one of them is a study in itself. For hard upon seven hundred years the fortunes of Spain are so intimately connected with the greatness and the decline of the Roman Republic and of the Roman Empire, a subject of the utmost complexity of interest and of detail, that it is impossible to avoid being drawn into that most fascinating of labyrinths; and a hundred years before the Imperial troops had left the Province, we are suddenly confronted by a new and strange civilisation, on the arrival of the Goths with their German institutions, their Adrian Faith, their Northern laws, their hopes of regenerating the old world—their disappointment, their demoralisation and their decay. When at length, after three hundred years of tolerably straightforward progress—though the country, it must be admitted, is for the most part an unexplored wilderness—something like unity seems at length to be reached, the scene suddenly changes with the rapidity of a theatrical transformation, and we are carried away in a moment to farthest Araby, to wander hopelessly overwhelmed by the vast range of new interests, with a new race, a new civilisation, a new religion, and the most tremendous power that has arisen in the world during the last nineteen hundred years.

The spread of Mohammedanism, whether considered as a religious or a political phenomenon, is as yet but very imperfectly understood. The East has been contented to accept, and the West has not cared to study it. The History of Islam has yet to be written. To ascertain and set down the true story of the conquest and civilisation of the Peninsula by the Arab, many years and many volumes would be necessary; but in a *Short History of the Spanish People*—I have not ventured to adopt the well-known words on my title page—the amount of space that may be devoted to the rise and progress, and to the decline and fall, of the Empire of the Moslem in Spain, must necessarily be small.

The intrigues and the rebellions of the Alfonsos and the Sanchos are in themselves, perhaps, of no greater interest than the intrigues and the rebellions of the Yusufs and the Mohammeds against whom they contended. But out of the freebooters of Aragon and Navarre, out of the cut-throats of Leon and Castile was evolved that great nation, before whose arms the last Moslem was driven out of United Spain. The Mohammeds and the Yusufs came and went. We may admire their valour; we may respect their civilisation; we mourn over their destruction. But they are gone. And their history is in no wise the history of the Spanish people.

To give a connected and intelligible account of the rise and progress of the various Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula is a task of far greater difficulty than the treatment, be it brief or be it full, of the splendour and the decay of the Moslem. A well-known writer has sought to evade the difficulty by writing, under the name of a History of Spain, seven histories of the various States that rose and fell in the Peninsula from the eighth to the sixteenth century; so that the reader who has in the first volume arrived at the year 1631, finds himself on opening vol. ii. relegated to 718; and having reached 1516 by the end of this second volume, he is confounded at finding himself beginning in vol. iii. with the history of 885. A system of alternate chapters—with such dissertations and digressions as appeared necessary—as far as possible in chronological order, will probably be found at once more convenient and more artistic in its plan.

With regard to the actual scheme of the work, however carried out, my object has been to present Spanish history, as I believe it never to have been presented before in moderate limits, as one continuous whole; to tell the story of the growth and development of a great nation; and I have sought to show how Trajan and Hadrian, how Martial and Theodosius the Great, how Quintilian and Prudentius, how St. Vincent and the uncanonised Hosius of Cordova were all as truly Spanish heroes as the Cid or Berengaria; that Averroës, for all that he believed in Mohammed, was no less an Andalusian than Seneca; that St. Leander and St. Dominic, St. Isidore and St. Raymond Lull were all the fellow countrymen of Ximenez, and that Viriatus was but the forerunner of the *Great Captain.*

I would moreover, had I not been dissuaded therefrom by those whose opinion is of far more value than my own, have entitled my work a history of *The Making of Spain*, or *The Making of the Spanish People.* The limit of a sketch so conceived, would naturally be the accomplishment of the great national work of construction or of evolution; but if it was the conquest of Navarre that put the finishing touch to the making of Spain, it was the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, within a year or two of this crowning act of policy, that left the United Spanish People for the first time in history, to be governed by a single sovereign.

That the legitimate Queen of Spain was judged incapable of wielding the sceptre; that her more magnificent and more fortunate son preferred a German Diadem to the Crown even of United Spain; that he kept his mother a prisoner, and made her kingdom a province of his Empire; these things belong rather to the marring than to the making of Spain.

With regard to the actual execution of the work, the spelling of the *Proper Names* of places, has been to me a constant difficulty. I set out upon my work with the intention of writing a book in the best English that I could command, and of using as few foreign words as was possible without obscurity. After many diversions and excursions, and much hesitation and consideration, I am of opinion that this principle was, and is, the right one; and I have endeavoured to conform to it faithfully and reasonably in my completed work.

I was pleased at one time with the idea, which at least as far as I am concerned was original, of writing the names of *Places* as they were known to those who from time to time inhabited them. The Celtiberian *Salduba* became Cæsarea Augusta under the Romans and Sarakostah under the Arabs, to develop into Zaragoza in the language of modern Spain. The method, as it suggested itself to me, was picturesque, but after many endeavours to carry it out, it proved too subtle for practical use. To write of *Aquæ sextæ* on page 200 and of Aix on page 350 would have marked the transition from the Roman to the French supremacy; but it might possibly have puzzled an unlearned reader, who did me the honour to take up my book, with the very laudable design of informing himself upon the history of Spain. The change from *Hispalis* to *Seville* again might have been too abrupt to be appreciated; while between my last reference to the river *Anas* and my first notice of the *Guadiana* it would have been necessary to speak of the *Wady 'al 'Ana*, which would have caused still further confusion—to say nothing of the fact that in the case of all the Arabic names of places from A.D. 711 at least as far down as A.D. 1252 there would have been the further immense difficulty of transliteration.

Whenever, therefore, the name of any place outside the limits of our own country has an equivalent in our own language, I have invariably spoken of it by that name; and have thus written Corunna, Gallicia and Carthagena instead of *La Coruña*, *Galicia* and *Cartagena*; but when the place, as most generally happens, has no regular English name or equivalent, I have spoken of it as the natives of the country in which it is situate are accustomed to write the word at the present day, or in the case of Moorish or Arab names of places in the Peninsula, transliterated as far as possible according to the fashion of the best authorities, not of England, but of Spain.

The treatment of proper names of persons has presented fewer difficulties. But with Romans and Goths, with Basques and Arabs, with Catalans and Castilians, with Navarrese and Neapolitans and Sicilians to speak of in English sentences, the task has been by no means easy. With some few exceptions I have, whenever it was possible, spoken of the royal personages of all countries by their Christian names and titles as usually spelt in English. I have preferred Philip the Fair to *Philippe le Bel*, Peter the Cruel to *Pedro el Cruel*, Clovis to *Hchlodwig*, Isabella to *Isabel*, Ferdinand to *Fernando*, and, after much hesitation, Berengaria to *Berenguela* of Castile, and James to *Jayme* of Aragon; though I regret the loss of local colour in speaking of the king who is so well known as *Don Jayme*, by the less distinctive English word James.[1]

In the case of the Catalan *Ramon Berenguer*, I have considered the double name as a distinctly and distinctively foreign appellation, not to be translated by the English Raymond, which I am able to use for the Raymonds of Burgundy and of Provence. Peter stands upon quite a different footing. *Pedro* is a purely Castilian equivalent of the Aragonese *Père*, and Peter is quite as good a word as either, and a fair translation of both.

I fear that the Frenchified Latinity of *Charlemagne* may be displeasing to certain critics. But Charlemagne, as the name of a personage, appears to me to be just as good English as Charles, and much better than Karl; and I do not choose to rob the Frank Emperor of the picturesque and distinctive name by which he has been known in history for a thousand years, either by the use of strange words in an English sentence, or by adding to the overgrown list of those sovereigns who are commonly called "The Great".[1]

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[1] The English James indeed stands for at least three distinct Christian names in the Peninsula, *Diego*, *Iago*, as *Santiago*, and the Catalan or Provencal *Jacme* or *Jaume*.

In the case of private individuals, I have written their names as they would be written by the historians of their own country, save in the case of those rare and distinguished personages who have received, as it were, letters of naturalisation in the English language. To speak of Don John of Austria as *Don Juan* would be a species of impertinence; and while *Cisneros* may be good Spanish, it is the fame of *Ximenez* that has crossed both the Pyrenees and the Atlantic. But in all cases, in the interpretation of my own rules and systems, I have sought to avoid anything that savoured of pedantry.

With regard to notes, although I endeavoured from the first to cite only such passages from authorities, ancient and modern, as might really illustrate the text, the number and length of the extracts and quotations was severely criticised by more than one reader of my MS., which has been, in consequence, subjected to severe, but, I hope, not unskilful prunings.

C'est le défaut des érudits, says Prosper Mérimée, *de se passionner pour les recherches de détail. Parcequ'elles ont été longues et souvent pénibles, ils s'imaginent que le lecteur va les recommencer avec eux. Il faut quelquefois avoir le courage de garder pour soi la fatigue, et dc ne présenter au public que les résultats obtenus.*[2]

If I have not ventured to go as far as the brilliant Frenchman in my demands upon the confidence of my readers, I have rarely cited any authorities in the original, more especially in the case of Spanish works, save for some special object or reason, which may, I trust, be in each case judged sufficient. The same may be said with regard to simple references, which have been most freely employed in cases where the facts stated in the text are new, startling or doubtful. A mere record of the various books that I have read or consulted in connection with Spanish history, during the four happy years of varied research that have been specially devoted to the preparation of these two volumes, would fill many vain and useless pages.

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[1] Le surnom de Grand, *Magnus*, qui a été donné à Charles d'un commun consentement par la postérité, et qui est devenu en quelque sorte une partie de son nom propre, ne semble pas lui avoir été attribué pendant sa vie, ou du moins n'étoit point alors régulièrement joint à son nom. Mabillonius veter. Analecta, t. ii., 420, Sismondi, *Hist. des François*, ii., 314.

[2] *Mélanges historiques* (1876), p. 242.

In the preparation of my *Index*, which, in a work covering such a great extent of ground—over seventeen hundred years —must necessarily be somewhat lengthy, I have been guided solely by my experience of what I found most useful in my own study. I have, I trust, indexed most, if not all, of the *names* that occur in the text, and most of the *events;* I have avoided, as far as possible, sub-headings and narrative of any description, save where absolutely necessary, preferring to make use of the space at my disposal to give a greater number of direct references than would otherwise have been possible.

I had intended at one time to print the names of places in a separate Index, and had actually prepared the MS. I designed also to add an Index of authorities, and such an Index was partly compiled; but upon fuller consideration I have entirely abandoned the latter, as being somewhat more pretentious than useful; and have included all names of places in the *General Index*, as being on the whole, more convenient for reference.

For her great and ever-willing assistance in the preparation of these various published and unpublished Indexes, I have to thank my friend, *Miss Reinhart*, though the ultimate responsibility for their accuracy is, and must be, entirely my own.

The following general authorities have been so frequently cited by me in the course of the work, that in order to avoid much vain repetition, I have usually referred to them in the abbreviated form that is set down below:—

MARIANA—*Historia general de España*, Juan de Mariana, 9 vols. (Valencia, 1783-96.)

MASDEU—*Historia de Critica de España*, Juan Francisco de Masdeu, 20 vols. (Madrid, 1783-1805.)

LAFUENTE—*Historia general de España*, Modesto Lafuente, 26 vols. (Madrid, 1850-62.)

GAYANGOS—*History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, from the Arabic, etc., etc., Pascual de Ganyangos, 2 vols. (1840.)

FORD—*Murray's Handbook for Spain.* The date of publication is added to every reference. The earlier editions are historically the most valuable, as well as the most racy. The first edition was suppressed—as somewhat too racy?—immediately on publication, in 1845. Of this only five copies now exist, one of which is in the British Museum Library.

Of the *Second Edition*, for all practical purposes the *first* published, also in 1845, two thousand copies are said to have been sold in a few months; a second edition was published in 1847, the last in 1892.

DUNHAM—*Lardner's Cabinet of History, etc., etc., Spain and Portugal*, by Samuel Astley Dunham, 5 vols. (1832.)

DOZY, HISTOIRE—*Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, by Reinhart Pieter Dozy, 4 vols. (Leyden, 1861.)

DOZY, RECHERCHES — *Recherches sur l'histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne*, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1881.)

ESP. SAGRAD.—*España Sagrada, etc., etc.* (1754-1879), by F. H. Florez, continued by D. Vicente de Lafente. Volume 51 was published in 1879.

CALENDAR, etc.—*Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers*, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the *Archives at Simancas* and elsewhere. Edited by G. A. Bergenroth. Vol. i. (1485-1509), London, 1862; vol. ii. (1509-1525) was published in 1866, and a third volume, *supplementary* to vols. i. and ii., in 1868.

DOCUMENTOS INEDITOS—*Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España.* Tom. i. (1842), is by Don Martin Fernandez Navarrete, Don Miguel Salvá, and Don Pedro Sainz de Barander. The last that I have had the opportunity of consulting is that published in 1893 by the Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle.

Among other books that I have constantly cited, representing as it were the two poles of religious or ecclesiastical thought and criticism, are the *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, por Don Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, three vols. (Madrid, 1880); and Mr. Henry Charles Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, three vols. (London, 1888), a perfect storehouse of knowledge, and a monument of painstaking and intelligent research.

Of all the kind friends who have in various ways assisted and encouraged me in the course of my work, it would be impossible to speak. Yet must I set down a word of the gratitude that I feel to *Mr. Cecil Bendall*—but for whom the work might never have been written; and *Mr. John Bury*—but for whom it might never have been published, for their constant and practical help, counsel and criticism; to *Mr. John Ormsby*, for many valuable suggestions, conveyed in most delightful letters; and to *Don Juan Riaño*, for suggestions no less valuable, and conveyed by word of mouth during my last visit to Madrid, where the genial hospitality of *Sir Henry Drummond* and *Lady Wolff* has added to the many agreeable recollections that I treasure of that much abused but to me ever sympathetic city. Among the many friends whom I have to thank for help in the preparation of my chapter on Spanish Music—a chapter which, I am not ashamed to confess, I have re-written four times—I cannot pass over the name of *Dr. Culwick;* and in the final revision of the pages dealing with Architecture as well as Music, and of other chapters in my second volume, I have been greatly and most kindly assisted by *Dr. Mahaffy*. To the librarians and *bookmen*, great and small, in *Bloomsbury*, in *St. James's Square*, in *Kildare Street*, in *Trinity College, Dublin*, and in other public and private libraries at home and abroad, I am under a substantial debt of gratitude, of which so general an acknowledgment is very far from being an adequate requital.

I have, finally, to acknowledge with much gratitude, and not, I confess, without some pride, the liberality of the Board of Trinity College in making a pecuniary grant to me in aid of the expenses of publication, a compliment whose value is enhanced by the manner in which the offer was conveyed to me, and the unconditional nature of the gift.

CHRISTMAS EVE, 1894.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The history of Spain, better than that of any other European country, enables the philosophical historian to trace the concatenation of causes and effects in the life of a nation, and thus not only to demonstrate the scientific basis of his own teaching, but also to draw the deductions and conclusions failing which the study of history would be useless as an aid to wisdom. This peculiarity, and the geographical and ethnological reasons to which it may be mainly attributed, add infinitely to the fascination of Spanish history as a study, and to its usefulness as an introduction to the systematic teaching of the history of other countries whose national phenomena are more complicated and less obviously connected with anterior facts.

Situated at the most westerly point of the European continent, and farthest from the centres of ancient civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula received from succeeding civilisations the last waves successively sent forth during their periods of energetic development and expansion: so that each succeeding culture reached Spain at its highest stage of vigour, and ran through its course of maturity, decline and extinction on Spanish soil. The history of the country consequently presents a concentrated view of the war of diverse systems which during the Middle Ages decided the fate of the civilised world. Thus, in historically recorded times, at least four great types of progress have made Iberia their last bulwark in Europe against the advancing tide of new dispensations which were to overwhelm them. Carthaginian, Roman, Visigothic and Arab culture, one after the other, flourished, lingered and expired in Spain; but each system left behind it traditions and memories of its own, by which some continuity of progress was preserved: and, in one case, the last remaining spark of ancient learning was kept alive in the almost universal gloom to rekindle the great illumination which was afterwards to flood the world with light.

It may be asked why the history of Spain, recording as it does so many separate invasions and dominations, and dealing with so vast and momentous a subject as the series of struggles which decided whether the Aryan or the Semite was to bear sway in western Europe, should present greater simplicity of phenomena than the history of other nations whose political institutions have been more continuous, and whose vicissitudes have been of less universal importance. At first sight it may appear that the constant internal wars, and the bewildering alternate aggregation and disintegration of the petty kingdoms of the Peninsula, often ruled by contemporaneous sovereigns of similar names, would make the study of Spanish history more than ordinarily confusing and fruitless. An explanation why the contrary is the case must be sought to a large extent in the physical conformation of the country, and the effect it has had upon the ethnology of the inhabitants. A consideration of these points will enable us to evolve from the chaos something approaching a rule; and by the aid of it, we may see that national movements have been controlled much more by influences of locality and race than by the personal characters of the crowd of Alfonsos, Ferdinands and Sanchos who loom so large upon the written page.

A glance at the map of the Peninsula will prove its almost complete isolation; surrounded as it is on three sides by the sea, and on the north by the great range of the Pyrenees, across which only a few difficult passes were practicable, with the exception of the road on the extreme east. But what influenced the making of the Spanish nation much more than its isolation was the fact that it is divided by mountain ranges into a certain number of well-defined separate regions with widely-divergent conditions of climate, aspect and natural productions. The region between the Cantabrian Mountains and the sea, forming the whole of the north coast on the Atlantic, is cut off completely from the rest of the country by almost impassable peaks. A land of frequent rain, of giant oaks and of rich pasture on the lower slopes and valleys, it has not a single feature in common with the bleak, arid table-land of the centre or with the subtropical south-east. As a main division there runs from the Cantabrian Mountains to the extreme south of Spain an almost continuous range, dividing the valleys of the Duero and the Tagus from that of the Ebro: and from this range there branch three others from east to west, dividing respectively the basins of the Duero and the Tagus, the Tagus and the Guadiana, and that of the Guadiana from the Guadalquivir. The great Sierra Morena isolates the south from Castile: the mountains of Toledo shut in the central tableland on the south, as the Guadarramas enclose it on the north; and all round the coast high ranges divide the interior from the littoral. From these various ranges there run transverse spurs and buttresses innumerable; and the whole of Spain, with the exception of the inhospitable central plateau, and portions of La Mancha, is scored into isolated valleys and plains dominated by ever-visible mountains. Such a country as this would necessarily render the process of racial amalgamation and national unification slow and difficult; and would develop strong individuality, local jealousy, and consequently a warlike spirit in the races that inhabited it: would, in fact, make Spaniards what they are; intensely local in their attachments; proud and pugnacious, with a horror of being merged, either personally or collectively; good soldiers in small bodies and indifferent soldiers in large bodies, and, finally, better citizens than patriots.

But the deep divisions into which the soil of Spain is divided have done more than set this general impress upon the various races which inhabit the Peninsula, and thus enable us frequently to distinguish the mainsprings of national action; they have kept the races themselves apart through the ages, and the character and influence of the several waves of invasion which have flooded the country can be to a great extent appreciated by the yet distinct, or only partially amalgamated, elements, of which the population of the different regions consist. A study, for instance, of the characters of the Gallego and the Asturian reveals the history of their provinces better than pages of description would do. The minds and persons of the inhabitants clearly prove that Moorish or Arab blood forms a small part of their composition, and though they speak a Latin tongue more closely approaching the ancient speech of Rome than does the Castilian, yet little of the Latin is in their race. The somewhat dreamy poetic Celt, with his vivid imagination and love of home and family, is in the Gallego tempered by a large admixture of a strong Germanic stock, which makes him laborious, patient and enduring; an almost exact counterpart of the Irishman in those parts of Ireland where the English and Celtic populations have blended. Compare, again, this Gallego or Asturian with the Valencian, and it will be seen that in the latter both the Celtic and Germanic elements are comparatively insignificant, and are swamped by the Semitic. The Valencian also speaks a dialect of Latin resembling that of his racial cousin the Provençal. He is above all a keen chafferer, vehement of gesture, superstitious, false and a fatalist; a man whose Christianity is to a large extent an adaptation of the paganism of his forbears: fond of luxury and bright colours, he is obviously the direct descendant of Phœnecians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Arabs; and the influence of his descent may be traced in every action of his life. To the north of him, his neighbour the Catalan, speaking the same dialect, is yet of another racial composition. His character and conduct prove at once that he possesses a much greater Germanic and Latin, and less of the Moorish element than his brother of Valencia. Hardworking, independent, turbulent and grasping, the Catalan character explains not only to what extent and by whom the province has been dominated, but also the action of the inhabitants from the dawn of history to the present day. Of the pleasure-loving passionate Latin and Berber of Andalusia, of the grave, haughty and magnanimous Celtiberian - Latin of Castile, of the pure-blooded Basque of Biscay and Navarre, a similar story may be told.

Thus it happens that the history of each of the natural regions into which Spain is divided may be epitomised in its ethnology and geography to a greater extent than is the case in any other of the nations of Europe which have exercised a moving influence in the progress of mankind. The lack of unity so conspicuous amongst the Spaniards of to-day has existed throughout history, save only on those few occasions when some powerful personality or some great cause arousing a general sentiment has temporarily knit them together into national unity. On each of the occasions that the country has been overrun and dominated it has had to be conquered piecemeal, town by town, valley by valley. The inhabitants, so long as they were fighting for their own homes, fought like lions, but with little cohesion; and the task of overrunning the country, although in some cases a long one, has never been relatively difficult. The difficulty, as will be seen in the present history, has always been to impose upon the various peoples a uniform law which should constitute them a united nation. The Carthaginians never entirely succeeded in doing it, although the greatest of them —Hamilcar, Hasdrubal and Hannibal—made Spain rather than Africa their base for the bold attempt at the conquest of Rome and the world; and to them it was of vital importance that Iberia should be solid at their backs. Warriors, they could, and did, draw in plenty from the peoples whom their arms had subdued; for so long as their organisation was local, and neighbours and fellow-townsmen were not separated, the Celtiberians would fight anybody, anywhere. But united action against a common foe, or even willing submission to a common law, was foreign to their nature. In the Punic armies under Hannibal the Carthaginian that besieged the heroic Iberian city of Saguntum, there were as many Celtiberians as Africans, and in the hosts that the same great commander led on his wondrous march across the Alps to the very gates of Rome 25,000 soldiers out of his 100,000 were men of Spanish birth. And yet Scipio the Roman found no difficulty in raising as many more Celtiberians to fight on the other side. Thus, for ever divided amongst themselves, the Celtiberians were easily made use of by the conquering peoples to overcome their own countrymen. Now and again in the course of history a great leader of men like Sertorius might temporarily weld together these warring tribes into a solid people, but the moment the overpowering personality disappeared the elements became again disintegrated.

The seed of Roman civilisation and, above all, of

Roman pride, fell upon fertile ground in the Peninsula. When, after well nigh 200 years of gradual conquest, the farthest point of Iberia was crowned by the Roman eagle, and Cæsar with a hand of iron imposed the *lex Romana* on the wild Celtic tribes of Brigantium, already the settled districts of the south and east were rejoicing in the prosperity and security that Roman splendour and the rule of law brought in their train. Ever ready for fighting, so long as friends and neighbours were not separated, the Celtiberian legionaries under the masterful military organisation of Rome were not only for ever face to face in their own land with the might of the metropolis, but were carried to the uttermost ends of the Empire to fight its battles abroad. From Rome, from Britain, from Gaul, from the Danube, such of the few Spanish legionaries as came back to their native valleys were full of pride for the glory of the Republic or the Empire, whose eagles they had borne triumphant over subject peoples, and whose law they had enforced in lands where no law was ever known before. They had never been Spaniards, for to them Spain meant nothing, and their own valleys or villages everything; but they were Romans now, for the power of the Imperial city, reaching, as they saw, to the ends of the earth, was to them a real tangible glory of which they were proud to claim their share.

And so for 400 years bound together by Roman bureaucracy Spain approached nearer to being a united nation than ever she had been before; but whilst there was a powerful link that bound all Spaniards to Rome, there was but a slight bond which united them with each other. Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius ruled the world from the throne of the Cæsars, and they were Spaniards; Seneca, Lucan, Martial and Quintillian, and a host of other writers who added lustre to Imperial Rome, proved that the keen Celtiberian wit grafted well on to the Latin culture of an earlier time. All over Spain, says St. Augustine, rose the *odiosa cantio* of native children learning Latin, and the literary exquisites of Rome itself, to their horror, found that Spanish provincialisms and the "strange, thick" pronunciation of the Iberians were corrupting the daily talk of the Roman citizens. But the Spanish nation had no existence apart from the metropolis;

and when the Empire crumbled her satellite crumbled too, and became an easy prey to the barbarians. No united resistance was offered, and from valley to valley the savages swept on their devastating way. The corruption of Rome had eaten into the very heart of her great dependency. The degenerate Spaniards had become such good Roman citizens as to be unable or unwilling to protect their own homes, for country, in the broad sense of the word, they had none, and the only unity they knew was Roman officialism.

The social impress that the Romans left upon the people has never been obliterated or greatly diminished. Their speech and literature are Latin; from Rome they took their religion, fervently as was their nature to do, leaning ever to the imaginative and picturesque phases of it. Goths and Moors successively dominated them, and introduced new racial elements into their composition; but, withal, the Latin form of civilisation was most in accordance with the Celtiberian nature, and its features have only been furrowed, not altered, by subsequent dispensations.

One of the principal reasons which rendered the Roman form of government sympathetic to the Celtiberian peoples after the conquest was complete, was the fact that the municipality was the unit of control and taxation, and the city or town continued to be, as it had been in earlier times, the real fatherland of the people, the Roman provincial organisation being simply superposed upon it. Very far from destroying this, the Gothic kings still further strengthened the municipal form of government; and although in all departments of life they made local administration and representative institutions more vigorous than under the decadent empire, the Goths ended by, to a great extent, merging their own traditions into those of the people they had conquered. The laws of Spain, after many attempts at unification, were based finally more on the Roman than the Gothic code; Latin in the last years of the Gothic domination became the universal language; and the Arian form of belief professed by the Goths fell before the more poetic and mystical Latin form of Christianity. During the long era of reconquest from the Moors the same characteristics are displayed. The Moslem invaders themselves, temporarily united by a great ruler, were welded together under the Cordovan Caliphate; but, true to the geographical features of the country, they broke up into petty kingdoms immediately after the Caliphate fell; and similarly the Christians, with every need for united action to wrest the country from the Moslem, were eternally at issue amongst themselves for centuries, in face of the foreign foe who had possessed themselves of the land. We are compelled to suppose that they must have seen the advantage they would have gained by combined national movement, and to acknowledge that they were impelled to discord and division by the overpowering reasons that have been set forth. It frequently happened that there was, in the later years of the struggle, more consanguinity and racial sympathy between Moors and their Christian neighbours than between the latter and other Spaniards of their own faith. Seen by this light, the long and complicated nature of the reconquest becomes easily explainable, and the personal characters of the Alfonsos and Ferdinands appear to be of less importance in controlling events than at first sight appears.

The strong regional feeling, which, as has been pointed out, is the principal factor of Spanish history, explains also the enormous influence exerted on the world by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. With a jealous or antagonistic Aragon, Isabella, Queen of Castile alone, might have been unable in her time to conquer the kingdom of Granada; certain it is that without the added strength of Castile to that of his own poor realm, Ferdinand would have been powerless to embark on a far-reaching foreign policy and aggression abroad solely with the object of promoting the traditional ambitions of the House of Aragon—an object in which the larger and richer kingdom of Castile had no share. It was for Aragon, and not for Castile, that Ferdinand drew Spain into antagonism with France, which lasted for full 400 years. It was for Aragonese ends, and not for Castilian, that he brought upon the land the catastrophe which ruined her, by mating his daughter with the son of the Emperor, and the heir of Burgundy; and for the same ends alone, in order to weaken France, did the Aragonese secure for his other daughter the hand of a Tudor, and so indirectly bring about the English Reformation. And whilst her husband was thus using the strength of her kingdom for his own regional interests, Isabella herself was enabled, thanks to his administrative ability and moral support, to extend, as otherwise she could not have done, the interests of Castile by the expulsion of the Moors and the conquest of America. Similarly, the religious bigotry and persecution, which afterwards became so tremendous a political instrument, and is usually assumed to be characteristic of the Spanish nation, was a policy deliberately adopted by Isabel, Ferdinand and Jimenez to provide the national cohesion necessary to them. The isolation of races and deeply-rooted regional jealousy had always made Spaniards intolerant of foreigners, in which term they would include the men who lived on the other side of their own mountains, and although at first there was no especial religious feeling in it, their antagonism to their neighbours afforded a fertile soil in which clever statesmen, persecuting priests and covetous ignorance might sow the evil seed which brought forth the horrors of the Inquisition. The policy strangled Spain, but it gave her the unity which made her temporarily great.

In countries where the physical features of the land allowed a more complete fusion of the races, and greater rapidity of development, most of the elementary factors in the national history were evolved in times so remote that no written records aid the student to unravel the story; but, as we have seen, it is otherwise in Spain, where, owing to the slowness and lateness of events, the conclusions of the ethnologist and the philologist can be checked by Greek, Roman, Jewish and Arab, as well as early Christian writers, and afford to the reader an opportunity for basing his knowledge of history in general on a solidly scientific foundation.

It was fitting that the early history of a nation possessing this advantage should be written with all the resources of modern scholarship and widely extended research, and on its first appearance Mr. Ulick Burke's learned work was deservedly greeted as unquestionably the best history of early Spain that had appeared in the English language. Unfortunately, before the first edition could be revised, the gifted author died, and it has fallen to me, however unworthy I may be of the task, to make such alterations and corrections as the author himself would have made had he been spared. Regarding, as I do, an author's style as a revelation of his personality, I have refrained from altering the form in which ideas are conveyed, except in a few cases where the meaning appeared obscure. Where obvious errors of statement have crept into the text, and I have been able to detect them, they have been corrected; and in a large number of instances where the information seemed to need qualification, explanation or supplement, I have ventured to append an additional footnote signed with an initial H., in order that the opinions of the author may still stand as he wrote them. There is much in the arrangement of the book which perhaps might have been reformed, but on mature consideration I have decided that this could hardly be done without recasting and to some extent rewriting it; which, in the case of a work which I hope may be regarded as a classic, I hold that an editor is not justified in attempting. My alterations therefore in this respect have been confined to transferring the chapters on the Bull Fight, Architecture, the Monetary System, and Music, to the end of the text; in order to restore to the narrative a closer chronological continuity than it possessed. In its new form I can only hope that Mr. Ulick Burke's erudite and attractive work will be adjudged at least not to have suffered at my hands, and that the hearty and deserved welcome extended by scholars to the first edition will be even exceeded by that accorded to the second.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

London, *November,* 1899.

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HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

THE CELTIBERIANS.

I.—*Pre-historic Times.*

THE earliest inhabitants of the Spanish Peninsula of whom we have any knowledge, whether from history or from tradition, are the Celts and the Iberians.[1] Of the origin of the Celts, intimately connected as they are with ourselves or our ancestors in Britain, we know but very little. Of the Iberians and of their origin, we know practically nothing at all. Established in the Peninsula previous to the Celtic immigration, they are found at the earliest dawn of Spanish history occupying a considerable part of that romantic country to which they have given the name of Iberia. Their earliest settlements are said to have been on the eastern and southern coasts of the Peninsula; but they have ever been specially identified with those more interesting districts among the mountains in north-western Spain, of which the inhabitants have been known at various times as Iberians, Cantabrians and Basques.[2] When they arrived, how they travelled, whom they dispossessed, even tradition does not presume to say; though tradition, in the pages of many Spanish historiographers, tells of the exploits on Spanish soil of Hercules,[3] Bacchus, Osiris, Atlas, Nebuchadnezzar, and even of the patriarch Noah. Tubal, indeed, son of Japhet, is said by some of these Spanish enthusiasts,[1] upon the uncertain authority of Josephus, to have been the father of the Iberians. And Setubalia, which, according to Masdeu,[2] was one of the ancient names of Spain, is derived by him from that of the Patriarch. The same word, whatever be its origin, no doubt survives in the town of Setubal[3] in modern Portugal.

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[1] The Iberians are said by many Spanish writers to have been immigrants into Spain from Asia Minor, or the Eastern Mediterranean. But that the Iberians of Spain are the children of the Iberians of the Caucasus is at best an historic fancy, unsupported by anything that can be called evidence.

[2] See Appendix I. THE BASQUES.

[3] Hercules, the Phœnician Melkarth, is in a special manner identified with the southern coasts of Spain. He is still considered the founder, and in some sense the *patron* of Cadiz; his effigy, grappling with two lions, is borne upon the city arms: and his *pillars*, with the proud motto, *Plus Ultra*, are displayed upon the celebrated Spanish dollar, and are said to have suggested the well known sign $. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi., 5. Erythea, the scene of the legendary labour of the recovery of the oxen of Geryon, is usually taken to signify Spain.

Coming it may be from the East, the Iberians would naturally have established their first colonies on the eastern coasts of Spain; and they may have occupied Catalonia and Aragon, and given their names to the great river Ebro,[4] before they arrived at the westermost limit of their wanderings, on the shores of the wide Atlantic, and made their home amid the mountains in which, alone among the peoples and nations of Europe, they have maintained the freedom and the purity of their race for three thousand years. For in Spain the Iberian blood has constantly prevailed over that of the Celts and Phœnicians, the Carthaginians and Romans, the Goths and the Moors, by whom the country has been successively occupied, from Carthagena to Finisterre, and it still flows in its greatest purity in the veins of the ever hardy mountaineers of modern Cantabria.[5]

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[1] Josephus, *Hist. Jud.*, i., 6, and *Ant. Jud.*, lib. xi., cap. 12, quoting the *Indica* of Megasthenes. *Cf.* Genesis x., 2-5. The most ingenious of all the Spanish historians is a certain Señor Ferreras, who, unable to satisfy himself as to time and manner of the early peopling of Spain, suggests (tom. i., c. 1), that the first inhabitants may have come by air, or dropped down from heaven!

[2] Lafuente, i., 290-293. Mariana, lib. i. Masdeu, ii., 66 and 251. Strabo, i., 2, 27. Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, pp. 70-75.

[3] This *Setubal* has been conventionally Anglicised into *St. Ubes*. I do not know if any more sacred origin has been discovered for this etymological saint!

[4] The etymology of *Ebro* is very uncertain. Romey and the French writers generally would assign to it a Celtic origin, as *Aber* = a confluence of rivers; a root to be found in such English names as Aberdeen, Aberdovey, etc. Others would derive it from the Basque *Ibaia* = running water. It would seem in any case to be connected with *Iberia*. The word Ιβηρ, for the river, and Ιβηρες, for the Spaniards generally, are met with at least as early as the Periplus of Scylax, compiled probably about B.C. 350; or according to Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, lib. iv., c. 2, as early as B.C. 520. See the editions of this early geographer by Gronovius (1700), pp. 3 and 179, and that of the Marquis Fortia d'Urban (Paris, 1845), p. 321. *Cf.* Æ. Hübner, *Monumenta Linguæ Ibericæ* (1893); Prolog., lxxv., and p. 220, and Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. i., cap. i., and tom. ii., Appendix I.

[5] This, so far as it infers that the modern Basques are identical with the ancient Iberians, is at least open to considerable question. It is true that place-names with Basque roots are to be found all over Spain; but the assumption that therefore the Iberians spoke Basque does not at all follow, as the names had been given in all probability by the Basque-speaking primitive inhabitants before the Iberians, perhaps a people speaking a Sanscrit tongue, arrived in the country. So far from the Iberians withstanding the Celts, it is more probable that in Cartha-

But if our knowledge of the works and ways of the ancient *Iberians* is so very imperfect, our information as to the *Celts* is scarcely more satisfactory, except of course as regards the language. The Celtic immigrants probably entered Spain from Gaul along the shores of the bay of Biscay, and finding no lodgment in the Basque provinces, already occupied, it may be, by the Iberians, they extended themselves over the plains of northern Spain, and occupied the wilder south-west country, afterwards known as Lusitania.[1] That Lusitania was peopled by Celts at the earliest times of which we have any historic or even traditional knowledge, is at least tolerably certain.[2] How they reached that ancient far west of Europe is more than uncertain; it is impossible to ascertain. The fact is, that with the exception of one or two words in Herodotus and Scylax, and an incorrect and doubtful description of part of the east and south coasts by Eratosthenes, we know nothing certain of Spain nor of the tribes that inhabited it, until after the fall of Saguntum.

From this time, thanks to Livy and Appian, to Polybius and Florus and other Roman historians, we have some slight

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ginian times the mass of the population of Central Spain consisted of a fusion of the two peoples, speaking some form of Sanscrit, more or less closely allied to what we know as Celtic; the original Basque-speaking inhabitants being forced up into the northern mountains where they still remain, and have in course of time engrafted upon their ancient tongue many words—though little or none of the form—of the language of those who had displaced them. It is the opinion of many philologists that the children who were, as St. Augustine tells us, so eager to learn Latin and to forget their mother tongue, did not speak Basque but some Sanscrit form allied to Celtic.—H.

[1] "The heights in the north of Spain whence the Tagus, Durius, and Minius flow towards the sea, and whence on the other side smaller rivers carry their waters towards the Ebro, were inhabited by Celts who were also called Celtiberians; other Celts bearing the name of *Celtici* dwelt in Algarbia and the Portuguese-Estremadura; and others again inhabited the Province of Entre Douro e Minho in the north of Portugal. These three Celtic nations were quite isolated in Spain. The Celtiberians were not pure Celts, but, as even their name indicates, a mixture of Celts and Iberians; but the Celts in Portugal are expressly stated to have been pure Celts."—Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient and Modern Geography and Ethnography*, ii., 280, 281.

[2] Masdeu, following other Spanish historians, devotes an entire chapter or book (lib. iii.), of sixty pages, to proving or asserting that the Spanish Celts are more ancient than those of France, and that Celtic Gaul was colonised from Celtic Spain as late as the third century before Christ. This author derives the Celts from Tubal, and the Iberians from his nephew Tarsis; and asserts that these Iberians, migrating northwards in the fourteenth century before Christ, overran France, descended into Italy, and thus founded the Roman Empire. *Cf.* Masdeu, ii., 126. Martial, himself a Spaniard, boasts of his descent "ex Iberis et Celtis genitus"—lib. x., ep. 65. *Cf.* iv., 55. See also Depping, *Hist. d'Espagne*, i., pp. 21-45; and Debrosses, *Hist. Romaine*, ii., 134.

knowledge of the south and south-eastern districts; and as the Roman conquests were extended, we hear something of the tribes and districts of the interior. But we are told that as late as the time of Cato the Censor the greater number of the independent tribes who inhabited the north and west of the Peninsula were as yet scarcely known to the Romans, even by name. And although after the fall of Numantia the Central Provinces as well as Southern and Eastern Spain had become more or less rapidly Romanised,[1] we have no detailed information of the tribes and tribal divisions of the Peninsula until the time of Strabo, whose Geography was written in all probability within twenty years after the commencement of the Christian era.[2] By this time, as he tells us, the Southern Provincials had not only been converted to Roman manners, and adopted the Roman dress, but they had entirely forgotten their own language or languages, Iberian, Celtiberian, Phœnician, or Carthaginian.[3]

Yet Niebuhr, in the absence of direct authority, ingeniously conjectures that after centuries of warfare, in which the Celts may have been more successful in the south and the Iberians in the north of the Peninsula, the two races, meeting in the great central plain on more or less equal terms, may have entered into that traditional agreement to share the country between them, which would be at once the earliest example of a political convention in ancient Europe and the origin of the Spanish people.[4] And however imperfectly the high contracting parties may have carried out the provisions of the treaty, their alliance and friendly intercourse gave birth to a nation of mixed race, split up unhappily in course of time into numerous rival tribes, but all known to the early Roman historians under the general name of Celtiberians.

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[1] The wars in Spain of Sertorius and of Cæsar were, in a great measure, Roman civil wars; nor did they change to any considerable extent the nature of the Imperial dominion in Spain from the fall of Numantia, B.C. 133, to the final conquest or pacification of the Asturias in A.D. 19.

[2] Books i. to iv. were published about that time.

[3] Strabo, iii., 2, 15.

[4] See Diodorus Siculus, v., 33, 1; Lucan, *Hieron;* and W. von Humboldt, translation by Marrast, sub tit. *Recherches sur les habitants primitifs de l'Espagne* (1766), pp. 120, 125. See Strabo, iii., 3, 4 and 5; Arnold's *Hist. of Rome*, iii., 396; and John Ormsby, in *Cornhill Magazine*, 1870, p. 425. The words of Niebuhr to which I refer are as follows: "As one part of England was occupied by Germans so completely as to destroy every trace of the ancient inhabitants, while in other places the Britons lived among the Germans and became mixed with them, so in Spain the Iberians expelled the ancient Celtic population whereever the nature of the country did not protect it; but the Celts maintained themselves in the mountains between the Tagus and the Iberus, and the Iberians only subdued them and then settled among them. Thus in the course of time the two nations became amalgamated" (Niebuhr, *Lectures*, ii., 281).

See also *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia*, tom. iii., pp. 1-244, and tom. iv., pp. 1-75.

Thus, if the Spaniard was a Celt, he was a Celt with a difference, and in his distinguishing characteristics he was always essentially Iberian. He was a man of great and powerful individuality,[1] hardy and determined, sober and frugal, chivalrous but vindictive, restless but stubborn, careless of life,[2] ever reckless of danger. He was, moreover, factious and unmanageable; hardly to be led, never to be driven; a faithful friend, a fearless foe, an impatient ally. But, above and beyond all these characteristics, the Celtiberian had something peculiar to himself, like that subtle essence, baffling analysis and defying imitation, which makes the vintage of the Gironde so entirely different from the red wine of precisely similar chemical elements that is made on the banks of the Rhone or the Danube. For two thousand years the Spaniard has perpetuated this noble individuality, and has stood alone among European nations in the constancy of his Peninsular originality; most conspicuous in the days of his greatness, when the sun never set on his empire, and his soldiers were the terror of Europe; but distinguishable even in the days of his abasement, when his factions were organised by favourites and his faithfulness was played upon by priests. His vices are still partly Latin and partly Gothic, yet their fashion is distinctly Peninsular; and if some of his greatness no doubt is Roman, his virtues are all his own.

Of the religion of these early forebears of the Spanish people we know absolutely nothing.[3] The education of their youth consisted chiefly in military and gymnastic exercises, in feats of arms, in displays of boldness and endurance. The Celtiberians, we are told, from their earliest childhood were brave and hardy, contemptuous of pain and danger, and inspired from their very infancy with an almost passionate love of personal independence. The women not only educated the younger children and cultivated the land,[1] but took their places in times of special danger by the side of their husbands or their fathers in battle array.

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[1] Cantaber, ante omnis hiemisque, æstusque, famisque
Invictus: Silius Italicus, iii., 326.

[2] Neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiæ devovissent, mori recusaret: Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iii., 22.
Prodiga gens animæ et properare facillima mortem:
Silius Italicus, i., 226. See Livy, lib. xviii., and xxxiv., 17. As to their contempt for pain and torture, and the singing and jesting of Celtiberian prisoners, even when nailed upon the cross by the Romans, who would have cowed them, see Strabo, iii., 4.

[3] We may be pretty sure that the ancient Celtiberians were religious. Lafuente speaks of human sacrifices, though the authorities he quotes seem hardly to justify an assertion which is in all probability entirely correct. See also Depping, i., pp. 34-37, quoting St. Augustine, *apud* Vives.

The god of the Celtiberians was known as "Elman, or the god of blood," a fit forerunner of the evil genius of the mediæval religion in Spain.—See *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, vol. iii., 157-8. Masdeu, after giving a long list of the *Divinidades que suelan creerse propias de la nacion Española*, comes to the conclusion that *all* were of either Phœnician or Carthaginian or Greek or Roman origin, vii., 356-359. *Cf.* Strabo, iii., 14, 16.

The occupations of the men appear to have been exclusively those that were connected with war. The military arts were cultivated by them with conspicuous success; and we find that, apart from their reckless bravery, they were more skilful both as strategists and tacticians than any of the other *Barbarians* with which the Romans were at any time engaged in arms.[2] Nor were they less successful in the manufacture than in the use of their weapons.[3] So admirable was the temper of their steel that no Roman shield nor helmet could resist their stroke; and the short Spanish sword of Bilbilis, forerunner of the celebrated blade of Toledo, was introduced by the admiring Romans into the armies of the Republic as early as the days of Hannibal.[4]

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[1] A characteristic example of early maternal discipline is recorded by Florus, iii., 8, Cibum puer a matre non accipit nisi quem, ipsa monstrante, percusserit.

[2] See F. Hoefer, *Diodore de Sicile*, vol. ii., pp. 33, 34 (notes). Sword and lance were used with equal dexterity by cavalry and infantry. Of the Celtiberian slings, of their short and long lances, as well as of their defensive arms, the shield and the helmet, see Diod. Sic., lib. v., cap. 33, last lines, and Livy, lib. xxii., 46; Aul. Gell., xv., 30. Polybius describes a peculiar practice among the Celtiberians. When the cavalry saw that the infantry was hard pressed, they would quit their horses and leave them standing in their place while they helped the infantry. We must presume that this was done on occasions when the mounted men for some reason could be of no use as cavalry. These early *dragoons* had small pegs, *πασσαλισκους*, fastened to the end of their reins, and they used to fix these pegs in the ground, their horses being trained to stand by them till the riders returned and took them up, Polybius, *Fragment*, iii., 3 in ed. Casaubon (1763), vol. iv., p. 283; *cf.* Diod. Sicul., v., 35, *ad hoc.*

[3] The celebrated *gladius hispanensis.* See Livy, vii., 10, and xxii., 46; Polybius, iii., 24; Diod. Sicul., v., 33. It is curious enough that while the Roman soldiers wore their swords suspended at the right side, the ancient Celtiberians wore theirs on the left, as is now the case throughout the world. The authorities for both these statements will be found collected by Masdeu, vii., 119, 120. The *Pilum* or heavy spear of the Roman Legionary is said to have been also adopted from the Iberians. It is no doubt the *Sparus* of Livy, xxxiv., 15.

This spear is to be seen in the hands of the horsemen in many of the old Ibero-Roman coins. See Ford (1845), i., 177.

[4] *Bilbilis*, a Celtiberian word of uncertain meaning, was a town on the river Salo, whose water gave an unrivalled temper to the steel. The modern town of

Of the Celtiberian literature, if literature they possessed, not a fragment has come down to us. Their very language is lost.[1] And of their way of life, when not actually ranged in battle, we have neither record nor tradition.[2]

The Celtiberians had no Gildas. All that we know of them —and it is little enough—is told by those who waged cruel war against them, and the tale of the enemy is one of valour and of generosity, of restless vigour and of almost heroic endurance.

II.—*Saguntum.*

If the Celts and the Iberians were the first settlers, they were not long permitted to be the sole occupants of the

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Calatayud is built, not on, but near the site of Bilbilis, which was dilapidated by Ayúb, the nephew of Musa, the conqueror, to supply the materials for the Moslem Fort, *Kila 't Ayúb.* Bambola, about two miles to the east of Calatayud, is supposed to occupy the site of Bilbilis. See Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiv., 14, 41. Justin, xliv., 2, 3; and Martial—the greatest of the sons of Bilbilis—i., 50, 3, 12; iv., 55, 11-15; x., 20, 103, 104; xii., 18, 9. *Cf.* Ukert, *Geog.* ii. (1), 460.

[1] The Cantabrians at least are said to have originally written from right to left, after the manner of the Semitic nations, and to have given up this ancient system, called by them *agercaya*, for the Roman alphabet, not long before the Christian era. Baudrimont, *Hist. des Basques*, p. 175.

[2] The beauty of the Celtiberian coins is spoken of with admiration by Lafuente. The earliest existing Spanish coins are those of the Greek cities of the N.E. coast, notably of Emporiae (Ampurias) and Rhode (Rosas), eminently Greek in design, and bearing Greek, or more rarely Iberian inscriptions. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 1; Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, 1870; Zobel de Zangroniz, *Estudio Historico de la Moneda Antigua Española*, and various special works by D. Celestino Pujol y Camps, printed within the last few years at Seville. In the more distinctively Iberian coins of the central provinces, Roman or Greek influences are also seen. The horse, whether natural, winged, or man-headed, is one of the most frequent designs. The following list of the devices on coins found in Spain with Iberian inscriptions may be interesting: Man's Head, Female Head, Horse (of common occurence), Escallop Shell (Pecten), Moon, Star (usually of eight points), Eagle, Dolphin, Prow of a Ship, Stern or Helm of a Ship, Horseman (by far the most frequently found), Lion, Wolf or Dog, Crossed Fishes, Bull, Caduceus, Bay Tree. The coins of Carthaginian cities are said to have borne, as a rule, a rude representation of a pair of Tunny Fish. Some of these, according to Señor Zobel de Zangroniz, may be as old as B.C. 350; but the oldest coins in the British Museum collection are supposed to be rather later than earlier than B.C. 268.

One of the oldest that I have seen is a copper piece with the words "OBULCO" on the reverse, and an Iberian inscription on the obverse. This coin is not later than 133, and may be as old as B.C. 268. The most recent authority on Spanish coinage is D. Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes, *Indicador numismatico*, 1 vol., 1891.

Upon the earliest periods, in addition to the works already referred to, I have consulted Saulcy, *Essai de Classification des monnaies autonomes d'Espagne*, 1840; P. A. Boudard, *Etude sur l'alphabet ibérien, et quelques monnaies autonomes d'Espagne* (1852); also his *Numismatique ibérienne;* Joseph Gaillard, *Description des monnaies espagnoles*, Madrid, 1852; Antonio Delgado, *Nuevo Método de Clasificacion, etc.* (Seville, 1871).

Peninsula. The Phœnicians of Tyre, sailing westward in search of gain, founded, according to tradition, some eleven hundred and thirty years before Christ, the city of Gades or Gadeira[1] on the site of the modern Cadiz. A hundred and fifty years later we hear of another Phœnician settlement[2] at the mouth of the Baetis or Guadalquivir, the city of Tartessus or Tarshish, no less celebrated in the days of the Phœnician supremacy than Gadeira itself. But the glories of Tarshish had departed almost before the dawn of serious history. Its site is now uncertain; and its very existence has of late been called in question.[3]

In course of time, the Phœnicians established themselves along the whole of the south coast of the Peninsula, deriving immense riches from the skilful working of those famous mines which made Spain, as Gibbon has aptly said, the Peru and Mexico of the ancient world; and they founded, in addition to Cadiz and Tartessus, the cities of Malaga,[4] Seville,[5] Cordova,[6] and probably Medina Sidonia, named after their own beloved

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[1] Gadeira, perhaps derived from *Gadir*, in Hebrew and Phœnician—a fence, *i.e.*, a fenced city. See Niebuhr, *Lectures*, ii., 287-8. For other possible and still less likely derivations, see Depping, *Hist. d'Espagne*, i., 43-45, and Heeren, *Politique et Commerce des Peuples de l'Antiquité*, tom. iv., Appendix; and Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. i., p. 68.

[2] See Herodotus, i., 163, and Rawlinson's *Phœnicia*, ed. 1889, pp. 125 and 418.

[3] If it is the Tarshish of Scripture (1 Kings x. 22), its prosperity and importance must have been even anterior to the time of Solomon—say B.C. 1000—whose navy of Tarshish, distinct from the navy that brought gold from Ophir, brought him once in every three years gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks. See Rawlinson's *Phœnicia* (1889), pp. 125 and 431; Stanley's *Jewish Church*, pp. 182-187. Marina—quoted by Depping, i., 41—is of opinion that Tarshish is but a general name for the sea. But this is clearly untenable. See other authorities quoted Depping, in *loc. cit.*, as well as the *Discurso historico-critico sobre la primera venida de los Judios en España*, by Fr. Martinez Marina, published in the third volume of the *Memorias de la Acad. Real de Hist.*, pp. 317-469, and a long note in Masdeu, vol. iii., pp. 273-285. *Cf.* Ezekiel xxvii. 12, Psalm lxxi., and Isaiah xxiii. 10, where Tyre is addressed by the poet as the Daughter of Tarshish. Dr. Arnold is clearly of opinion that Tyrian Tartessus was the Tarshish of Scripture (*Hist. of Rome*, iii., 323).

[4] Malaga: Lat., Malaca; Hebrew and Phœnician, *Malac-carth* = a royal city. *Cf.* Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii., 287-8.

[5] Seville: Phœnician, *Sephela* or *Spela* = a plain. This became in Greek Ἱσπολα; in Latin, Hispalis; in Arabic, Ishbiliah; whence the modern Seville.

[6] Cordova—Latin, *Corduba*—is said by Depping, *op. cit.*, i., 53, on very doubtful authority, to be derived from Corteba = an oil mill. The Phœnician Karth uba = rich city, as given by El Edris, is far more likely. Yet Niebuhr, in *loc. cit.*, considers that Cordova is in its origin certainly a Roman colony, and had no existence before A.U.C. 640, when it was founded by Marcellus, much as Italica was founded by Scipio. See *Descripcion de España de Xerif al Edris, traduccion de J. A. Conde*, Madrid, 1799.

Sidon in their home in the eastern Mediterranean.[1] And thus if the most flourishing of all the Phœnician settlements on the shores of the western sea was in the north of Africa, the riches that made the Tyrians the first merchant princes of the world were dug out of the soil of Iberia. And at the present day, two thousand years after the annihilation of Carthage,[2] the mines of Almaden and the Rio Tinto are still among the richest, as they are the most ancient, of all the possessions of Spain.

After the Phœnicians came the Greeks; and of these it was the Phocians, says Herodotus, "who first performed long voyages, and who made the Hellenes acquainted with Iberia and the city of Tartessus"; and it was the Rhodians,[3] wafted westwards across the great sea, who settled themselves, some eight centuries before Christ, on the coast in the extreme north-east of Spain,[4] and gave to their colony the name of Rhodas and Rosas, while they established their *Emporium* hard by, on the side of the modern Ampurias.

Farther down the coast, between Valencia and Alicante, there was another Greek colony, where the new-comers set up a magnificent temple dedicated to the goddess Diana, after whom the town was named Dianium, surviving in the modern name of the existing town of Denia; while some adventurers from the island of Zante, or possibly from the Tyrrheno-Pelasgic city of Ardea, founded on the site of the modern Murviedro the more famous city of Saguntum.[1]

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[1] Tarraco, the modern Tarragona, is said by different authors to have been founded by Iberians, Celtiberians and Phœnicians. It was, at least, as far back as the time of Eratosthenes (circ. B.C., 300-250), an old and flourishing city.

[2] The quicksilver of Almaden or Sisapo was known to the early Greeks, and highly prized by the Romans, Strabo, iii., 2, 8; Pliny, xxxiii., cap. 7; Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, iii., 328. As to silver, see Strabo, iii., 2, 3, 8, 10. As to the vermilion (Cinabrio) found at Almaden, see Masdeu, vii., 72-3, 151. Posidonius wrote a treatise on the mines of Spain which has perished; but Strabo and Diodorus Siculus have both cited extracts from his work, speaking of the wonderful mineral riches of the country. And Phylarchus, *Athen.*, ii., 44 b., speaks of the Iberians as the richest of men, *πλουσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπων*. See Depping, i., 10-14. And see also Vives' edition of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Fol. Paris, 1585, lib. viii., cap. 9, note, where the condition of the Spaniards, after the riches of their country had attracted merchants and settlers from all parts of the world, is contrasted with that of the inhabitants in earlier times. The description is most flattering, and may be referred to by those who are curious in such matters; but it seems to rest on no good authority, for St. Augustine's eulogy of the early Spaniards is confined to the inclusion of the *Hispani* among those early nations who were *Sapientes vel Philosophi*. I have been at some pains to find the passage; the references to it having been erroneously given in every work that I have consulted.

[3] Herod, i., c. 163; Strabo, iii., 1, 4. These Rhodians are said to have also occupied the Gymnesiæ or Balearic Islands about the same time. As to the treaty between these Greek colonists and the Indigetes already established at the foot of the Pyrenees, see Livy, xxxiv.

[4] See D. José Pella y Forgas, *Historia de Ampurdan* (Barcelona, 1883), with its excellent map of all this part of the country.

But all these settlers were merchants rather than soldiers.[2] For long years they would seem to have made no attempt to extend their possessions into the interior of the country; and the first departure from their peaceful policy was the signal for a change of masters. About four hundred and eighty years before Christ, some eager spirits at Gadeira undertook an expedition into Southern Celtiberia, seeking no doubt new mines rather than new dominions. But the bold tribesmen of the central provinces—defending their territory with unexpected vigour, replied to the aggression of the foreigners by a counter invasion, and by the destruction of many of their settlements on the coast. Gadeira itself was threatened with assault; and the Phœnicians, greatly alarmed, applied for assistance to their brothers or cousins across the narrow sea at Carthage. Such requests are ever dangerous, and such succour has ever been of evil omen in Spain. The Carthaginians accepted the invitation, landed in force, beat off the Iberians; and then, turning their arms against those who had invited them into the country, they took possession of the city which they had relieved, and extended their operations with such vigour and such success, that in a few years there was left to the Phœnicians no foothold in the entire Peninsula of Spain.

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[1] See Livy, xxi., 7. Saguntum—but eighteen English miles to the north of Valencia along the coast—has developed into Murviedro, by the change of name from that of the heroic city, not once, but often destroyed, to that of its *old walls —Muri veteres: Muros viejos* = Murviedro. But within the last few years a patriotic attempt has been made to restore the ancient name, and the town is officially known as Sagunto. It was here, on the last day of the year 1874, that Martinez Campos put an end to the Republic under Serrano, by proclaiming Alfonso XII. King of Spain.

[2] The distinct influence exercised over the country by the Greek and Phœnician colonists respectively must not be lost sight of. The Phœnicians were attracted to the land simply by a commercial love of gain, and kept up a close connection with their mother country. Neither their methods nor their aims were in accord with the Iberian spirit, and they were always unpopular with the natives. The Greeks, on the other hand, were formed into communities whose first settlements had been prompted mainly by political or other uncommercial reasons, and were practically independent of their mother country. They therefore identified themselves much more closely than the Phœnicians with the life of the people amongst whom they had made their new homes. Their civil and religious organisations also were sympathetic to the natives, and from all these reasons combined, the influence of Greek civilisation in Spain was, in comparison with the extent of the colonisation, much greater than that of the Phœnicians.—H.

For nearly two hundred and fifty years the Carthaginians ruled the coast and a fringe of the interior, much as the Phœnicians had done before them; treating the country rather as a source of revenue than as a theatre of military glory, and pouring the rich treasures of the Spanish mines into the lap of Carthage; and no attempt was made to subdue the greater part of the country until the time of the great Hamilcar Barca.[1] But after the Roman successes which brought to a close the first Punic war, and the seizure of Sardinia by the Senate, and while the Carthaginians were occupied with the mercenary revolt which followed in Africa, Hamilcar, consummate statesman no less than skilled commander, conceived the bold and brilliant scheme of strengthening his position in Europe rather than in Africa, as a step to the invasion and subjugation of Rome, by extending and consolidating the Carthaginian possessions in Spain.[2] Hamilcar, though he quickly overran Baetica, found it no easy task to vanquish the sturdy Celtiberians. After over nine years' warfare, and the foundation of the city which preserves the proud title of Barca[3] in the modern name of Barcelona, he was killed in the retreat after the battle of Bellia (the modern Belchite) where his Celtiberian ally turned his arms against him, Spain was not only still unconquered, but the central and northern provinces were almost untrodden by the Carthaginians.

Hasdrubal, the son-in-law and successor of Hamilcar, wisely preferring peaceful to warlike methods, ruled over Carthaginian Spain for some eight years [228-221] organising and consolidating the Punic Empire, and cultivating the friendship of the native Celtiberians. The most enduring monument of his sway was the city of New Carthage,[4] lying on a noble bay over against the Punic capital in Africa, a city which still flourishes, after a lapse of over two thousand years, as Carthagena. The peaceful conquests of Hasdrubal were rudely and disastrously checked by his assassination at the hand of a slave; and his sympathetic policy was unhappily and abruptly reversed. For the young commander who succeeded him was before all things a man of war.

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[1] See Diodorus Siculus, lib. v., cap. 35; also the authorities cited in James' *Gibraltar*, cap. i.

[2] As to the oath taken by Hamilcar Barca and his son Hannibal, see Polybius, iii., 11.

[3] *Bark*, Hebrew and Arab, Lightning; *cf.* Bosworth Smith, *Carthage*, cap. ix., Lafuente, i., 330.

[4] Carthagena: Phœn., *Carth* = city; *gena* = new. Founded in B.C. 228. Polybius, ii., 13, 36; Livy, xxi., 2.

Hannibal, the greater son of the great Hamilcar Barca, had been brought up from his early childhood in Spain. In Spain he had served his apprenticeship in arms. He had married a Spanish wife. His friends and companions were rather Spaniards than Carthaginians, and his only foe was Rome. And when, at the age of twenty-six, he succeeded to the supreme command in Punic Iberia, his armies numbered as many Spaniards as Africans in their ranks. Grasping the slackened reins of military dominion in his master hand, Hannibal inspired every soldier under his command with his own dauntless spirit, and he soon carried his victorious army over the whole of southern and eastern Spain. One city alone resisted; and the name of SAGUNTUM lives in history, as glorious as that of Hannibal himself.

By a treaty made but a few years before, between the Roman Senate and the diplomatic Hasdrubal, it had been stipulated that Saguntines should be considered as allies of Rome, and that their ancient rights and privileges should be respected by the Carthaginians. But good reasons are ever to be found for the rupture or evasion of treaties, and a real or imaginary attack made by the Saguntines upon the neighbouring semi-Carthaginian tribe of the Turditanians, afforded Hannibal a specious pretext for laying siege to the city. The population of Saguntum was largely Iberian. And in the Punic armies, thanks to the genial policy of Hasdrubal, and the magic military charm which ever attended the name of the younger Hannibal, were found great numbers of those Iberian or Celtiberian soldiers in whose veins flowed the blue blood of the future Spanish people. The attack was tremendous, the defence unflinching. For nearly nine months the city withstood all the assaults of the besiegers. Hannibal himself, fighting in the forefront of a party of the assailants, was wounded under the walls; and in spite of all his skill as a general and all his impetuosity as a soldier, in spite of the presence of a host which is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men, in spite of the invention and use of new engines of battery and escalade, the fall of Saguntum was due rather to famine than to force of arms. Embassies were despatched from the beleaguered city to Rome. But Rome was too busy with party politics,[1] and Rome sent no help.

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[1] Dum Romæ consulitur, Saguntum expugnatur.

Good advice indeed was offered to the besieged. Threats were conveyed to the besieger. But Hannibal was undismayed. The Saguntines would hear of no surrender; and after nine months' agony, came the inevitable end. The spoils of the victors and the slaughter of the vanquished were equally enormous;[1] and the self-immolation of the Saguntine leaders, who preferred to perish, with their wives, their children, and their treasure, rather than fall into the hands of the victorious enemy, is immortalised in the glowing pages of Livy.[2]

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[1] "Signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur," Livy, xxi. 14.

[2] See Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, iii., 20; Livy, xxi., 7-15; Appian, *Iberica;* Silius Italicus, i., 271; Polybius, iii., 15; and for the inevitable counter criticism, Niebuhr's unsympathetic contention that "Livy's account of Saguntum is a childish exaggeration well suited to a rhetorician like Cœlius Antipater, from whom he took his description. . . . Saguntum was restored by the Romans, and became a considerable town under the Empire," Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient Geography and Ethnography*, ii., 292-3.

CHAPTER II.

NUMANTIA.

(B.C. 209—B.C. 27.)

THE events that immediately followed the fall of Saguntum, important as they are in themselves and in the annals of Carthage and of Rome, are chiefly interesting to the student of Spanish history in so far as they led to the invasion of Spain,[1] and the ultimate absorption of the whole country into the Roman Empire. Of the varying fortunes of Romans and Carthaginians; of the ever changing alliances between the high contending parties and the native Celtiberians; of the successes of Hannibal and his Spanish soldiers in far away Italy; of the coming of Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who took the field with twenty thousand Celtiberian allies against Hasdrubal and his Carthaginians in Spain; of the defection of the Spaniards, and the defeat and death of the Roman generals in Spain; of all these things but little need be said in this place, partly because it concerns Spain so little, and partly because, in the plain language of Thomas Arnold,[2] "we really know nothing about them". What we do know is certainly not to the advantage of the Roman commanders, nor even of the Roman soldiers. Had they been more successful, their records would, no doubt, be more definite. But the arrival of Scipio Africanus in 209; his taking of New Carthage, or *Carthagena,* and his masterly display of unaccustomed humanity after the fall of the city, entirely changed the condition of affairs.

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[1] The derivation of the name of Spain, España, Hispania, is most uncertain. To the Greeks the country was known as Hesperia, the land of the setting sun, and as we have seen in Scylax, *ante*, p. 1, as Iberia, the land of the Iberians, and of the Ebro; and as Hispania, which has been derived (1) from Phœn., *Span*= hidden or distant, as being the most remote land known to them; (2) from Phœn., *pahan*=a rabbit, from the number of rabbits found in the country, *cuniculosa*. On some of the coins struck in the reign of Hadrian, during his visit to the Peninsula, the bust of the Emperor is seen on the obverse, and on the reverse a female figure with an olive branch in her hands and a rabbit [conejo] at her feet, and the legend *Hispania*. Humboldt derives España from the Basque *España*, margin or edge, as being on the margin or edge or border of western Europe, an idea possibly apparent in the poetical name of Hesperia. See Marrast's edition of *Humboldt* (1866), pp. 54-56.

According to Mariana, Spain is called after its founder Hispanus, a son or grandson of Hercules; and he devotes many pages to the *history* of his reign! Mariana, i., cap. 8-11.

[2] *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 215; Bosworth Smith's *Carthage*, cap. xvii.

The historic or legendary episode of "The Continence of Scipio," which has formed the subject of so many well-known pictures, is supposed to have taken place after the capture of Carthagena. Whether the youthful commander actually restored the weeping virgin[1] to her lover, or whether the graceful story is one of the fables of history, it is certain that Scipio distinguished himself by a most politic and most honourable clemency, more fruitful even than his military successes in obtaining for him the admiration and respect of the sympathetic Iberians, who offered to salute him as their king. When Scipio returned to Tarragona, in 208, Rome had well nigh triumphed over Carthage in Spain; while his crowning victory less than a year afterwards, with an army composed almost entirely of Spaniards, apparently put an end to the struggle.

But although the Carthaginians were thus defeated, it was impolitic as well as ungenerous in Scipio to treat his Spanish allies as a conquered people. The Iberians promptly responded to his change of attitude by rising against the Roman arms: and when Mago at length abandoned Cadiz [B.C. 206], the last of the Carthaginian possessions in Europe, the war in Spain was only about to begin. And the new enemy was far more stubborn than the old. The details of battle and siege are for the most part entirely wanting; but we read in the scanty annals of the time how the unknown Iberian defenders of a well-nigh forgotten town, with a determination hardly equalled at Saguntum, and not exceeded at Numantia, preferred death to surrender; and leaving a small guard within the city, to slay the women and children and to set fire to the town, sallied forth from unconquered Ataspa,[2] and died every man with his face to the foe, by the unsparing swords of the Roman besiegers [B.C. 206].

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[1] "Adulta virgo . . . eximia forma," Livy, xxvi., 50; Polyb. x., 19.

[2] The town was Ataspa [see Livy, xxviii., 22-23] on the Bætis or Guadalquivir. It is referred to by Mariana, lib. vii., cap. 9, as a rebellious city as late as A.D. 888. The etymology of Ataspa is highly interesting; *Asta* in Basque means rock; and is the root of the word Asturia = the country of rocks, and Asturica = water of the rock; *asta* = rock; *ura* = water. Ataspa is still used in modern Basque for "a house at the foot of a rock or rocks," *pa* = foot. Ataspa must thus, in the time of Livy, have been an ancient Iberian town.

It was about this time, in 207, or more probably 206, that Scipio founded the city to the north of Hispalis, and on the other side of the river, which, peopled as it was by Italian troops and camp followers, was known as *Urbs Italica,* the birthplace of Trajan and of Theodosius the Great, the family city of Hadrian. Italica was long a celebrated *municipium,* and bore the proud title of Julia Augusta. But its rival Hispalis survives as Seville, while Italica[1] is but a memory of departed greatness. The very name is lost; and on the spot where the town once stood a few wretched hovels are now known as the village of San Ponce or Seville la Vieja.

Of the marching and counter-marching of the Romans, recking all too little of Spanish friendship, now that the Carthaginians had taken their departure; of the intrigues of Massinissa and Syphax; of the Roman and African politics of the day, the student of early Spanish history need seek to know little or nothing. Suffice it here to say that by the year 205 the Roman Senate, rejoicing over Scipio's successes, already regarded Spain as a conquered country; and the entire Peninsula, conveniently divided by the river Ebro into two provinces, *Citerior* and *Ulterior,*[2] was committed by Rome to the care of two Proconsular Prætors.[1]

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[1] See Townsend's *Journey in Spain* (1791), vol. ii., p. 331. Italica, according to Mommsen (*Hist.*, iii., 4), was intended by Scipio to be a *Forum et conciliabulum civium Romanum*, as *Aquæsextæ* (Aix), in Gaul, afterwards was. As to the true signification of the word "Italica" see a long and very learned note by Masdeu, vii., pp. 339-350. He is, as usual, ultra-patriotic. *Cf.* Justino Matute y Gaviria, *Bosquejo de Italica* (Seville, 1827), and Ukert, *Geog.* ii., 372.

[2] See Strabo, iii., 4, 7, 19; Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iii., 73; Pliny, iii., 1, 2. The geography of the time is even more confusing than the chronology. Hither Spain, or Ἰβηρία, included generally the eastern portion of the province as *citerior* or nearer to Rome. Further Spain, or Κελτιβηρία, included the western portion of the province as *ulterior* or further from Rome. The river Ebro, if taken as a boundary, would give to Hither Spain only a corner of the north-east of the Peninsula; and Polybius makes the boundary start from a point near Saguntum; and Urci, or Almeria, in Murcia, was, in later times, the southern starting-point of the common frontier. A line drawn on the map of modern Spain from Almeria to Saragossa and thence to Gerona would probably leave Hither Spain to the east and Further Spain to the west, much as the division existed during a great part of the first and second centuries B.C. The capital of Hither Spain was at one time as far south as New Carthage, though it was more permanently fixed by Augustus at Tarraco (Tarragona). The capital of *Hispania Ulterior* was sometimes *Corduba* and sometimes *Gades.* We find the divisions sometimes spoken of as Ἱσπανία μεγάλη and Ἱσπανία μικρά, which is a much more reasonable nomenclature, if the Ebro was really the line of demarcation between the provinces. The fact is, no doubt, that the boundaries between *Citerior* and *Ulterior* Spain were never very clearly defined; and while at first *Citerior* included little more than the north-east corner of Spain, it had, by the time of Julius Cæsar, eaten up, as it were, the greater part of the Peninsula, except Bætica and Lusitania, which were always included in

But Rome reckoned without the Spaniards. Many long years had to pass, and many dark and disastrous deeds to be done, before the country was finally subdued. And the tardy conquest cost the great Republic more of her blood and of her treasure than the subjugation of the rest of the world.

From the day that Publius and Gnaeus Scipio landed at Rosas in 218 to the day when the mountaineers of remote Asturias laid down their arms before the generals of Augustus Cæsar, it was a struggle of full two hundred years, a struggle in which the greatest captains and the bravest troops of Rome were often humbled by the sturdiest and proudest of the barbarians.

An army of forty thousand legionaries was constantly maintained in the Peninsula, and although the tide of Roman conquest flowed gradually over the country, the conquerors were often driven back for a season, and were often well contented to hold their own. But Rome never abandoned the territory that she had once occupied. The proud boast that each camping-ground of the advancing army was ever Roman soil—*Ubi castra, ibi Respublica*—was not merely a sentence, it was a fact. So Iberia became slowly but surely Roman. Yet for long years the fortune of war seemed not unequally divided; and the frontier provinces of Roman Spain were too often reoccupied by the indomitable Celtiberians. From the very first, battles and skirmishes were of daily occurrence; and in less than ten years after the departure of Scipio the whole of Hither Spain was in revolt (198-197). Minucius, the Prætor in command, hardly made head against the insurgents; Marcus Cato, the consul, was despatched from Rome to take over the supreme command in Hispania. After two years of fighting, with varying fortune, an important victory enabled the Romans to effect a general disarmament of the provincials in 195, as the only means of securing peace in the province. But in spite of this prudent measure a Roman army was once more routed by

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Further or *Ulterior* Spain. This difficult question is very fully gone into by Masdeu: tom. vii., pp. 6-34 and 284-292. *Cf.* also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii., 3, "Citerioris Hispaniæ sicut complurium provinciarum, aliquantum vetus forma mutata est". And see, on all these questions the most interesting chapter, *Les Provinces Espagnoles*, in the second vol. of Mommsen, and Marquardt's *Organisation de l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1892).

[1] The first governors were styled *Proconsuls;* afterwards they were *Prætors*, with Proconsular authority.

the Celtiberians in 191. Nor does the perpetual fighting appear to have ceased until Æmilius Paullus (189) and Calpurnius (185) succeeded in pacifying or destroying the hostile tribes of north-eastern or Hither Spain. Southern or Further Spain, indeed, was already counted among the Roman dominions; but Rome had no acquaintance with the country to the north of the Douro until the consulship of Quintus Flaccus in 181, and little or no real authority in those wild districts until the time of Augustus. During the thirty happy years that immediately followed the organisation of the province of the Ebro by Sempronius Gracchus in 179, Hispania Romana enjoyed, on the whole, the blessings of peaceful if not always of just government. And if Hispania Ulterior was wisely let alone by the legionaries, Hispani Citerior made rapid steps in the path of Roman civilisation.[1]

But an outbreak in Lusitania in 154 put an end to these halcyon days; and was itself but the commencement of new and greater troubles. In 153 Fulvius the Consul arrived from Rome with thirty thousand men; and, although reinforced by a troop of Numidian horse, with ten elephants, sent over by Massinissa from Africa, he was twice defeated by the Arivaci, under Carus of Segede, near Numantia. And these defeats were followed by the loss of all the Roman stores and military chest at Ocile, possibly the modern Ocana. The Roman war in the Peninsula differed, as Polybius remarked, from all other wars, both in its character and in its continuance. The wars in Asia and Greece were usually decided in a single battle, and a battle was usually decided by the first onset. But the Celtiberian war was protracted year after year, hardly interrupted even by winter; and every battle after being continued until nightfall was resumed at the dawning of the ensuing day.

The defeated Fulvius was succeeded in 152 by the Consul Marcellus, who, more prudent than his predecessor, entered into a treaty, honourable alike to the insurgents and to the Romans, which was signed under the walls of Numantia. To secure the necessary ratification by the Senate, envoys from the various tribes were sent to Rome, and were duly admitted to audience. The proud and dignified bearing of these unconquered barbarians astonished the Roman Fathers: and the Senate hesitated to make a direct reply to their demands. The Roman answer, they were told, would be given by Marcellus in Spain. The envoys accordingly returned to Numantia; and the Senate prepared to continue the interrupted war.[1]

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[1] Two colonies were founded with the object of permanently fixing Roman civilisation in the country. One Carteia (a Latinised form of the Phœnician Carth=city) was founded near the modern Algeciras, for Celtiberian freed slaves and the illegitimate children of Roman legionaries by native women; the other for Romans and half-castes of higher rank at Cordoba, whose beautiful villas and the luxury of whose inhabitants soon became famous, and gained for it the name of the "Patrician" City.—H.

A new army raised with difficulty in Rome was sent into Spain under the command of the new Consul, Lucullus. Marcellus was recalled. The treaty that he had made was disregarded. The Celtiberian war was to continue. But before the arrival of Lucullus, Marcellus had entered into a new and more definite treaty with the Celtiberians, and had accepted the enormous sum of six hundred talents of silver to put an end to the war. Lucullus on his arrival found that Rome had no longer an enemy; but, hungering for booty, he attacked and spoiled the friends and allies of the Republic. Marching first upon Cauca, or *Coca*, between the modern towns of Madrid and Valladolid, he entrapped and massacred the entire population—some twenty thousand souls—and carried off a vast amount of plunder. Yet his career even as a robber was not successful; for shortly after the massacre at Cauca, he was forced to sue for terms at Valladolid. And the terms were granted by the Celtiberians, not to Lucullus himself, but on the word of honour of a young and noble Roman[2] who served in his army, and who was afterwards known to fame as the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia. The Celtiberian was ever generous. And Lucullus, defeated and disgraced, retired to winter quarters at Cordova.

Galba, who was Prætor in the same year, emulating the achievements of the Consul, contrived by an odious act of treachery to enslave the greater part of three Lusitanian tribes, who had confided themselves and their arms to his Roman honour; and the whole of the western and central Provinces were soon in a blaze. A subsequent massacre of some thirty thousand refugees, entrapped once more by another shameful practice, filled up the cup of his enormities, and even brought down upon him the unwonted penalty of a state prosecution on his return to Rome. Among the remnant of the unhappy Lusitanians who escaped the bloody knife of Galba, was a man whose name happily illuminates the darkest days of Republican oppression and perfidy in the Peninsula ; no Roman, indeed, but the most distinguished of the enemies of Rome, the first and not the least remarkable of the great generals of Spain.

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[1] During the absence of the Celtiberian envoys, Marcellus, unmolested in a peaceful and well-satisfied country, made his winter quarters in the south of the Province, at a spot on the right bank of the *Bætis* or Guadalquivir, famous in succeeding ages as Colonia Patricia; as a Roman city, as a Moorish capital, and as a Spanish town, "the best of all Spanish towns to be born in," the birth-place of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Strabo, iii., iv. 9; Polybius, xxxv., 2; Ford's *Spain* (1878), p. 73.

[2] One of the terms of this treaty was that the Celtiberians should hand over to the Romans some ten thousand *σάγοι* or cloaks; a very early reference to the National *Capa* of Spain. See Appian, *Iberica*. The trusted Roman was of course Scipio Africanus the younger, who was serving as military tribune.

A Lusitanian shepherd, a fugitive from Roman treachery (B.C. 150), Viriatus found himself suddenly raised to the command of a small army of men, most of them fugitives like himself, in wild Estremadura. Well acquainted with the country, and entirely trusted by his fellow-countrymen, he succeeded in uniting the ever-divided tribes by his rare personal influence, and he held the field for ten successive years against the best generals that Republican Rome could send against him. A born leader of men, he transformed himself from a shepherd into a guerilla chieftain; from a guerilla chieftain into a commander of armies. Learning in his irregular successes the great lessons of war, Viriatus became not only a tactician, but a strategist; not only a bold leader, but a consummate general. Seven times in the open field he routed with his rustic soldiery the famed legions of Rome. Rarely did he suffer defeat ; never disaster. And at length in 141, by a crowning masterpiece of strategy, he succeeded in drawing the forces of Fabius Servilianus into a defile in the mountains, near Erisane in Lusitania, where he held them as completely at his mercy as Von Moltke held the French at Sedan, or the Samnites hemmed in Pontius at the Caudine Forks. But instead of the general massacre which Roman example invited, and which Lusitanian opinion would scarcely have condemned, Viriatus offered his antagonist terms of honourable capitulation, which were promptly accepted ; and the Roman army was permitted to depart unharmed and unmolested to Tarragona. The treaty under which the Lusitanians remained in possession of their own territory, as the friends and allies of the Roman people, was ratified by the Roman Senate. But Roman avarice rather than Roman pride forbade so honourable a termination of the war ; and treachery accomplished what valour had been unable to achieve. Enraged at the final success of Viriatus, and at the loss of plunder which the peace brought with it, a Roman general, the brother and successor of the vanquished Servilianus, compassed the assassination of the victor: and the acceptable crime met with no reprobation in the Roman Senate.[1]

Viriatus was allowed even by his enemies to have been distinguished for his justice and his magnanimity, for his temperance and his generosity, and for the still more remarkable virtues of humanity and good faith. Untainted by the avarice of Rome, frugal in his habits, affable and unostentatious in his demeanour, distinguished by his sallies of native wit, surpassing every one of his soldiers in temperance and in toil, he was true to his friends, just to his companions, moderate in prosperity, undismayed by adversity—nor did his successes destroy the native simplicity of his character or corrupt the sturdy honesty of his dealing. To the last he remained the leader—not the tyrant—of his countrymen. Viriatus was a man of whom two modern kingdoms have equal right to be proud; whose memory should be honoured alike on the banks of the Tagus and on the plains of Castile. He died the victim of his own generosity. But his murder brought no advantage to Rome.

Viriatus was dead. But Numantia remained: Numantia, a city on the Douro, near the modern town of Soria, in the heart of Old Castile—the bravest town in Celtiberia. And Numantia shut her gates, and defied the arms of the Republic. Pompeius, relieved of Viriatus, called upon the place to surrender, but the Roman summons was disregarded by the inhabitants, and the Roman attack was repelled. Once more a treaty was made, by which the Numantines, for a considerable payment, were to remain in the undisturbed possession of their city. But Popilius, who succeeded Pompeius, refused, according to Roman usage, to be bound by the treaty. The war was continued. And Popilius was no more successful as a warrior than Pompeius had been before him. Numantia remained unsubdued.

Hostilius the Consul, taking the place of the defeated Popilius, found himself and his besieging army in their turn besieged by the Numantines; and he sought safety in sudden flight. But the men of Numantia were not far behind him; and after an immense slaughter, the entire destruction of the Romans was only averted by yet another treaty of peace between the flying Romans and their victorious but generous adversaries. Upon this occasion, it was only by the personal influence of Tiberius Gracchus, who had served in the country as Quæstor, and who was supposed to be a man of honour, that the Celtiberians were induced to trust in Roman engagements. Once more the Roman army was saved. But once more the Roman Senate refused to ratify the treaty.[1] And new hosts were pushed forward under the command of new leaders to be again repulsed at Numantia. Hostilius gave place to Lepidus; Lepidus to Brutus; and Brutus to Furius. But Numantia remained untaken. Yet the unequal conflict between a single city and the Roman world could not be maintained for ever.[2] Scipio Africanus the younger was despatched from Rome with a large contingent; and an auxiliary force of horse and foot under Jugurtha, with twelve elephants from Numidia, was added to the powerful army under the command of the greatest of living generals. For six years the Numantines had defied the armies of Rome; and now Numantia, like Carthage, was to be destroyed; and Scipio was once more to be the destroyer. Scipio made his preparations in a very different fashion from that of his predecessors. The army was drilled and disciplined by a master hand. The assaults were conducted with skill as well as with determination. Nothing that consummate generalship could suggest was neglected. The siege at length was turned into a blockade. Not a single sally of the besieged found the besiegers unprepared. Scipio not only superintended everything as general-in-chief; he fought on foot in the ranks. Numantia was doomed. What could six thousand starving defenders avail against sixty thousand hearty besiegers? Yet as long as their supplies lasted, the Numantines defied and defeated all the Roman assaults. But the boldest sallies of the citizens were all in vain. Famine at length assailed the town;

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[1] Florus, ii., 17; Appian, *ubi supra;* Lafuente, i., 443; Dunham, i., 45.

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[1] As to the *casuistry* of the grave arguments, and the legal subtlety of the decrees by which the Senate released themselves and their officers from the obligation of this treaty, made and solemnly sworn to by Hostilius and Tiberius Gracchus, see George Long, *Hist. of the Roman Republic*, i., pp. 77-84. As part of the formal *Absolution*, Hostilius, who had returned to Rome, was solemnly brought back to Numantia and exposed, naked and bound, under the walls of that city. The Numantines, ever generous, refused to take advantage of his defenceless condition; and after lying a day and a night untouched by the enemy, Hostilius was carried back by his friends to the Roman camp, as soon as the *Aruspices* had given a solemn decision that, by so doing, no religious duty would be violated. And on returning once more to Rome, he was restored to his position and honours; having been supposed, by a convenient legal fiction, never to have left his own house!

[2] It should be remarked that, although the centre of the struggle was the open and unprotected city of Numantia, whose main defence was the difficulty of the mountain passes that led to it, the whole of the Arivaci and Carpetanian tribes took part. These, indeed, were the only peoples except the tribes of the extreme north-west remaining unsubdued, and the fall of Numantia really meant the almost complete Roman domination of Spain.—H.

and the Numantine leaders, recalling their frequent generosity to their Roman foes, sought terms of honourable capitulation. But Rome was an unflinching enemy. Numantia was to be destroyed. No peace was to be found at the hands of the destroyer. Famine, said the relentless Scipio, should alone subdue the town.

It was not magnificent; but it was war. And in the sixteenth month of the great siege, starvation did its work; and Numantia was destroyed. But no Numantian, at least, fell into the hands of the enemy; for a universal self-slaughter of those whom famine had spared, a doom solemnly decreed and relentlessly executed, saved the heroic remnant from slavery and dishonour —wives and daughters at the hands of husbands and fathers; the father by the spear of the son; the brother by the sword of the brother; friend cut down relentlessly by friend; all were slain; and the last man set fire to the town, and cast himself into the blazing ruins. Numantia, "the terror of the Republic," needed no further destruction at the hands of the Roman destroyer; and when the army of the victors marched through the tenantless city, they found nothing but "ruin, blood, solitude and horror". Scipio, no longer merely Africanus, but Numantinus, returned in triumph to Rome, where, as the Spanish historians are glad to remember, he met with a violent and disgraceful death.

And thus, after fourteen years' defiance of Republican Rome, the town on the Douro was destroyed. But they died not in vain, those old Castilians who defended it. For if their city has perished so that no shred of its ruins can be found by the antiquary, their story lives in the hearts of their countrymen, one of the richest and most enduring of the treasures of their country.[1] After two thousand years of honour and of shame, Numantia was not forgotten at Saragossa.

The fall of Numantia opened the greater part of the country to the Roman Legions. The north-west of course was still untamed, yet within ten years after the great victory of Scipio, Hispania is spoken of as the most flourishing and the best organised Province of Rome.[2] For half a century we have little or no record of the operations either of war or of peace; and the last serious struggle for Iberian independence that was made in the Peninsula was undertaken under a Roman leader from Italy. Quintus Sertorius was born at the village of Nursia, the son of a Sabine father and a Spanish mother, to whom he was devotedly attached. He had fought with distinction in the Roman armies in Gaul, and served as military tribune in Spain in 97. Here he obtained, like Hannibal, to whom he was often compared by the Spaniards, an intimate knowledge of their manners and disposition; and in spite of the severity of his discipline, his justice and his honesty, virtues rare indeed among Romans in Spain, caused him to be loved as well as respected by the natives.[1]

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[1] See Livy, *Epitome*, lib. lxx., 36; Florus, *Hist.*, lib. ii.; Orosius, lib. v., cap. 7; Appian, *Iberica;* St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, iii., 21.

[2] And already (B.C. 123), with a Latin-speaking population. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iii., p. 19.

Returning to Italy as Quæstor, and attaching himself to the party of Marius, he commanded an army under that leader until 83, when he became Prætor at Rome. An exile on the return of Sulla, and the only eminent surviving soldier of the Marian party, he made his way through Gaul to Spain, and thence, though well received by the inhabitants, he continued his flight into Africa.[2] After much fighting by land and sea with Romans, and Moors, and Cilician pirates; and after many successes, including the siege and capture of the Mauretanian capital of *Tingis* or Tangiers, he yielded to the earnest invitation of his old friends the Lusitanians, and, landing in southern Spain, he set up the standard of organised revolt against the Roman Republic. His army consisted partly of Mauretanians whom he brought over with him from Africa, and partly of Marian exiles from Italy, like himself, content to bear arms against the forces of Sulla; but he promptly organised the Lusitanians, and many of the neighbouring tribes of Celtiberians, into a united force, with which for many years he successfully defended his adopted country against all the assaults of the Roman arms. In 81 he defeated Cotta in a sea-fight in the Straits of Gibraltar. In 80 he defeated Fufidius on the banks of the *Bætis* or Guadalquivir. In 79 he routed Metellus, the Consul, on the banks of the *Anas* or Guadiana, and then, turning northward, he defeated two Roman armies in Catalonia. Such were his military successes. But Sertorius was far from being only a skilled and fortunate general. He shone more especially as a civil administrator, at a time and in a country where the administration of civil government was almost exclusively confined to the extraction of money from the governed. He established his capital and his modest court at Evora, which he beautified with many works of art, and where for some years he ruled over a united and a loyal people. A statesman rather than an adventurer, and in complete sympathy with his Spanish subjects, Sertorius aspired to the foundation of an independent, a peaceful, an industrious, and well administered State, a State which might vie in prosperity with Rome itself.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Niebuhr, *Lectures*, etc., ii., 300. Like Hannibal and other heroes in Spain, Sertorius had lost an eye in battle.

[2] Froude, *Cæsar*, p. 89. The reason for the flight of Sertorius into Africa was that the Celtiberians, tired of fighting, at first refused to listen to him; and his lieutenant Salinator was routed by the Roman Caius Annius.—H.

With this end in view, he granted to the people, as soon as his authority was generally accepted, a complete system of Government, modelled to a great extent on that of the Republic; with Prætors, Quæstors, and Tribunes. He founded a school or college at Huesca, where Celtiberian youths studied under Latin and even Greek professors. He gave rich prizes to successful students; and he did much personally to encourage the pursuits of science and of literature. Manufactories were established; arsenals constructed; and the mines were worked with renewed vigour. The army was equipped and trained after the best traditions of Rome; and the pride of the troops was gratified by the adoption of rich uniforms and splendid accoutrements. A small but active fleet was equipped and stationed at Dianium, between Carthagena and Valencia, which may be considered as perhaps the first more or less regular navy of Spain. For once the Spaniards were united by good government, and the Romans divided by faction; and the success of Sertorius was rapid and complete. "His power," says George Long, "was at this time probably acknowledged in every part of the Peninsula which had ever felt the Roman arms. A strict disciplinarian, vigorous but kindly administrator, a consummate general, Sertorius maintained the conflict with somewhat varying fortune until B.C. 72, when he, like Hasdrubal and Viriatus on Spanish soil, met his death at the hand of an assassin. Metellus, his Roman adversary, had not scrupled to put a price upon his head. And Perpenna, his Roman subordinate, did not scruple to strike the fatal blow."[1] The Sertorian Commonwealth existed only through Sertorius. It was destroyed by the dagger of Perpenna. And the Spaniards, disheartened and disorganised once more by the death of their leader, submitted themselves throughout the greatest part of the country to the arms of Pompey, who succeeded the Consul Metellus in 71, as leader of the Roman armies in Spain. But the heroic defence of Calagurris (*Calahorra*) on the Ebro, which had yielded only to the last extremities of famine [in 72] after the women and children had been killed[2] to provide food for the defenders, made it plain to Afranius, the Roman commander, that the destruction of Numantia had not broken nor even tamed the proud spirit of the Celtiberians.

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[1] With the most decided political and patriotic tact, Sertorius acted whenever he could do so, not as Condottiere of the Lusitanians, in revolt against Rome, but as a Roman general and Governor of Spain. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, iv., 20; and *Roman Provinces*, ix., pp. 75-77. This is enforced by the reply given by Sertorius to Mithridates when the latter offered his aid. He was not, he said, in arms against his country but against those who oppressed her. Sertorius would doubtless have maintained great autonomous rights for Spain, but he would never have permanently severed her connection with Rome.—H.

But the days of these Spanish horrors were well nigh past. It was time that Cæsar should appear. The success of Sertorius might indeed have led even a less politic Proconsul to think that after one hundred and fifty years of fighting, it was possible to do something better with a Spaniard than to slaughter him; and a change of policy was gradually and silently adopted. As long as Rome treated the Provincials merely as a conquered people, the Provincials remained unsubdued; but as soon as wiser and more friendly counsels generally prevailed, the Roman Spaniard grasped the hand that was extended to him, and became one of the proudest and most loyal citizens of the Empire. Left to themselves, the tribes were ever divided, factious, disturbed. United under Lusitanian Viriatus, or even under Roman Sertorius, they long successfully withstood the power of the Republic. United under Julius and Augustus Cæsar, they became the most Roman of the Provincials of Rome.

A great susceptibility to personal influence has ever been a striking characteristic of the Spanish people. Under the sympathetic Hasdrubal they accepted the dominion of Carthage; under the fiery Hannibal they fought, the hardiest and most loyal of his soldiers, in the Punic armies in Italy. In the early days after Saguntum, when Roman Scipio came, not as a destroyer but as a deliverer, and displayed his greater qualities of clemency and justice, the Spaniards would have compelled him to be their king.[1] But Scipio was not always clement. The successors of Sempronius Gracchus were not always just. They were not even judicious.

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[1] Appian, *Iberica.*

[2] The Calahorrans are said not only to have killed their wives and children for food, but to have salted the remains of these horrible repasts for future use. Geo. Long, *op. cit.*, i., 479.

"For great men," says the Spanish proverb, "great deeds are reserved." And the coming of one of the greatest men the world has ever seen was the beginning of the end of the dark days of early Spanish history. Cæsar, indeed, marched sternly through the country at the head of his legions; nor did he stay his hand until he had reached far-off Corunna, where he chastised and astonished the wild tribes of Brigantium or *Finisterre;* but his policy in the more settled districts was ever genial and pacific. He put down the banditti. He organised the administration with the rapid skill that always so remarkably distinguished him. He sent home large sums of money to the Treasury. His work was quickly done, but it was done completely. The quality of mercy, a hatred of unnecessary slaughter, an immense generosity to fallen foes; these were among his most distinguishing characteristics; nor were extortion and oppression permitted by this stern but sympathetic soldier. Good faith was to be maintained by the victors as well as the vanquished. For the exactions of the rapacious Varro there was not only condemnation, but, for the first time in the history of Roman Spain, there was restitution of ill-gotten treasure to the astonished victims. Cassius, not he of the itching palm, but one Longinus, whose palm had itched not in vain during his government of Bætica, was compelled to fly the country, and an avenging storm sent the Prætor and his money-bags to the bottom of the sea. Four times did Cæsar visit the Peninsula; and the fourth time—his legions well filled with loyal and admiring Spaniards—he fought, "not for glory but for existence" on the bloody field of Munda.[2] And with the final triumph of the great Julius, begins the peace and prosperity of Roman Spain.[1]

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[1] It is indeed surprising, says Niebuhr, to see how a Roman general with humane feelings was able to win the affections and confidence of the tribes of Central Spain, and it was thus that Sempronius Gracchus concluded the war in B.C. 179, by a peace, on terms honourable to the Celtiberians and which so won the hearts of the natives, that the Roman power was ever after assured in the rich and important districts of Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon.

[2] Munda is sometimes identified with the modern Monda, near Marbella, to the south-west of Malaga. But it was more probably a town close to Cordoba, whither the remnant of Pompey's army retreated after the battle, and where twenty thousand fugitives are said to have been slain. See Strabo, iii., 2, 2; Pliny, iii., 1, 3; Florus, iv., 2; Dion Cassius, xliii., 39, and Froude, *Cæsar*, p. 430.

Some remains of walls near the modern town of Martos, are probably all that is left of this once celebrated city.

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[1] Yet peace was as yet by no means an accomplished fact. The south was already Roman. The Central Provinces were well affected to the Republic. But the north was still hostile, ever disturbed; and from the departure of Julius to the coming of Augustus, no less than seven Roman Governors won, not merely battles, but triumphs on the slopes of the Pyrenees. Cn. Calvius in 36; C. Flaccus in 34 and 29; L. Marcius Philippus between 34 and 29; M. Lepidus in 36; Appius Claudius Pulcher between 34 and 29; C. Sabinus in 39; S. Appuleius celebrated his triumph in B.C. 25. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, 1886, vol. i., p. 64.

CHAPTER III.

HISPANIA ROMANA.

(B.C. 38—A.D. 192.)

THIRTY-EIGHT years before the birth of Christ, at the close of the Macedonian war, when the administration of the Roman world was divided among Lepidus and Antony and Octavian, Spain fell to the share of the future Augustus Cæsar, and a new tax was imposed upon the Province in order to provide for the exigencies of the Imperial Treasury; and from the date of this impost,[1] or *Aes*, commences the *Spanish Æra,* or era of Cæsar, the basis or starting point of a chronological system adopted and maintained in the Peninsula for over thirteen centuries.[2]

One of the earliest decrees of Octavian was calculated to bind Spain yet more closely to the Empire. For in his fifth Consulship (B.C. 29), he divided the country anew into three provinces, directly tributary to Rome, and enjoying all the advantages of Roman Unity and Roman Law. *Bætica*, the most civilised and easily governed, and which included the modern provinces of Andalusia, Granada, and a portion of Estremadura, was to be administered by the Senate; while *Lusitania*, which comprised northern Estramadura, Southern Portugal, the Algarves, and part of Leon—all the wildest and most turbulent districts in the Peninsula, was to be governed by the Emperor; and that great tract of country, henceforth known as *Tarraconensis,* which comprehended the whole of the rest of Spain, and whose most important city, Tarraco, took the place of Carthagena as the capital of the entire Province, was also reserved for the direct rule of Augustus. Bætica, the peaceful, was administered by a resident Proconsul. The Imperial Provinces were committed to a *legatus Augusti pro Prætore.*[1]

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[1] It was used in Catalonia down to 1180; in Aragon till 1350; in Castile till 1380. Solo por esta paga y no por el Señorio de Augusto sobre España se ha de fijar la Epoca. *España Sagrada*, vol. ii., cap. vi., pp. 147-154; and Garibay, lib. vi., cap. 26. The somewhat fanciful derivation of era by Florez is adopted by most Spanish historians. Modern Etymologists derive the word from Æs, plur: *Aera* = counters; not perhaps very much more satisfactory.

[2] See Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, cap. vi., sec. iii., p. 87.

Shortly after this new division of the Roman dominions (B.C. 27), and his own assumption of the Imperial title, Augustus determined to visit the important Spanish provinces of his Empire. The Temple of Janus had been closed at Rome; but Roman troops were still vainly engaged in the never-ending struggle in Cantabria. Augustus, the undisputed master of a peaceful world, was not yet master of the Spanish Asturias, nor was he as immediately successful as he had expected on his arrival in the country; and after a fruitless march through the wild regions of north-west Spain, he retired to Tarraco, leaving to his lieutenant, Marcus Agrippa, the duty of receiving the formal, but scarcely substantial submission of the Asturian and Cantabrian mountaineers, "the last to submit to the arms of Rome, and the first to throw off the yoke of the Arabs".[2]

North-west Spain, indeed, was in the end rather overcome than subdued; but as long as the natives yielded nominal obedience to the Romans, they were permitted to enjoy their freedom, if not their independence. If Augustus failed to conquer the Asturians, he spent two fruitful years (27-25) in Spain, devoted to the more peaceful objects of reforming the manifold abuses of the Imperial administration, and consolidating Roman power in the Peninsula. Yet nothing was left undone by the Emperor to ensure the continued subjection of the turbulent mountain tribes of Cantabria, and the safety of their more peaceful neighbours in the plains.

Three legions were permanently stationed on the north-west frontier; two legions in the Asturias, with military headquarters at Asturica Augusta (Astorga) and Bracara Augusta (Braga), and one legion for Cantabria and the modern Province of Leon, with headquarters at Pisoraca, now Herrera, between Santander and Palencia; and a military road was constructed from one town to another, along the entire frontier. So complete and so successful were these timely precautions that, with the exception of a trifling revolt in the time of Nero, we hear of no more fighting in the north-west of Spain until the arrival of the Suevians, more than four hundred years after the visit of Augustus. As the population became more settled, the number of legions was diminished, until at length, from the time of Diocletian to the time of Honorius, the Cantabrian Provinces remained without any standing garrison; and three legions were judged sufficient to maintain the *Pax Romana* throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula.

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[1] Similarly in British Imperial India, the old and well settled Presidencies are somewhat differently and more *constitutionally* governed than the Non-Regulation Provinces lying on the frontier. The Governor of Bombay and Madras are often styled Proconsuls; the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab is a noble modern Proprætor.

[2] "Te Cantaber non ante domabilis," Horace, *Carm.*, iv., 4. *Cf.* Gibbon, chapter i.; Livy, xxviii., c. 12.

Not only in the north-west, but in every part of Spain, the Imperial visit inaugurated an era of unwonted peace, contentment and prosperity; the name of the first and greatest Augustus was long held in honour by the grateful inhabitants, and lives in the present day in the names of many Spanish cities. Merida or *Emerita Augusta* recalls its prudent foundation by grants of land to retired soldiers or *Emeriti,* who were induced to settle there about B.C. 18. Astorga is *Asturica Augusta;* Braga is *Bracara Augusta;* Lugo is *Lucus Augusti*—all frontier garrison towns founded about the same time by the same Emperor. The city which survives as Leon was established a few years later on the north-west frontier, and has nothing to do with the lions that are displayed on the noble coat of arms of the Province. The charge, if heraldically *canting,* is etymologically deceptive. For Leon, *Urbs septimæ Legionis*, takes its name from the seventh Legion, which was stationed there to keep in check the wild tribes of the neighbourhood,[1] and is the city, not of the Lion, but of the Legion. *Cæsarea Augusta* or *Cæsaraugusta*, formerly Salduba, and now Saragossa, perpetuates the very name of its founder; and in *Pax Augusta*, or Badajoz, we have perhaps the most happily named of all the Spanish cities of Augustus. For his Empire was really peace—the *Pax Augusta;* and for full four centuries after his visit, Spain enjoyed that happiness which is proverbially said to be the lot of those countries which have no history.

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[1] Some ingenious Spanish archæologists have not only asserted that the lion is displayed on the civic shield in consequence of the presence of the king of beasts in north-east Spain, but they go to the length of saying that the Leonese lions were brought into the country from Africa by the Carthaginians! The lion was of course adopted as an appropriate device for the city of the Legion, after the name had been softened into Leon, which was not until *the end* of the thirteenth century, and not in the reign of the Lion King, Leovgild, as is frequently asserted.

Furthermore, heraldic charges are no older than the end of the twelfth century, and it is unlikely that towns adopted any cognisances for another fifty years. See Manual Risco, *Historia de la Ciudad y Corte de Leon* (Madrid, 1792), and *Iglesias y Monasterios de Leon* (Madrid, 1792), chap. iv., 3.

Of the general condition of the Peninsula, and of the cities and districts inhabited by the various more or less Romanised native tribes at this period we have a most interesting account in the great work of Strabo. The southern provinces, at once the most accessible and the most civilised, naturally claim the largest share of his attention. Gadeira (Cadiz) had long been one of the most celebrated seaports of the world; Malaca (Malaga) was already a considerable town; and the famous Rock of Calpe, half-way between the two, and held by an Iberian tribe, the Bastuli or Bastulani, is frequently mentioned by the traveller. Starting on a westerly course from these favoured regions and passing the Sacred Promontory, now Cape St. Vincent, Strabo first surveys the western coasts, and speaks of the city of *Ulysipo* or *Olisipo*, the landing place of Ulysses, now Lisbon, at the mouth of the Tagus. And he finds, as he proceeds northwards in his survey, Celts, Lusitanians, Carpetanians, Oretanians, Vettones, and Gallicians, "the last to be subdued"; to the east of these, Asturians, Celtiberians, and most distant tribe of all, north of the Minius (*Minho*), the Arrotrebæ, inhabitants of the great promontory of Nerium, the modern Finisterre; lawless and plundering mountaineers every man of them, though peace and the influence of the legions of Tiberius had already done much to soften their rough and savage manners.

Turning from these wild regions, and starting once more from Malaga, in a north-easterly course, he finds Bastitanians, whose country is represented by the modern Province of Murcia, with the cities of Carthagena and Denia (Dianium) on the coast. The Contestanians inhabited part of Murcia und Valencia, the country of the Esparto grass, already highly appreciated in the markets of Italy. The Edetanians occupied part of Valencia and Aragon, with the ever famous city of Saguntum; and the Gymnesiæ or Balearic Islands lay off the coast. The Ilercarones were found on the northern shores of Valencia; and the Cosetanians inhabited South Catalonia and the imperial city of Tarragona. Northward, again, he met with Laletanians in North Catalonia, and Indigetes in the country just south of the Pyrenees, with the old Greek town colonies of *Rhodope* and *Emporium*. To the west of these were found the Ilergetes; and inland to the south-west as far as Cæsaraugusta, which is classed as a Celtiberian city, was the country of the Ausetanians.

Beyond this, Strabo's geography is somewhat confused; but he speaks of the inland country generally as Celtiberia, and of its "most renowned city Numantia," which had apparently been already rebuilt after its destruction by Scipio. But his greatest admiration, and a great part of his book on Spain is reserved for Turdetania, the most civilised and the most prosperous district in Hispania.[1]

Turdetania was bounded on the west and north by the river Anas or Guadiana, on the east by the tribes of the Carpetani and the Oretani, on the south by the sea; and it thus included the modern Provinces of Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, Huelva, Badajoz and Cordova, and was pretty nearly conterminous with Roman Bætica. The chief cities were Hispalis, Gadeira, Corduba, Italica, and Munda. There was a large population settled on either side of the Bætis or Guadalquivir, which flowed through the heart of the Province, and was navigable for ships as far as Hispalis, and for boats as far as Corduba. The old geographer was amazed at the endless succession of groves and gardens, at the marvellous fertility of the soil, and at the skill with which it was cultivated. Nor was he less struck by the material wealth of the country; by the immense production of corn and wine and oil;[2] by the vermilion and scarlet dyes, the wool of surpassing quality, the stuffs of incomparable texture, the wax, the honey, the pitch, the leather, the cattle, the game—more especially the rabbits[3]—and the fish, of which the tunnies and congers were of peculiar excellence, and of which an enormous quantity was annually salted for export. He is amazed at the number and size of the merchant ships, built for the most part of Turdetanian timber; and at the almost fabulous richness and variety of the mines. Nor is he less struck with the purity of the air, and the politeness and urbanity of the inhabitants, who had, he says, for the most part so entirely adopted the Roman mode of life as even to have forgotten their own language.[4]

Of the towns, in addition to those already referred to, he specially notices Pax Augusta (Badajoz) among the Celtici, and Augusta-Emerita (Merida) among the Turduli. But he does not mention either Bracara Augusta, Asturica Augusta, or Portus Cale, in the north-west; nor even Barcino (Barcelona) in the north-east.

Of the tribes and districts of the interior, Strabo speaks very vaguely, and he neither knows nor cares to know very much about them. Celtiberia, including the modern Leon and New and Old Castile, with some parts of the adjacent provinces, was a geographical expression indicative at once of ignorance and of indifference; for the Celtiberians were regarded by a citizen of Hispalis and Gadeira much as a mediæval Londoner would have regarded the Picts and Scots of the Caledonian Highlands. In summarising the characteristics of the Spaniards of his day, Strabo speaks of them as obstinate and self-sufficient, split up into contending tribes and factions, incapable of united action, and thus powerless against attacks from without.[1]

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[1] Strabo, lib. iii., cap. 2.

[2] Polyb., *in Athen.*, i., 28.

[3] See as to the ancient mode of ferreting, the most graphic account in Strabo, iii., 2, 6. The rabbit (λεβηρίς) as we have seen, was an ancient device of Hispania.

[4] Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Literature*, vol. iii., p. 320.

Before the death of Augustus, Spain had become not only an integral but a very important part of the Roman Empire. The capital was fed with Spanish corn. The legions were filled with Spanish recruits; and the Emperor had entrusted the immediate guardianship of his person to a *bodyguard* of three thousand Spanish soldiers.[2] Spanish poets, Spanish rhetoricians, and even Spanish teachers were welcomed and respected at the capital. Tarragona and Merida, Saragossa and Carthagena, Cordova and Cadiz were among the great cities of the Empire. Spain had been rather absorbed than conquered by Rome, and had in a very brief period of time, become "deeply, heartily and thoroughly Roman". At the death of Augustus, the Roman language and even the Roman dress prevailed throughout Southern and Eastern Spain. Cicero[3] himself could find but a slight foreign flavour in the Latinity of the poets of Cordova; and Marcus Porcius Latro, a native of the same distinguished city, was the teacher and model of Ovid, of Mæcenas, and of Augustus himself. Another Cordovan of the same period, who was known as Antonius Julianus, was a rhetorician in high favour at Rome.

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[1] The word *αὐθαδεια*, which I have rendered by obstinacy and self-sufficiency, is usually translated *moroseness*, conveying an unfavourable and misleading idea of Strabo's meaning.

The elder Pliny, who, after Strabo, has left us the most interesting account of the geography of Spain in the first century of our era—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. iii.—was sent as Procurator to Tarraconensis, by Nero, and not, as is usually stated, by Vespasian. 'Tis well to give even Nero his due. His nephew, Pliny the younger, was gratefully remembered as having successfully defended the rights of the Andalusians against the exactions of the Proconsul, Cæcilius Classicus (A.D. 104) in the time of Trajan. The fullest restitution was made to the plundered cities. The Proconsul, convicted by the Senate, had committed suicide before the trial; but his accomplices were banished, and the daughter of Cæcilius was judiciously permitted to inherit from her father the wealth—and no more—that he had possessed before he left Italy for Spain.

[2] Calagurritans. See Suetonis, Octav., 49. Augustus had a German bodyguard up to A.D. 9.

[3] "Pingue quiddam atque peregrinum," Cicero, *pro Arch.*, 10.

The first Provincial that ever rose to the Consulship, or was accorded the rarer honour of a triumph, was Balbus, a Spaniard of Cadiz, in the early days of Augustus. The first Provincial that ever sat upon the throne of the Cæsars was Trajan, a Spaniard of Seville. And from the death of Sertorius to the death of Honorius, no part of the world beyond the limits of Italy contributed so much to the resources of the Empire as Spain, nor did any Province claim and receive so large a share of the favours and of the honours of the Roman government. When the power of Rome waned, and the rule of Christ waxed strong, Spain from the first took her place in the forefront of Western Christendom[1]; and when Athanasius and Constantine at Eastern Nicæa were formulating new doctrines for the Roman world, the greatest and the most powerful of western ecclesiastics was not found in an Italian city, but in the Palace of Hosius, Bishop of Cordova.

Under Trajan, and under his fellow countryman and successor Hadrian, Spain flourished exceedingly. Nor was the Province less prosperous under another noble Andalusian, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The rule of the Roman had brought peace and law to the home of the Spaniard; and the rule of the Spaniard gave peace and law to the world.[2] "If a man were called," says Gibbon, "to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus." And the Spaniard is proud to remember that during more than sixty of these eighty-three golden years, the world was under the personal rule of a Spanish Emperor.

Some slight changes were made from time to time in the system of provincial administration. Fifty-four years after the death of Augustus, the African Province of Tingitana, or the country around Tangiers,[1] was united for a season with more peaceful Bætica. In the time of Hadrian, who spent some time in Spain in 122 and 123, the immense area of Tarraconensis was divided into three districts: Gallicia, Tarragona and Carthagena, while the boundaries of Lusitania remained as before.[2]

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[1] St. James the Great with seven disciples is said by Spanish writers to have preached Christianity on the Cantabrian coasts as early as A.D. 3, and the new religion spread more rapidly in Spain than elsewhere; the character of the people, in the Celtic north-west especially, being notably receptive of devotional ideas.—H.

[2] Theodosius the Great was also a Spaniard, born either at Italica or Cauca; Trajan was a native of Italica or Seville; Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, both *born* at Rome, were also Spanish by race.

In the year 385 the Pope (Damasus), the Emperors (Theodosius, and his rival Maximus), the arch-Heretic (Priscillian), and the first Inquisitors (Idatius and Ithacus) were all Spaniards.

Under good government, Spain grew rapidly in wealth and importance, and in the Peninsula, if not in the Empire, the operations of war gave way to the arts of peace. Husbandry, the only form of labour that was not considered unbecoming in a Roman citizen, was cultivated as a science, and practised with signal success.[3] The olive flourished not only in Bætica but in Tarraconensis. The cultivation of the vine was extended from Turdetania to the slopes of the Pyrenees; and the wines of Tarragona became highly appreciated in Rome. Nor was industry wanting to develop the natural resources of the country. The Spanish oil held its own by the side of the product of Central Italy. The Spanish steel challenged comparison with that of Damascus. The flax, which is said to have been introduced by the Phœnicians was worked by fair Spanish hands into the finest linen that was to be found in Western Europe.[4]

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[1] *Esp. Sag.*, i., xiv., 128-134. Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, cap. vi., sec. iv., p. 89. Masdeu, tom. vii., cap. v. On the death of Nero the legionaries of the provinces sought to impose a successor upon Rome, Galba, Prætor of Tarraconensis, Otho, Prætor of Lusitania, and Vitelius, being successively chosen by the soldiers. The second of these, Otho, added Tingitana to Bætica for the purpose of gaining popularity for himself and increasing the importance of the Spanish provinces.—H.

[2] It would be impossible within the limit of this work to go into the question of the Communal System and popular assemblies in the great provincial towns of the Roman Empire. But it is equally impossible to refrain from mentioning that it is owing to the comparatively recent discovery of two documents in Spain that modern criticism has been able so fully to understand these questions. These documents are: (1) The Municipal Laws of the Latin Communes of Salpensa and Malaca in Bætica, prepared between 82 and 84 under Domitian, and discovered in 1851. *Cf.* M. R. D. Bulanga, *Estudios sobre los dos bronces encontrados a Malago a fines de octubre* 1851 (Malaga, 1853), 4to; Mommsen, *Die Stadtrechte der latinischen Gemeinden Salpensa und Malaga in der Provinz Betica* (Leipsic, 1855); and (2) The law or statute of foundation of the Colonia Julia Genetiva (Urso) in Bætica, by order of Julius Cæsar or shortly after his death. This most interesting document was discovered in two fragments, one at Osuna (Urso) in 1870, and the other at the same place in 1875. Bulanga, *Los bronces de Osuna* (Malaga, 1873); and Ch. Giraud, *Les nouveaux bronzes d'Osune* (Paris, 1877); and see authorities quoted generally on this subject in Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire Romain* (1892), tom. ii., pp. 64-80.

[3] See Masdeu, vii., pp. 83-91, 105.

[4] Masdeu, vii., pp. 64, 65, 66, 88, 92, 98 and 108. In the time of the early Empire, according to this author, there were no less than ninety-three mints in Spain. Caligula, however, abolished all these local rights of coining money, and transferred the whole to Rome. This was of course a great loss both of dignity

The exclusively military roads that had been made for the defence of the frontiers were supplemented by what may be called trade routes in every part of the Peninsula. The great road along the east coast from the Pyrenean frontier to the mouth of the Guadalquivir, the *via Augusta,* was only one of the many noble roads that opened the rich country to the merchant and the traveller, and secured to the miner and the husbandman the full reward of his industry.[1]

Nor were the imperial works restricted to those of mere utility. Noble bridges crossed the broad streams that flowed through the country. Aqueducts, circuses, baths, public buildings of every kind sprang up throughout the land; and it is from the days of the great and good Spanish Emperors, Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, that date most of those monuments of imperial grandeur which are still to be found, glorious even in their decay, throughout the Peninsula. The beautiful arch of Torre d'en Barra in Catalonia, the ever-famous bridge of Alcantara in Estremadura, the colonnade of Zalamea-de-la-Serena, the tower at Corunna, the Monte Ferrada or Furado in Gallicia, the circus of Italica, and the magnificent aqueducts of Tarragona and Segovia; these are the living records of the days when the Roman Spaniards ruled the world. Nor were the glories of *Hispania* confined to the development of material wealth, nor even to the splendour of the imperial administration. From the death of Ovid to the death of Martial, there is not one Latin writer of the first rank who did not come from Spain.[2] The elder Seneca, with his yet more distinguished son, the philosopher[3]—as true a Spaniard as ever lived—and his nephew Lucan, the author of the *Pharsalia*, were all born at Cordova. Pomponius Mela, the first Roman geographer, was

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and of profit to Spain, which was forced from that time to furnish the raw material for the imperial coiners in Italy.

[1] It extended from Milan by way of Marseilles and Narbonne to Tarragona, and thence it divided into three; one to the city of Leon, another to Astorga, and the third and greatest went by the coast to Valencia, Carthagena and Cordova to Cadiz. For a list of the principal Roman roads in Spain, and the list is long, see Masdeu, vii., 138-140. The public roads of all the provinces were State property.

[2] Tacitus indeed had begun to write a few years before the death of Martial.

[3] "There is none of the ancient moralists to whom the moderns, from Montaigne downwards, owe more than to Seneca; he touches the great and eternal commonplaces of human occasion, friendship, health, bereavement, riches, poverty and death, with a hand that places him high among the divine masters of life. Men have found more abundantly in his essays and letters than in any other secular writer, words of good counsel and import."—John Morley, *Aphorisms.*

a native of Algeciras, near Gibraltar. The authority for ascribing a Spanish origin to the historian Florus is doubtful; and we must abandon the old unfounded notion that Silius Italicus, the poet of the Punic wars, took his name from Italica, near Seville. But Columela, the father of agriculture, "and the first and most important of all the Latin writers on rural affairs," was certainly a native of Cadiz. Martial was born at Bilbilis, near Calatayud, in Aragon, and after his brilliant career at Rome, returned[1] to die in his beloved Spanish country; and Quintilian, greatest name of all, left his home at Calahorra to give to Rome and to the world "one of the most excellent, if not the most excellent, of the great text-books that we owe to antiquity."[2]

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[1] *Sic me vivere, sic juvat perire*, xii., 18.

[2] Mommsen, *Prov.*, i., p. 77. A list of some of the most celebrated Roman commanders and other soldiers of Hispania will be found in Masdeu, vii., pp. 54-58, and a list of the principal Spanish Roman writers in pp. 148-195.

Seneca the elder was born at Cordova, circ. B.C. 54, ob. circ. A.D. 39. Seneca the younger was born at Cordova, circ. B.C. 5, and faced death at the command of Nero, A.D. 65. His elder brother, Marcus Novatus, better known to us by his adoptive name of Gallio, referred to in Acts xxiii., was also a Cordovan of great and well-deserved reputation. His nephew Lucan was born at Cordova in A.D. 39, and died, likewise at Nero's command, in 65. Of Pomponius Mela we can only certainly say that he flourished in the time of the Emperors Claudius or Nero, circ. A.D. 60.

Columela lived and wrote during the middle of the first century. Silius Italicus was born *traditionally* at Italica (near Seville), circ. A.D. 28, ob. circ. 101. Martial was born at Bilbilis about A.D. 40-43, and, after his successful career at Rome, returned to his birthplace, circ. A.D. 98-100, where he died, circ. A.D. 102-4. Quintilian was born at Calagurris (Calahorra) A.D. 40, and died circ. 95. The birth of Florus is uncertain; he wrote his *Epitome* during the reign of Trajan or of Hadrian.

I am indebted to my friend, Mr. J. B. Bury, the historian of the later Roman Empire, for his most kind revision of this and other chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BARBARIANS.

(A.D. 180—411.)

I.—*Theodosius the Great.*

THE unworthy successors of Marcus Aurelius, beginning with the most detestable son of that virtuous Emperor, concerned themselves little with the affairs of Spain. Nor have its provinces, from the accession of Commodus to the accession of Honorius, any history beyond that of the declining and decaying Empire, and of the rise and progress of the new and living religion which has exercised so enormous an influence on the fortunes of the Spanish people. Spanish wars there were none; for there was no one in Spain to fight, and nothing in Spain to fight for. Public works decayed. Letters died out. The civil government concerned itself only with the collection of the taxes. The Spanish provinces, like the rest of the Empire, were gradually bleeding to death at the hands of the imperial Procurators. The worst and most oppressive fiscal system that has ever been invented or practised was doing to death the industrious population of the world, to provide for the lusts and the caprices of the worst and most oppressive of tyrants at Rome. The celebrated decree of Caracalla, investing all the provincials with the empty honour of Roman citizenship, compelled them to pay the taxes incident to that position, without any relief from the burden of the tribute which was still collected from them as provincials.[1] And the obligation of supplying the city of Rome with an amount calculated as the equivalent of one-twentieth of the annual production of corn in the country—at a rate fixed by the Roman civic magistrates themselves—pressed with peculiar hardship on the cultivators of the rich corn lands of the Peninsula.

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[1] When the name of Roman citizenship became worthless, and implied no immunity from taxation, imprisonment, death, or even torture, it was forced on the whole world by Caracalla. E. A. Freeman, *Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 304; but see Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 6, 7, and Gibbon, chapter vi.

The third century, dreary and disastrous throughout the Roman world, brought no exceptional happiness, nor indeed any exceptional misery, to Spain; although it was during that most calamitous period of four and twenty years, from the accession of Philip the Arabian, to the death of Gallienus, (244-268) a period pre-eminently of shame and misfortune, that the Peninsula was exposed for the first time to the fury of the Northern Barbarians. In the reign of the unfortunate Decius (circ. 250), the great barrier between the Rhine and the Danube was first broken through by these savage hordes. The degenerate Romans were unable to offer any serious resistance; and Gaul, and even parts of Spain, were soon overrun by the Franks. The Goths and the Suevians encountered a more serious resistance in the east of Europe; and they fought with varying fortunes, on the banks of the Danube, in Mœsia, in Greece, and even in North Italy. But for twelve long years (256-268) the fertile provinces of Spain, more especially the northern and eastern districts, were ravaged by the terrible Franks. Tarragona was sacked and almost destroyed,[1] and the Barbarians, seizing the ships in the harbours of the east and south-east coasts of the Peninsula, made more than one descent upon Africa.

At length the day dawned, after the dark night of Roman shame, and the valour and virtue of Claudius (268-270), who, on the death of Gallienus, succeeded to the purple, and nobly earned the title of Gothicus; and the still greater success of the yet more admirable Aurelian (270-275), prepared the way for Diocletian (284-305), who saved Italy at least for another century from the inroads of the northern hordes. In theory, the first *Autocrat* of the old Empire; in reality, the first *Statesman* in a new Europe, Diocletian saw clearly enough that over-centralisation was the bane of the Roman administration; and while on the one hand he magnified the importance of the imperial office, on the other he divided the Empire into a number of well-nigh autonomous governments,[2] each one with its own elaborate hierarchy, in all but the name a kingdom. The foundations of modern Europe were already laid.

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[1] Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, 23. 33; Eutropius, ix., 6; and generally for all events between A.D. 15 and A.D. 578, Clinton's *Fasti*.

[2] The Spanish historians assert that this politic decentralisation was begun in the second century by a Spanish Emperor, Hadrian, and that the unwieldy area of Tarraconensis was divided into four: Gallaecia, Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, and the Balearic Islands; but this division was probably not made before the time of Diocletian. See Marquardt, *ubi supra*, tom. ii., p. 79.

This magnificent decentralisation was carried still further by Constantine (306-337), who divided the entire Roman world into four vast Prefectures: 1. ITALY; 2. THE EAST; 3. ILLYRICUM; 4. GAUL; each under the more than regal government of a Prætorian Prefect.

Of these Prefectures, Gaul contained three great dioceses, each one administered by a Vicar: *Hispania*, *Septem-provinciæ*, and *Britannia*. The diocese of Hispania contained seven provinces: 1. Bætica, 2. Lusitania, and 3. Gallaecia—each under the immediate government of a Consular,—4. Tarraconensis, 5. Carthaginiensis, 6. Tingitana, and 7. Insulæ Balearum, each under the immediate government of a President.[1] The capital of Tarraconensis was naturally fixed at Tarraco, and that of Bætica at Corduba; the Consular of Lusitania held his court at Emerita, and the Consular of Gallaecia at Bracara, while the provincial capitals of Carthaginiensis, Tingitana, and the Balearic Islands were at New Carthage, at Tingis, and at Palma.[2]

Each of these Provincial Governors was directly responsible to the Vicar of the diocese, who held his court at Hispalis. And the Vicar in his turn was responsible to the Prefect, whose court was held for some time at Treves (Augusta Treverorum), on the Moselle, but whose capital was afterwards fixed in the more central position at Arles (Arelate) on the Rhone.

The Prætorian Prefect was indeed one of the great ones of the earth. His purple robe differed by but a few inches of length from that which was worn by the Emperor himself. His huge silver inkstand, his writing-case of solid gold, his lofty chariot were among the many magnificent ensigns of his exalted office. In all but in name he was a king.

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[1] As to the exact nature of the offices and dignities of the Legati Augusti proprætore, and the other classes of Legati—the Præfecti, the Procuratores, the Præsides, and the entire Hierarchy of Roman administration—see a very interesting and admirable chapter, "Du Gouverneur et ses Agents," in vol. ii. of Mommsen and Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1892), more especially pp. 572-586. See also *España Sagrada*, i., xiv., 128-134; and ii., xiv., xv.

The Gallic provinces most interesting to the student of Spanish history are of course the more southern: Narbonensis Prima, with the capital at Narbo (Narbonne); Narbonensis Secunda, with the capital at Aquæ Sextæ (Aix); Novempopuli, with the capital at Auch and Fauze; Aquitania Prima, with the capital at Avaricum (Bourges); and Aquitania Secunda, with the capital at Burdigala (Bordeaux). See also Bury, *Roman Empire*, pp. 85, 86.

[2] See Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum*, i., 69 and 458; and Ukert, *Geog. der G. und Rom.*, ii., 356.

But the Vicar in his diocese, the Consular or the President in their respective provinces, enjoyed an authority and a personal consideration scarcely less than that which is accorded to modern sovereigns.

But all this magnificence and all this systematic administrative perfection did not avail to save the Empire. It rather prepared the way for its dissolution. Rome indeed never died. The religion of Constantine achieved in less than a century the final conquest of the Roman Empire; but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the power of their vanquished rival.[1] Nepos might give place to Augustulus, and Augustulus to Odoacer. But for eight hundred years Heraclius and the successors of Heraclius kept back the forces of Islam, and saved Europe from the dominion of the Moslem. When at length in New Rome, Constantine succumbed in the palace of the Cæsars to the forces of Mahomet, there was still at Old Rome the legitimate and more powerful descendant of the Roman Pontifex Maximus, crowned with the triple tiara of imperial dominion over the kings of the earth. When, twelve centuries after the division of the old world by Roman Diocletian, Roman Alexander, himself a Spaniard, divided a new world undreamed of by the early Cæsars among the Iberians and Lusitanians of the sixteenth century, he only asserted that imperial Roman authority which had been exercised by his predecessors from the days of Numa Pompilius, first of the Pontiffs of Rome.

When, four-and-twenty centuries after the first Pontificate of Numa, eight hundred subject princes, the rulers of the great dioceses into which the modern world is yet divided, flocked obedient at the bidding of Pius to the banks of the Tiber, it was to cast themselves at the feet of the imperial image, and once again to hail Cæsar as divine, omnipotent and infallible.

But in the fourth century the great Roman provinces of Spain, like Rome itself, grew weaker and poorer, until the time came when Spain, like Rome itself, passed under the dominion of the rude but vigorous Barbarians of the North. Italy was worn out, decayed, literally rotten to the core. Rome was in one sense rich; but rich only in useless and demoralising luxuries; in the splendid spoils of other nations; in the splendid remains of other days; producing nothing; consuming everything; eaten up with sensuality and self-indulgence, forgetful even of the Pagan pride of life, in degrading self-abandonment to the lusts of the flesh; draining the world of its true wealth; without respect, without ambition, without hope. And if Rome was full of silver and gold, Italy was on the brink of starvation. Gaul produced little or nothing; Greece was but a name. Africa, it is true, provided corn and wild beasts. Further east, Egypt, Syria, Asia—these were no sources of strength nor of wealth. Britain was a source of weakness. But Spain, with its boundless corn-fields and its inexhaustible mines, with its hardy population who worked for the Empire at home, and its hardy soldiers who fought for the Empire abroad; these things made Spain the sheet anchor of the drifting world.[1]

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[1] As to the connexion between Pagan and Catholic Rome, see Conyers Middleton's *Letters from Rome* (Dublin, 1731), and Mourant Brock, *Rome, Pagan and Papal* (London, 1883).

One struggle moreover was made against the old forces of decay and the new forces of Barbarism. One man was found at the supreme moment to stand between the living and the dying world—and that man was a Spaniard. To Theodosius the Great, the countryman and the descendant of Trajan, is due this crowning honour. And the record of the great deeds of the most Christian of the Emperors may be read in the admiring pages of Gibbon.

The reign of Theodosius was marked by the struggle of the new forces against the old. With one hand he kept back the new Barbarism from the old Empire, once more united under his sway. With the other he beat down the old Paganism, struggling for life in a changing and decaying society. In one hand was found the Sword; in the other the Cross. Looking back we have Julius; looking forward—Gregory; at all times—Cæsar.

Theodosius was the first Christian Inquisitor. He was the last Emperor of the world. The massacre at Salonica might have been the act of Nero. The submission to Ambrose might have been the act of Henry IV. The fifteen edicts against heresy might have been dictated by Philip II. The destruction of Antioch might have been decreed by Caracalla. The Council of Constantinople might have been convoked by Edward the Confessor.[2] Barbarism without; heresy within; these were the forces against which Theodosius strove, and strove with immediate success. But against himself he strove not at all. He lived and died a tyrant and a bigot. His tongue was ever ready to proclaim or to confess his faith; but his hands were swift to shed blood. He ordered massacres; but he convoked councils. He destroyed cities; but he dictated laws. The character of Theodosius was thoroughly Spanish—devout, passionate, noble-minded. Reckless, when excited, of human life and suffering, he was alternately a resolute and skilful general,[1] and an indolent and superstitious persecutor. But his arms did not save Italy, his laws did not save society, and his orthodoxy did not save religion.

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[1] See Salvian, vi., 121-123, and vii., 137.

[2] The first edict of Theodosius after his baptism into the Christian religion ran as follows: "It is our pleasure that all nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught of St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved, and

II.—*The Coming of the Visigoths.*

Theodosius died in 395, and in five years Alaric was in Italy. But his first coming was not that of a conqueror. For his Gothic Barbarians, surprised in their pious celebration of Easter by the less scrupulous, if more orthodox, Vandal Barbarians in the service of Honorius, were defeated at Pollentia on Easter Day, 402, and Rome was saved from Alaric[2] the Goth, by Stilicho the Vandal, for seven inglorious years. And thus it came to pass that Spain and not Italy first became the abiding place of the invader. But for the immediate cause of the occupation of the Peninsula by the Barbarians, we must look not to Italy nor to the fatherland of Alaric, but to Britain.

Far away beyond the Straits of Dover, a common soldier in the ranks of a Roman Legion, bearing the auspicious name of

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which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the disciples of the apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorise the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians, and we judge that all others are extravagant madmen: we brand them with the infamous name of *Heretics*, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of Churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine Justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authorities, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think fit to inflict upon them." See Cod. Theod., lib. xvi., tit. v.; Leg., 6, 23; Godefroy's *Commentaries*, tom. vi., pp. 104-110; Gibbon, chap. xxvii., 326, 327; Sozomen, lib. vii., c. 12.

[1] See Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i., 182, and 197, 198.

[2] Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i., 148; Orosius, vii., 37. Hodgkin, *ubi supra*, p. 289. Montalembert, *Les Moines de l'Occident*, i., 4. For a very appreciative sketch of the character of Stilicho, see an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1892, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, published after this chapter was written.

Constantine, had been elected by his fellows as Augustus—or *Tyrant*, after the fashion of the day—in Britain. This bold aspirant to supreme power had easily mastered the feeble government of Honorius, and had crossed over the narrow Straits into Gaul, dreaming of yet larger conquest.[1] To oppose or embarrass the rebel, Stilicho, by one of those strokes of policy so common and ever so disastrous in history, had invited—or permitted—the Barbarian hordes, long kept back beyond the Rhine by the imperial allies who guarded the frontier, to cross over into Gaul. And on the last day of the memorable year 406, an immense concourse of Vandals and Suevians and Alans made their way across the river and ravaged the rich and peaceful districts of Eastern Gaul at their pleasure. They served Stilicho's immediate political purpose, no doubt, by embarrassing Constantine; yet that prudent rebel was skilful enough to avoid their onslaught, and, continuing his career of easy conquest, removed his capital from Treves (Augusta Treverorum), on the Moselle, to the richer and no less august city of Arles (Arelate), on the Rhone.

Having strengthened himself in his new capital, he defeated the imperial troops despatched against him under Sarus, at Valence on the Rhone, and was soon acknowledged by all that was left of Roman within the confines of Gaul, while the Barbarians were at once discouraged and dispersed.

Thus Constantine, everywhere triumphant, and aspiring to even greater empire, crossed the Pyrenees, and pursued his course of victory into the rich province of Spain. The northern districts of the Peninsula would seem to have been promptly and easily occupied. Constantine, albeit a usurper and a rebel, had all the authority of Prefect of Gaul, and he was received without opposition at Tarragona.

The authority of Honorius counted for little in the province; yet, as a Spaniard by race, and the son of the great Theodosius, the Emperor was not without friends and even relations in Spain. But the imperial troops offered little or no resistance to the Tyrant from Arles. The great mass of the population cared little whether the taxes were collected in the name of Honorius or in the name of Constantine. The usurper would possibly be less exacting than the regular oppressors. And it was the rude levies of slaves and dependents raised by some of the faithful kinsmen of Honorius that alone appear to have offered any opposition to the arms of Constantine.[1] The Barbarian levies of the Tyrant from Britain proved more than sufficient to overthrow these rustic troops; and two bands of Scottish soldiers are said to have played an important part in the determination of this early Peninsular War.

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[1] See Olympiodorus, 12; Zosimus, vi., 2.

Within a few months the authority of Constantine was at least nominally supreme from the Wall of Antoninus to the Columns of Hercules. Honorius, ever prompt in weakness, recognised the successful rebel as Augustus and imperial brother; and Constantine, committing his new possessions to the care of his son Constans—another Augustus—and his lieutenant Gerontius, a British general of distinction, quitted Spain for Ravenna, proposing to drive Alaric out of Italy.

Constantine marched as far as Verona on his way to relieve or to possess himself of the Western Empire; but having reason to suspect treachery on the part of his ally Honorius, and feeling that in such very doubtful company he was no match for the Goths of Alaric, he hastily retraced his steps to the Rhone, and retired within the walls of his capital at Arles. Gerontius, taking advantage of the absence of Constantine, and of a mutiny among the soldiers of various nationalities engaged in Spain, rebelled against the youthful Constans, and set up his own son Maximus as Emperor or Augustus, with his imperial capital at Tarragona. And the new usurper—seeking to overthrow the reigning usurper—adopted the old tactics, and invited the Barbarians, who were driven hither and thither in Gaul, to cross the Pyrenees, and assist him against the imperial forces of Honorius and the quasi-imperial forces of Constantine in Spain. And thus it was that the Vandals and the Suevians and the Alans, introduced into Gaul by Stilicho to embarrass Constantine, and introduced into Spain by Gerontius to embarrass Constans, promptly turned their arms against their various allies, and proceeded to ravage Spain for themselves.[2]

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[1] The levies of Verenianus and his brothers seem to have arrived too late to defend the passes of the Pyrenees. As soon as the Barbarians had actually crossed the mountains, their immense numbers would, of course, have overwhelmed the patriotic Guerilleros in the plain country.

Of the four brothers who raised and led these rude levies in defence of the rights of their contemptible kinsman, Lagodius and Theodosius escaped the destruction of their followers. Verenianus and Didymus were taken prisoners and immediately executed, after the savage fashion of the day, at Arles.

[2] See Bury, *op. cit.*, i., 41; Freeman, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, i., 60. There were now *six* Emperors! Theodosius at Constantinople, Honorius at Ravenna, Constantine at Arles, Constans at Saragossa (Cæsaraugusta), Maximus at Tarragona, and Attalus at Rome.

The Romans, indeed, of all parties in Spain, fared equally ill at the hands of the invaders, who showed themselves, with a pleasing impartiality, equally hostile to Honorius, to Constantine, to Constans, and to Gerontius. Constans fled at their approach, and sought refuge at Vienne, where he was taken and put to death by his old tutor Gerontius—himself a fugitive from his own unruly allies. Constantine, besieged at Arles by the imperial general Constantius, and finding further resistance impossible, assumed the habit of a Christian priest, and craved his life, without success, at the hands of the victors. Gerontius, hard pressed by the imperial legions on the Rhone, fled into Spain, where he fell by his own sword to escape the violence of his own troops. Meanwhile, the only man who could cope with the Goth had already found his reward at the hand of his sovereign. Stilicho, the mainstay of the falling Empire, had been sacrificed to a Court intrigue, and had been executed with his whole family at Ravenna in 408. It was time for Alaric to advance. Italy was undefended, Rome was at the mercy of the Barbarian. But the city was ransomed and spared by the invader. The title of Emperor had no charms for the King of the Visigoths; and Alaric contemptuously invested one Attalus, a Roman Prefect, with the imperial purple, of which, after twelve months' hesitation, he no less contemptuously stripped him. Disgusted at length by the tergiversation and treachery of Ravenna, Alaric turned his arms once more against Rome. And then no puppet Emperor, no Court intrigue, no religious ceremonial, was found to stay his hand. The priests, indeed, had unwittingly fought for Alaric in the palace at Ravenna. For they had induced the feeble Honorius to issue that disastrous and insulting edict by which neither *heretics* nor *pagans* were to be permitted to engage in the armies of the Empire. And thus forty thousand of the best troops that would have served to resist the invaders were dismissed from the Imperial service at the moment of the Imperial danger. The issue was never doubtful. Rome fell; but the victor did not long survive his victory.

While the sturdy Goth triumphed in Italy, the Vandals and their savage companions were devastating Spain. The north-west was occupied, if not entirely overcome, by the Suevians; Lusitania was overrun by the Alans, while the central and southern provinces were ravaged by the Vandals. The Alans were led by Atacius, the Suevians by Hermanaric, and the Vandals, the fiercest of the three, by the terrible Gunderic, who was succeeded by the yet more terrible Gaiseric. The destruction wrought by these hordes of Barbarians was terrific. They not only conquered, they destroyed. "Not only mankind," says Orosius, "but the fruits of the earth, the beasts of the field, cities, storehouses, everything perished as if devoured by the flames of a general conflagration. And the horrors of ensuing famine gave place only to pestilence. For so great was the number of unburied bodies of man and beast, that the entire country became, as it were, a vast charnel-house."

It is difficult to account for the extraordinary facility with which these Barbarians appear to have been able to possess themselves of the greatest of the provinces of Rome. The terror that was inspired by the vast numbers of their terrible tribes, and the very names of their yet more terrible leaders, was no doubt enormous. But the rapidity with which they overran the Spanish Peninsula is still well-nigh inexplicable. Three months before their descent into Spain, just such Barbarians had been driven out of the heart of Italy. Four years earlier Alaric himself had been repulsed on the very frontier of that country. Why were the degraded Romans of Spain so inferior to the degraded Romans of Italy? Stilicho and his Barbarian troops counted, no doubt, for much in the struggle. A skilful commander in those days was worth at least as much as Napoleon's forty thousand men. But were there no Spaniards left in Spain? Was the old Celtiberian blood entirely exhausted? No explanation is offered by history. We are merely told that five centuries after Numantia, a Barbarian host marched unchecked across the Peninsula, that the fatherland of Viriatus was invaded and occupied without the serious opposition of a single Lusitanian; and that the country which had for two hundred years resisted the forces of Republican Rome, which had defied Consuls and defeated armies, and, when exhausted by long years of conflict, had hardly yielded to the generalship of Pompey and of Cæsar, was content, almost without striking a blow, to submit, not merely to a change of masters, but to utter destruction at the hands of a horde of savages. It is hard to believe—it is still harder to understand. It is reasonable at least to seek to solve the enigma.

I. The devastation that was wrought both in Italy and in the provinces by the incidence of Imperial taxation and the tyranny of the Imperial tax-collectors—more especially after the time of Caracalla—though it has perhaps been rhetorically exaggerated by contemporary Christian writers, was undoubtedly a terrible reality. Of the exactions of the tax-gatherers; of the financial persecution; of the legal and illegal torture to which even Roman citizens and all industrious and worthy men were exposed; of the ruin and flight of the municipal magistrates; of the decay of industry; of the universal impoverishment and misery and despair of the whole nation, we may read in the heart-rending lamentations of Salvian. It is not hard to understand that the provincials so harassed, and driven to actual—and not merely figurative—despair by this "consuming hierarchy of extortion" should await with indifference the approach of the terrible Vandal, as of something likely to change at least the nature, if it might not lighten the weight, of the burden of their insupportable misery.[1]

The exactions of the publicans and farmers of the revenue had long been proverbial, even in the palmy days of the Empire; and while the assistance of the Imperial officers was easily obtained by the legalised oppressor, the succour of the Judges or Tribunes, in cases of even the most flagrant extortion, could hardly be purchased by the oppressed. After the time of Caracalla the oppression became more severe throughout the provinces. And the reforms of Diocletian completed the misery of the entire population. For not only did the army of new provincial officers entail increased taxation to provide for their support, but, as a matter of administrative discipline, each town was made responsible, in the person of its *Curials*,[2] or chief municipal officers, not only for its own taxes, but for those of the surrounding districts. The Curials, thus, from honoured and honourable functionaries, engaged in the gratuitous performance of civic duties, became exposed as tax-collectors or unremunerated publicans to the odium of their fellow-citizens, while they were themselves ruined by the burden of their financial responsibilities to the Imperial Government. It was not surprising that respectable citizens should flee from their homes to escape election; and the office was bestowed upon men with neither means nor morality, who invoked the forces of the Empire to enable them to plunder their neighbours.[1]

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[1] See Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. v; Lactantius, *De Mortibus persecutorum*, with special reference to the time of Diocletian; Zosimus, *Hist.*, ii., 38; Montalembert, *op. cit.*, i., 18; Littré, *Etudes sur les Barbares*, pp. 41, 126, 123, 201.

Masdeu, vii., 39, gives a terrible list of the principal Imperial functionaries engaged in the collection of the rates and the harassing of the taxpayers: Procuratores, Agentes, Censitores, Exactores, Arcarii, Commentatores, Tabularii, Publicani, Rationales, Actuarii, Frumentatores, Carnicularii, Accensi, Questionarii, Assessores, Appositores.

[2] See Littré, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

So numerous, says Lactantius, were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the labourer broke down, the fields became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had furrowed the soil. It was impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and upon every town; or to make head against the condemnations, the exactions, and the outrages of which the peaceful and once prosperous inhabitants were the daily victims.

That such a system of administration and oppression should render the Provincials indifferent to any change of masters is scarcely to be wondered at.[2] Yet this financial ruin is but one of many causes that combined to render Spain an easy prey to the Barbarian.

II. Almost equally important, though to some extent dependent upon it, was the decay of the Spanish manhood. That the slaves and paupers who composed the greater part of the population of Roman Spain in 406, should be willing or even able to take up arms in defence of the Empire was hardly to be expected. For five hundred years the free manhood of the province had marched under the Roman standards to be slain on every frontier of the Empire. The Spanish troops were not only the sturdiest in the armies of Rome, but they were perhaps the most numerous; and the legionary never returned to Spain. He settled in far away Roumania, where his ancient language is still spoken by his modern descendants. He killed himself with riotous living at the capital. But in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, he died in his harness, fighting the battles of the Empire.[1] And his death at least was not inglorious. He lived a free Spaniard, and he died a Roman soldier; while his less fortunate brother, who remained at home in his province, lived and died a Roman slave.

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[1] See Sheppard, *Fall of Rome and Rise of New Nationalities.* The whole question of provincial taxation, as well under the Republic as under the Empire, will be found treated in a masterly manner by Joachim Marquardt, *L'organisation financière chez les Romains*, 1888, pp. 207-309. As to the various heads and divisions of provincial taxation, ordinary and extraordinary, and the administration of taxes generally, see a most admirable *résumé* in the same work, pp. 335-400. As to the responsibility of the *Curials*, see Cod. Theod., lib. xii., tit. "*Si Curiales*". In Spain, before the Gothic invasion, the land tax alone had grown to 35 per cent. upon all the agricultural produce of the country. The corvée, or the obligation of personal service, was rigorously enforced, and the Emperor himself had become far the largest landed proprietor in Spain as well as in Italy.

[2] See Lactantius, *ubi supra;* Salvian, v.; Orosius, vii., 41. It is hard to believe these writers when they speak of the Barbarians, not only the *ignavi Visigothi*, but the terrible Vandals and Suevians, being actually *welcomed* by the oppressed Provincials. Sidonius Apollinarius speaks (Epist., vii., 14) in a very different strain. *Cf.* Littré, *op. cit.*, p. 200. It is pretty certain that the outrages committed by the invaders were regarded with leniency by those earnest Christian men, who thought but little of the death of the body, and who looked upon the Romans, still half Pagan in religion, and entirely Pagan in morality, as killers of the soul. The Spaniard Prudentius seems to have been almost the only one among the early Christian writers who had any patriotism. His kingdom, no less than that of Salvian, was in heaven. But as long as he lived on earth he was proud to be a Roman citizen. As to Salvian generally, see Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, vol. i., chapter x.

III. The large estates or *latifundia*, which were said to have destroyed Italy, had also destroyed rural life in the provinces. The whole of Roman Africa at the time of Honorius is said to have belonged to six great landholders, and though the evil was not so enormous in the Peninsula, the extension of prædial slavery, in the absence of free labourers, or even of free agricultural tenants, combined with other causes to destroy agriculture, and that great agricultural class which has so constantly been at once the support and the glory of Spain.

IV. The enormous growth of slavery in the towns was not so disastrous as the destruction of free labour in the country, but it tended to degrade the whole race. For domestic slavery in the Roman Empire was by far the most demoralising form of the dark institution that has ever existed in the civilised world. And while it degraded labour, and rendered the great human duty of work, one scarcely to be performed by a free man, and thus struck at the root of all perfection and of all progress in any art or craft, it demoralised the slave-owners to an extent which it is difficult to convey in an English printed book, and which the pages of Suetonius and Juvenal may but suggest to the diligent and careful student of human corruption. And so it came to pass that when the Vandal thundered on the frontier, there were not only no Roman soldiers—there were no free Romans left to bar his entry. The garrison of Spain had been gradually reduced to the most insignificant proportions. And the soldiers who composed the single legion that sufficed for the maintenance of public order were either degenerate Provincials, unworthy to take their place in the armies ever fighting on the frontier, or the still more degenerate Italians, who had been sent over to take the place of better men, in the most peaceable of the Roman provinces.[1] For in Spain there had been no fighting for four hundred years. Even the Cantabrians needed no subjugation, or no one had cared to subdue them. The old fighting stock had departed; the old fighting traditions had died away. Peaceful men and peaceful pursuits had taken their place. Those who were not slaves or paupers were decayed and emasculated by luxury, and the slaves and paupers had no heart to fight, for they knew of nothing that was worth the push of a lance.

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[1] The detailed lists given by Masdeu, vol. vii., pp. 50-54, of the Spanish legions employed abroad, and the foreign legions quartered in Spain, are most instructive. And yet this most painstaking of historians does not take any account of the Spanish soldiers who found service in legions not distinctly Spanish, and fought for the Empire throughout the world. See also Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum*, etc. (1839-1853). On the farthest frontier of far away Britain, defending the Roman Wall against the Picts, we find records of many Spanish legions and Spanish commanders. Asturian troops were long quartered at Axelodunum, at Æsica, at Condercum, at Cilurnum on the Tyne. See *The Roman Wall*, by Collingwood Bruce, 1867, 3rd ed., pp. 68, 149-158. A monument to an Asturian leader named Aventinus is still extant, *ibid.*, p. 64. An inscription at Cilurnum, of the time of Elagabalus, records the fact of the restoration of the temple in which the stone was set by the soldiers of an Asturian legion, *ibid.*, pp. 158-60. An altar near Maryport in Cumberland was dedicated by the Prefect of the first cohort of the Spaniards, *ibid.*, pp. 365-6. And the memory of a Temple in the same distant land, dedicated to the Spaniard Marcus Aurelius, by two legions of Spanish foot, and one cohort of horse soldiers, is perpetuated in an inscription reproduced at pp. 412, 413 of the same interesting work.

It is sufficiently strange that the first recorded mention of a British fleet is in connection with the Spanish Emperor, Hadrian, and that the fleet itself was commanded by a Spanish Prefect. On a slab found in Umbria, and referred to by Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 13, is the following inscription: *Electo a Divo Hadriano et misso in expeditionem Britannicam. trib. cohor I. Hispan. Equit. Præf. classis Britannicae.*

V. In the last place, Christianity was by no means the least of the manifold influences that tended to weaken the resistance of the Roman province. It was not only that the new religion was a religion of peace; Christians have fought, and fought better than other men, when they have had anything to fight for. But the rise of Christianity was already a source of disunion among the forces of the Roman world. Few Christians who could avoid military service were to be found in the ranks of the legions. Their best men, their boldest spirits were presbyters and deacons; their natural leaders were metropolitans and bishops. Hosius, who might have led the armies of Viriatus, had devoted his magnificent energy to the subjugation of Arianism. Vincent, who might have held the breach at Numantia, had only been called upon to maintain his faith, undaunted by the tortures of an over zealous president. The empire of Christ was not of this world, and for worldly empire the Christian would hardly care to fight. The end of the age was daily, almost hourly, expected. The faithful soldier and servant of Christ would render unto Cæsar, aye, even to Maximus or to Galerius, the things that were Cæsar's; but the business, the pleasure, the entire work of his life, was devoted to the things that were God's.

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[1] After the time of Gratian, the Roman soldiers complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore! The relaxation of discipline rendered them less able and less willing to support the fatigues of the service. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword and the *pilum* which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. See Gibbon, cap. xxvii.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIANITY.

(A.D. 60—600.)

In no part of the Roman Empire in the west did Christianity spread more rapidly, or grow more vigorously, than in the Peninsula. That St. Paul intended to visit the Christians in Spain is as certain as that he wrote his Epistle to the Christians at Rome. And that his intentions were carried out would seem at least to be fairly probable[1]; although history is silent as to the fact of his visit, and even tradition is meagre and uncertain as to the details. Where and when the apostle landed, how long he stayed, whence and whither he journeyed, what churches he strengthened, what heathen he converted, what Christian disciples he left behind him—on all these points nothing certain is told. Had his personal influence been as powerful and extensive as it most undoubtedly was in other provinces of the Empire, we should have expected to find a somewhat more definite record of his preaching and teaching in the Peninsula.

But St. Paul has never been as popular in Spain, nor, indeed, in any Roman Catholic country, as many other Christian saints. Pedros and Juans, Joses and Diegos, are to be found in every hamlet, while Pablo is not much commoner than Cæsar or Horacio in the towns and villages of Castile.

The apostle whose name, at least, has played the leading part in the religious development of Spain, is Saint James or *Santiago*,[2] the special property of the Spaniard—his battle-cry in two worlds, the inspirer of his chivalry in all ages, the hero of his great National Miracle, the patron under whose sacred banner his armies have marched to victory for a thousand years. And to doubt that the bones of the saint, martyred at Jerusalem, and heaven-sent to the shores of Spain, now rest in most sacred Compostella, amid the wild mountains of western Gallicia, would be an affront not only to the religious, but to the national sentiment of the Peninsula.

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[1] See Romans xv. 24; Eusebius, *apud* Rohrbach, ii., 614; Neander (ed. Bohn), i., 117, and a number of ancient authorities quoted by Lafuente, ii., 185. *Cf. Muratorian Fragment; Antiq. Ital.*, iii., 353.

[2] As to the legend of Santiago, see *post*, chapter xv,

The rise and progress of Christianity in the Roman world is one of the most interesting questions that can engage the attention of the historian; but its consideration, even in the briefest manner, would be quite outside the limits of the present work. Of the spread of the new religion in Spain during the second and third centuries of our era, we have, unfortunately, but the scantiest and most uncertain records. And as in the political history of these early days, we hear of little but battles and military heroes, so the history of religion or religious thought is represented only by records of bloody persecutions and legends of the martyrs of the faith.

The actual extent of the persecution of the Christians under the earlier Emperors, as well as the character and causes of the various outbreaks of Imperial intolerance of Christianity, have always been matters of the greatest uncertainty; but it would seem probable that, in the provinces of Hispania at all events, with the exception, perhaps, of a short period during the reign of the virtuous Trajan, the Christians[1] were subjected to no general or systematic persecution, whether on account of their religion or their political opinions, until the dark days of Diocletian.

Eugenius of Toledo, who suffered under Domitian, is the first great name in the Spanish martyrology; Mancius died for his faith at Evora under Trajan; Facundus and Primitivus in Gallicia under Marcus Aurelius, and the more celebrated[2] Fructuosus suffered death at Tarragona, under Gallienus. These were the gallant witnesses among the early Christians, who met their death bravely with their faces to the foe. For rashness rather than reserve characterised the attitude of the converts to the faith in the One True God, and many were the endeavours made by more prudent leaders to restrain the over zealous from condemning themselves to unnecessary martyrdom, by offering public and gratuitous insult to the religion, and even to the civil authorities, of the Empire.

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[1] See Renan, *Marc Aurèle;* and as to Trajan's policy as regards the Christians generally, Bury, *Student's Roman Empire* (1893), pp. 445-448.

[2] A long list of the early Christian martyrs of Spain will be found in Masdeu, vii., pp. 217, 220. Fructuosus is still the patron saint of Tarragona.

But the night grew darker before the dawn; and the weakness rather than the policy of Diocletian devoted the Christians throughout the Roman world to a final and fruitless persecution. Yet the agony, if dreadful, was at least of brief duration. It was only in 303 that Galerius persuaded the Emperor at Nicomedia to issue the dreadful edict. In 305 Diocletian resigned the purple; and Spain was released from the destroyer. Galerius bore no rule in western Europe; and while a pitiless persecution was carried on in Italy and in the east, Constantius Chlorus, the amiable father of Constantine, who ruled in Spain, not only displayed a most generous toleration, but secretly favoured the new religion by every means in his power. Had it not been for one Dacian, president of Aquitania Secunda, who seems to have taken upon himself the position of arch-inquisitor in the *Tarraconensis*, upon the promulgation of the edict of Nicomedia, the last persecution to which the Christian Church was subjected would have left Spain unmolested and unharmed.

But under Dacian, incited by Galerius, and hardly checked by Constantius, the Spanish Christians suffered for their faith throughout the north and north-east of the province; and at Cæsaraugusta more especially, *patria sanctorum martyrum*, the cruel and treacherous conduct of the Roman president recalled the darker days of Lucullus and Galba.

Of all the victims of Dacian, St. Vincent,[1] who faced death and torments at Valencia in the course of the year 304, is the most celebrated in Christian story. Of the pious and learned bishop, the intrepid witness, the unflinching sufferer, the tale of the almost superhuman constancy was told throughout Europe in the plaintive and graceful verse of Prudentius.

Our knowledge of this Spanish persecution, such as it was, is derived indeed almost entirely from the works of this first of Christian poets; and a poet, however honest, is scarcely a safe guide in matters historical, more especially when his feelings are deeply stirred by the subject of his own recital. But in 306 Constantine was proclaimed at York; and his influence at once made itself felt throughout the Roman world. Persecution ceased. Christianity was at least permitted to every Roman citizen. A dozen years later it was to be the faith of the

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[1] For the origin of the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, so far removed from Valencia, see Mariana, vii., 4; and as to the removal of a holy coat of St. Vincent from Saragossa to Paris, see *post*, p. 65 of this work. *Cf. Esp. Sag.*, viii., 249.

Empire. Upon the proclamation of Theodosius it became the only form of religion recognised in the Roman world.[1]

In Spain, ever marching in the van of ecclesiastical development, we have, from the very beginning of the fourth century, the records of the Spanish Councils which afford us much insight into the religious life of the province.

At Illiberis or Elvira, on the site, it may be, of the more celebrated city of Granada, some three hundred years after the birth of Christ, was held the first Christian Council of whose proceedings we have any authentic record.[2]

Nineteen bishops and thirty-six priests, with an uncertain number of Christian deacons, constituted this early Council, and if every one of its eighty-one decrees is of transcendent interest to the student of theology, there are not wanting among them some few of almost equal interest to the student of Spanish history. Conspicuous, yet not supreme, among their early councillors was Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, the greatest of Spanish Churchmen in the early days of the Christian Church. He was not, indeed, counted among the martyrs of the faith, nor has the memory of his noble and stirring career procured for him the posthumous honour of canonisation; yet he was "approved," says Eusebius, for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and for his virtuous life, and pronounced by no less a doctor than Athanasius, to be "the most illustrious of men".[3] Born in southern Spain about 256, we know nothing of his career until at the close of the persecution under Dacian he was consecrated Bishop of Cordova; and his earliest public act in connection with the Christian Church was his appearance as Vice-President of the Council or Synod of Elvira.

In 316, we find him at the Imperial Court of Constantine, whose respect and admiration he was not slow to acquire, and who entrusted him in 321 with the celebrated mission, enjoining doctrinal uniformity, to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and to the more renowned Arius—a mission, in the words of the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, "the most honourable and the most important that could have been confided to any Churchman" of the day.[1] The mission failed; and by the advice of the Bishop of Cordova, Constantine convoked the Fathers of the Christian Church to meet him at Nicæa.

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[1] The *Pax Ecclesiæ* was proclaimed in 312. "La Religion Chrétienne cessait à peine d'être proscrite que déja elle devenait protégée, puis dominante," Montalembert, *Moines d'Occident*, i., 5.

[2] Possibly as early as 306; the date is very uncertain. In any case the council was held not later than 316; nine years at least before that of Nicæa (325). The name Illiberis is derived by so good an authority as Mr. Wentworth Webster (*Spain*, p. 75), from the Basque or Iberian *beri* = new, *iri* = town, *i.e.*, Newtown.

[3] Dean Stanley gives him the pre-eminence over all his contemporaries, including even Athanasius himself, *Eastern Church*, p. 244 (Ed. 1862).

The exact precedence accorded to Hosius at this ever-celebrated council, is a matter of bitter controversy. He probably took the first place, pre-eminent over all other ecclesiastics, by the side of the Emperor himself; and his influence was undoubtedly enormous. Whether his position was that of the legate[2] or the rival of Rome; whether he sat at Nicæa as the Pope's man or as the Emperor's man, or as Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, it is certain, says Dean Stanley, "that he was himself an object of deeper interest to Christendom than any Bishop of Rome". On his return from Constantinople to Spain, the year after the assembling of the council, he paid a visit to Italy, and saluted, or was saluted by, Pope Sylvester. For twenty years more he lived at Cordova, occupied with the business of his See, until at length, in 347, he was summoned once more by the Emperor at Constantinople, to preside at the Council of Sardica, a city in Upper Mœsia, better known to modern readers by its modern name of Sofia, the capital of the still more modern principality of Bulgaria.[3]

The Bishop of Cordova was then over ninety years of age. The journey from the Sierra Morena to the Balkans would have deterred many a younger man from accepting the Imperial commission. But the fine old Spaniard, a citizen of no mean city, mounted his mule, and rode across mountain and river, through forest and marsh, for full sixteen hundred miles from Cordova to Sofia, and back again from Sofia to his home at Cordova, when he had finished the work that had been given him to do.

But he was not yet suffered to rest. Six years after his return from Sardica he was summoned to Milan by the Emperor Constantius II. (353), and urged to abandon the doctrines of Nicæa for those of the rival and then more popular school of Arius. Hosius, now nearly one hundred years of age, obeyed the Imperial summons, but disregarded the Imperial dictation. He withstood the Emperor in his palace; and, more faithful or more consistent than Pope Liberius, he endured personal duress, if not actual torture, for nearly twelve months at Sirmium, rather than subscribe a formal declaration against the teachings of his old friend Athanasius,[1] and the doctrines which he had himself had so large a share in promulgating.

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[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, i., 4.

[2] Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112.

[3] As to the secession of some eighty of the eastern members of the Council of Sardica, and their meeting at Philippopolis, when both Hosius and Pope Julius were solemnly denounced, see De Potten, *Considérations sur les Principaux Conciles*, i., 330-337. See also Sozomen, lib. iii., c. xii.

To what extent he may have relented in his opposition to Arianism during his visit to Sirmium it is now impossible to say. He seems, at all events, to have consented to hold communication with two Arian bishops, Valens and Urgacius, an exhibition of Christian amity for which he has been severely blamed by Hilary of Poictiers, and other orthodox critics. Where our knowledge of the facts is so imperfect, praise and blame are alike impertinent, and we know little more for certain than that Hosius ultimately obtained the Emperor's permission to return to Spain, and that he died at Cordova in 357 or 358, at the age of at least a hundred years.

Hosius was a fine specimen of a Christian Churchman and a noble Spaniard; advising Emperors, reasoning with arch-heretics, convening councils—neither fearing the strong nor persecuting the weak—throughout a long and honoured career; and in the evening of life bearing the burden of his years bravely across Alps and Pyrenees, and holding his own against the arguments or the commands of a fourth century Emperor—consistent to the last, even if he did lapse into a little over Christian toleration of Christian heresy!

But, alas! the toleration of Hosius was rare even in the fourth century; and the Christians who had braved and converted the Pagan world by *loving one another*, were found corrupted[2] by the corruption of the Empire into which their religion had been absorbed—seeking to promote the spread of their faith in an all merciful God, by the methods of Galerius and Dacian. Nor were these Christian rigours reserved for the obstinate heathen. It was Christians, as time and thought developed differences in doctrine and practice, who suffered most severely at the hands of Christians; and within less than fifty years from the baptism of Constantine, a Spanish bishop,[1] with his attendant presbyters, and a noble lady disciple, were publicly executed as heretics by a Christian Emperor at the earnest solicitation of more orthodox Christian ecclesiastics. The death of Vincent was followed in less than a century by the death of Priscillian, the proto-martyr of Non-Conformity in the Christian world.

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[1] See Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii., 25, 26. As to what Hilary (*de Synodis*) speaks of as "the Blasphemy of Hosius," and of the character and import of the formularies that the Bishop of Cordova is said to have signed, a full account will be found in De Potten, *Considérations*, etc., i., 357, 361. See also Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, xvi., 46; Stanley's *Eastern Church*, *ubi supra;* and Tillemont tom. vii.

[2] "Quam dissimilis est nunc a se ipso populus Christianus, id est ab eo quod fuit quondam . . . sentina vitiorum!" Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, lib. v.

Priscillian was a man of wealth and position, born probably about the year 340, in some part of southern Spain. Attracted by the Christian teaching of one Marcus, a preacher from Egypt, he became an earnest advocate of certain mystic religious views regarding the nature of the Trinity, the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and the origin of evil, which were not in accordance with those commonly accepted by the Spanish Churchmen of the day.[2]

But Priscillian was zealous, devoted, rich; of considerable intellectual power, simple and frugal in his habits, liberal to others, pure, faithful, persevering. He soon drew after him many devoted followers; and two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, were among his earliest disciples. His teaching gradually attracted so much attention, that a council was summoned to meet at Cæsaraugusta to condemn his unknown theology. The council was held in 380. Priscillian and his teaching, though what his teaching was is not by any means certain,[3] were authoritatively denounced. But Priscillian was not silenced by his enemies. He was inspired with renewed vigour. He was consecrated Bishop of Avila; he was spoken of throughout the country; his disciples increased in number. Two members of the council thus set at nought, Idacius, Bishop of Merida, and Ithacius, Bishop of Ossonoba, appealed for assistance to the secular government.

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[1] "Ils persécutaient pour le compte d'Arius comme leurs prédécesseurs l'ont fait pour le compte de Jupiter et de Vénus," Montalembert, *op. cit.*, i., 9. In the Theodosian code there are no less than sixty-six enactments against Christian heretics, and a much smaller number against Pagans, Jews, apostates, and magicians. Lecky, *Rationalism*, ii., 1-36. See also Gibbon, chapter xxvii., and authorities there referred to.

[2] An Egyptian or gipsy by name Mark, says D. Vicente de la Fuente, passed from Memphis through France into Spain; and . . . became the teacher of Priscillian. Don Vicente classes the followers of Priscillian with *Freemasons* and *Jews* as being amongst the earliest members of *Secret Societies* in Spain! *Hist. de la Sociedades Secretas en España* (Lugo, 1870), pp. 17-26. The best account of Priscillianism that I have yet seen is in Señor Menendez Pelayo's *Heterodoxos Españoles* (1880), tom. i., pp. 100-148.

[3] The Priscillian heresy is usually understood to be a disbelief in the Incarnation and the assertion of absolute predestination. It was thus a sort of Unitarian fatalism.—H.

And at Milan, in 381, the Emperor Gratian granted a rescript excluding all *heretics* from the Christian Churches, and sending them into perpetual exile. The Spaniard Damasus had been elected Pope in 366, and Priscillian appealed in person to his compatriot at Rome. But Idacius and Ithacius were at Rome before him. And he accordingly failed even to obtain an audience of the Pope.

Turning back undismayed to Milan, he contrived by judicious bribes to the palace officials, to obtain the rescission of the Imperial rescript; and returning triumphant to Spain, he induced Volventius the Vicar to summon Idacius and Ithacius to appear before him as defendants in some legal process. What the charge was, we know not; we only know that the orthodox bishops declined to appear before the Imperial *Diocesan*, and fled for safety and succour to Trèves.

Seville was the capital of the diocese. Milan was the capital of the Empire. But Trèves was the capital of the Prefecture of Gaul. And at Trèves, Maximus, himself a Spaniard, discontented with the prefectorial purple, had recently (384) proclaimed himself Cæsar. Thus inclined to orthodoxy, the bishops appealed to him not in vain. A council, by the command of the Imperial usurper, was convoked at *Burdegala* or Bordeaux, in 385. Priscillian and Instantius were summoned, and duly appeared; the councillors delayed to determine, and showed themselves unwilling even to discuss; and the defendants, unable to obtain a fair hearing, demanded that the case should be remitted for the decision of Cæsar himself. The appeal was allowed; and the Spanish Christians, the accusers and the accused, journeyed on to the august city on the Moselle. A court was constituted by Maximus. The prefect presided. The orthodox bishops prosecuted; and the issue was never doubtful. Priscillian and his followers were pronounced guilty of heresy, and their offence to be worthy of death; and the sentence was confirmed by the pious Maximus, whose hands were yet "red with the blood of the murdered Gratian".[1] Priscillian was immediately executed. Euchrocia and one or two presbyters shared his fate. Instantius and Salvianus, with a number of heretics of lesser degree, were banished to the dreary exile of the Scilly Isles, off the coast of Britain.

Idacius and Ithacius were triumphant.[2] For a short time, indeed, the cause of the martyrs waxed strong in Spain. Yet Priscillianism without Priscillian was a dead thing, and the heresy soon ceased to attract any serious attention; though it was mentioned at the councils at Toledo in 400 and 447, and in that of Braga, in 448. It is last heard of as an extinct form of Arianism at the council of Braga in 563;[1] and its errors are now unknown or forgotten.

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[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, v., ii.

[2] Idacius is said to have been afterwards excommunicated by St. Ambrose in 389. As to his tenure of the See of Merida, see Masdeu, tom. vii.; *Ilustracion*, xiv.

One of the most curious and characteristic features, indeed, of this early manifestation of Christian intolerance is that no one seems to have troubled himself very much with the nature of the heresy, nor with the actual doctrines and practices of Priscillian. It was apparently sufficient that he thought for himself. No one assuredly concerned himself with his conversion or that of any of his followers. The prosecuting or persecuting bishops, the representatives of the Holy Office of the day, intriguing at the corrupt court of one of the most contemptible of the Christian or even of the Pagan Emperors, procured the sentence of condemnation. Priscillian intriguing with equal or greater success, procured the repeal of the decree. The Pope would hear no arguments. The council at Bordeaux would arrive at no decision; and Maximus—a strange judge of religious truth—condemning the heretics to death, seems to have been autocratically annoyed at any one presuming to oppose the constituted authorities, and politically glad to be able to please the official *Episkopoi* of a Church that was already becoming a power in the Empire. And it is sufficiently curious that the Pope and the Emperor, no less than the accusers and the accused, should all have been natives of Spain. But there is one Spaniard whose name is remembered in pleasant contrast to those of these early persecutors. Marcus Aurelius Prudentius,[2] the greatest Christian poet of the early Church, and the glory of Spanish Latinity in the fourth century, was born at Calagurris or Calahorra, on the Spanish slopes of the Pyrenees in 348. Of good family and position, he practised at first as an advocate, but was soon appointed to an important civil office at Tarraco, and afterwards at the court of the Emperor at Milan. Later in life he seems to have joined some religious society, and to have been moved, after a visit to Rome, to write and publish his poems on subjects directly connected with the Christian religion.

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[1] See Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, iii.; Tillemont, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, vii., 498; *España Sagrada*, iv., appendix iv., and xiv., 359; Gaillard, *Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne*, i., 22. But as to the influence of dead Priscillianism upon living heretics from A.D. 1200 to 1250, see Vicente de la Fuente, *ubi supra*, p. 26. The *Albigenses* too, says that author, were Priscillianists—full of the errors of Egypt—*ib.*, pp. 28, 29.

[2] The honour of producing a still earlier Christian poet must also be assigned to Spain. Caius Vettius Juvencus, the first Christian writer of Latin verse, preceded his greater countryman, Prudentius, by some twenty years (circ. A.D. 330).

Pope Damasus, who died in 384, and was also a poet, and Dracontius, who flourished in the early part of the fifth century, and was the author of the Christian poem the *Hexaemeron*, were also natives of Spain. See Masdeu, tom. viii., pp. 185-188, and Mayor's *Latin Literature* (1875), pp. 102-111.

The character of Prudentius, as it appears to us from his writings, is not only admirable, but is undoubtedly most attractive. A thorough Roman, proud of the Empire, and loyal to the Imperial authority, at a time when both were in their decay, he was still prouder of his religion, as yet in the full charm and glory of its early perfection and purity. Distinguished among his fellow Christians by a fondness for art, Prudentius[1] set his face against the destruction of the Pagan statues that fared so ill at the hands of his contemporaries. His large toleration was the outcome of true charity. He recognised the virtues of Julian and the eloquence of Symmachus, and he would not persecute the heretics whose errors he most deplored. As an author, his style is not only easy and fluent, but terse, epigrammatic, and at times humorous and satirical. The great fault of those of his works that have survived to our own time is no doubt their prolixity. Their greatest merit is that they illustrate, by their numerous references and allusions to contemporary affairs, the true life and feelings of the age.

The historic and antiquarian value of the poems is thus very great, not only as regards early Christian theology and practice, but as regards the manners and customs of the times, the luxury and extravagance of the rich, the misery of the poor, the gladiatorial shows, the modes of punishment and of torture in common use, the early Christian painting and art generally, dress, relics and religious ceremonies and symbols—with an immense number of historical and topographical details of the very highest interest.

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[1] As to the theology of Prudentius, see F. St. John Thackeray, *Selections from Prudentius* (London, 1890), Prefatory Memoir, pp. xxxiii.-lv. *Cf.* Cod. Theodos., xvi., 10, 8. As to his liberal and intelligent appreciation of the Pagan works of art, his own words are worth quoting:—

"Marmora tabenti respergine tincta lavate,
O proceres! liceat statuas consistere puras
Artificum magnorum opera, hæ pulcherrima nostræ
Ornamenta fuant patriæ, nec decolor usus
In vitium versæ monumenta coinquinet artis".

Contra Symm., v., 501-506.

See also Ozanam, *La Civilization au Cinquième Siècle*, tom. ii., c. xxi.

Prudentius was brought into contact with the three great forces of the day: the Pagan, revived under Julian, and tolerated in the days of Theodosius; the Barbarian, already thundering on the frontier; and the Christian, accepted by the edict of Milan in 313, and supreme after the death of Gratian in 382. And in his works we find something of this three-fold influence. The *Liber Cathemerinon*, the Christian Day, as Mr. Lilly calls it,[1] is a collection of hymns, and is certainly the most important; after that, the *Liber Peristephanon,* the Martyr's Crown, consisting of fourteen lyric poems, is the most valuable; the *Psychomachia* was perhaps the most popular in the Middle Ages, together with the *Hamartigenia*—a treatise on the origin of sin, now rather of archæological than of theological interest. Prudentius wrote before *rhyming* Latin verse was thought of, and after *quantity* had ceased to be critically regarded; and his poetry has thus a slovenly and unfinished character, only redeemed by the exceeding earnestness of the writer, the beauty of his thoughts, and the immense interest to modern readers of his presentment of ancient life. "The Horace and Virgil of the Christians," according to no less a critic than Bentley, "the poet of dogma," and "the forerunner of Calderon and Lope de Vega," Prudentius has from the first been held in high honour at home and abroad. His works were edited in the sixth century by the Consul Vettius Agorius Basilius, the editor of Horace; and they were used as a school book from the tenth to the fifteenth century in every country in civilised Europe.[2]

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[1] Chapters on *English History*, i., 208.

[2] No less than thirty-three MSS. are still in existence; and sixty editions of his works are said to have been printed since 1470.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGDOM OF TOULOUSE.

(411—569.)

On the death of Alaric, his brother-in-law, Atawulf, was proclaimed King of the Visigoths.

The dream of the Goth was at this time to destroy the Roman Empire, and to found a great Gothic Monarchy on its ruins. But Atawulf had none of the direct and uncompromising vigour of Alaric; and after many marchings and counter-marchings in Italy, after many attempts at honourable negotiations with the shifty and faithless Honorius, Atawulf made his way into Gaul, defeated Jovinus, one of the numerous upstart Cæsars of the period, proclaimed himself to be the friend and ally of Rome, and thus "employing the sword of his Goths, not to subvert, but to restore the prosperity of the Roman Empire," he re-conquered the greater part of Gaul, not for himself, but for Honorius. He then, and not for the first time, solicited the hand of Galla Placidia, a captive in his train, whom he respected rather as the daughter of the great Theodosius, than as the sister of his degenerate successor.

Honorius, the degenerate Emperor of the West, a powerless refugee at Ravenna, refused his consent to the restorer of Gaul; but the marriage—delayed but not prevented by his opposition—was celebrated with Imperial pomp and splendour at Narbonne in the course of the year 414. It would have been wise as well as kind to conciliate this Gothic brother-in-law, who had shown himself to be not the destroyer but the supporter of declining Rome. It is ever politic to be grateful to a powerful benefactor. But the weak are rarely politic, and are often ungrateful; and the weakness of Honorius was only exceeded by his ingratitude. The ignoble murderer of Stilicho knew not how to take advantage of the generosity of Atawulf.

He would admit no favour; he would allow no alliance; and above all, he would take upon himself to do nothing whatever. In the eyes of such politicians, to shirk responsibility is the only way to avoid danger.

Meanwhile, the diplomacy of his new minister Constantius—himself an aspirant to the hand of the wedded Placidia—was devoted to inducing Atawulf to abandon Gaul to the thankless Honorius, and to turn his arms, unasked and unaided, against the barbarous foes of the Empire in Spain. The Goth, indignant, but apparently consenting, bound it may be to the Roman with silken chains, crossed the Pyrenees,[1] taking with him Attalus, the puppet Emperor of Alaric. Why, we scarce know. Nor do we know whether it was his supposed subserviency to his Imperial brother-in-law, as some have asserted, or, as it would seem more probable, a stroke of private revenge, that led to his assassination before he had penetrated further south than Barcelona, in August, 415. But even so he died.[2]

Atawulf has been called the first of the Visigothic sovereigns of Spain. But he was no more King of Spain than he was King of Italy. Far less, indeed. He ruled over Rome; he vanquished a rival Emperor at Mayence; he conquered Gaul. But if he was never King of Spain, nor of any other country in Europe, he succeeded Alaric as King of the Visigoths.[3] He needs no higher title. The odious Singeric, who nominally succeeded him, was never king of any nation or country outside the palace at Barcelona, and was in his turn assassinated after a reign of seven days, when the choice of the Goths fell upon Wallia, who was elected as a determined foe to the Roman court. Spain was to be conquered, not for the Roman enemy, but for the Visigothic people.

The charms of Placidia once more saved the Empire. Constantius, still aspiring to the honour of her hand, now placed within his reach by the death of Atawulf, promptly marched into Spain at the head of an Imperial army, and compelled or persuaded the Gothic king to restore the daughter of Theodosius; and further, in return for a welcome subsidy, bound him by treaty to prosecute the war in Spain against the earlier Barbarians, as the vassal or ally of Honorius. Wallia was faithful to his engagements. Placidia became the wife of Constantius. The Vandals in Bætica were dispersed. The Alans in Lusitania were said to be destroyed; and the Suevians, who retained their possessions in the north-east, submitted themselves, by a common and convenient fiction, to a nominal overlordship. And when the Peninsula was pacified, Wallia retired, faithful and triumphant, to the capital of the rich province that was granted to him on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees.

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[1] There is a very long *Disertacion* by Martın de Ulloa in the *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Historia*, tom. i., pp. 264-345, on the origin of the Gothic Monarchy in Spain, more especially as regards the negotiations between Honorius and Alaric.

[2] *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia*, tom. i., pp. 225, and 243-264.

[3] Mr. Bury somewhat happily styles him the Moses of the Goths, who brought them within sight of the promised land, but died before its actual occupation.

Wallia, like Atawulf, is usually counted among the kings of Spain. But although Wallia, unlike his great predecessor, actually or nominally conquered the country, he conquered it for Rome. And at the hand of the Roman Emperor he accepted the kingdom in southern Gaul, which the prudence of Constantius assigned to him. "The Kingdom of Tolosa," as it has been happily called, was a rich and fertile territory, and included the whole province of Aquitania Secunda and a great part of Narbonensis and Novempopulania, with the flourishing cities of Poictiers and Angoulême in the north-west, with Bordeaux on the broad Garonne, and Toulouse, where Wallia fixed his capital, higher up on the same noble stream —almost within sight of the Pyrenees.

But while Wallia triumphed at Toulouse, the Vandals remained in the Peninsula. In 420 they were attacked and defeated at Bracara Augusta by an army of Romans under Asterius, with the Suevians under Hermeric, and were routed with considerable slaughter.[1] Disturbed in northern Spain alike by the Goths and the Romans, the Vandals pursued their course towards the south, as far as Bætica to which they gave the name of Vandalusia or Andalusia;[2] and for many years they ravaged that fair and fertile country, unharmed by the feeble Romans of Spain, almost unopposed by the degenerate Spaniards of the Peninsula. Their leader, the terrible Gaiseric, restless and unsatisfied even on the banks of Guadalquivir, was at length persuaded by Boniface, the Tribune, and Count of Africa, to assist him against his enemies. Whether these enemies were Goths or Romans, or both, is somewhat obscure. It is more certain that the entire Vandal nation then in Spain, to the number, it was said, of 80,000 persons, men, women and children, passed over the Straits of Gibraltar[1] in the happy month of March, 427, to turn their arms once more against the Roman commander who had invited them; to drive out the Imperial and Gothic troops; and to found the great Vandal Empire in Africa.

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[1] Though this defeat was revenged two years later by a great victory over Castinus.—H.

[2] Rather their name of *Vandal* was given to the province by the Africans whose territory they invaded from southern Spain. As to the etymology of Andalusia, see *post*, Appendix IV.

It was thus by successive master strokes of folly and treachery that the Vandals, invited by Stilicho into Gaul, invited by Gerontius into Spain, and finally invited by Boniface into Africa, marched, not only unchecked, but by easy stages of encouragement, from the wild forests beyond the Rhine to the rich and sunny kingdom that was prepared for them beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

From the invasion of Gunderic in 409 to the departure of Gaiseric in 427 the political condition of Spain was somewhat remarkable. The Roman had almost ceased to possess. The Visigoth had not yet begun to govern. The Vandal was but a sojourner. The Suevian was a pagan, if not a savage. But if there was as yet no king of the Visigoths, living and ruling in Spain, there was at least a king of the Vandals and a king of the Suevians, harrying, if not actually possessing, the Roman provinces. For although Asterius and the Suevians drove the Vandals out of northern Spain in 420, another expedition, undertaken by Castinus with a Roman and Visigoth force two years later (422), was not only defeated by Gaiseric and his Vandals, but the Roman commander was forced to fly for safety to Tarragona.

Wallia died, strangely enough, "in his bed," as the phrase runs, in his palace at Toulouse, and was succeeded by Theodoric, who, possibly to avoid confusion with the great Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths in Italy, is usually known as Theodored. With his life in Gothic Gaul, and even with his death in the moment of victory on the plains of Châlons,[2] the still Roman province of Spain had small concern. Yet his defeat of Attila decided the fate of Europe, and altered the course of history.

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[1] Not of course known by that name until after the Arab invasion by *Tarik*, when *Calpe* gave place to *Gibil Tarik*, and *Gibraltar*. Strictly speaking the Straits should still be called the Straits of Gades, and the Guadalquivir the Bætis.

[2] The battle of Châlons was fought in the Champagne country of north-east France, near Moirey, a village a few miles from Troyes, no longer in existence. The ancient name of the entire district was that of the Catalauni, or Châlons, which gave the well-known name to one of the greatest of mediæval battles.

The names of his successors, Thorismund and another Theodoric, are of little interest to the historian of any country. Thorismund was assassinated by his brother Theodoric. And Theodoric, after a successful campaign against the Suevians in Spain, undertaken at the request of the Emperor Avitus, was in his turn assassinated by his brother Euric,[1] who succeeded him as King of the Visigoths. A bold and successful sovereign, Euric in less than twenty years extended the little kingdom of Tolosa into a realm reaching from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Rhone to the frontiers of unconquered Cantabria. The Goth indeed is said not only to have conquered Lusitania, but to have completely subdued the Suevian kings in northwest Spain. But for five hundred years the conquest and subjugation of Cantabria and northern Lusitania had been one of the most constantly recurring incidents in Spanish history, and yet the Cantabrians and northern Lusitanians always retained their independence.[2]

Against the old Roman power, at least, Euric was completely successful. He besieged and took the provincial capital of Tarragona. He occupied the Imperial district of the Arverni —the modern *Auvergne,* and added the solemn sanction of a treaty to the more important fact of possession ;[3] and at length when Romulus the last Augustus gave place to Odoacer the first Barbarian, Euric was permitted to add to the immense Empire which he ruled from his palace at Arles, not only the whole of modern Provence, but the cities and districts which had till then continued to be counted among the Roman possessions in Spain.[4] Nor was Euric less successful as a maker of laws than as the maker of an Empire.[5] There was but one rift in the lute, and that rift was religious dissension. The Visigoths were Arians. The great bulk of Euric's new subjects were Athanasians. The bishops as a rule were hostile to the king; and the bishops in the fifth century were already beginning to be a power in western Europe. Their influence, moreover, was rapidly increasing, as Alaric the Second, the feeble successor of the politic and masterful Euric, had soon good cause to know.

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[1] For the reign of Euric, and generally for the history and manners of *Gothic Gaul*, the letters of his contemporary Sidonius Apollinaris are of the utmost interest and value, as is the modern work of the Abbé Chaix, *Sidonie Apollinaire et son siècle*, 2 vols. (Clermont, 1866). Sidonius, though a layman, was consecrated Bishop of Clermont. His own life was that of an accomplished gentleman, and his letters should interest the man of the world as well as the student. I have used the edition, *Paris*, 1598.

[2] Lusitania was not as extensive a province as modern Portugal. Its northern boundary was the Douro, and the country between the Douro and the Minho, now Portuguese territory, formed part of the province of Gallicia.

[3] The treaty between Euric and the Empire was negotiated by Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, a very important personage at the time. It was executed in 475.

[4] Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vi., 422-433.

[5] Euric's famous code of laws is of the greatest interest, because it exhibits a mass of Visigothic usage as it had been modified by contact with Roman civilisation. Although the foundation of the code is Visigothic, many of the provisions

Euric died in his capital at Arles in 484, having raised the kingdom of the Visigoths to its highest pitch of power, and to its greatest extent of territory in Europe.[1] From the day of his death the greatness began to decline, and in less than five-and-twenty years the kingdom was shorn of nearly half its territories, and the king of more than half his glory.

Alaric had been less than three years on the throne[2] of his father, when Clovis, King of the Salian Franks, a bold young pagan from the banks of the Meuse, descending upon the city and district of Soissons in north-eastern Gaul, had overrun the country, and driven Afranius Syagrius, the governor, or as the old chronicle styles him, "king of the Romans" to seek asylum at the more hospitable court of Toulouse. Clovis demanded the surrender of the fugitive, and the contemptible Alaric yielded to his threats, and gave up his royal guest to the mercy of the Frank. Thus was Visigothic honour sadly sullied, even before the Visigothic dominions were curtailed.

But the loss of territory was not long delayed. Clovis was the hero of the hour. In 486 he had conquered the Gauls at Soissons. In 496 he was to conquer the Alemans at Zülpich. A strong and masterful barbarian, a heathen, but at least not a heretic, the vigorous pagan at Soissons was preferred by the Catholic bishops to the feeble Arian at Toulouse.[3]

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are evidently inspired by the Theodosian code. The intention of Euric in preparing this code of Toulouse was evidently to bring about a fusion of the peoples, or at least to devise a commonly acceptable set of laws which should gradually bring them together. This attempt was a failure, as the Latinised Spaniards resisted all attempts to force Visigothic laws upon them. The result was that Euric's successor Alaric ordered a commission of jurists to draw up the *Lex Romana*, a code mainly founded on the Theodosian laws as a supplementary code to that of Euric (A.D. 506). These various codes were augmented by succeeding kings, and finally embodied, 150 years after, in the famous *Lex Visigothorum* of King Chindaswinth.—H.

[1] Euric, like Atawulf and Wallia, is frequently spoken of as the first King of Spain. It would be as reasonable to style him King of France. But he was the sovereign not so much of any country as of a nation.

[2] Clovis was born only in 465 or 466, and became King of the Franks in 481. The name by which I speak of him is, I think, a good English word; but as to the spelling of this and other proper names, see Introduction.

[3] Clovis did not establish his court at *Paris* until the year 500.

The people, however, as yet insufficiently educated in religious politics, hesitated to march against their Christian neighbours under the banner of a pagan king; but the difficulty was happily solved after the great Frankish victory at Zülpich or *Tolbiacum*, by the conversion of Clovis (496) who found, like his celebrated successor, that France was well "worth a Mass"; and the newly-baptised Catholic was ready to embark upon the *first religious war of Europe.*

Alaric, alarmed at the prospect of the coming struggle, craved the honour of a friendly interview with his brother Clovis. The interview was granted. The two kings met on an island in the Loire, near Amboise, and swore eternal friendship. Alaric returned contented to Toulouse—and within the year Clovis had declared war against the Visigoths.

No pretext was needed for this fifth century *Crusade.* "It was not to be endured," says the pious Gregory of Tours, "that these Arians should possess the finest country in Gaul."[1] It was clearly the duty of a Catholic king to drive them out; a duty insisted upon by Churchmen, enforced by miracles[2] and entirely agreeable to the temper of "the chosen champion of Catholicism". There is indeed a fine mixture of the ecclesiastical and the temporal at the Court of the Frank, where ambition and superstition were equally powerful, "and for the first time in history," says Dean Milman, "the diffusion of belief of the nature of the Godhead became[3] the avowed pretext for the invasion of a neighbouring territory". Clovis,[4] as an orthodox Catholic, and a zealous convert, lost no time in invading the dominion of the Visigoths. And the great battle[5] on the *Campus Vocladensis,* near Poictiers, in which Alaric was slain, and his Arian army completely defeated, was at once the foundation of the Frankish kingdom of France, and the origin of the Gothic kingdom of Spain.

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[1] Gregory of Tours, ii., 37.

[2] The milk-white hind at the ford at Vienne, the fiery column over the cathedral of Poictiers; these and many equally convincing prodigies are faithfully recorded by Gregory of Tours.

[3] Montalembert, *Moines de l Occident*, ii., 248; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. i., p. 277.

[4] Clovis occupied the remarkable position of being the only Catholic king in Europe. The *Emperor Anastasius* professed heretical views on the Incarnation. *Theodoric*, King of the Ostrogoths, *Alaric*, King of the Visigoths, *Gondebald* and *Gondisel*, Kings of the Burgundians, and *Thrasimond*, King of the African Vandals, were all Arians.

[5] The plain of Vouglé or Vouillé.

Toulouse was immediately occupied by the victorious Franks; the Visigoths were driven out of Gaul, and the orthodox army of Clovis was checked only by the great mountain barrier of the Pyrenees.

Alaric left two sons, Gensalic, whose birth was illegitimate; and Amalaric, a child of but five years old, whose mother was a daughter of Theodoric, the great King of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Gensalic was elected on the death of Alaric to fill the vacant throne. Five years later, in 511, he was slain by the armies of Theodoric, who had maintained the rights of succession of his grandson Amalaric, not only against the illegitimate pretension of Gensalic, but against the Catholic ardour of the more formidable Clovis; and it was due to the successful warfare waged against the Franks by the great Ostrogoth, not only that Amalaric inherited the new kingdom of Spain,[1] but that the kingdom was preserved or created for him to inherit, and administered during the long minority of Amalaric by Theudis, the first *Minister Regent of Spain.*

On the death of Theodoric, in 526, the boundaries of the Visigothic kingdom were once more disturbed. To Athanaric, his nephew, the great Ostrogoth left Italy and the country to the north-west as far as the Rhone; while to Amalaric was given not only Gothic Spain, but Gothic Gaul, or Septimania—the rich country lying between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, and including the city of Narbonne, where Amalaric established his court. His marriage with Clothilda, a daughter of Clovis, the vanquisher, and perhaps the actual slayer of his father, was dictated by political prudence, but it was attended with most unfortunate results. Christian dissensions had already begun to vex unhappy Spain. The king was an Arian, the queen an Athanasian Catholic, and neither of them would endure the heresy of the other. Amalaric, at length, unable to convince his consort of the truth of the doctrines that he professed, forbade her the public exercise of her religion. It is not thus that alliances were cemented in the sixth century; and Clothilda appealed in anger to her brother in Gaul.[2]

The story of the bloodstained kerchief sent by Clothilda to Childebert, as an eloquent token of her ill-usage at the rude hands of her Arian lord, may be treated as an episcopal fiction; but however summoned, it is certain that Childebert, rejoicing to find so orthodox a pretext for an invasion of the dominions of the Visigoths, hastened to the defence of his sister and of his faith. The Frank triumphed. Amalaric, defeated near Narbonne, fled across the Pyrenees; and Childebert pursued the unfortunate Arian into north Catalonia (531). Amalaric was slain in battle;[1] and Childebert returned to Gaul, bearing with him not only his rescued sister, and the applause of his ecclesiastical patrons, but an immense booty of sacred treasure, the spoil of the Arian churches of Spain. Amalaric leaving no issue, Theudis, his worthy tutor, and possibly his murderer, was elected to succeed him on the throne, and the old regent fought not without success against the Gauls or Franks, once more invading his Spanish territories; and he not only drove them out of the country to the south of the Pyrenees,[2] but re-established the Visigothic sovereignty in the rich province of Septimania, with the cities of Carcassonne, Narbonne, and even Nismes. He was less fortunate in a campaign beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

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[1] As a matter of fact, the Visigothic sovereign never assumed the title of King of Spain; but that of "King of the Visigoths in Spain." Yet Amalaric was *de facto* King of Spain—the first of all the Visigothic kings who held sway in the Peninsula, who were not kings of Toulouse.

[2] See Gregory of Tours, lib. iii.

The Roman Empire of the East under Justinian was just now showing some signs of life in the south-west of Europe; and Belisarius was striving with a success long unknown to the arms of the legions, to recover the old province of Africa from the Vandals. Theudis, dreading the near approach of so great a neighbour, more especially as Spain might, like Africa, still be considered to be a province of the Empire, responded to the entreaty of Hildibad, King of the Ostrogoths, who was supporting Gelimer and the cause of the Vandals against Belisarius in Mauretania. The story of the campaign is confused and uncertain. Theudis crossed over the straits and attempted to relieve Ceuta; but the Gothic armies were defeated with great slaughter, and their leaders hardly found safety in flight. The explanation of this disaster that was offered by the Goths, that they were surprised at their Sunday devotions, has a suspicious resemblance to that of Alaric at Pollentia, one hundred and fifty years before. One party must always be defeated in a Sunday victory—not always, it is to be hoped, the most devout.

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[1] How Amalaric died, whether he fell in battle, or was murdered by order of Childebert, or by that of Theudis, is uncertain. The presumption of probability in those days would seem to be always in favour of the most unworthy.

[2] "In the following year (543), Childebert, King of the Franks, and Clotarius his brother, not satisfied with what they had done before, again made war upon Spain, and after wasting all the province of Tarragona, laid siege to Cæsaraugusta or Saragossa.

"The citizens had recourse to their patron Saint Vincent, whose garments they carried in procession about the walls, imploring his assistance, whereof Childebert being informed, he took compassion, and desisted from doing them any further harm. At his request, the citizens gave him that garment, which he carried to Paris, and there built a church in the suburbs, of the invocation of this saint—now called St. Germain des Prés." Mariana, *Hist. of Spain*, v., 6, translated by Stevens. *Cf.* Gaillard, *Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne*, vol. i., 28, 29.

Theudis escaped the sword of the enemy, only to perish some four years[1] later within the walls of his palace at Seville, by the ever-ready hand of an assassin. His immediate successor, Theudisel, who is said to have been a monster of licentiousness, was assassinated in his own chamber after a reign of eighteen months' duration; and he was succeeded by Agila, who found himself soon after his election called to suppress a rebellion in the southern provinces, fomented by the Roman authorities in Africa. Liberius, one of Justinian's commanders, had succeeded after nearly five years' desultory fighting, in concluding a treaty of some sort with Athanagild, one of the Visigothic leaders, by which a considerable tract of country in southern Spain was to revert to the Roman Empire in the event of Athanagild's succession to the throne. As a natural result of this arrangement Agila was assassinated in 554, and Athanagild reigned at Toledo over what remained to the Visigoths of Spain.[2] He endeavoured, it would seem, to abandon to Liberius something less than was stipulated in the treaty. His Imperial deliverer desired something more; and Athanagild's war against his sovereign was continued as a war against his ally. But Rome maintained and even extended her power in the Peninsula, until the Imperial territory reached from sea to sea.

The conversion of the Suevians from Arianism to the rival and more powerful religion was certainly the most important event in the reign of Athanagild; for the results, both immediate and remote, were of the utmost consequence to Spain. The restoration to health of a Suevian prince by the influence of the most orthodox relics of St. Martin of Tours led to the adoption of the orthodox religion by the king, together with his entire people (560); and the hostility which ever existed between the inhabitants of Cantabria and the inhabitants of

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[1] Gregory of Tours, iii., 30.

[2] Not only were the principal coast towns of the south and south-east—Cadiz, Malaga, Almeria and Carthagena—restored to the Roman Empire, but even Cordova and Illiberis, the site of more modern Granada. The Roman dominion was said to have extended "from sea to sea"; and it was sixty years before they were finally dispossessed by the Goth.

Spain was accentuated by the newly added zest of religious animosity. And the fresh bond of union between the rebels on the shores of the Atlantic and the rivals beyond the Pyrenees rendered the position of the Spanish Visigoths more isolated and more dangerous than before.

Nor did the diplomatic efforts of Athanagild tend in any way to save the situation. Seeking, like Amalaric before him, to strengthen his position by a family alliance with the rulers of the Franks, he had given his two daughters in marriage to two princes of the house of Clovis.[1] Chilperic, King of Neustria, had espoused the elder daughter, Galeswintha, while Brunhilda the younger had fallen to the lot of Sigebert, King of Austrasia; and still further to cement the union, each of the Arian princesses announced her conversion to the orthodox faith of her husband. But neither Church nor State were served by these early Spanish marriages. The terrible story of the faithlessness of Chilperic, the jealousy of Fredegonde, the murder of Galeswintha, the long struggle between the successful mistress and the avenging sister, a struggle in the course of which ten kings and queens are said to have lost their lives, and the final triumph of Fredegonde, and the savage murder of the vanquished Brunhilda, these things are familiar to every reader of French history.[2] But the character of Brunhilda, who was at least a woman of immense and indomitable energy, has become a matter of national contention. In the eyes of patriotic Spanish historians, she is a model of all that is virtuous, as well as of all that is beautiful;[3] to the French she is a foreign termagant who brought confusion and bloodshed to the courts of the early Merovingians (564-614).

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[1] The superiority in refinement, in morality, in royal dignity, and in civilisation generally of the Visigothic kings who ruled in Spain over the Frank kings who ruled in France, is brought into very strong relief by a distinguished French historian, Augustin Thierry, *Etudes Historiques* (ed. 1835, pp. 375-385).

[2] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, lib. iii.

[3] See Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, livre xxxi., c. i.; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.*, lib. v., cap. x.; Feyjoo, tom. vi., 2, 6; Masdeu, xi., 4; Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus;* Gailliard, *De la Rivalité entre la France et l'Espagne*, i., pp. 47-49. Finally, *L'Histoire des Francs*, par Grégoire de Tours—I have used Guizot's edition (Paris, 1823)—is invaluable for all events between 397 and 591.

CHAPTER VII.

LEOVGILD.

(567—586.)

ATHANAGILD did not live to hear of the murder of his daughter. He died at Toledo in 567, and was succeeded, after an interval of over five months, by Leova or Liuva, who was duly if tardily elected king in his room.

During this unfortunate interregnum, the ungoverned country had been distracted by serious internal dissensions; and Leova, who never crossed the Pyrenees, but reigned and died at Narbonne, was glad to entrust the government and defence of greater Spain to his younger brother Leovgild, whose reign may be said to have commenced from the day that he received his commission as viceroy. For of Leova no more is heard nor known, but that he died in 572, when his younger brother became *de jure*, as he already was *de facto*, king of the Visigoths.

But the first task that fell to Leovgild, as king or viceroy in 569, was to repel the encroachments of the Imperial forces in Andalusia. His operations were uniformly successful. He besieged and took Asido (possibly Jerez) in 570; and he occupied the yet more important city of Corduba in 571, when the Romans were driven beyond the Sierra Nevada, and the Imperial dominion was restricted to a narrow strip of territory along the coast, yet including all the important towns and harbours from Cape St. Vincent to Carthagena. Nor was Leovgild less fortunate in checking, though it was not until the close of his reign that he actually subdued, the wild tribes of Gallicia and the Asturias.

Beset with enemies from the first day he set foot in Spain; with enemies in the court and in the camp, in the palace and in the Church, harassed by Gothic nobles, by Imperial commanders, by Cantabrian mountaineers, by Romish bishops—

Leovgild showed himself the ablest of all the Visigothic kings of Spain; and as a general, as a lawgiver, and as an administrator by far the most successful. Hampered as he was by ecclesiastical opposition, by religious dissension, and by domestic treason, he contrived to raise the position and power of the king and of the kingdom to a higher pitch than had ever been reached before. He checked, if he could not destroy, the growing power of the Church, and he at least temporarily crushed the overgrown power of the Visigothic nobility—that intractable order of whom a contemporary writer says that they had learned "the detestable habit of killing their king whenever he displeased them, and putting another in his place!"[1]

But the ecclesiastics who wrote the history of the times were far more concerned with points of doctrine, and matters of discipline or ritual, than with any large questions of government or of policy; and Leovgild is unfortunately best known to us in the part of the wicked father in a wretched domestic drama—a tragedy of priests and women, of converts and rebels, of a disloyal bishop and a sanctified traitor.

The beginning of troubles was found, as usual, in a Merovingian marriage, albeit such an alliance with powerful neighbours might fairly have been considered a prudent and judicious measure for strengthening the throne of the Visigoths. Ermengild, the eldest son of Leovgild, had been married to Ingunthis, a daughter of Sigebert of Austrasia and the unfortunate Brunhilda of Spain. But although Brunhilda, on her marriage with the Frank, had been content to be converted to the Catholicism of her husband, Brunhilda's daughter was permitted by the Visigoths to retain her more aggressive rule of faith, heterodox though it was, in the palace of her husband and of her husband's kin in Spain. But neither the theology nor the temper of Ingunthis were found agreeable to her husband's stepmother, Goswintha, the queen consort of Leovgild; and the palace at Toledo was distracted by religious and feminine strife. The daughter of Brunhilda was not likely to submit tamely to the oppression of a mother-in-law, who was also an Arian, still less to embrace a heresy which had become doubly odious to her; and Leovgild, in the interests of domestic peace, contrived to separate the rival ladies by investing Ermengild with the vice-royalty or *consortium regni* of Bætica,[1] and sending him and his wife to reside at Seville.

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[1] The celebrated maxim of Visigothic law in Spain, *Rey seràs si fecieres derecho, y si non fecieres derecho, no seràs Rey*, might be of dangerous application in the case of an *elective* monarchy. The judges of the right were the electors from among whose number the new monarch would be chosen.

At the southern capital, unfortunately, was found, not an Arian persecutor, but an Athanasian ally and tempter, in the person of Leander, the celebrated Bishop of Seville, the elder brother of his yet more celebrated successor Isidore, and the most powerful prelate in all Spain. To this wily Churchman the young couple appeared as heaven-sent instruments for dealing a deadly blow at the masterful Arian monarch on the throne. The leading Catholics, and possibly even some of the Arian nobility, may have shared the views and aspirations of Leander, and it was no hard task to convert the vain and unhappy prince into a religious rebel. Thus encompassed by Catholicism within and without, his head turned by his more than princely authority, his heart touched by the tender entreaties of his young wife, and the vehement exhortations of one of the most eloquent Churchmen of the day, it was but natural that Ermengild should have accepted the theology that was agreeable to Ingunthis—and the crown that was offered by Leander.

But the conversion of the prince would have been poor and barren indeed had it been restricted to a change of creed. And when the royal convert was solemnly re-baptised (580), by the triumphant Leander, and made Catholic under the new Christian name of Juan, it was understood that the unorthodox father of the princely consort should no longer be permitted to rule over Spain, and that a heterodox stepmother should give place in the palace of Toledo to an eminently Catholic wife. And thus Ermengild, "the champion of the true faith," proceeded to take up arms against his father, to coin money in his own name, stamped with his own royal effigy,[2] and to proclaim himself the orthodox, and, as such, the only legitimate king of the Visigoths. He solicited the alliance of Mir, King of the ever-ready and now Catholic Suevians, and he called in to his assistance the Roman legions of the Emperor Tiberius (580), already in the occupation of some of the fairest cities in south-eastern Spain. Merida and Cordova declared themselves in his favour. Rebellion was once more abroad in the land.[1] For some time Leovgild attempted to reason with his rebellious son. But messages and messengers, lay and ecclesiastical, were sent in vain. The king at length determined to submit the matter to a synod; and a council of Arian bishops was summoned to meet at Toledo in 581, which pronounced several decrees in favour of religious unity, and generally of the most liberal character as regards those who professed the Catholic, or, as they expressed it, the *Roman* religion.[2] But the rebels were not convinced.

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[1] Two forces, says Dahn, combined to make German kingship; hereditary succession and popular election. The object of these delegations of authority during the lifetime of the reigning sovereign were usually to promote the hereditary at the expense of the elective principle. The *consortium regni* was one of many expedients for securing the succession of the king's son after the king's death.

[2] There is a gold piece of this issue in the collection of the British Museum, where I have seen it.

At length all this parley gave place to actual war. *Juan* Ermengild marched his combined forces against his father at Toledo; while Bishop Leander took his departure on a pious embassy to Constantinople, to solicit the active support of the Roman Emperor against the King in Spain. The ever-ready Suevians took advantage of the opportunity to rise once more in revolt, and the Imperial forces reoccupied Cordova. But Leovgild was not unequal to the occasion. He marched first against Mir, the rebel King of the Suevians, and reduced him to complete submission. He further laid the foundations of a frontier town, on whose site now stands the modern city of Vitoria, as a permanent defence against the wild tribes that inhabited the neighbouring mountains of the north-west. The Imperial troops, bribed by Leovgild, abandoned the cause of his rebel son, and the king held his own in the south-east. He reduced insurgent Merida[3] to subjection. He reasoned yet more earnestly with his unhappy son; and when all his entreaties proved of no avail, he besieged him in his vice-regal capital of Seville, where he kept him a prisoner with his rebel army for nearly two years.

The betrothal of Ermengild's[4] younger brother Reccared, to another Frankish princess, Rigunthis, daughter of Chilperic, King of Neustria, was at least diplomatically more successful than the marriage with the unhappy Ingunthis. And embassies from Leovgild on the subject of the coming of the young princess to Spain served to ward off any hostile combinations between Chilperic and Childebert, the brother of Ingunthis, or her uncle Gunthram of Burgundy.

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[1] Ermengild is said to have actually held his court for some time at Merida.

[2] *De Romana Religione.*

[3] And struck a medal in honour of the victory. Florez, *Medallas*, iii., 182.

[4] The betrothal of Ermengild and that of Reccared are said (*Hist. Franc.*, iv., 38) to have been negotiated at the same time, about 572. Chilperic, though a Frank, was always a firm ally of Leovgild.

Ermengild at length escaped from Seville, and made his way to Cordova, and thence to the neighbouring town of Ossetus,[1] where he took refuge in a church, and sought, with many protestations of repentance and amendment, to implore the mercy and forgiveness of his father. Reccared, his younger brother, was the bearer of his message; and he appears to have behaved with remarkable kindness and discretion. Leovgild, with the generosity of greatness, at once promised pardon, received the professing penitent with fatherly affection, and visited his crimes with no further chastisement than the loss of his vice-royalty.

It is not perhaps surprising that Leovgild should now have looked with some disfavour on the persons and offices of the Roman or Catholic clergy in his dominions. And as political rebels rather than as religious dissenters, they were made to feel the weight of his resentment. We hear of priests persecuted, of prelates dispossessed, of churches plundered. But we must remember that the good and the evil deeds of this most Arian king are known to us only through the writings of his most Catholic opponents.[2] To his son, at least, no harshness was displayed, and the vanquished rebel was provided with a befitting establishment in honourable retirement at Valencia.

But the vain and faithless Ermengild was not to be won by kindness. To such natures as are incapable of gratitude, generosity is but weakness. And Ermengild acted after his kind. Within a year of his pardon, he had made use of his freedom to invite the Franks to cross the Pyrenees, and carry their arms into Spain; and he had contracted a new alliance with the Imperialists, who were to receive a large accession of territory in his father's kingdom as the price of their assistance in a new revolt. Inguntbis, who had been included in the pardon of her husband, was confided to the care of the Imperial commander at Carthagena; and Ermengild, with his Romans and rebels, was marching northwards to join his forces with those of the invading Franks, when he was captured at Tarraco by Sisebert, one of his father's officers, and thrown into prison, where he was shortly afterwards executed as a rebel.

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[1] Ossetus is referred to in Masdeu, vol. vi., p. 374: Inscription No. 1094. The town appears to have enjoyed the Roman title of "Julia Constantia".

[2] John of Biclara, whose chronicle is our best authority for the greater part of the reign of Leovgild, was himself an exile for his faith. This most worthy monk, bishop and historian, was born about A.D. 540 at *Santarem* (Scalabis), in Lusitania, and is said to have passed seventeen years in study at Constantinople, "*urbs regia*". Returning to Spain about 576, he seems to have suffered persecution from the Arians of Barcelona in the time of Leovgild. After the accession of Reccared, and the triumph of Leander, he founded the Monastery of Biclara, near Tarragona, about 585, composing a special rule for the monks. He was appointed Bishop of Gerona in 591, and died about 620.

His chronicle embraces twenty-three years, 567-589, written probably in 590, and is marked by singular fairness and impartiality, especially as regards the character and acts of Leovgild, under whom he suffered persecution, and who is only mentioned by the Catholic bishop in terms of admiration. See *Esp. Sag.*, vi., 360.

The story of the Arian bishop who visited him in his dungeon, and who, finding his ministrations rejected, magnified the insult to the king, and so procured the immediate murder of the prince, not as a traitor but as a heretic, is sufficiently characteristic of the times. And it is but one of the many that have grown up round the pious memory of the unfortunate prince, the edifying horrors of whose saintly end have been enlarged upon by successive historians. John of Biclara and Gregory of Tours refer to the death of Ermengild in half-a-dozen words. Isidore does not mention it at all. The only authority for the ghastly and miraculous incidents which are recorded in the Martyrologies is a dialogue of Pope Gregory the Great, who never set foot in Spain, and who, as the friend and companion of Leander during his exile or mission at Constantinople *pro causâ fidei Visigothorum*, presents himself as a witness at once necessarily ignorant and necessarily prejudiced. It would be unbecoming to say more of the testimony of the only man who has earned the double title of sanctity and of greatness, but that it has failed to convince his more critical if less distinguished posterity.[1]

For a son to compass the death of his father has ever been accounted a crime more grave than that of the ordinary murderer. For a citizen unaggrieved to take up arms against his sovereign, is more than common rebellion. For a royal prince to call in the foreigner in arms against his own country, is more than common treason. Yet Ermengild takes a place not among the traitors, but among the martyr saints of his country, more orthodox than Viriatus, and scarcely less holy than St. James.[1] For the career of Ermengild found favour in the sight of an infallible judge. And Pope Sixtus V. perpetuated the memory of his many virtues by a formal canonisation. Many are the recorded miracles wrought by his powerful intercession, and a single bone of Saint Ermengild forms one of the most precious of the relics preserved for the adoration of the faithful in the Cathedral Church at Saragossa.[2]

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[1] See Gregory, *Dialogue* iii, 31. The *Dialogue* commences: "I have learned of many things which came from Spain". See the edition of the *Dialogue* by Mr. Coleridge, pp. 181, 182, for the details of his execution and the "mighty singing that was heard at his body"; "the night burning lamps that were seen at the place, by reason whereof his body, as of him that was a martyr, was worthily worshipped by all Christian people". It is worthy of remark that Gregory speaks of the martyr as "King Hermengild". Gregory resided at Constantinople as *apocrisiarius* or envoy to the Imperial court, first of Pope Benedict I., and afterwards, at the time of the visit of Leander, of Pope Pelagius, whom he succeeded in the Papacy in 590.

The Imperial troops seem to have returned to their cities after the prince's death, without further troubling Leovgild; and the widowed Ingunthis was sent with her infant son Athanagild to the Imperial capital at Constantinople. Ingunthis died on the journey, but Athanagild lived to reach the shores of the Bosphorus, where he was kindly treated by the Emperor Maurice, and thus happily passes out of the history of the times.

The projected marriage between Reccared and Regunthis had been broken off, partly on account of the death of her father Chilperic in 584, and partly from the reluctance of her relatives to part with her rich dowry.[3] And Gunthram of Burgundy, freed from the restraint of Chilperic, although the promptitude of Leovgild had deprived him of the all-important co-operation of Ermengild in Spain, declared war against the Arian Goths, and laid siege to Nismes and Carcassonne, two of the northernmost towns in the dominion of the Visigoths. Reccared, dispatched by his father at the head of an army, acquitted himself with skill as well as valour, drove off Gunthram and his nephew Childebert, the leaders of the Franks, secured the northern frontier, and returned in triumph to Toledo.

His father, in the meantime, had undertaken a most successful campaign against the Suevians. Mir, the first ally of Ermengild, had been defeated and subdued by Leovgild some time before. But on the death of that leader, during Ermengild's rebellion, two rival kings had asserted their claims to the monarchy of the turbulent tribe, and Leovgild, taking advantage of their dissensions, and glad to make an end of such chronic rebels, marched into the heart of Gallicia. In a brief campaign, he successfully defeated both the rival kings, Eboric and Andeca, who, with shaven heads and monkish habits, were sent to pass the remainder of their days in the convenient shelter of a monastery; while the victor received the submission of their subjects, who had continued for a hundred and seventy-seven years, ever conquered, but ever independent, a thorn in the side of the Visigothic monarchy. A fleet dispatched by Gunthram to the assistance of the Suevians, was at the same time routed off the coasts of Gallicia by the Visigothic king, who, with a few vessels hastily equipped, entirely destroyed the Frankish squadron.[1]

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[1] See Morales, *Cron. Gen.*, iii., 79; Butler's *Lives of Saints, sub. Hermengild*, and the *Breviary of Span. Church*, 13th April.

[2] See Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, vi., 43. Ermengild was not recognised as a martyr for some three hundred years after his death, *España Sagrada*, xvi., 373. Nor was he canonised until 1585 by Sixtus V., at the solicitation of Philip II. See, on the question generally, Gorres, in the *Zeitschrift für Hist. Theolog.*, 1873. St. Ermengild's Day is 13th April.

[3] The way in which first the treasure, and afterwards the Princess, were stopped on their way from Paris to Narbonne is characteristic and amusing. See Gregory of Tours, *op. cit.*, vi. 45.

It is admitted by the most uncompromising Churchmen that Leovgild was a great, if not an orthodox king. His vigorous heresy is on the whole somewhat tenderly dealt with by Catholic historians. And the story of his conversion to the principles of Athanasius a few days before his death in 586, may be taken as a species of tribute to his merits, suggested by the very natural desire to preserve the memory of the greatest of the Visigothic sovereigns of Spain from future condemnation. But however he died, it is certain that Leovgild while he lived was one of the ablest of the Gothic rulers of Spain, and the first who maintained anything like regal pomp and splendour at his Court. Of the magnificence of his apparel, of his golden crown, of his jewelled sceptre, of the gorgeous throne on which he presided at the assembly of the State Council, we have abundant contemporary record. The coins which bear his image, crowned, first of his race, with the insignia of royalty, are to be found in every collection. As a general he was rarely unsuccessful. As a builder of cities he was more a Roman than a Goth. As a legislator he added many new laws to the statute book of Spain.[2] As an administrator he first introduced a regular system of finance into the kingdom, which was maintained almost to our own days. But the true greatness of Leovgild was his moral courage. In spite of all his political and domestic difficulties, aggravated a thousand-fold by the opposition of the greatest power in his kingdom—already, perhaps, the greatest power in the world—he never flinched from his policy of firm and resolute government, by which he brought peace and union to the greater part of his dominions. He strove, and strove not in vain, to blend into one great people Goths and Suevians and Romans—Spaniards of every tribe and every origin. He administered equal justice to all. His more politic son took a shorter cut to union, and grasping at the shadow, let slip the substance of power. And if Reccared is called the first of the Catholics, Leovgild may fairly be styled the last of the Visigoths in Spain.

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[1] It is strange how every Visigothic king completely subdued these Suevians, and how they continued ever unsubdued, until their successors, or the guests of their northern descendants, really subdued Spain. (Although in this case the Suevian monarchy actually was destroyed, to be revived no more.—H.)

[2] He reformed and added considerably to the code of Alaric, and thus endeavoured to conciliate the Hispano-Roman part of his subjects from whom he differed in religion.—H.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT METROPOLITANS.

(587—672.)

I.—*Reccared.*

Reccared succeeded to a kingdom—Arian, Visigothic, German. But the Teutons had not lived for nigh on two hundred years in the most Roman province of the Empire without having themselves become largely Romanised.

In two centuries [B.C. 208—B.C. 19] the native barbarian of Spain had become a loyal Roman citizen, by the immense influence of the metropolis. In two centuries [A.D. 410—A.D. 600] the foreign heretic became a devoted Roman Catholic by the more powerful influence of the Church. And Reccared, who did not possess the lion heart of his father, but who read the signs of the times with a surer judgment, saw that in Spain —ever superbly Roman—the rule of Arianism was doomed, and that it were wisest to accept the inevitable.

The conditions of Gothic society had indeed greatly changed since Atawulf led his free northmen across the eastern Pyrenees. The small freeholders had almost ceased to exist. The great middle class of the nation had sunk to a condition of something like serfdom, if not of actual slavery. And although until the year 652 lawful marriage between Roman and Visigoth was forbidden by law in Spain, there is no doubt that at the time of its legal authorisation under Recceswind, the races were already largely mingled; and further, that the great mass of pure-blooded Visigoths had become profoundly influenced by their Roman neighbours. Reccared indeed assumed the Imperial Roman title of *Flavius,* which was used by all his successors.[1]

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[1] We see the Teuton endeavouring everywhere to identify himself with the system he overthrew. The Lombard kings when they renounced their Arianism styled themselves *Flavii.* Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 45; and *ibid.*, pp. 20-23.

The great land-owning nobles, on the other hand, had maintained a good deal of their ancient Gothic independence, with some loss of their Gothic virtue; and had become more powerful than ever; more wealthy and less warlike; more turbulent and less loyal. Independent to the last, and ever aggressively Teutonic, even when most Roman, they defied the power of the kings, whom they elected, and hardly submitted themselves to the bishops, whom they feared.

The clergy, recruited largely from the common folk, found themselves more and more drawn to that form of worship which was at once the religion of the Spanish people and of the Roman world: and the domestic persecution of Leovgild was of a nature to encourage resistance, and to give to the adherents of a powerful and growing communion the cheap and attractive glory of bloodless martyrdom. Leovgild had maintained his position both against his aggressive nobles and his aggressive clerics. But his own son had fallen in the struggle. Reccared was fain to secure a victory over an unconquerable aristocracy by the assistance of an unconquerable Church. It was no doubt a masterpiece of statecraft; it may have been even a political necessity. But it laid the foundation of most of the evils which have for thirteen centuries, in the days of her greatness as in the days of her decline, afflicted and disgraced the kingdom of Spain.[1] Reccared accordingly declared himself a Catholic, put to death Sisibert, the executioner of his rebel but orthodox brother,[2] and summoning a Council or Synod of Arian bishops in January, 587, he induced many of the assembled prelates to embrace the religion of their sovereign. But this obsequiousness was by no means universal, and an invasion of Septimania by the Franks, under Duke Desiderius, is said to have been promoted by a dissatisfied Arian ecclesiastic. Religious animosity was not over scrupulous in the sixth century. The invasion, however, seems to have been easily repulsed, and for the next two years Reccared had leisure to devote himself to the great work of the conversion of the Visigoths to the faith of the Romans in Spain.

The king worked without violence and without haste; patiently, prudently, firmly. He invited both Arian and Catholic prelates to take part in friendly theological discussions in his presence. He restored to the Catholic churches the treasure of which they had been deprived in the reign of Leovgild. He showed himself just and liberal, clement and even generous to all. He, of course, chastised the Cantabrians. He received Leander, not only without reproach, but with respect, on his return to Spain from Byzantium.

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[1] The Visigothic king, in the polite jargon of the present day, had dished his Visigothic nobles. And in less than a century Visigothic kings and Visigothic nobles had alike been swept away.

[2] *Morte turpissimâ perimitur*, John of Biclara, *Chron.*

And at length, the people being well disposed to his person, and prepared as far as possible for the great change, he summoned the Third Council of Toledo, in 589, when, after a good deal of prefatory explanation and argument, he formally announced himself a convert to the Catholic faith, and called upon his entire people to follow his example.[1]

This declaration or Confession of Faith was received with applause; and the Council, under the presidency of Leander, drew up a reply, in which all the members asserted their renunciation of Arianism, and their conversion to Catholicism, and no less than twenty-three several *anathemas* were formulated against those who remained in the ancient faith of the Visigoths. In spite of the opposition of the Arian nobility, abetted by the queen-mother Goswintha, and certain Gothic protestors throughout the country, the great bulk of the people were content at once to follow their king's example; and Spain, if it remained partly Gothic in blood, became entirely Roman in religion.

The proceedings of this ever-celebrated Council were signed by no less than sixty-seven bishops, with only five lay *Palatines* or great officers of state. Leander, the ex-rebel, presided. Leander, indeed, was the hero of the hour, the first of the ecclesiastical rulers of Spain.

Born in the province of Carthagena, between 535 and 540, the son of one Severianus, an Imperial Greek[2] or Roman, settled at New Carthage, Leander was the elder brother of the yet more celebrated Isidore, and is said, on very doubtful authority, to have been the brother-in-law of King Leovgild.[3]

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[1] Reccared is said to have sent an embassy to Gregory the Great, soon after the sitting of the Council, to announce his conversion to Catholicism, and to ask for the return of a copy of the treaty concluded between Athanagild and the Emperor Justinian with regard to the Imperial dominion in Spain, which seems to have been deposited at Rome. Gregory refused to give up the papers, but sent instead, probably in 599, a fragment of the true Cross, a link of the chains that had bound St. John the Baptist, and some hairs from the head of St. Peter.

[2] The name *Leander*, like *Isidore*, is of course Greek.

[3] His sister Fulgentia is said to have been the first wife of Leovgild, and the mother of Ermengild and Reccared. Goswintha, the queen of whom we hear so much, was Leovgild's second wife, and the widow of his predecessor King Athanagild.

At an early age, about the year 575, he was raised to the Metropolitan See of Seville, where he was distinguished above all other Churchmen of his day by his zeal, his ambition and his marvellous eloquence. Of the part that he played in the rebellion of Ermengild, of his mission or flight to Constantinople, and his intimacy with the great Benedictine Gregory, the *apocrisiarius* of Pelagius and Benedict, we have already spoken. Leander was essentially a man of action, enthusiastic, restless, reckless. A man of words rather than a man of books: he has contributed nothing to the literature of his times; a man of deeds even more than a man of words: he changed the religion of Spain.[1]

Eighteen months after the Council of Toledo, Leander presided over the first Synod of Seville. To record the various dogmatic decrees of such assemblies would be both tedious and unprofitable. But one of the canons of this provincial Synod casts so strange a light upon the state of society at the time—social, ecclesiastical and moral—that it is worthy at least of passing notice. Ecclesiastics it would seem had been already forbidden to keep women servants in their houses; and Leander and his provincial clergy ordained as a punishment for all such Churchmen as persisted in disregarding this prohibition, that the *servants* of the offenders should be sold as *slaves*, and the proceeds of the sale handed over to the poor. A doubly virtuous supplement to the alms of the Faithful! a terrible punishment for the disobedient Priest!

The affection of Gregory for Leander continued throughout their lives, and in 599 the bishop was gratified by the coveted distinction[2] of the sacred *Pallium* at the hand of the Pope, an honour of which the precise significance is discussed with much acrimony by ecclesiastical historians. But Leander did not live long to enjoy his new position, whatever it may have been; he died at the end of the year 599, or at latest in 600, leaving his bishopric and his supremacy in Spain to his brother Isidore. Their younger sister, Florentina, who was the superioress, or, rather, it must have been, the visitor, of no less than forty convents, survived Leander but two years, and died in 603.

Reccared's public profession and record of orthodoxy did not save the country from another Frankish invasion almost immediately after the meeting of the Council in 589. The Frank was no less covetous of the territories of the Catholic than of the Arian neighbour; and after some fruitless negotiations, in the course of which Reccared secured the neutrality of Childebert and Brunhilda by a handsome subsidy, Gunthram invaded Septimania. If ecclesiastical law was enfeebling the Visigoths, the arm of Reccared was certainly not shortened by his new theology. He marched across the Pyrenees on the first news of Gunthram's appearance on his northern frontier, and inflicted on him, near Carcassonne, so crushing a defeat that no further operations were attempted against Spain by any Frankish power for many years.[1] Against the Imperial troops in the south he was less successful; nor was he spared the inevitable victory over the mountaineers of Cantabria, before his death at Toledo in 601.[2]

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[1] That he was largely instrumental in changing the religion of the Gothic rulers is true; but it must not be forgotten that three-quarters of the population of the country were of Hispano-Roman blood and were opposed to Arianism.—H.

[2] Montalembert, *op. cit.*, ii., 132.

The reign of Reccared bridges over, as it were, the vast gulf that lies between the old Visigothic and the new Catholic kingdom—between the Wallias and the Leovgilds of a militant State, and the Sisenands and the Erwigs of a dominant Church; between Alaric thundering at the gates of Rome, and Roderic fleeing before the Saracens on the Guadalete.

II.—*Isidore of Seville.*

Of the eighteen Gothic kings who reigned, if they did not rule, from the death of Reccared to the conquest and occupation of Spain by the Arabs, there is but little to be said. The real sovereigns of the country were the bishops and clergy of Romish Spain. And of all these, the greatest name was that of Isidore of Seville.[3] The youngest brother of the masterful Leander, by whom he was brought up on the death of his parents, Isidore gave early proof of uncommon intelligence, no less than of extraordinary diligence in his studies. Relegated by family prudence, if not by fraternal jealousy, to the seclusion of a monastery, the youth grew up a student, and a recluse—entirely subject to his elder brother—until, on Leander's death in 600, Isidore was called from the cloister to succeed him as

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[1] One of his commanders in this Septimanian expedition was *Dux* Claudius, said by Mr. Oman (*Europe*, 476-918, p. 142), to have been "the first man of Roman blood promoted to high rank by a Visigothic king". *Cf.* Romey, ii., 157.

[2] Isidore, *Hist. de Reg. Goth.*

[3] Lucas Tudensis, *Vit. S. Isidor.;* Bolland, tom, i., April, p. 331.

Metropolitan of Seville, where he reigned with a not unkindly rule till his death in 636.

Very different were the characters and dispositions of these two almost equally famous brothers. Leander was eloquent, unscrupulous, ambitious, restless—a man of the world. Isidore was learned, punctilious, contented, gentle—a man of the cloister. Both were devoted to their Church, and jealous of its privileges. Both took their places as presidents of councils and rulers of kings; but Leander was a rebel; Isidore was at least ever loyal to Spain. Isidore has left behind him a complete library of works on almost every subject of study, human or divine—an encyclopædia of early learning.[1] Leander has left nothing behind him but his reputation—and the Catholicism of Spain.[2]

Of the writings of Isidore—*le dernier savant du monde ancien*—as Montalembert not unhappily calls him, the most famous and the most comprehensive was the *Etymologies*, or Origins of Things, one of the most famous books of study of the Middle Ages; the most beautiful was perhaps the Mozarabic Liturgy, the admiration and the study of Ximenes. But unquestionably the most valuable is his History of the Goths, *Historia de regibus Gothorum Wandalorum et Suevorum*, which, though its compass is brief, and its Latinity ungraceful, is not only the best, but in some cases the only authority we have for many important events in Gothic history. Inferior to Julian in literary skill, and to Leander in political and administrative ability, Isidore is undoubtedly the greatest writer, as well as the greatest Churchman, of Visigothic Spain, and one of the worthiest saints in her calendar.

Liuva II., who succeeded his father Reccared in 601 as titular King of the Visigoths,[3] was murdered in 603 by his successor,

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[1] Arts, sciences, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, metaphysics, arithmetic, politics, geometry, music, astronomy, physics, natural history, architecture, painting, military and naval tactics, shipbuilding, and all things on earth, in the sea and in the heavens, are said by Lafuente to have been treated of by Isidore. Lafuente, ii., p. 519.

As to the so-called *Decretals of Isidore*, embodied in the Roman Canon Law by Pope Nicholas I., it is generally recognised that S. Isidore of Seville had no share in their preparation. See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii., pp. 373-380.

[2] Montalembert, ii., 204. See Ozanam, *Civilisation Chrétienne chez les Francs*, chapter ix.; Baillet, *Jugement des Savants*, ii., 202; S. de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits*, etc., an. vii., tom. iv., 158-183.

[3] The Visigothic kings never took the title of *King of Spain;* they were always *Reges Visigothorum.*

Witeric, who was in his turn assassinated in 610.[1] Gundemar, the next king, after a reign of two years, died a natural death at Toledo. Sisebut who followed him in 612, is said to have gained numerous battles in the south of the Peninsula over the forces of the Imperial governor Cæsarius, and to have made an honourable treaty of peace with the Emperor Heraclius, securing to the Visigoths a considerable accession of territory.[2] But he is chiefly remembered for his savage edicts against the Jews, who were persecuted even after they had embraced Christianity, and who were fain to emigrate or flee in large numbers to the north of the Pyrenees.

Reccared II. reigned but three months; but to his successor, Swinthila, who sat for no less than ten years on the throne of the Visigoths, is due at least the honour of driving the remnant of the Imperial troops out of the Peninsula. And thus the old Roman territory, reconquered by Justinian, was won back again from Heraclius, busy in the far East with his Persian wars; and Spain, already as Roman as Italy and far more Roman than Byzantium, was finally cut off from the *Imperium Romanum* in 626.[3]

Swinthila was somewhat too independent to please the ecclesiastical rulers of his country; and Sisenand, a bishop's man, compassing his overthrow, invited Dagobert, King of the Franks, to invade Spain in support of his own more pious pretensions. The Franks naturally accepted the invitation, and marched as far as Saragossa; and then, more strangely, finding that Swinthila had been already deposed by Sisenand, they marched back into their own country,[1] not only without turning upon the friends who had invited them, but without even receiving the stipulated price of their intervention.

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[1] Witeric was one of the Arian Gothic nobles, and the movement which resulted in the death of Liuva II. and the elevation of Witeric was mainly Arian. Witeric was deposed and killed by a Catholic reaction under Gundemar.—H.

[2] Mariana, lib. vi., cap. ii. The two facts stated are really connected. Sisebut took the field against Imperial encroachment, which nearly reached the banks of the Guadalquivir. After gaining several successes, he made a treaty with Heraclitus, by which the Imperial power was confined in Spain to the Algarves, on condition that Sisebut persecuted the Jews; who it had been foretold would overthrow Heraclitus.—H.

[3] According to George of Cyprus, *Descriptio orbis Romani* (circ. A.D. 600) edited by Prof. Gelzer in 1891, a new province, entitled Mauritania Secunda, has been formed out of the remnants of the old Mauritania Tingatana and the Imperial possessions in Spain, including the Balearic Islands. "It seems probable that this last change was later than 590. In that year we find still a special *magister militum Spaniæ* (Comenciolus, C. I. L., ii., 3420); and we may suspect that Spain's annexation to the prefecture of Africa concerned its military as well as its civil administration, and that the dukes of whom we hear (*e.g.*, the dux of Malaca, 605) henceforward obeyed the prefect at Carthage, as they had before obeyed the master of soldiers at Corduba or at New Carthage." J. B. Bury, in *Eng. Hist, Review*, April, 1894, p. 319.

During the reign of Swinthila [621-631] the supremacy of the clergy had remained to some extent in abeyance, nor was any Council held in Spain between 589 and 633. But the summoning by Sisenand of the Council of 633, which is known as the Fourth General Council of Toledo, marks an epoch in the history of Spain. For the councillors not only assumed the novel right of confirming the election of Sisenand to the throne of the Visigoths, but they further decreed that the election of all future kings should be subject to the confirmation of the bishops[2] duly assembled in Council. It was only natural that Sisenand, seeking to obtain ecclesiastical sanction of his usurpation, and public recognition of the legitimacy of his succession, should have submitted himself and his claims to the assembled ecclesiastics; and the bishops of 633 were not slow to accept the submission, and declare the legitimacy, of so faithful a son of the Church. But the Council was not content with the exercise of its new power of king-making. It took upon itself the still more novel power of excommunication; and the councillors proceeded in their corporate capacity to declare Swinthila, his mother, his wife, and all his family "extruded from the fellowship of the Catholic Church, and of the whole of Christendom".

King Sisenand reaped the fruits of his subjection to the ecclesiastical authority, to which he had offered so ample a recognition; and he reigned until his death in 636, when he was succeeded by Chintila, who submitted himself, in his turn, not only to initial recognition, but to much subsequent dictation at the hands of succeeding Councils. Chintila, a mild monarch, pleased the priests, persecuted the Jews, and died in peace in 640. Tulga reigned from 640 to 642, when he was relegated to a monastery, somewhat after the fashion of Wamba, to make way for a new king of more vigorous mould, Chindaswinth, a successful conspirator at the age of seventy-nine, who prolonged his vigorous and masterful rule until his death in his ninety-first year. And if he punished the rebellious nobles, and coerced the impatient clergy, and made all Spain feel that the sword of state was once again wielded by a master hand, Chindaswinth was no vulgar tyrant, but the greatest of the Visigothic legislators of Spain.

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[1] A golden font which had been given by Aëtius to Thorismund after the battle of Châlons is said to have been the price of this Frankish intervention. But Sisenand, finding himself already in authority on the arrival of the assistance thus purchased, refused the promised guerdon; and King Dagobert was compelled to content himself, after much negotiation, with a sum of money, in lieu of the precious relic.

[2] A few laymen, members of the nobility resident at the king's court, were also included in the Councils as *Palatines*, and are supposed to be the *Gardingi*, whose status and attributes have puzzled so many writers upon the period. Dahn, *apud* Mr. Hodgkin, *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. ii., 223.

The Visigothic kings were nothing if not law-givers. The first code is said to have been compiled by orders of Euric, and to have been the foundation of the celebrated *Breviarium Alaricianium*, which was prepared and published by Alaric II. but a short time before his defeat and death at "Poictiers" in 506.[1] This *Breviarium*, though written in Latin, and largely founded upon the Theodosian code—published by Theodosius II. in 439—was intended for the use rather of the Goths than of the Romans in the Visigothic kingdom, and was accompanied by a highly interesting *Interpretatio* or explanation of the Roman law for the benefit of the Romano-Gothic people.

From the death of Alaric to the death of Athanagild little was added to the provisions in the *Breviarium*. But Leovgild was undoubtedly a zealous and intelligent law-giver; and Mr. Dahn is of opinion that the early code known as the *Antiqua* was the work of his son Reccared. Every succeeding king, with or without the intervention of the Ecclesiastical Council, appears to have added something to the *Corpus Juris* until the promulgation of the *Lex Visigothorum*, within half a century of the final destruction of the monarchy in Spain.[2]

If the *Breviarium* is due to Alaric, and the *Antiqua* to Reccared, the *Lex Visigothorum* was mainly the work of Chindaswinth, who put an end at length to the conflict of laws which still existed in his dominions by a fusion of the Roman and the Visigothic systems of jurisprudence, and the publication of the legal unity of the two nations who dwelt on the soil of Spain.[3]

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[1] The promulgation of the last extension or edition of the code is said to have been by Egica within less than a dozen years before the end; but Chindaswinth was the true author and publisher of the *Leges Visigothorum;* and, according to Mr. Hodgkin, divides with his son, Recceswinth, the honour of being considered the Visigothic Justinian, (although Egica with the aid of the Fourteenth Council of Toledo drew up and promulgated the great code the *Fuero Guzgo.*—H). *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 212.

[2] It is sometimes referred to as the *Breviarium Anianium*, from the name of the Latin secretary who prepared it.

[3] A brief account of some of the more salient features of their laws and of those who administered them will be found in the Appendix, *The Laws of the*

The use of the *Breviarium* of Alaric was abolished, and the *Lex Visigothorum*, containing a larger infusion of the Roman elements into the old Gothic code, was pronounced the only code of laws for the united population of Spain. But Chindaswinth, vigorous and clear-sighted as he was, lived too late in the history of his race. Within little over half a century, the Visigoth had ceased to rule in the Peninsula, and the *Lex Visigothorum* had given place to the simpler legislation of the Koran.

Recceswinth, who was associated by his father with him in the administration of the kingdom, succeeded him at his death, and devoted a great part of his attention during his peaceful reign of over twenty years to the promulgation and maintenance of his laws. But Recceswinth was but a poor successor[1] to the bold and masterful Chindaswinth; and the best that can be said of him, perhaps, is that he gave practical effect to his father's declaration of legislative union, by his celebrated decree permitting the lawful marriage of the Roman with the Visigoth in Spain.

Saint Ildefonso, who was raised to the Metropolitan throne of Toledo in 658, was probably more powerful, and is certainly more famous than any of his royal contemporaries. For not only did Ildefonso, the most distinguished of the pupils of Isidore, rule over Spain for ten years, after the manner of his episcopal predecessors, but he is said to have enjoyed the more extraordinary favour of a personal visit from the Blessed Virgin;[2] and he is still venerated, second only in honour to Saint James of Compostella, amongst the patron saints of Spain.

Visigoths, printed at the end of the present volume. For the few lines that I have added to the present chapter upon the preparation and promulgation of the code, I have consulted Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, lib. xxviii.; Daroud-Oghlou, *Histoire de la Legislation des anciens Germains* (Berlin, 1845), tom. i., pp. 1-216; Savigny, *Geschichte des romischen Rechts*, vol. ii.; Dahn, *Kōnige der Germanen*, vol. vi., and *Westgothische Studien*, and finally a most interesting article in the *English Historical Review*, vol. ii., pp. 212-234, by Mr. Hodgkin, to which I am indebted for many valuable suggestions about the Visigothic period generally.

[1] Recceswinth was devout if not moral, *licet flagitiosus, tamen bene monitus*, Isidore of Beja, c. 15.

[2] A legend, says Dunham, received with the fullest assurance of faith, not by the vulgar, but by the most learned and critical, not by the stupid Garibay and the credulous Morales, but by the sceptical Ferreras and the able Masdeu. Dunham, i., 219. The story may be found in the fullest detail in Morales, tom. iii., folio 158 *et seq.*

That Ildefonso should have written a treatise *De Virginitate S. Mariæ* was only becoming; and his *De Viris illustribus*, a continuation of the work of Isidore, is of considerable interest and value.

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH AND STATE.

(A.D. 672--701).

I.—*Wamba.*

On the death of Recceswinth in September, 672, the choice of the nobles[1] fell upon one of their number, a Goth of gentle, but not of princely birth, well advanced in years, renowned for his prudence, his faithfulness, his military skill—Wamba, perhaps the best known though not the greatest of all the Visigothic kings who reigned in the Peninsula. When the result of the free election was conveyed to Wamba, he declined the honour, and long withstood the entreaties of his electors; and it is said that nothing but threats of personal violence induced him to waive his objections to wear a crown.

The Gothic nobility, "who had acquired the execrable habit of killing their kings," seem to have been equally ready to adopt heroic measures with those who refused to reign! But as soon as Wamba was fairly crowned at Toledo—no ecclesiastical council was summoned to affirm his election by his peers—he showed that he bore not in vain the sword with which he had been so forcibly girt.

Gothic Gaul, or Septimania,[2] the only territory beyond the geographical limits of Spain that at all times acknowledged the rule of the Visigothic kings, was the weak spot in their dominion. The tribes that inhabited the mountains of Cantabria indeed were ever unsubdued; but they were not to be feared at any great distance from their own boundaries. They were, no doubt, a thorn in the side of every ruler of Spain, but they constituted no danger to the monarchy. But the rich and fertile province of Septimania had all Europe as a possible depredator—or as a possible ally—and was ever specially coveted by the neighbouring kings of Frankish Gaul. The original seat of the Visigothic Government had been left far away from the new centre of gravity, by the change of royal residence from Toulouse to Toledo, and was separated after the victory of Clovis from the great bulk of the Visigothic dominion to the south of the scientific frontier of the Pyrenees; and it is a truly remarkable fact that amid the wars and politics of the sixth and seventh centuries, this favoured land of rich cities, of broad rivers, of fertile fields, with its Roman citizens and its Imperial traditions—this Naboth's vineyard of the Gaul—should have remained for three turbulent centuries ever subject to the Visigothic kings at distant Toledo.

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[1] Or of the prelates assembled with the Palatines in the village of Gerticos near Valladolid, where Recceswinth had died; in accordance with the decrees of the Eighth Council of Toledo, which Recceswinth had summoned.—H.

[2] The old colony of the Septimani or soldiers of the *Seventh* Legion. See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iv., 542.

Almost as soon as Wamba was crowned, he received the news that one Hilderic, governor of Nismes, had been proclaimed king of the Goths by Gunhild, bishop of Magalona. This northern pretender was supported by a large number of the Jews, who had fled from Spain to avoid persecution, and to whose detestable race and religion Bishop Gunhild showed himself, no doubt, for the time, exceedingly lenient. But the position of the rebels was soon both strengthened and complicated by the arrival of a certain Paul, a Roman *Dux*, or military leader, most probably from Africa, who had been entrusted by Wamba with the leadership of the army despatched against Hilderic in the north. For Paul, instead of overthrowing the rebels, persuaded them to join him in a still larger rebellion; and far from compelling Hilderic to acknowledge Wamba, he compelled him to acknowledge Paul as king of the Visigoths.

"He who will not," says the proverb, "sends; he who will, goes."[1] And it was high time for Wamba to make his appearance in person in Gothic Gaul. But Wamba was at the moment engaged in the time-honoured practice of chastising the Cantabrians. Upon this occasion the chastisement, if not sharp, was certainly short, for it is said to have been accomplished in seven days; and then Wamba marched northwest through Calahorra and Huesca and Barcelona, upon the strong city of Gerona, which yielded immediately on his approach. No success could have been more complete. Within a few days of his arrival on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees, most of the Septimanian cities had opened their gates, and acknowledged Wamba as their rightful sovereign.

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[1] Quem quer, vae: quem nao quer, manda—*Portuguese proverb.*

The combination of the ex-king Hilderic, the rebel bishop, the unhappy Israelites, and pretender Paul from Africa, was probably not popular. Narbonne held out for a few days, but the town was taken by storm, while a large body of troops moved on to besiege Nismes, where the rebels lay strongly fortified. Paul made a stout defence, but the arrival of Wamba himself, with his troops fresh from their success at Narbonne, rendered any further resistance hopeless. The garrison despaired, and the city walls were carried by assault. In the celebrated arena of Nismes, still one of the most interesting and most perfect of Roman remains in southern Gaul, Paul made his last stand. A bishop—not Gunhild—but one Argabad, at length interceded for the rebels, and Wamba was sufficiently generous to spare the lives of the vanquished. The province was quickly pacified; for the rebellion had been personal rather than popular; and though we may be sure the Jews received the very fullest measure of punishment for their adhesion to the losing side, Wamba displayed on the whole a noble clemency; and returned in triumph to Toledo, carrying in his train Paul, who, with shaven head and a leathern crown, set in mockery on his brow,[1] was doomed to a life-long *religious* seclusion in expiation of his treachery and his defeat. Thenceforward for seven years Wamba reigned in peace, and ruled wisely and well. So wisely, indeed, and so fortunately that this brief space of time has been ever known to succeeding generations of Spaniards as the days of good king Wamba.

Among the many measures undertaken by the king for the defence of his kingdom was the fortification of the city of Toledo,[2] and the preparation and equipment of a fleet in the noble harbour of Carthagena. But in spite of all his efforts, and even of his early successes in the field, Wamba found his degenerate Visigothic subjects sadly averse from a military service, and his celebrated law *De his qui ad bellum non vadunt* is a record not only of the vigour of the sovereign, but of the extraordinary change that two centuries had wrought among his subjects. In case of a hostile invasion, every bishop, duke, or count, every Commander,[1] Vicarius,[2] or Gardingus[3] within one hundred miles of the scene of action was ordered by this law to hasten to the spot with all his followers—slaves, it would seem, as well as free dependents. Failing to render prompt obedience, the great ecclesiastic was to be banished the realm, and his revenues were to be liable to the payment of such a fine as the king might think fit to impose; while the layman, whether a noble or freeman of lower degree, was to lose whatever dignity he possessed, and be reduced to the condition of a slave. All this was sufficiently vigorous, and it is not likely to have increased the popularity of Wamba, more especially with the great ecclesiastics, whose privileges he so little respected. And in this last attempt to revive anything of the old Visigothic spirit in the nation we may see the origin of these clerical intrigues which led to the deposition of "good king Wamba," and the election of the contemptible Erwig in his stead.

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[1] He apparently suffered the customary punishment of *Decalvation* or scalping. See Appendix on the "Laws of the Visigoths".

[2] The ornamental stones and marble decoration of the Roman circus in the neighbourhood are said to have been used by Wamba—a true *Goth*—in the construction of his new city wall. Mariana, lib. vi., 6.

Truly, Roman Spain had wrought a marvellous change in her nominal masters, the Visigoths. And the end of their mastery, such as it was, was nigh at hand. The rule of the priest had emasculated the race. The old manly vigour was gone. The sword was despised. The warrior was condemned. Dogma reigned supreme. The people had more law than they could digest; and they had not fighting enough for their rugged constitutions. There was Roman law, and Gothic law, law canon, and law ecclesiastical, the laws of the Councils, and the laws of the Synod.[4] The whole country had become one vast Doctor's Commons.

The Visigoths, who occupied rather than conquered Spain, were distinguished among all other races of the world at that time by two apparently opposite characteristics—their love of fighting, and their regard for written laws—the one evil, the other good. Such was the combination. Yet when the evil was entirely destroyed by the good, the race decayed, the Commonwealth perished.

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[1] Thinfaths = Colonel, commander of a thousand; just as the Turkish *Binbashi*.

[2] Vicarius = Lieutenant-Colonel, or Vice-Colonel.

[3] Palatine noble.

[4] See Appendix, "The Laws of the Visigoths".

The Moor was already at the gate. And the Roman and the Visigoth, the Athanasian and the Arian, were soon to flee together before a new enemy, and to be glad to take refuge with the unconquerable Cantabrian mountaineers—those true Spaniards who, after nigh on a thousand years of warfare, remained yet unsubdued to welcome the remnant of their enemies in the day of their distress.

From henceforth Biscay, Asturias and Gallicia were not only the country of the Basques, the Cantabrians, the Celts and the Suevians—they became the mother country of the modern Spanish people. But the end was not yet, although the mutterings of the coming storm[1] might already be heard, and signs of the approaching dissolution were not wanting. The victory of Erwig in the palace of Wamba was but the beginning of the victory of the Moslem in the land of the Visigoth.

The rule of Wamba had not been completely pleasing either to the bishops or to the nobles. His military successes were forgotten; his military legislation remained. His persecution of the Jews had been lukewarm. He is supposed to have meddled, or sought to meddle, with the boundaries of the episcopal sees.[2] And at length it became evident that a more pliant monarch would be more agreeable to those who bore rule in Spain. The integrity, the valour, the moderation of Wamba availed him nothing; and a palace intrigue, as usual, produced an acceptable successor.[3] But the intriguers, impelled by unwonted scruples, shrank from the *murder* of their sovereign; and a combination of apothecaries and ecclesiastical lawyers was devised to bring the reign of good King Wamba to a contemptible close.

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[1] It was in the heyday of Wamba's power that a Saracen fleet, forerunner of those Moorish cruisers so long the terror of the Mediterranean, and the special scourge of Spain, was seen off the southern coast. It does not seem that anything like a serious invasion of the kingdom was contemplated by those early corsairs, although the number of their vessels is said to have been considerable—170 according to one authority, 270 according to another. But they failed to effect a landing at any point of the south-east coast, and many were taken, burned, or sunk by Wamba's ships before they were finally dispersed in 677. (It is at least very questionable whether the Saracens on this occasion did not actually land on Spanish soil.—H.)

[2] See *España Sagrada*, iv., and *post*, section ii. of this chapter.

[3] Ervigius is said, I know not on what authority, by Galliard (*Hist. de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne*, i., 58), to have been the grandson of the son of that son of Ermengild and Ingunthis who was taken to Constantinople after his father's execution. He was in all probability no Goth, but a true Græculus or low Roman, the son of one Ardobastes; and he was born, it is said, at either Byzantium or Carthagena. He is hardly entitled to the Gothic, albeit most evil-sounding, name of Erwig; and he has been usually spoken of by modern writers as *Ervigius*. But as he was an adopted Goth long before he was a usurping king, and more especially as the last Roman or Græco-Roman had left Spain before he was born, it is scarcely worth while to be inconsistent for the sake of a fancy, and I have treated him as an Erwig. Mariana opens one of his chapters (vi., 7) with the words "Flavius Ervigius . . ."

On Sunday, 14th April, after the celebration of Mass, a potion was administered to Wamba by the aspiring Erwig. The drug took effect. And the king's approaching dissolution being made apparent to the palace, he was invested with the habit of a monk, and his unconscious head was piously shaven, in order that his passage to another world might be rendered more propitious. But Wamba did not die. The cup had contained no poison, but a sleeping draught; and in due time he awoke, a frocked and tonsured ecclesiastic, incapable under a recent law from sitting upon the throne of the Visigoths; and he was fain to retire to the monastery of Pampliega, near Burgos, leaving his crown upon the head of the wily Erwig. It was a contemptible close to a worthy reign, contemptible indeed in every way. For if all our indignation be reserved for Erwig the palatine, and Julian the bishop, we can have but little respect for a Gothic king who could submit to be cozened of his kingdom by a change of costume, and who could abandon his Gothic subjects to the sacrilegious tricksters who had defiled the sacred emblems of the religion of truth in the interests of their own worldly pride and covetousness. Had Wamba, instead of kissing the rod, hanged *Flavius Ervigius* on the walls of his palace, from a gallows higher than that of Haman, and banished Julian as far as the shores of the Euxine, he would have died a greater king, and, perhaps, no worse a Christian, than he did in the livery of fraud in his ecclesiastical prison at Pampliega. The best that can be said of him is that in the supreme moment he obeyed the laws of his country.

The new monarch promptly put himself under the protection of the Church. He summoned a Council, the Twelfth of Toledo, to meet in January, 681, and craving[1] as a royal suppliant the support of the assembled bishops, he was duly recognised, authorised, and accepted as king. The well satisfied Fathers then proceeded to modify the military laws or decrees made by Wamba, to remit many of the penalties inflicted upon State offenders by the late monarch; and, finally, to formulate the most complete and savage decree against the Jews in Spain that had yet been issued by King or Council. Erwig was glad to accept the royal dignity on such easy terms; and another Council, the Thirteenth of Toledo, sitting in 683, after reversing all the obnoxious ordinances and decrees which had not been repealed by the former Council, restored to their property and civil rights all the rebels condemned in the former reign. The Council also passed a decree forbidding the imprisonment of ecclesiastics by the royal authority, and proceeded to menace with the greater excommunication all persons whomsoever who should attempt to injure Ervigius, in person or in property, or any member of his family. Finally, the complete repeal of Wamba's military legislation extinguished the last spark of military energy that had been re-kindled in the preceding reign. But the protection afforded by two Councils, and the condemnation of his enemies in this world and in the next, did not serve to reassure the apprehensive Erwig. He adopted Egica, a nephew of Wamba, and accorded to him the hand of his daughter in marriage; and at length after binding him by an oath of special solemnity to do nothing in any way to injure the family of Erwig, the supplanter of Wamba retired, like Wamba himself, into a convent, and Egica reigned in his stead.

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[1] The prayer of the suppliant was supported by three pieces of documentary evidence: 1. A certificate, signed by the great officers of the palace, of the religious shaving and habiting of Wamba. 2. A deed of abdication signed by Wamba himself. 3. A letter addressed by Wamba to Bishop Julian, President of the Council, praying that Erwig might be anointed king. This was kissing the rod indeed!

Egica convoked the Fifteenth Council at Toledo in 688, not only that it might recognise his own accession, but that it might absolve him from his oath to Erwig. And the Council, which was ready to bind and loose, not only on earth, but in heaven, readily complied with both his petitions. So King Egica reigned in peace, and spoiled the family of Erwig with a quiet mind, even while he published or promulgated the very last edition of the celebrated Laws of the Visigoths.[1] But Egica at the moment of his greatest power was only the second man in his dominions.

Julian, Bishop and Metropolitan of Toledo from 680 to 690, was the last great Churchman of Visigothic Spain.[2] Like the ever celebrated sons of Severianus, Julian was no Goth, though a ruler of Goths, not even of Greek nor of Roman blood, but a Jew, whose parents had been converted to Christianity. He was born about the year 645, and early distinguished himself by his scholarship, his vigour, and his ambition. The historian and panegyrist of Wamba,[1] he became jealous of the king's independence, and impatient of his legislation; and having succeeded Quiricus as Bishop of Toledo in 680, he is supposed to have been the chief instigator in the treachery of Erwig. As president of the Twelfth Council of Toledo, which he convoked in 681 to approve the immuring of Wamba, and to recognise the usurpation of Erwig, Julian at length found scope for the display of his commanding powers, and taking his place at once as the first man in Spain, he remained practically supreme in Church and State during the reign of two subject kings.

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[1] See *ante*, chapter viii., p. 93.

[2] See generally, *España Sagrada*, v., 28-96.

II.—*The Spanish Church.*

The ecclesiastical hierarchy of Christian Spain was composed at this time of metropolitans, suffragan bishops, deans, priests (*Presbiteros*), deacons, sub-deacons, readers, psalmists, exorcists, acolytes, and *Hostiarii* or keepers of the sacred wafer. In the sixth century there were added archpriests, who ranked immediately after the bishop, archdeacons, *Primicieros* or precentors, and sub-deans attached to every cathedral. The title of archbishop was not introduced until as late as 1085.

In the early Christian times the bishops were elected by the people. But from the seventh century, the right was gradually exercised by the king, or in his absence—and no doubt at many other times—by the Metropolitans of Toledo. The five provinces into which the country was ecclesiastically divided, each under the authority of a provincial metropolitan, were not unnaturally made conterminous with the five administrative divisions of Constantine; and Hispalis, the residence of the Imperial vicar, became the seat of the chief metropolitan of the Church of Spain.

But after the removal of the Visigothic capital from Seville by Leovgild at the end of the sixth century, Toledo gradually obtained the pre-eminence in Church and State; and the See having been raised from the rank of a suffragan bishopric to that of a metropolis in 610, it became, in the ambitious hands of Julian, the prime metropolis of all Spain; and the primate who ruled over the kings of the Visigoths asserted his ecclesiastical independence of the Bishop of Rome. Within thirty years the primate and the king were both swept away by the tide of Moorish invasion, while Gregory sat unmoved on his Imperial hills; and four hundred years later a new archbishop was well content to accept the primacy of Spain from the hands of Urban at the Vatican.[1]

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[1] In his biographical work, *Liber Historiæ de eo quod Wambæ Principis tempore Galliis extitit gestum.*

The number of suffragan bishoprics from the end of the fourth century was about eighty, disposed somewhat as follows:—

In the province of *Tarraconensis* there were fifteen: Tarragona, Barcelona, Gerona, Lerida, Tortosa, Vique or Vich, Urgel, Ampurias, Tarrasa, Zaragoza, Tarazona, Huesca, Pamplona, Calahorra and Santa Maria de Oca, afterwards Burgos. In the province of *Carthaginiensis* [afterwards *Toledo*] there were twenty-one: Toledo, Carthagena, Oreto, Cazlona [*Castulo*], La Guardia, Guadix, Acci, Baza, Valencia, Denia, Elche, Felipe de Xativa, Totana, Segorbe, Segovia, Siguenza, Arcos, Alcalá de Henares, Osma, Palencia, Virgi and Bigastro. In the province of *Bœtica* there were eleven: Seville [*Hispalis*], Cordoba, Granada [*Illiberis*], Ecija, Cabra, Santiponce [*Italica*], Martos, Niebla, Xerez [*Medina Sidonia*], Malaga and Adra. In the province of *Lusitania* there were fourteen: Merida, Ebora, Coria, Idaña, Estoy, Beja, Agueda, Lisbon [*Olissipo*] Coimbra, Viseo, Lamego, Salamanca, Avila and Caliabra. In the province of *Gallicia* there were eleven: Braga [*Bracara Augusta*], Dumio, Porto, Chaves, Tuy, El Padron [*Iria Flavia*], Orense [*Aquæ Urientes*], Britoña, or *Mondonedo*, Lugo, Astorga and Leon. In the province of *Narbonensis*, to the north of the Pyrenees, there were eight: Narbonne, Agde, Beziers, Magalona, Nismes, Lodeve, Carcassonne and Elne.[2]

The parochial system[3] was not introduced into Spain until much later times: the *parish* was for long hardly distinguished from the *diocese;*[1] and the *tithes,* which in imitation of the Jewish law were instituted about the fourth century, were payable[2] for a long time, not to the *parson,* but to the bishop, who was subsequently directed by Charlemagne, in a capitulary of the Empire, to divide the amount he thus received into three parts—one for himself and his clergy, one for the poor, and one for the building and repair of churches. The bishop presumably divided the first third between himself and his inferior clergy as he thought fit.[3]

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[1] The promulgation of the famous Sixth Canon of the Twelfth Council, proclaiming the primacy of Toledo among Spanish Sees, and the controversy between Julian and Popes Leo and Benedict as to the independence of the Spanish Church are treated of at great length by the authors of the *España Sagrada*, vi., pp. 241-301, and by Masdeu, *España Goda*, xi., 145-167. See also Julian, *Liber apolegeticus; the Acts of the* XIV., XV. and XVI. *Councils of Toledo*, and Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. ii.

[2] In the compilation of this list, I have chiefly followed Masdeu, tom. xi., pp. 183-7. But the greater part of tom. iv. of the *España Sagrada* is devoted to the question, and a great many lists and dissertations thereon will be found on pp. 1-270. Gams, in his *Series episcoporum* (1873), a work ever to be depended upon, gives fifty-nine bishoprics in Spain, and seventeen in Portugal, seventy-six in all, at the present day. But many of the ancient sees have ceased to exist, and new ones been added in later years. The provincial archbishoprics of modern Spain, since the Concordat of 1851, are *nine:* Toledo, Burgos, Saragossa, Tarragona, Valencia, Granada, Seville, Valladolid and Compostella. For a list of the bishops *in partibus*, see *España Sagrada*, tom. li.

[3] See Masdeu, xiii., 315-316.

Although monasteries were probably unknown in the Peninsula until early in the sixth century,[4] the celibacy of the secular clergy is certainly a rule of Spanish origin. The thirty-third canon of the Council of Elvira, ere the fourth century was ten years old, forbade, for the first time in the history of the Church, the bishops, priests, and deacons of the Peninsula to live as husbands with their wives. This tremendous dogma, rejected a dozen years later by the greater Council of Nicæa (325), was finally promulgated in Spain by the very first canon of the first Council of Toledo in 400. The judgment of Elvira and Toledo was adopted at Arles and at Mâcon, and accepted by the entire Catholic world.

But apart from this clerical celibacy, the origin of so much regular and irregular immorality for long ages to come,[5] it is certain that from very early times vows of perpetual chastity both by men and women were not uncommon among Christians; and as early as the Council of Elvira penalties are prescribed for devoted virgins who may relapse into a worldly life.[1] The Council of Saragossa (380) declared with greater wisdom that no virgin should be allowed to devote herself to a religious life until she should have attained the respectable age of forty years.[2]

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[1] The question of the ecclesiastical tithes in Spain has given rise to much controversy, and I have myself consulted a large number of authorities, which I forbear to enumerate, without much enlightenment. A Spanish MS. in the British Museum, Egerton Coll., No. 486, has in cap. vi., some very interesting notes upon the point, from which I quote a few lines, literally translated: . . . "as it is certain that the tithes with which the Spanish Church has been endowed since the *Restauracion de España*, are nothing but the profane tribute acquired by the kings, and graciously of their liberality given to the churches, without the necessity of any assent of bishops, or even popes . . ." (par. 2).

In the *Cortes* of Guadarrama (1390), the prelates "were ordered to abstain from demanding the tithes due to the *Ricoshombres*, which shows that the payment of religious tithes is the free offering of the faithful" (par. 10).

"In all the enumerations of the wealth and property of the church—in vineyards, lands, slaves, industrial establishments, etc., no mention is ever made of tithes," pp. 11, 12. A great mass of learning and authorities upon the subject will be found collected in Masdeu, xi., pp. 1-411. As to the temporal power of the Spanish bishops, see Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, viii., 368-397; and ix., 68.

[2] Set forth at Heristal in March, 779, cap. No. 7.

[3] Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 141, 142; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix., 5-10.

[4] See authorities collected in Montalembert, ii., 185, 186.

[5] As to the laws or canons regulating the marriage of the early Christian clergy in Spain, and the changes which led to a more or less open concubinage, see Masdeu, vii., 241-243, and H. C. Lea, *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, especially pp. 204, 299, 324. See also *post*, Appendix IV., on Customary Concubinage or *Barraganeria*.

Monasteries are first spoken of in the decrees of the Council of Tarragona,[3] in 516; and until the middle of the sixth century hermits or solitary devotees seem to have been far more common than cœnobites or monastic associations.

The first monastery that was established in Spain is said to have been that of Servitarium, near Cape Martin in Valencia, founded by the African St. Donatus about the beginning of the sixth century.[4] And after the time of St. Emilianus (ob. 570) and St. Martin of Dumium, the Hungarian Metropolitan of Braga (ob. 580), some sixty years later, monasteries became common throughout Spain, and more especially in the north-west.

Emilianus, the most celebrated of all these early founders, is claimed by the Benedictines as joint patron of Spain with St. James. Born a Castilian peasant, about the year 470, he began life as a shepherd, forsook the world soon after reaching man's estate, and lived as a hermit for forty years in the mountainous districts between Burgos and Logroño,[5] chiefly in the neighbourhood of Mount Cogolla. The fame of his sanctity at length reached the Bishop of Tarazona, who ordained him, much against his will, to be priest of Verdejo (Verdejum), one of the many towns that claim the honour of his birth. But his devotion excited the jealousy of his brother clerics, and after a short residence at Verdejo he retired once more, and for the remainder of his life, to the seclusion of an oratory or monastic habitation in the neighbouring mountains. His contemporary, Martin of Pannonia, who became Bishop of Dumium, and after

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[1] Conc., *Ill.*, can. 13.

[2] Conc., *Cæsar Aug.*, can. 8.

[3] Masdeu, tom. xiii., pp. 158-161.

[4] Montalembert, *ubi supra*, considers that the rule of St. Benedict was from this time the most popular and the most powerful in Spain; but a learned contributor to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* thinks that, "on a very careful review of the evidence, it seems most probable that the Benedictine rule was not known in Spain until after the time of the Visigoths".

[5] The exact locality has given rise to fierce conflicts, *España Sagrada*, tom. i., s. 2.

Metropolitan of Braga [580], is said on somewhat doubtful authority to have been a Benedictine,[1] and to have founded a monastery at Dumium towards the end of the sixth century.

But the true glory of early Spanish monasticism is undoubtedly St. Fructuosus, a Goth of royal or noble birth,[2] who attained great celebrity in the early part of the seventh century for his holiness as an anchorite, in the mountainous district of *El Vierzo*, between Astorga and Lugo, where he founded, at the foot of Mount Trago or Foncebadon, and at the confluence (*complutum*) of the little rivers Molina and Sil, a religious house, which was built with the approbation and possibly by the assistance of King Chindaswinth, and was known as the Monastery of Compludo.[3]

The country round about Compludo is one of the most interesting in the history of religion in the Peninsula. Lying embedded amidst lofty mountains, traversed by the old pilgrim road from Leon to Compostella, the sacred valley of El Vierzo, extending some thirty miles from east to west, and five-and-thirty from north to south, became the retreat in the seventh century of the earliest hermits and anchorites of Christian Spain. It is the birthplace of Spanish monachism—the Thebaïd of the Peninsula—and once rivalled the holiest districts of Palestine in the number of its saints and sanctuaries.[4]

Saint Fructuosus, first and chiefest of these sacred heroes followed up his foundation of the mother of Spanish monasteries, by the establishment of a second religious house, the *Monasterium Rufianense*, afterwards the famous San Pedro de Montes near Ponferrada; and yet a third in the immediate neighbourhood—the *Visuniense* (650 ?). He soon afterwards undertook a pilgrimage into Andalusia, and founded another monastery near Cadiz, of which no trace nor record remains. He was then prevailed upon by Recceswinth to accept the bishopric of Dumium, from which he was translated to the Metropolitan See of Braga at the Tenth Council of Toledo in 656, and he lived to found yet one more monastery, on the road between Dumium and his metropolis, a building which was in existence in the eighteenth century, and was still known as the monastery of St. Fructuosus.

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[1] See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, O. S. B., tom. i. The rule of St. Benedict was long almost the only one established in Spain. As late as 1050 the National Council of Coyanza had actually excommunicated the members of any other order who should presume to settle in the country. The prohibition availed but little; and about 1100 the rule of St. Augustine found its way into Castile. Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iii.

[2] S. Isidore, *De Viris Illustribus*, cap. 35, 41, and 45.

[3] *La seule charte authentique qui nous soit restée de l' époque Visigothique est une donation faite en* 646 *par le roi Chindaswinde au Monastère de Compludo.* Montalembert, *op. cit.*, ii., 205.

[4] *España Sagrada*, tom. xvi. Ford (1878) 205-7. A village in the heart of the mountain still bears the name of Compludo, though every vestige of the once celebrated monastery has long since disappeared. There is a church, well preserved to the present day, at Santiago de Peñalva, near Compludo, the only existing specimen of a Christian church built in the pure Arab style of the tenth century. For a description and plan of this most interesting building see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1865, pp. 150-156.

This founder of religious houses is supposed to have died about 660; and the bones of the saint, transported in the twelfth century by pious human hands to Compostella, are venerated with good reason by the pilgrims of Santiago.[1]

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[1] St. Fructuosus, like Sertorius, is said to have been accompanied in all his wanderings by a hind or doe. The poor beast was killed by an enemy of the saint, who *genua sua summo cum dolore flectens*, manifested a noble generosity towards the wretched slayer of his pet. It was a charming legend of Christian gentleness in an age of savagery.

CHAPTER X.

"THE LAST OF THE GOTHS."

(701—711).

I.—*The Jews.*

It does not appear that many colonists or exiles of the Hebrew race had settled in Spain before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; but from that time the Jews were to be found in great numbers throughout the Peninsula, and they are said to have adopted to a very large extent the Latin language of the country.[1] Their rights and liberties were liberally recognised by the Roman Imperial authorities, more especially under the Emperors Antoninus Pius, and Alexander Severus; and their position was still further ameliorated by the edict of Caracalla, conferring equal civil rights on all the inhabitants of the Empire. Heliogabalus, the Syrian Emperor, distinctly favoured them, perhaps as fellow Orientals; and from his time to that of Constantine, they suffered no persecution or molestation in Roman Spain. With the political recognition of Christianity, their evil days began,[2] and before the fourth century was yet ten years old, a canon of the Council of Elvira forbade all communication between Jews and Christians in the Peninsula.

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[1] Although the Spanish title of *Don* is usually supposed to be derived, like the English university nickname, from *Dominus*, it is considered probable by such authorities as Lindo, Gayangos, and others, that it is a survival of the Hebrew *adon*, lord, which is used by Jews, like the English sir, or the modern Greek, *κύριος*, as a mode of address. Lindo, *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 7. *Cf.* also Los Rios, *Les Juifs d'Espagne* (Paris, 1861); and a *Discurso*, by F. Martinez Mariana in the *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist. de Madrid*, tom. iii., pp. 317-469; Döllinger, *Studies*, trans. by Miss Warre (1890); *Essay on Jews in Europe;* and Vicent de Lafuente, *Sociedades Secretas de España*, pp. 21-26, where the Jews are counted among the members of secret societies!

[2] Constantine had made conversion from Christianity to Judaism a penal offence, as early as 315; and Constantius attached the penalty of death to all marriages between Jews and Christians. Bernardo Aldrete, *Antiguedades de España*, ii., 8.

But more active persecution was neither preached nor practised.[1]

When the Roman gave place to the barbarian, the Jews were still fairly, if not kindly treated. Neither the early Visigothic kings, nor the Arian clergy, sought to molest them, either as foreigners, or as heretics; and even the Catholic laity, still Roman rather than Romish, suffered their Hebrew neighbours to abide in peace.

But with the *conversion* of Reccared a vast change came over Church and State in Spain. The king was compelled to accept the decrees of the Council of 589, which proclaimed his Catholicity, and which also opened fire upon the Jews in the Peninsula, prohibiting their marriage with Christian wives, their possession of Christian slaves, or the holding by a Jew of any office of State in the kingdom. But even these comparatively mild ordinances were never put in force with any vigour by Reccared himself, or even by his immediate successors upon the throne. Under Sisebut, however, after 612, though no new Council was held, the old decrees were more severely enforced.[2] Many of the Jews were subjected to compulsory baptism. Of those who refused or resisted, many were inhumanly tortured, and a considerable number only escaped outrage by flight across the Pyrenees, into that favoured and favouring country where the contact of Jews and Christians was more close [3] and more friendly than in any other part of Europe, "the happiest resting-place that the Jew ever found in Christendom".[4] Under the valiant Visigoth Swinthila, persecution slumbered. But under the subject Sisenand, the Jews, as might have been expected, were made to feel the full weight of the ecclesiastical arm; and the Fourth Council of Toledo (633)[5] addressed itself seriously to the task of extirpating the hated race. If Judaism could have been destroyed by decrees, not a Jew would have remained in the country. Decrees at least could go no further. For it was ordained that all Hebrew children were to be taken from their parents, and educated in convents, or in orthodox Christian families. Mixed marriages were declared void. Every office, even the smallest, was closed to the Jew. And for him who, once baptised, relapsed to the faith of his fathers, no mercy was to be expected or found. Yet the Jews were not extirpated in Spain. The Fifth Council of Toledo was chiefly concerned with its political duty of confirming the election of Chintila, who succeeded Sisenand in 636; and no new decrees were formulated against Judaism. But in the Sixth Council of Toledo (638), two years after the death of Isidore,[1] it was formally declared that no one who was not a Catholic should be *allowed to live* in Spain. The Ninth Council, in 655, placed the converted Jews under the special control of the bishops, and by some canons of the more celebrated Twelfth Council, in 681—the persecution having become less vigorous than was palatable to the spiritual rulers of the country—the entire administration of the anti-Jewish laws was taken out of the hands of the ordinary judges, and entrusted to the ecclesiastical courts.[2]

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[1] See *Codex Theodos*, lib. xvi., tit. 8, 9; *Oxford Essays* (1857), p. 207; Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, p. 556; and W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans* (1890), chapter xvii.

[2] As has already been pointed out, the persecution of the Jews by Sisebut was one of the conditions of his treaty with Heraclitus by which the Imperial armies evacuated most of the territory they held.—H.

[3] *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, i., 322; *Oxford Essays* (1857), p. 312.

[4] There was a large population of Jews in Provence, and the exiles were ever well received. Marseilles is called by Gregory of Tours a Hebrew city. See Mr. T. F. Tout, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 160. Nismes had actually received the Hebrew name of Kirjath-Jearim (see Num. xv., 60). Lunel was converted into Yericho, the moon town, and Aix or Aquæ-Sextæ, into Ir Hammayim. *Cf.* 2 Sam. xii., 27. See Joseph Simon, *Histoire des Juifs de Nismes au moylen age* (1886).

[5] Among the canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), it was ordained that (can. 62), "Any baptised Jews that do not avoid the society of Jews shall be

But the unhappy Jews, deprived of their civil rights, despoiled of their property, robbed of their children, committed to the tender mercy of irresponsible ecclesiastics, scourged, tortured, reduced to slavery, banished, were still present in Spain. If they had been rendered disloyal, they had not been rendered entirely impotent; and in the last decade of the seventh century, as a result of all this legislation and persecution, it was discovered, with equal horror and astonishment, that the Jews were conspiring with their brethren, and even with the Saracens, already in Africa, against the rule of the Visigoth; seeking some alleviation of their miserable condition in a change of masters in Spain. To avert the impending[3] danger, King Egica could do nothing

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made slaves, and the Jews associated with them shall be scourged". The various canons and enactments of the Visigothic Councils will be found collected in Lindo, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-28. The Jew convicted of proselytising was condemned (according to Masdeu, xi., 142), to be stoned or burned to death at the hands of his proselytes.

[1] The influence of Isidore was, on the whole, in favour of toleration.

[2] By a decree of the Sixth Council of Toledo (A.D. 638), it was ordained that the whole body of anti-Jewish laws was to be solemnly sworn to by each king on his accession. See *Eng. Hist. Review*, ii., 226.

[3] For a general and very fair survey of the condition of the Jews in Visigothic Spain, see Amador de los Rios, *Los Judios en España* (1871), vol. i., cap. ii.

more reassuring than to convoke a Council, the Seventeenth of Toledo, in 694, and the Council when summoned could do nothing more politic than to re-affirm with obstinate iteration and amplification the savage decrees that ecclesiastical intolerance had suggested in a hundred years of power. No Christian, under the severest penalties, was to shelter a Jew whom the officers of the Church might be pursuing, or refuse to point out his hiding-place. No Jew was to insult the true faith by deed or word *or thought*. The Passover, the Sabbath, Circumcision, were all forbidden; and lest the Jews should secretly observe their festivals, they were to present themselves before the Christian bishop on every Hebrew feast-day. They were to eat the flesh of swine; had not St. Paul said: "To the pure all things are pure?" Their evidence was on no account to be received in a court of law; "for if the liar before men is not to be believed, how much less the liar before God?"[1] Yet the Jews remained unappeased, and continued to look across the southern straits for deliverance from their Christian persecution.

Egica was succeeded in 701 by his son Witiza, of whom little can be said but that he appears to have been a wise and tolerant prince, to have refrained from persecuting the Jews, and to have endeavoured not only to put some bounds to the absolute power of the bishops and inferior clergy,[2] but to check the immorality which was already so common among them. He encouraged the priests to marry, and enjoined them to refrain from concubinage, and he seems to have actually secured the co-operation, in these ecclesiastical reforms, of Sindered, Metropolitan of Toledo. How far he succeeded in his own times we can not now tell, but later generations of Churchmen have taken their revenge for his interference, by blackening his character and representing him as a monster of licentiousness, a heretic, a tyrant, a man who debauched the wives and daughters of his faithful subjects, and questioned the supremacy of the Pope at Rome. It is possible, no doubt, that the king may have been irregular in his private life. Yet it is at least more certain that he redressed many of the grievances that had vexed the people in the time of his father, and showed himself a liberal if not a strictly virtuous monarch. He remitted unjust taxation; he recalled from exile many who had been banished without good cause; and he is said actually to have burned the bonds which Egica had by force or fraud extorted from many of his subjects.

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[1] The laws affecting the Jews in the *Fuero Juzgo*, or code of the Visigoths, lib. xii., tit. 2, will be found in Lindo, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-36.

[2] See Dahn's *Die Könige der Germanen*, vol. v., p. 224.

Contemporary historians speak of him in highly laudatory terms, and it is not until the ninth century that any writer recorded or invented that frightful career of depravity with which his name has been usually associated.[1] The ecclesiastical legend had its rise, no doubt, in the action of the king as regards the irregularities of the clergy, and his offensive humanity as regards the Jews ; and the enormity of his wickedness has been complacently enlarged upon by the historical prophets of later days, who seek to explain the ruin of Catholic Spain at the hand of the infidel, by supposing it to be a display of Divine vengeance upon the kingdom of wicked Witiza.[2]

II.—*Roderic.*

How, or when, or where the king died we are not told. That after some wretched rebellion, he divided his dominions with that Roderic of whom we hear so much and know so little, seems at least fairly probable. And Roderic, after the fashion of the times, conspired against and overthrew his colleague,[3] ere he himself reigned sole and supreme, at some time in the course of the year 709.

The extravagance of the legends that have crystallised round the name and the memory of "the last of the Goths" have led some critics to question whether such a personage ever lived at all.[4] Of the existence, however, of the Visigothic king there would seem to be no reasonable doubt. But his amours with the beautiful and virtuous Florinda la Cava, whose legendary surname has a meaning strangely inconsistent with her legendary character, are no doubt the invention of a later age. That the Visigoths had lost that reputation for chastity,[1] which had so honourably distinguished them from the Romans of Hispania in the early days of their occupation, is undoubtedly true; and that the depravity of the court may have weakened the monarchy, and so contributed to the Moslem success, if it did not actually prompt the invitation to the Moslem invaders, is also abundantly probable. That Count Julian, governor of Ceuta,[2] intrigued with a disaffected Churchman,[3] and with the sons of the dethroned Witiza, for the overthrow of the reigning monarch, is so natural and so characteristic of the times, that even the extravagant embroidery of later legends would hardly induce us to doubt it. That some one of the contending parties should have sought to gain an advantage over the others by inviting the aid of a common enemy, is only what may be read in the authentic history of Spain from the days of the first appearance of the first Vandal on the Pyrenean frontier, if not from the landing of the first Carthaginian at Cadiz.

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[1] See the continuation of John of Biclara (circ. 720) and Isidore of Beja (circ. 750), who speak most favourably of Witiza. It is in the *Chronicon Moissacense*, or *South Gaulish Chronicle* (circ. 818), that we find the *first note of blame*. Lucas of Tuy (1250) is perhaps the most extravagant of the calumniators.

[2] Dahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-230.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] According to Mr. Dahn, Roderic appears only as a phantom in history. His historical existence is best established by the occurrence of his name in the lists of kings in the MS. of the Visigothic laws. A coin with his effigy is of doubtful authenticity. The inscription on his tomb at Viseu, in Portugal, is undoubtedly false. Between him and Witiza the zeal of the genealogists, who wished to trace back the Spanish kings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries directly to "Don Pelayo" and even to Theodoric the Great, and thereby to outshine the antiquity and legitimacy of the royalty of France and Germany, has interpolated a king, Acausa, or Acosta, who, with his wife and son, was honoured by Spanish patriots for some hundreds of years.

But the enchanted tower, the ancient guardians, the lovely and distressful damsel, the avenging sire, the milk white steeds, the flight of Don Roderic across the Guadalete, which he could not have reached, and across the Guadalquivir, which he could not have swum, these and a hundred other romantic incidents are the inventions of later days, investing with a halo of chivalry and sentiment the uncertain tale of the decay and destruction of the Visigothic Empire in Spain, and of the triumph of the Moslem in Europe.

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[1] Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, lib. vii., 6. Florinda is almost certainly a mythical personage. The name of *la Cava*, strange to say, would suggest in the Arabic a woman of evil life. That such ladies assisted in the demoralisation and ultimate fall of the Visigothic monarchy is likely enough. *Cf.* Lembke, *Geschichte von Spanien*, part ii., lib. i.; Romey, iii., 31, 32.

[2] For the identification of Julian, see a very learned and interesting disquisition in Dozy, *Recherches*, tom. i., pp. 64-77.

[3] Oppas, Metropolitan Bishop of Seville. He is said by Isidore of Beja to have been a son of Egica and brother of Witiza, and to have headed a party hostile to Roderic, and to have assisted the Moslem invaders with voice and sword. He is afterwards heard of in the north-west in the time of Pelayo. See *post*, chap. xiii. (Spanish chroniclers state that the sons of Witiza and their uncle Don Oppas accompanied Roderic to the battle of Janda, where they commanded the right wing of his army. On the third day of the fight it is said that they and their division retired from the field, and this gave the victory to the Saracens.—H.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE FAILURE OF THE VISIGOTHS.

If the rapidity and the completeness of the barbarian conquest of the Roman provinces, at the beginning of the fifth century, was calculated to excite our wonder, we may learn with even greater astonishment that the conquest of the Visigothic kingdom by the Moslems, at the beginning of the eighth century, was at once infinitely more rapid and infinitely more complete.

The misery and corruption of Roman Spain, the exactions of the taxgatherers, the bankruptcy of the citizens, the slavery of the peasants, the banishment of the soldiery, and above all the enormous numbers of the ever-advancing multitudes of the barbarians—all these things have been alluded to in a former chapter, and suffice to a great extent to explain the success of the earlier invaders. The occupation of Spain by the Visigoths, the gentlest and most humane of all the barbarians, was indeed rather a deliverance than a conquest; for the arms of the amiable Wallia were directed not against the Roman Provincials, but against the terrible Vandals and Suevians and Alans, who had ravaged their country for ten long and shameful years. But even these fiercer barbarians had failed to possess themselves of more than a portion of the province, and a great number of the cities remained in the hands of the Romans, until at the approach of Wallia as an Imperial commander, the gates were open to the Visigothic ally, the harbinger of peace to Roman Spain. And when some fifty years later the Imperial authority gave place to that of the Visigoths under Euric, it was rather a change of Government than a conquest by a foreign power.

Thus to the Visigoths of Spain were given enormous opportunities and ample means of founding a prosperous and an enduring Commonwealth. Treated from their first arrival in the country as friends rather than as foes, they entered into the peaceful occupation of the richest provinces of the Roman world, and they divided their broad lands[1] with what yet remained of one of the noblest races that was absorbed into the Roman Empire.

For nearly 300 years nine-tenths of the Peninsula remained undisturbed by foreign invasion; and while the rare violations of the frontier[2] were at all times promptly repelled, prudence or weakness forbade retaliation, and the blood and treasure of the country were never at any time wasted in foreign wars. The country, too, enjoyed from the days of Wallia to the days of Roderic the inestimable advantage of political unity. The State was never divided, like that of the neighbouring Franks, into rival and often hostile kingdoms, with their endless civil wars and family disputes, amalgamations, divisions and revolutions. Spain, with its fertile soil, its varied climate, its noble rivers, its extensive seaboard, its inexhaustible mines, and its hardy and frugal population, was the richest inheritance of the Gothic race. Yet, after three centuries of undisputed enjoyment, their rule was overthrown at once and for ever by a handful of marauders from Africa. The Goth had neglected all his opportunities, despised all his advantages, heeded no warnings. He had been weighed in the balance and found wanting; and his kingdom was taken from him—for he had shown himself unfit for power.

Of all the various systems of Government that have been attempted on this earth, theocracy, or more properly hierocracy, is undoubtedly one of the very worst. And in all circumstances and conditions where the priest and the confessor usurp the authority that properly belongs to the magistrate and to the man, disaster is the inevitable result.[3] From the death of Reccared to the death of Roderic, the government of Spain was a theocracy, tempered by revolution.

The military spirit, the personal courage and love of arms which had before all things distinguished the Goths of the fifth century, had in the seventh century entirely disappeared. The military system devised by the prudent Wamba, to supply the place of the old national spirit, had been destroyed, almost as soon as it was established, by the Churchmen whose power it threatened. The new national spirit had as yet not been created. The kings, ruled by the bishops, had nothing in common with the people who despised or the nobles who assassinated them. The nobles, inordinately wealthy, idle, dissolute, unwarlike, unrefined, lived lives of luxury and ease, whose aimless monotony was only broken by occasional rebellion. Alaric and Viriatus were both alike forgotten. The Cid had not yet been imagined. Spain was not yet a nation.

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[1] Two-thirds to the Visigoths and one-third to the Romans. *Leges Wisigothorum*, lib. x., tit. 1, 3, 6, 9, and lib. v., tit. 4, 19. See Fustel de Coulanges, *Problèmes d'Histoire* (1891), pp. 289, 99.

[2] Principally in Septimania or the Narbonensis. The invaders rarely crossed the Pyrenees. It is, however, a most remarkable fact that so tempting and so exposed a province as Gothic Gaul should have been so long preserved to the Visigothic monarchy of Spain.

[3] It is only fair to add that the decadence of the Visigoths may be traced even farther back to the elective character of their monarchy which made it impossible for the king to punish the excesses and extortions of the nobles, and threw the power into the hands of the bishops and councils which made such bad use of it.—H.

The absence of anything like the feudal system made the position of the great landholders entirely false, their wealth without a justification, their estates without a reason, their lives without an object. If the lord had no influence, the labourer had no hope. A slave in fact, if not in name, he found the Gothic serfdom as oppressive and scarcely less demoralising than the Roman servitude. The Christian bondage, indeed, was more odious, in that it was more incongruous.[1] The bishops were among the largest slave-holders in the realm ; and baptised Christians were bought and sold without a blush by the successors of St. Paul and Santiago. Kings without power, nobles without influence, a clergy already corrupt, a people not yet free—it was a poor result of three hundred years of dominion. If the Provincials of Honorius were a people of taxgatherers and bankrupts, the subjects of Roderic were a nation of priests and slaves.

Thus had the Roman and the Visigoth alike fallen into decay. The glory of their Imperial dominion, the pride of their Gothic liberty, had alike departed. The successors of the Celtiberians had become a population without patriotism, without part or lot in the welfare of the country in which they lived. Harassed by wars which brought them no glory, and by revolutions which brought them no freedom : abandoned by Gothic kings to Romish ecclesiastics, the great body of the nation was ready to exchange the double yoke of their inglorious oppressors for the Imperial liberty which they found under the Arab.

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[1] Neither the serf nor the slave could marry without the consent of his lord. If an unauthorised marriage was discovered, husband and wife were separated by force, a provision more savage than that of the older Roman law. See *post*, Appendix to this volume, "The Laws of the Visigoths". See also Muñoz, *Del estado de las personas en los reinos de Asturias and Leon ;* and Dozy, *Histoire*, tom. ii., 20-25.

The weakest spot in the Visigothic monarchy was the absence of the hereditary right of the kings;[1] and although in many instances a powerful sovereign was able to ensure the succession of one of his sons, the elective principle was too valuable a weapon both in the hands of the nobles and in the hands of the Churchmen, to be suffered to fall into decay. Chosen at first only by the free Visigoths, the kings gradually accepted the position that the approval of the Council was necessary to validate their election, and in the time of such royal puppets as Sisebut, Sisenand, and Chintila, the Council ruled the king: the bishops not only ruled, but constituted the Council. Thus an elective monarchy and a celibate priesthood deprived the State of that stability of government and that regularity of administration which are among the most certain advantages of the hereditary system. Had the kingdom of the Visigoths descended as of right from father to son, the kings would have been independent of the great metropolitans, and the nobles would not have been tempted to flatter the bishops, in the hope of being able to supplant the king.[2] But as things were ordered, the entire power passed into the hands of a great ecclesiastical hierarchy—a priesthood, ignorant and irresponsible, under the orders of a supreme episcopate, ambitious, eager, arrogant, lusting after temporal power.

For the Councils[3] which play so large a part in the domestic history of the times, had nothing of the popular, or even of the aristocratic in their composition, but were merely assemblies of

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[1] See Dahn, *op. cit.*, vol. v., *passim.*

[2] Of the thirteen kings who reigned from Alaric to Athanagild, 411-554, no less than eleven died violent deaths; two were killed in battle, nine were murdered by their subjects.

[3] A list of the principal Councils of Visigothic Spain may be useful for reference: Illiberis, 306 (?); Saragossa I., 380; Toledo I., 400; Tarragona, 516; Gerona, 517; Toledo II., 527; Lerida, 546; Valencia, 546; Braga I., 561; Braga II., 572; Toledo III., 580; Narbonne, 589; Seville I., 590; Saragossa II., 592; Seville II., 619; Toledo IV., 633; Toledo V., 636; Toledo VI., 638; Toledo VII., 646; Toledo VIII., 653; Toledo IX., 655; Toledo X., 656; Merida, 666; Toledo XI., 675; Braga III., 675; Toledo XII., 681; Toledo XIII., 683; Toledo XIV., 684; Toledo XV., 688; Saragossa III., 691; Toledo XVI., 693; Toledo XVII., 694; Toledo XVIII., 701 or 702. Of these sixteen assemblies six only included a single layman among their members. The eighth Council of Toledo included 17, the ninth 4, the twelfth 15, the thirteenth 26, the fifteenth 17, and the sixteenth 16, See Montalembert, *op. cit.*, iii., 210-12; Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. ii.; Masdeu, xi., 232, 58; Lafuente, ii., lib. iii., cap. 8; *Eng. Hist. Review* (1887), pp. 209, 232, 234; and *Esp. Sag.*, ii., 197-203, and vi., 50.

Churchmen, together with a few Palatines or officers of the king's court,[1] instituted in the first instance for the discussion of religious and doctrinal questions, and gradually invested, by the personal weakness and doubtful authority of successive monarchs, with immense political and legislative power.

At the opening of the eighth century, Spain had no industry, no commerce, no arms.[2] Not even letters had survived. For the Catholic Church discouraged, if it did not actually prohibit, the study of polite literature.[3] Virgil and Homer, Tacitus and Livy were Pagans and Atheists, and their works were unprofitable and impious. The study of natural science or of medicine, the development of manufactures or of industry, the cultivation of the arts—these were equally unedifying to the devout Catholic. That sublime manifestation of "poetry in stone" so strangely called Gothic architecture, is not only not Visigothic, but it was unknown in Spain for over four hundred years after the destruction of the Goths. And although the great province is still covered with the glorious remains of Roman constructive art, there is scarcely found trace or fragment of the rude architecture of the Visigoths to tell of their dominion in the Peninsula.[4]

Vitoria is the one existing city that was founded by these[5] sojourners of three hundred years, and the very name it bears is anything but Gothic. For strangest, perhaps, of all the many signs of decay and loss of national life, the Visigoths, by the end of the seventh century, had well nigh lost their own language. And thus only may be explained the truly wonderful fact that while every town and river and headland in southern Spain, even at the close of the nineteenth century, recalls the dominion of the long banished and still hated Arab, not a word is to be found in the local nomenclature of Castile, nor yet of the Asturias, to tell the tale of the Visigoth.[1]

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[1] The Palatine nobles, members of the royal household, and dukes, who formed part of the later councils, were not allowed to vote on ecclesiastical questions ; and the common people, who had a right to be present, were there only as witnesses. The Palatine officers were : the *Comes Thesaurorum*, or treasurer ; the *Comes Patrimonii*, administrator of the Crown estates ; the *Comes Notariorum*, the king's secretary ; the *Comes Spartariorum*, captain of the body guard ; the *Scanciarum*, the master of the household ; the *Cubiculi*, the chamberlain ; the *Stabuli*, or constable of the palace ; and the *Comes Exercitum*, commander-in-chief.—H.

[2] Dahn, *ubi supra*, p. 225-6.

[3] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii., 269, 270, 275 ; Lecky, *European Morals*, ii., 222 ; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix., 4.

[4] And what there is, is of the poorest and meanest character. See Ponz, *Viaje de España*, vol. i. " Ya que no exista hoy edificio alguno de los construidos por los Godos en nuestro suelo—será por eso imposible formar idea de la architectura en ellos empleada ?" José Caveda, *Ensayo sobre la Architectura*, ed. 1849, p. 65.

[5] *Vitoria* is said by Ford to be derived from the Basque *Beturia* = a height. The Latin *Victoriacum* is more obvious. See Marieta, *Tratado de las Fundaciones de Ciudades*, etc. (Cuenca, 1596), pp. 43-52. In any case the name is not Gothic, although the city was almost certainly founded by Leovgild as a permanent military station after one of his *victories* over the Suevi, and is said to have been first named by him after his son Reccared. The Vandals may have given their name to Andalusia. See *post*, Appendix IV. ; and Septimania was at one time known as Gothia, but the name did not long endure. See Freeman, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 90 and 154.

When Atawulf first crossed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths, Latin was already the language of the Roman Diocese. When Roderic threw away his crown on the banks of the Guadalete, Latin was still the language of the Visigothic kingdom. The Gothic tongue had been absorbed by the Roman.

The earlier kings, of course, spoke the language of their forefathers, although they must all have been well acquainted with the Latin. But by the end of the sixth century the Imperial language of old Rome was rapidly taking the place of the vernacular of the new masters of the country; and if Gothic was still the mother tongue of Leovgild, Latin was certainly the language of Reccared.[2] The inscriptions during the entire period are in Latin. The works of every writer, it need hardly be added, were composed in the same language. And not only were the writers themselves, without exception, orthodox or Romish ecclesiastics,[3] but only one of the number is even supposed to have been a Goth. This was John of Biclara, who spent the flower of his life—seventeen years at least—at Constantinople, and who always speaks of that city as his true capital, the *urbs regia* of his country. From Alaric to Leovgild, no doubt, the German and the Roman tongue strove, like all else that was Roman and German, for the mastery in Gothic Spain. But the issue was never doubtful. The language of the Court and the Church, of the Forum and the Compter, of what refinement and of what industry were still left in the country, the language of every tradition of earthly greatness, and every hope of heavenly happiness, prevailed over its rival; and the Latin, hardly displaced by the Gothic occupation in the days of Honorius, reasserted its Imperial power in the days of Gregory.[1]

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[1] Garibay remarks shrewdly enough that of the so-called Gothic kings in Spain, who reigned in the ever-growing north-west after the coming of the Moslem, *not one* bore a name that had been borne by any of the Visigothic sovereigns from Alaric to Roderic inclusive. Every name was of Latin origin; and the first Pelayo or *Pelagius* has moreover a distinctly heretical flavour. See Romey, iii., 151. By a strange accident indeed the name "Visigoth" has given rise to our word *Bigot* —a word meaning in the old French *detested foreigner* or *heretic*. To the Catholic Franks, of course, the Visigoths of southern Gaul or Spain were objects of bitter hatred both on religious and worldly grounds. See Henry Bradley, *The Goths*, p. 329. *Cf.* Littré, *Dict.*, *sub* BIGOT. Littré is inclined to favour this derivation. It is worthy of note that *Bigote* in modern Spanish means, not a bigot, but a moustache; and that even in the figurative sense a *hombre de bigotes* is used to signify, not a fanatic, but a strong-minded man.

[2] See Dahn, *ubi supra*, vol. vi., p. 170.

[3] The following are the principal Spanish writers during the Visigothic occupation: Paulus Orosius, 380-420; Idatius, 390-470; Johannes Biclarensis, 540-620; Maximus of Saragossa, 550-619; Isidore of Seville, 560-636; Ildenfonsus, 610-667; Isidore Pacensis, 700-755. The last, more commonly known as Isidore of Beja, is supposed by M. Dozy (*Recherches*, i., pp. 2-16) to have been a native of Cordova, and neither a bishop nor an inhabitant of Pax Julia. But his chronicle is of the utmost value.

But a nation without a national language is doomed; a state without a state language is dead. Latin was the mother tongue of the Romish Church of Spain; but the Visigothic state was speechless. The kingdom, like Wamba, had been shorn and habited by the ecclesiastical power, and the kingdom, like the king, disappeared at the touch of the aggressor.[2]

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[1] It should not be forgotten, however, that the Latin-speaking races in the Peninsula were always much more numerous than the Goths; and just as the Normans gradually merged their speech in that of the subject Saxon race in England, the Goths in Spain followed the universal rule of speaking the tongue of the larger number of the inhabitants of the country in which they lived. It must be added also that the Latin had become much modified during the Gothic domination, and had assumed much of the character of modern Spanish before the invasion of Taric, as instance the language of the *Fuero Juzgo* promulgated by Egica.—H.

[2] An exhaustive account of the Visigoths and other *German* races in Spain, treating not only of historical events, but of the political life, domestic quarrels, the immense and baneful authority of the Church, the influence of the Franks, and a hundred other matters will be found in Dahn's great work, *Die Könige der Germanen*, vols. v. and vi., pp. 1-246 and 1-631, which have been my constant guide in the composition of this and the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MOSLEM CONQUEST.

(711—788).

I.—*Taric.*

The story of the Mohammedan conquest of Spain is in itself a romance. Nor is it surprising that so sudden and so startling an overthrow should have been productive of many and strange legends among the vanquished Visigoths. When the rude discipline of adversity had developed a new spirit in the new nation that was formed in the hospitable mountains of the north-west, the bravery of the sons was attributed to the fathers in many a glowing tale. But Alfonso ruled over a handful of free Spaniards. Roderic had been followed by a mixed multitude of slaves. The romance of the invasion has been sung by Christian poets; yet the glory of the conquest—and it was the glory of easy victory—was wholly on the side of Islam. The hero of the story is the gallant Taric,[1] whose name, less celebrated than that of his contemptible antagonist, lives, and will ever live embedded in that of the great rock on whose shore he first landed in Spain,[2] and which has, for nigh on two hundred years, formed one of the most cherished possessions of Spain's greatest and only rival for the empire of the world.

Nothing could have been less ambitious than the first steps of the Arabs towards the conquest of Spain. Invited or not by Count Julian, a little band of some five hundred marauders, under the Arab Tarif, crossed the straits from Africa in four small vessels, and landed at the spot where the delightful town of Tarifa perpetuates the name and the memory of the leader of the band. Tarif plundered Carteia, or Algeciras, and having explored, without opposition, and with much success in the way of plunder, the surrounding country, he returned to Africa, bringing with him welcome news of the riches and the defenceless condition of the land to the north of the straits. Thus informed and encouraged, Musa, the Vali or governor of Arab Tingitana, gave his consent to another foray, greedy of further spoils. And so it came to pass that in the ever memorable year 711, a little army of Berbers and Arabs, led by a subordinate general, Taric, who had been entrusted with the conduct of the expedition, landed at the foot of the rock of Calpe. King Roderic was in the north of the Peninsula, but he hastened to the defence of his kingdom. The result we all know. An army of sixty thousand men, headed by the sovereign in person, and with every advantage of locality, of supply, of means of transport, was promptly routed by a band of Moslem marauders. Taric saw the greatness of his opportunity.[1] He divided his little army into three bands, and pressed forward to overrun the entire Peninsula of Spain.

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[1] A *Tuerto*, like Hannibal, and Sertorius, and the first Abdur Rahman.

[2] *Gebel Taric*—the hill of Taric=Gibraltar.

The invasion was crowned with the most astonishing success. City after city opened its gates at the summons of the Moor, and in a few months from his victory on the banks of the Guadalete,[2] the kingdom of the Visigoths had ceased to exist.

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[1] For an exhaustive review of the various dates assigned to the landing of Taric, see Gayangos, vol. i., pp. 521-2, and notes. Don Pascual sums up as follows: "I may, therefore, advance without fear of contradiction, that the landing of Taric on the rock of Gibraltar, took place on Thursday, 30th of April, A.D. 711 (8th Rejeb, A.H. 92)".

[2] The Guadalete—the Chrysos of the Greeks and Romans—is a little river that flows near the modern town of Xerez. The etymology of Guadalete is very uncertain: Guada, or Wady, is simple enough: but whether *lete* is the Greek *Lethe*, as Lope de Vega and Southey would suggest, or an extraordinary development of *Beker*, by which name, according to Makkari, the river was known to the Arabs, and which survives in the modern *Beger* de la Frontera, a village near the Laguna de Janda, or whether it is simply *leded*=delight, the critics are unable to determine. See Gayangos, i., 524-6, and notes 63, 66, and 67; Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 314-316; Casiri, ii., 183; *España Sagrada*, ix., 53; Lope de Vega, *Jerusalem Conquistada*, lib. vi., 136; Southey, *Don Roderic*, note *ad hoc;* Ford (1878), 330. Don Pascual Gayangos considers that the engagement took place nearer Medina Sidonia than Xerez, *i.e.*, nearer the landing-place of the invader.

Since this chapter and note were written, my attention has been called to a notice of a work *Estudios sobre la invasion de los Arabes en España*, by D. Eduardo Saavedra (Madrid, 1893), in which it is maintained—and according to Señor Riaño, with complete success—that the battle which decided the fate of Spain was fought, not in 711, but in 714, not on the banks of the Guadalete, but on the Barbate, near Medina Sidonia. I have not, unfortunately, been able to procure the book up to the moment of going to press. Anything that Señor Riaño writes is worthy of respect, and I must only refer to his review in *The Athenæum* (No. 3427), of July, 1893.

Taric had been reinforced shortly before the battle by some 5000 Berbers, A Moorish captain, at the head of but 700 Berbers, surprised and occupied Cordova. Archidona, Malaga, Elvira, all surrendered to the Arab. Taric pressed on to Toledo. The Gothic nobility fled at his approach, and the royal city opened her gates to the invader. Such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the *only* chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into the hands of the Saracens.[1]

The bishops disappeared. The people were indifferent. Spain was abandoned to the Arab. It was something more than a conquest. It was a social revolution. The Jews were avenged of their persecutors. The slave was set free. The old things indeed had passed away. All things had as in a moment become new. What was the long struggle of the barbarian hosts three centuries before to the lightning success of this handful of invaders?

In the early summer of 712, Musa, jealous of the splendid and all unexpected success of his lieutenant, crossed the straits with an army of 18,000 or 20,000 men, and marched northwards to join Taric at Toledo. Carmona, Seville and many other cities promptly submitted at his summons. The reduction of Merida alone delayed for a moment the progress of his arms. But honourable terms of capitulation were soon accepted, and Merida enjoyed the clemency of the victors.

The meeting between Musa and Taric is said to have been stormy and acrimonious. But no military jealousy induced the Arab to check in any way the career of conquest upon which his Moorish lieutenant had already entered. Invested with a more ample authority, Taric was suffered to continue his northward march, and he hastened to the siege and capture of Saragossa, no longer to be *Cæsarea Augusta*, but *Medina Saracusta*, at all times a brave and noble city. Thus the wave of Moslem conquest spread unchecked over the country. Not even at remote Astorga did the fugitive Visigoths stand against the invader. The province retained its independence, but the capital submitted at the approach of Taric, in the early spring of 713; while Musa, taking an easterly course, reduced Huesca, Lerida, Tarragona, Barcelona and Gerona. Nor would the Pyrenees have been the limit of Musa's victorious career, had

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but his entire force did not exceed 12,000 men. The army under Roderic is variously estimated at 60,000 or 90,000 men. Taric, like so many other invaders, is said to have burned his ships as soon as he had landed on the shores of Spain.

[1] Gibbon, chapter li.

not a messenger from the Caliph met him at Lugo in Gallicia, with orders to repair at once to Damascus. He heard but to obey; and leaving his eldest son, Abdul Aziz, to administer Spain in his absence, the Amir turned his horse's head sadly to the southward, and submitted himself to the will of the Commander of the Faithful.

Abdul Aziz, on the departure of his father, was opposed with but little success in southern Spain by Theodemir, a Christian noble, who had assumed, on the death of Roderic, the title of king of the Visigoths. Completely defeated and driven from his vantage ground among the hills of Murcia, Theodemir fled for refuge to the fortified town of Orihuela. Fortifications he found—but no garrison; walls—but no defenders. None but the women were left in the city, and boldly did these Murcian ladies play their part. Dressed and armed like soldiers, these gallant dames took their places on the battlements; and the advancing Moors, deceived by the brave show of defenders, accorded to Theodemir honourable terms of capitulation. So pleased indeed was Abdul Aziz with the boldness of the stratagem, and at the confidence displayed by Theodemir, who had entered his camp, attended only by a single page, to seek favourable conditions of peace, that he recognised the Gothic chieftain as titular king or governor of all Murcia, a province ever after known to the Arabs as Theodemir's land, or the country of Tadmir.[1]

Abdul Aziz held his court at Seville: and his marriage with the beautiful Egilona, who was certainly a Christian, and who is said to have been the widow of Roderic, gave striking proof of the liberality of his feelings towards the subject race. Egilona was permitted to retain her own religion; and the unaccustomed honour in which she was held by her husband and his courtiers is said to have aroused the indignation of many true believers.

But if the conquerors were considerate to the conquered, the Commander of the Faithful was merciless to the conquerors.

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[1] Four hundred years after the death of Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagena are called by Al Edrisi (154-6) by the name of Tadmir. Bourguignon d'Anville, *Etats formés en Europe*, etc. (1771), tom. iii., p. 174; Gibbon, chap. li.; Gayangos, ii., 30, 31. Casiri causes some confusion by translating Tadmir as if it were the Arabic word *Palmir*, and making Murcia not the land of Theodemir, but the land of palms. The treaty was signed 4 Rajab, A.H. 94—equivalent to 13th April, 713. The boundaries of the Gothic province would seem to have included not only Alicante and Valencia, but Orihuela. See Gayangos, ii., 30, 31; Lafuente, iii., 33, 34.

Fortune has ever been most fickle in the East. Taric the Berber was the hero of the conquest of Spain; and he deserved the gratitude and support of the Caliph; and Taric, though recalled, was not unjustly treated. But Musa the Arab found scant justice and no mercy at the hands of his sovereign. Within a few days of his arrival at Damascus, he was deprived of his command, stripped of his wealth, reviled, beaten, disgraced. Nay, more, the sins of the father were visited upon the innocent son, and the amiable Abdul Aziz met his death in his palace at Seville, at the hands of a dark messenger from Damascus.[1]

In the place of the unhappy Musa, and on the death of his yet more unhappy son, the Caliph appointed Abdur Rahman,[2] the Arab, to be Amir or governor of Spain in 721. This able and vigorous ruler distinguished himself from the first, not only by his strict justice, but by the indulgence that he showed to the conquered Christians. He replaced certain venal and oppressive *Cadis* by judges of probity and honour, and showed himself, we are told, more particularly scrupulous in confirming the Christians in the peaceful possession of their old places of worship. In every department of the state he proved himself honest, vigorous and enlightened. At length having established his government, not without having had to overcome much factious opposition at home, he sought to win greater glory abroad; and he carried his victorious forces across the Pyrenees, and overran the fertile plains of Gaul. A defeat under the walls of Toulouse did not check the onward course of the Moslems, who occupied successively Narbonne, Carcassonne, Beziers, Magalona, Nismes, Lyons; and penetrated even as far as Autun in Burgundy. But the ever famous victory of Charles Martel between Poictiers and Tours, in 732, over a mixed host of Arabs and Berbers, checked for ever the career of Islam in north-western Europe.[3]

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[1] Gayangos, ii., 30, 31, and Appendix A.

[2] He must not be compared with the Ommeyad Abdur Rahman, first *Amir* of Cordova, in 755.

[3] The vanity of the Gallic writers has magnified the success of Charles Martel over a plundering expedition of the Spanish Arabs (732), into a marvellous victory and attributed the deliverance of Europe from the Saracen yoke to the valour of the Franks. But it was the defeat of the great army of Saracens before Constantinople by Leo III. (718), which first averted the torrent of Mohammedan conquest; although Europe refuses her gratitude to the iconoclastic hero who averted the greatest religious, political and ethnological revolution with which she has ever been threatened. Finlay's *Hist. of Greece*, ii., 19. See on the same point, Bury, *Later Roman Empire;* Guizot, *Hist. of France*, tom. i., chap. ix., and Ranke, *Hist. of the Reformation in Germany*, i., p. 5.

Abdur Rahman was slain in battle. The Saracens abandoned all their conquests in Gaul. Yet the victors did not venture to pursue the vanquished across the Pyrenees. Nor was the defeat of the Moslems at Tours so disastrous but that in a few months they were able to resume their advance; and their progress was arrested only by renewed dissensions among themselves—not only among the leaders of the Spanish army in Europe, but among the aspirants for the Caliphate in Asia. Another Amir was promptly chosen in the place of Abdur Rahman; and Spain at least prospered under the genial government of the Arab, and continued to flourish in spite of the constant feuds and constant changes of the new rulers of the country.

II.—*The Mozarabs.*

The greater part of the Peninsula had accepted the Moslem empire without striking a blow; and the inhabitants, as a rule, who had peaceably submitted to the inevitable, were suffered to remain in full possession of their lands and property of every description. In the districts conquered by the invaders by actual force of arms, one-fifth part was reserved for the royal treasury, and the remainder was divided among the victorious soldiery. In the towns, as a rule, the inhabitants[1] were left in possession of their houses, on payment of the *jizia,* or the tax that is due by every free non-Moslem subject of a Moslem government, in return for the protection of the state. And in every case the free exercise of their religion was allowed to the conquered Christians.

The expedition of Taric, it must ever be remembered, was not a national, nor even a state enterprise. It was rather a piratical foray, not Arab, but African, hardly approved by the Commander of the Faithful, and undertaken without any preconcerted plan of military operations. The conquest was, in fact, a magnificent accident. It was not a victorious invasion by a great power, but an unexpected occupation by an army of independent tribes; and the jealousies and rivalries of the tribesmen among themselves, Arabs, Berbers, Africans, Syrians and Egyptians, was one of the necessary evils of the situation. Every good Moslem owed a nominal allegiance to Damascus; but the tribes were really independent, envious and even hostile among themselves, kept together in their enterprise only by the vigorous and lively faith of each individual soldier in God and His prophet, and by the true belief of each individual Moslem in the brotherhood of Islam.

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[1] Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 78-89. The *Mozarabs* were Christians who lived under the rule and protection of the Moslems. Various etymologies have been suggested, most of them very far-fetched. See Gayangos, i., 142 and 420; Viardot, *Essai*, i., 69-70. Dozy and Engelmann, in their excellent *Glossaire*, do not give so clear an explanation as that for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, *viz.*, that the word is a participial form (tenth conjugation) of the verb-root, *arb*, signifying "One who has become *Arabized*". See also McGuckin de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, i., introduction, p. 3.

In the first forty years after the coming of Taric and Musa, no less than twenty Amirs bore rule at different times in Spain. The suzerainty of Damascus was ineffective. The supremacy of Africa was disastrous; for Africa was ever a hot-bed of intrigue and sedition; and the Berber or Moorish *marabout* had come to exercise a more potent influence over a credulous people than a tribal chief or even an Arab governor could ever hope to acquire. The Berbers[1] in Andalusia, always closely in touch with their kin across the sea, were quick to feel the influence of every revolution—and revolutions were many in Africa. The Berbers in Europe, moreover, had good cause to be jealous of the share of the spoils of Spain that had been appropriated by their Arab allies. In 741, accordingly, the Moors who were quartered in southern Gallicia, at Merida, at Soria, and in all the central regions of Spain, took up arms and set their faces to go to the southern coast, whence they might take ship, and cross the straits, to join their compatriots in Barbary. The situation was full of peril, and it was faced with courage and skill by the reigning Amir. Yet peace was only attained after a new and general division of the conquered territories, by assigning to each tribe of the contending conquerors the district which most nearly resembled the native land of the tribesmen; an ingenious and most reasonable scheme, which the great variety of soil and climate, of mountain and valley and plain in every part of the Peninsula rendered possible in the new country of the Moslem.[2] In this way the Egyptian contingent was settled in Murcia, which they named *Misr* or Egypt; the men of Palestine found a home in the mountain regions near Ronda and Medina Sidonia, which might recall their home in the Lebanon; those who had once pastured their flocks in the valley of the Jordan, were established between Malaga and Archidona, on the banks of the Guadalhorce; the large and important tribes from Yemen obtained grants in the neighbourhood of Seville, Ubeda and Guadix; the Arabs from Palmyra were settled in the north-east of Murcia and the region round about Almeria, while the proud and cultured Syrian of Damascus found a home and an abiding place on the banks of the Xenil, in the rich and beautiful Vega of Elvira,[1] which became famous, beyond all the regions of Spain, as the kingdom or province of Granada.

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[1] "The *marabouts*—Moslem saints or missionaries—among the Berbers, were responsible for most of the later changes that took place in north Africa; they set up the *Fatimites*, sent the *Almoravides* victorious through Barbary and Spain, and then put them down by the Almohades." S. Lane Poole, *Moors in Spain*, 54.

[2] Gayangos, ii., 46; Dozy, *Recherches*, i., cap. ii.; Lafuente, iii., 83-5.

Spain had been conquered by the Berber Taric, the dark-skinned freedman of the Arab Musa, with his 12,000 African marauders. Musa, the Arab, had been disgraced. His son had been slain; and for a quarter of a century the Peninsula was virtually ruled by the swart and savage Africans, or Berbers, who are known in history by the somewhat uncertain name of the Moors. But the supreme government of the country was in the hands of a nobler race.

In spite of the jealousies of the contending tribesmen and the intrigues of hostile faction, in spite of frequent rebellion and threats of civil war, the Arab ruler did not neglect the arts of peace. The subject population gradually emerged from slavery, and throve greatly under the just and enlightened sway of the Amirs. The taxes were light. The laws were simple. The noble oppressors had fled away to the mountains, where the Arab could not or did not pursue them. The bishops and many of the clergy had followed them in their retreat. The Jews, the richest, the most enlightened, the most learned of the old inhabitants of Spain, were not only tolerated, but highly honoured by the new rulers. The Jews, indeed, had probably invited and had certainly welcomed the Arabs into Spain. They had assisted the invaders in their early struggles, and had furnished garrisons for many southern cities when the main body of the Moslem army was pressing forward to occupy the more northern districts. And they were not forgotten by the victors when the Moslem occupation was complete.[1] Yet cruelly injured as they had been by the kings and councils of the Visigoths, the Jews were generous in the hour of their victory; and we hear no word of Christians, lay or ecclesiastic, being persecuted by Jews in the day of their power and their influence at the court of the Moslem. Nor did the Christians suffer in any way, on account of their religion, at the hands of the Moors. Many Romans and Visigoths embraced Islam, aspiring to positions of honour or profit in the State. The slave who pronounced the *Kalmah*[2] secured his immediate freedom; but those who set their Christianity above honour or profit were at liberty not only to maintain their ancient faith, but to profess and follow it in public. Churches were retained by the Christians in every city of the Peninsula; and Mass was celebrated day by day, according to the Gothic ritual,[3] under the protection of the Moslem authorities. The only burden to which the Christian or Mozarab was exposed, from which the True Believer was free, was that of a small annual tribute or poll tax. In every other respect not only perfect toleration but nominal equality was the rule of the Arab in Spain.[4] In the early days of the occupation, even when the invader was speeding, sword in hand, throughout the country, the general order to the Moslem soldiery was to spare at all times those who offered no resistance. And the Christian writers are compelled to admit that these instructions were almost invariably carried out. The tardy recognition of the supremacy of the earlier invaders, no doubt, had been more than once visited with hasty slaughter. The over-demonstrative profession of an intolerant Catholicism was to be the signal, in later days, for outbreaks of an enraged Islam. But from the time that the country was fairly settled, the Christian Spaniard not only enjoyed personal and religious freedom, but he attended the public ministrations of his own priests; he was governed, as far as he chose, by his own laws, interpreted by his own judges; and on the whole, the new rule was one of peace, of prosperity and of justice.

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[1] For the Basque etymology of Illiberis (Elvira), see W. Webster, *Spain*, p. 71. Elvira and Granada (*Garnatha*), appear to have both been called *Damascus* by the early Moslem settlers, that is, if they are not one and the same place. See Abulfeda (ed. Paris, 1848), p. 253. M. Dozy, *Recherches*, tom. i., pp. 328-333, considers that Elvira and *Castella* are the same place.

The etymology of Granada is doubtful. Before the invasion of Spain by the Arabs, a small town of Phœnician origin, known as *Karnattah*, existed near Illiberis (Elvira) and probably on the site of the more modern city of Granada. The syllable *Kar* would, in Phœnician, signify a town. The meaning of *nattah* is unknown. Gayangos, i., 347; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, ii., 251; Conde, *Hist. Dom.*, i., pp. 37-51. The supposition that the city owes its name to its resemblance to a ripe pomegranate (*granata*) is clearly inadmissable. As in the case of Leon, the device was adopted in consequence of its appropriateness to an existing name—although the modern city of Granada is probably not older than 1020. Moreover, the Arabic word for a pomegranate is *Român;* and *Soto de Roma*, the name of the Duke of Wellington's estate in Andalusia, means the wood of the pomegranates, and an *Ensalada romana* is not a *Roman* but a pomegranate salad. See Pedaza, *Hist. Eccl. de Granada* (1618), fol. 21-22; Romey, *Hist.*, i., 474-5.

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[1] Among the public functionaries under the Ommeyad Caliphs of Cordova, we find one who bore the title of *Kátib of protection*, who was charged with the special protection of the persons and interests of Jews and Christians, "and it may be said without exaggeration that, so long as this office existed, no Christian nor Jew ever needed the assistance of the great," Gayangos, ii., 102-111.

[2] In full *Kalimatu'sh shahàdat*, the creed of Islam. The entire sentence does not occur in the Koran. But the first clause known as *náfi wa isbát*, the rejection and the affirmation, in verse 21 of chapter xlvii.; and the second clause in verse 29 of chapter xlviii. For the somewhat similar affirmation or declaration of the Hebrews, see Deuteronomy vi. 4.

[3] The Romish Missal did not take the place of the Gothic until over four hundred years later. See *post*, chapter xxii.

[4] See Dozy, *Recherches*, tom. i., pp. 78-89. As to the liberty and prosperity enjoyed by the Spanish Christians under the Moslem Caliphs of Cordova, see Viardot, *Essai*, i., 67-75, where it is justly remarked that our admiration for the tolerance displayed by the Spanish Moslems should be the greater when we

III.—*Abdur Rahman.*

From 661 to 750, fourteen Caliphs of the Ommeyad dynasty had ruled the Moslem world from Damascus. Es Seffah, the first of the Abbaside dynasty, which supplanted them, removed his capital to far-famed Bagdad; and the Caliphate continued in his family until the breaking up of the great Mohammedan Empire by the Mongols in 1258. The most distinguished member of the deposed family of the Ommeyads in 744 was the youth Abdur Rahman, a true hero of romance. A fugitive from childhood; ever in danger from Abbaside spies and pursuers, sheltered by wandering tribes, concealed by villagers, he escaped death a hundred times and in a hundred ways, until at length he found himself, not yet twenty-one years of age, a guest rather than a refugee among the Berbers of northern Africa.

Abdur Rahman was a youth of noble stature and bearing, brave, energetic, generous, marked out by fortune for fame. Like Hannibal and Sertorius and Taric, he was blind of an eye; and like Hannibal and Taric and Sertorius, he turned his thoughts towards Spain. The dissensions among the Arab chiefs in the Peninsula, the remoteness of Bagdad, his own more than royal birth and reputation, all were in his favour.

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remember that *ils étaient alors dans la première fureur d'une croyance nouvelle; dans le premier enthousiasme de la victoire.*

A discreet envoy from Barbary to Andalusia made the most of his great opportunities; and in September, 755, the young prince, not only invited, but awaited with feverish anxiety, and welcomed with national acclamation, landed near the mouth of the great river,[1] and proceeded to set up his new Government at Seville.

In the early spring of the next year, he had established himself at Cordova, which continued for 400 years to be the splendid capital of the Amirs and Caliphs of Spain. Of the various battles and skirmishes between the Ommeyad prince and his various foes—Abbaside and Yemenite, Berber and Christian—no more need be said but that the Arab did not neglect the arts of war. A powerful and efficient navy was constructed by his orders, and the brave commander of the fleet, Taman ben Alkama, took the title of *Amir el Mar*, the first admiral of Spain.[2]

The uniform success that attended the arms of Abdur Rahman were marked by a single reverse, the loss of Narbonne, which, after forty years of Moslem domination, succumbed in 761 to the assaults of Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, and the father of Charlemagne. Thus was the last of the possessions of the Arab to the north of the Pyrenees re-occupied by the Christians in less than forty years after the first Berber had landed his troops on the southern coasts of Spain.

Thirty-two glorious years are included in the reign of the first Abdur Rahman at Cordova, and in this brief space of time were laid the foundations of the greatness of the Moorish Empire in Spain. When the great Amir died, in 788,[3] the kingdom of Cordova was already one of the most powerful, and certainly by far the most enlightened Commonwealth in Europe.

Abdur Rahman was an autocrat, kind-hearted, judicious, merciful; quick of perception, but never hasty in action; generous in his approbation, refined in his tastes, stern in his anger, untiring in his labour for the State. Impatient of all opposition to his designs, easy of access to the poor and humble, a relentless judge of the rich and oppressive, and a munificent patron of all arts and sciences, especially of agriculture[1]—he was the patron of a worthy tyrant; and as unlike the later Visigothic kings of Spain as it is possible to conceive or record. If in his royal and autocratic career are found alternate exhibitions of ferocity and of clemency, the noble assuredly predominates over the base. If heads are treacherously cut off, lives are chivalrously spared. If Moslems are massacred, Christians are protected by the impulsive Amir. The arts of peace were his chief delight, the magnificence of Cordova his ruling passion. The foundation of the great mosque, which he did not live to see completed, the building of the palace of Rissafah, the gardens that he laid out, and the aqueducts that he constructed; the luxury and the liberality of his court, the wit and refinement of his courtiers—of all these things we may read, and read with pleasure and advantage, in the glowing annals of the Moslems in Spain. Nay, more, the Christian writers have not failed to recognise his many virtues; and a mediæval archbishop has not hesitated to speak of him as *The Just*.[2]

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[1] Wady el Kebir = Guadalquivir.

[2] The ships were built on the lines of vessels procured as models by Abdur Rahman from the Imperial court of Constantinople.

[3] Abdur Rahman, though sometimes spoken of as King, as Caliph, and even as Commander of the Faithful (*Amir al Mouminin*), never assumed any more important title than that of *Amir*.

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[1] One of his great works was the embankment of the Guadalquivir for the purpose of irrigation.

[2] The greatness of his contemporary Charlemagne, is, says Lafuente, perhaps inferior to that of this less known Arab *Amir*. Lafuente, iii., 154; Roderic, *Hist. Arab.*, 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KINGDOM OF ASTURIAS.

(711—788.)

I.—*Covadonga.*

Roderic was so far from being "the last of the Goths" that within a few years after his death, we find not one, but two Gothic kings, one in the south-east, and the other in the north-west of Spain. Theodemir, who more immediately succeeded to the battered crown of Roderic, reigned by favour of the Arabs, as a vassal, or tributary king of Murcia, from 711 or 712 until 743, when he was succeeded by a Goth of the name of Athanagild, by whom the subject monarchy was maintained until 755, when on the arrival of the young Ommeyad Amir, Abdur Rahman, the petty and subject principality of the last Visigoth was incorporated in that of the first Arab king of Spain.

But the refuge and hiding place of the Gothic nobility, and the cradle of the future Spanish race, was in the unconquered Cantabrian provinces, where some seven or eight years after the death of Roderic, Pelayo, one of the early heroes of Spanish national story, "the saga-celebrated saviour of Christianity in the Peninsula," is found already reigning over the refugees, and making good his position in his mountain retreat. The rule of the Christians in the Asturias, unlike that of Theodemir in Murcia, was not by the favour of the Moslem, but in spite of their repeated attacks. Pelayo was the independent chieftain, not so much of what was left of the Visigoths on the north-western coasts, as of that band of refugees, Gothic, Roman and Iberian, who, "drawing strength from weakness" and courage from affliction, kept the faith, and laid the foundations of the kingdom of Spain.

The legend of the heroic defence that was made by Pelayo and his little band in the rock-cut cave at Covadonga, has at least the independent authority of an Arab historian[1] to support it; and although we may find some difficulty in believing every Christian detail, such as that the hero and his *thirty* followers actually destroyed the entire Moslem army of 400,000 men, the position of Covadonga,[2] a natural fastness, no doubt enabled the small band of refugees to inflict severe loss on the unprotected invaders. The good fortune of Pelayo did much to kindle the national spirit, by which, and not by numbers, either of slayers or of the slain, Spain was conquered for the Spaniards: and thus the legend, like many other legends of the past, if critically false, is actually true. If, as we are told, the presence of a great commander may be worth 40,000 men, the prestige of a great victory may well be worth 400,000. What actually took place at Covadonga was probably that the tribesmen and refugees, with every advantage of an inaccessible position and of local knowledge, opposed the advance of the Moslems, much as the Afghans resisted the British army in the Khyber Pass; and that by hurling huge stones and trunks of trees from their rocky vantage ground upon the confused ranks of the Arabs, these early *guerilleros* were able to destroy the hosts of the invaders, and thus to maintain their independence in their mountain refuge.

Nor do the Arabs seem to have made any attempt to retrieve or avenge the fortunes of the day. Well satisfied, no doubt, with their unopposed dominion over the rich plains of the genial south country, they were willing to abandon the bleak and inhospitable mountains to their wild inhabitants and the emboldened refugees whom they sheltered.[3] Be the reason what it may, Pelayo seems to have had peace all the days of his life after his victory at Covadonga in 718. Prudently confining his attention to the development of his little kingdom, he reigned, it is said, for nineteen years at Cangas,[4] and dying in 737, he was peacefully succeeded by his son Favila.

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[1] Ibn Hayyan; See Gayangos, ii., 34; Mariana, lib. vii., and Lafuente, iii., 68. *Esp. Sag.*, xxxvii., 79.

[2] Near Cangas de Onis in Asturias. For a graphic description of Covadonga and the neighbourhood, see an article by John Ormsby, *Cornhill Magazine*, 1870, p. 431; and Ford, *Spain* (ed. 1878), 225-7.

[3] The Moorish commander, Al Khama, is said to have been accompanied by Oppas, Bishop of Seville (see *ante*, p. 113), who endeavoured to persuade Pelayo to submit to the superior forces of the invader. *Mariana*, lib. vii., 1. The bishop is supposed to have been slain, as well as Al Khama, in the destruction of the Moslem army.

[4] Cangas, the modern Cangas de Onis. The etymology of the word according to Ford is *Canicas* = *conchas* = the shell-like valley. The town lies about a mile

Pelayo, no doubt, was but a robber chieftain, a petty mountain prince, and the legends of his royal descent are of later date, and of obviously spurious manufacture; but Pelayo needs no tinsel to adorn his crown. He was the founder of the Spanish monarchy. His successor Favila was no hero, but a royal sportsman, whose hands, like those of Gratian, were stained only with the blood of animals,[1] and who was ingloriously killed by a bear when hunting near Covadonga. After his brief reign of only two years, Favila was succeeded in 739, not by his son, but by his brother-in-law Alfonso, who had married Hermesinda, a daughter of Pelayo, and had been named by the elder king as his successor in case of the death of Favila.[2]

Alfonso, in 742, felt himself already strong enough to assume the offensive against the Moslems, and crossing over the mountains that divide the Asturias from Gallicia, he made himself master of Lugo, Orense, Tuy, Braga, Chaves, and other cities of the north-west, now included in the kingdom of Portugal.[3] Emboldened by the success of his arms, he further extended his operations to the south and east, and ravaged many towns and cities, which the weakness of his forces did not permit him to hold, and the smallness of his population did not enable him to occupy. It would seem probable, moreover, that until a national and patriotic spirit was aroused in new Spain, the Christians as well as the Moslems preferred, in many cases, the rule of the Moor to that of the Asturian. Constant forays were the fashion of the day, and Ledesma, Salamanca, Zamora, Astorga, Leon, Simancas, Avila, Segovia, and many less important towns are said to have been harried and sacked by militant Christians. The peaceful inhabitants of both religions must have slept more soundly to the south of the Tagus, than within striking distance of the king at Cangas.

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from Villanueva, on the high road from Oviedo to Santander, and was adopted by Pelayo as his capital, and so continued, until it was abandoned for the more important town of Oviedo. Ford (1878), p. 224.

[1] There is a quaint representation of the king's inglorious death over the doorway of the church of San Pedro at Villanueva, said to have been founded by Alfonso I. in 750.

[2] Lafuente, iii., 74, note

[3] It must be remembered that the northern boundary of the modern kingdom of Portugal is the Minho; while that of the old province of Lusitania was the Douro, sixty miles further to the south. But if Lusitania was *shorter*, it was also *broader* than modern Portugal; its eastern boundary extended beyond the cities of Salamanca and Avila, and reached almost as far as Segovia.

No man, indeed, did more to create and foster the new national spirit in Spain than this Asturian Alfonso,[1] who would be bound by no treaty with the infidel, and who, first of Spanish, or indeed of Christian kings, earned for himself the title of the Catholic.[2] It was Alfonso, too, in the course of his eighteen years of growing dominion, who commenced the building of the long line of castles on his southern and eastern frontier which secured the defence and suggested the name of the greatest of the new provinces of Christian Spain. The king died at Cangas in 756, and the angels, we are told, sang celestial psalms over his sepulchre.[3]

Fruela, the eldest son of Alfonso, succeeded, on his father's death in 757, to a kingdom extending by an uncertain tenure of temporary conquest, nominal tribute, and constant encroachment, over Gallicia, the Asturias, Biscay, and Navarre, together with some frontier towns and debatable districts on the borders of the plain country, which were afterwards included in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. A tributary of Abdur Rahman, Fruela did nothing to extend his Christian territories; but his harsh and savage disposition led to frequent rebellions of his Christian subjects, which were suppressed with conventional severity and unusual success.

Nor did he maintain friendly relations with the Church. Witiza had rendered himself obnoxious to the bishops by his encouragement of clerical matrimony; Fruela incurred their hostility by forbidding it.[4] But by way of compensation, no doubt, for this interference with the ecclesiastical power, he laid the foundation of a magnificent Christian temple, on a spot where some monks had set up a shrine to St. Vincent, around whose sacred walls arose the town of *Ovetum*, the modern city of Oviedo. Fruela's church unhappily exists no more. Yet Oviedo can still boast of the possession of one of the oldest and most interesting Christian buildings in the Peninsula. The *Camara Santa* is probably the ancient church of St. Miguel, which served as the private chapel of the court of Alfonso the Catholic, and contains the most precious relics in Spain. For if Oviedo is not as holy a city as Compostella, it claims the second place in the roll of sanctity; while in the number, the variety, and the authenticity of its relics[1] it stands perhaps unrivalled in the Christian world.

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[1] "The Terrible Alfonso, the manslayer, son of the sword, slew tens of thousands of Moslems. He burned houses and dwellings, *and no treaty could be made with him*." El Lági, quoted by Lafuente, iii., 81.

Dunham, quoting Sebastian of Salamanca, *omnes Arabes occupatores civitatum interficiens*, says placidly, ii., 125, "Such an *extermination* of the Mohammedan inhabitants to make room for his Christian colonists was a *just retribution* on the heads of the followers of a *sanguinary Faith*". A strange nineteenth century Christian gloss! If such things can be written in the Cabinet in 1832, it is hardly surprising that the *retributive justice* practised in the mountains should have been somewhat one-sided in 750.

[2] Reccared was, of course, the first Catholic king of Spain; but the first who is known by the distinctive title is this Alfonso.

[3] Sebast. Salmant., 15, in *España Sagrada*, xiii.; Dunham, ii., 126; Dozy, *Histoire*, tom. iii., 24-25.

[4] Mariana, vii., 4.

His constant and edifying exhibition of Christian zeal did not, as Lafuente somewhat naïvely remarks, prevent Fruela from staining his memory with the guilt of an odious fratricide. The blood of a murdered brother, however, cried not in vain for vengeance; and Fruela met his death, in the time-honoured Visigothic fashion, at the hand of an assassin.

His son Alfonso being still of tender age, the crown was passed on to a first cousin, Aurelius, who appears to have lived in peace, if not in amity, with his neighbours, to have paid his tribute, respected his treaties, and to have even permitted some noble Christian damsels to intermarry with the sons of the Moslems.

The laxity of Aurelius in the matter of these mixed marriages is supposed to have given rise to the famous legend of an annual tribute[2] of one hundred Christian virgins exacted by the Arabs of Cordova, and paid *in kind* by the Christian kings. That in any case his conduct was distasteful to the clergy, we can well imagine. Mixed marriages are not often entirely satisfactory, and the Moslem was a man of a hostile race, as well as of a hostile religion.

Aurelius died in his palace at Cangas in 774; and was succeeded, not by Prince Alfonso the grandson, but by Silus the son-in-law of Alfonso I. Of Silus little is known but that he removed his capital from Cangas to Pravia,[3] and that he, like

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[1] A list of these precious relics, including *La Cruz de la Victoria*, the cross that is said to have fallen down from heaven at Cangas, and to have been carried before Pelayo at Covadonga, will be found in Ford (1845), p. 699.

[2] Mariana, vii., 4, treats this legend as sober history; and even Dunham is content with the modified criticism that it was not Aurelius but Mauregato who agreed to pay this tribute to the Moslem Minotaur in return for the assistance which enabled him to vanquish his legitimate Christian rival Alfonso.

[3] Pravia is a little town charmingly situated in the valley of the Nalon, five or six miles from the sea coast, thirty from Oviedo, and about as far to the south-west of the port of Gijon, in the Asturias.

Aurelius, was content to live at peace with his Arab neighbours,[1] reigning jointly with his wife Adosinda, as king and queen[2] of Asturias.

King Silus and his more legitimate queen being both well stricken in years, the actual government was entrusted to Alfonso, who would have succeeded to the full honours of the kingdom on the death of Silus in 783, had not his rights been once again invaded by the election of a bastard son of his grandfather Alfonso; and he was compelled to fly the country,[3] while Mauregato reigned in his stead at Pravia.

There is little to tell of domestic interest or of military glory in north-west Spain during the reign of Mauregato. But there is one material enterprise of which Spain was the theatre, and of which the glory was certainly Spanish, that deserves something more than a passing notice—the ever-famous expedition of Charlemagne.[4]

II.—*Roncesvalles.*

The invasion of Spain by Christian France in 778, was not much more successful than the invasion of France by Moslem Spain in 733. And it came about, as far as we can learn, in this wise: Charlemagne, engaged in the public administration of baptism to a multitude of Saxons, at the great assembly at Paderborn in 777, was surprised and gratified by the visit of a Moslem envoy from beyond the Pyrenees. Ibn al Arabi was an Abbaside of good position, disaffected to the rule of Abdur Rahman, and the representative or envoy of other rebellious Moslems at Saragossa. The visitor sought the assistance or intervention in northern Spain of the Frank king, promising him the support of the entire Arab or Moorish population in any attempt to overthrow the Ommeyad government of the Peninsula.

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[1] *Ob matris causam, pacem habuit*, says the *Chronicon Albidense.* The phrase is one of somewhat doubtful signification.

[2] This tribute to the quasi-legitimate rights of Adosinda, the daughter of Alfonso I., is sufficiently remarkable.

[3] Mauregato—his very name has a *Moorish* flavour about it (his mother was a Moorish slave, H.)—is said to have invoked the assistance of Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Cordova, against his legitimate nephew; and Alfonso was only driven from his Christian throne by the alien forces of the Moslem. The *Maiden Tribute* was supposed to be the price of intervention.

[4] As to my use of this somewhat *old-fashioned* word, see Introduction.

The suggestions of the Moslem are said to have met with the warm approval of the Christian ecclesiastics at the court of Charlemagne, who regarded the proposed expedition as a pious and profitable crusade against the infidel.[1] In any case, the prospect was made sufficiently attractive to the king, who eagerly embraced the opportunity which thus so suddenly presented itself to him of extending his empire, albeit as the ally of the infidel in Spain. And he satisfied his scruples, no doubt, by a pious resolve to turn his Christian forces against both factions of the unbelievers, as soon as he should be fairly established within their territories.

Charlemagne accordingly convoked a great military assembly, or *champ de mai*, in the spring of 778, at Chasseneuil in the Agenois; and having there divided his forces into two armies, he dispatched one by way of Roussillon and the shores of the Mediterranean, under the command of his uncle, Duke Bernard; while he himself crossed the western Pyrenees at Saint Jean Pied de Port, and appeared in due time before Pamplona. The city, occupied entirely by Christians,[2] submitted at once to the Franks, and Charlemagne continued his march to Saragossa, which as promised by the Abbaside envoy, was to be placed in his hands on his arrival.

Duke Bernard meanwhile had been even more fortunate than his master. He had found abundant supplies on his eastward line of march; he had taken hostages for future fidelity from the defenders of the strong fortress of Gerona, and the richer city of Barcelona; and at a short distance from Saragossa he joined his victorious forces with those of his sovereign. The expedition so far had been entirely successful. But as soon as the reunited Frankish armies approached the time-honoured city of Cæsar Augustus, the citizens shut their gates; for Saragossa was governed and defended by the brave *Abdul Melik*—the *Marsilio* of the Romancists—the most loyal of the lieutenants of Abdur Rahman; and in spite of the assurances of the rebel envoy, Charlemagne found no treason within the walls.

Greatly vexed at this unexpected rebuff, the Frankish king spent some weeks in vain attempts to possess himself of the city, and in more successful forays into the neighbouring country; and at length, having secured no allies among Moors or Christians, but finding on the contrary that he was exposed to harassing attacks from the forces of both alike, he was compelled to retire disappointed into his own dominions. Having destroyed and pillaged the unoffending town of Pamplona, the Franks pursued their northern course through the defile[1] of Roncesvalles, which lay almost due north of Pamplona, and about forty miles to the east of the sea coast at Irun. On the day of the Assumption, 15th August, 778, the king with his light troops marched first through the pass, and had already proceeded some distance on the northern side of the mountains, when the Basques or Navarrese, naturally indignant at the destruction wrought by their Christian deliverer upon their friendly and equally Christian town, fell upon the troops—heavily laden with the plunder of Spain—and cut to pieces a great part, if not the whole of the rear guard, and possibly of the main body of the army.

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[1] Mombert, *Charles the Great* (1888), p. 125. Some of the Spanish chroniclers made Alfonso summon Charlemagne to his aid against the Moslems.

[2] Sebastian of Salamanca, *apud* Dunham, i., 254.

The history of this great destruction is very doubtful. The trustworthy materials are very slender. But it is at least certain that many of the military leaders and principal nobles of the invading or retreating army perished at the hands of the sturdy mountaineers, and that not only the spoils of Pamplona, but such booty as had been amassed in the entire expedition, fell into the hands of the victors.[2] How far the Basque forces were aided by Christians from the Cantabrian and Asturian provinces, by early Spanish heroes of Leon, or by Moslems from Saragossa, who may have harassed the retreat of Charlemagne's army, it is impossible to say. The fact of such an alliance or alliances—in itself sufficiently probable—is quite unnecessary to explain the defeat of the Franks, as we now understand it. Nor can we speak with much greater confidence of the prowess or even of the existence of the ever famous Roland in the ranks of the invading or evading army:

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[1] Roncesvalles is almost certainly a Basque word; the last two syllables are the *zaval*, which enters into the composition of perhaps a hundred names of places in Navarre and in the Basque provinces, always indicating *a flat level space* which exactly describes the field of battle. *Roscida Vallis*, given without approbation by Ford, is a fanciful and meaningless etymology.

[2] The pass and neighbourhood of Roncesvalles have been frequently described. One of the best descriptions is that of John Ormsby, in Chamber's *Encyclopædia*, ed. 1890, viii., 765. All that we know of Roland is contained in one line o. Eginhard's *Vita Karoli* (cap. ix.). His name is said to be Hrnodlandus, but I prefer, as usual, in writing English to call him Roland. See Lafuente, iii., 137; Stappenbeck, *Ueber die Rolands säulen* (Berlin, 1847); and Schumann, *Rolandus Magnus Variis fabulis involutis Explicatus* (Lipsiæ, 1694).

or of that of the no less celebrated Bernardo[1] del Carpio in the ranks of the pursuers.

Taillefer, who sang the song of Roland upon the battlefield of Hastings, and the unknown author whose eleventh century epic, copied by Turoldus, suggested the poems of Pulci, of Boîardo, and of greatest Ariosto, all these have made Roland one of the favourite heroes of the Middle Ages. But in the story, as it is told in the Spanish ballads, it is Bernardo[2] del Carpio, the nephew of the chaste but pusillanimous Alfonso, who is the true hero of Roncesvalles, and who not only repulsed the host of Charlemagne, but caught up the invulnerable Roland in his arms, and squeezed him to death before his army. No carpet knight nor courtier was Bernardo, but a true Cantabrian mountaineer.

Legend, indeed, has been more busy, and possibly more romantic, on either side of the Pyrenees, with *Roncesvalles* than even with the *Guadalete*. But history merely tells us that Charlemagne, wisely no doubt, made no attempt to avenge the loss of his chivalry or of his treasure : but that he left the bodies of his dead Palladins to be buried by the Basques, made good his most inglorious retreat, and scarce drew bridle until he had reached Auxerre.[3]

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[1] Even less is known of Bernardo than of Roland. His name is first mentioned in the *Cronica General* of Alfonsos X. ; he is said to have been the son of a secret marriage or liaison of D. Sancho of Saldana, with a sister of Alfonso II.

[2] The *Chanson de Roland* has twice been translated into English verse. The best Spanish ballads of Bernardo del Carpio are printed in vol. i. of Wolf and Hofmann's excellent collection (Berlin, 1856), and some ballads of Roncesvalles in vol. ii. of the same work. A reference to the *Morgante Maggiore*, to *Orlando inamorato*, to *Orlando furioso*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, may be almost superfluous. The legend of the magic horn of Roland is, of course, referred to by Scott in *Marmion*, canto vi., stanza 33:—

"Oh for a blast of that dread horn
On Fontarabian echoes borne!"

Fontarabia, as a matter of fact, is forty good miles away from Roncesvalles.

[3] Eginhard, *Vita*, etc., cap. xv., and *Annales*, p. 200-5 and 240; *Cf.* Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, ii., 257, 265. Sismondi considers that Roland—if such a person ever existed—was never in the army of Charlemagne at all; but may have distinguished himself under Charles Martel. Archbishop Turpin and Ariosto are not of course authorities for historical facts. As to the Spanish invention of a *second* rout at Roncesvalles in 812, see authorities collected by Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, ii., p. 265.

CHAPTER XIV.

ISLAM.

(787—852.)

I.—*The Mezquita.*

Abdur Rahman I. was succeeded in 787 by his favourite son, Hisham, surnamed the Just, an amiable and virtuous sovereign.[1] A student rather than a warrior, Hisham, in the early part of his reign, showed considerable vigour and even military skill. He valiantly conquered and generously pardoned his brothers, Abdullah and Suleiman, both of whom had taken up arms against him, and he proclaimed a Holy War for the subjugation of the Asturias, which was attended, however, with very poor results. Another expedition, against the Franks of Septimania, was both directly and indirectly more successful, for if it brought no accession of territory to the Moslem, it led to the acquisition of a vast amount of Christian treasure which was devoted to the completion of the great mosque at Cordova. The captives taken at Narbonne were employed in the actual work of the building, and many of the Roman pillars which support the immense roof of the *Mezquita* were brought at the same time from the *Narbonensis.* But in spite of these military and architectural interests, the mind ot Hisham was so much affected, in the sixth year of his useful reign, by an astrological forecast of his early death, that he was led to abandon the cares of State, and to devote himself entirely to good works and religious exercises. And thus on his death, some few months before the expected period, after a reign of only eight years, the kingdom of Cordova was almost as much dominated by sacerdotal or theological influences, as was once the kingdom of Toledo.

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[1] *Al Ahdil* the just: and *Al Rahdi* the affable.

Unlike the Gothic kings, however, in peace or in war, Hisham did much to add to the beauties of his capital, and to develop the resources of his country. The bridge that spans the great river, the *Wády el Kebír,* over which the Spanish peasant still drives the produce of his fields to the market at Cordova, was constructed by his liberality: and if the foundation of the mosque, in which the Christian of modern Cordova still carries on his splendid worship, is due to the magnificence of Abdur Rahman, the completed work is a monument of the piety of Hisham. If the cry of the Muezzin is heard from the towers of *Aya Sofia,* on the shores of the Bosphorus, the *Te Deum* is sung amid yet more splendid surroundings in the *Mezquita*, on the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Within a few months after the conquest in 711, the new masters of Spain, considerate as we have seen in matters of religion from the very day of their arrival, had entered into a friendly arrangement with the conquered people by which one half of the Christian Basilica at Cordova was used for the worship of the Moslem.[1] For some seventy years this mutual toleration was continued, until the time came when Abdur Rahman I. determined to build on the site so long hallowed by tradition, a mosque for Moslem worshippers, which should compete with the finest temples in the East. He accordingly purchased from the Christians that portion of the Basilica which they had hitherto used for their worship, and then pulling down the whole, he commenced his new and magnificent edifice in 786.

The building as designed by Abdur Rahman, and completed by his son Hisham, was some 360 feet long by 270 feet in width. The general plan was that of the mosque of most sacred Kairwan in Morocco. The walls, of immense thickness, are low, and the roof was probably not raised more than thirty feet above the floor of the mosque. Nor is the height without the building, even where the buttressed towers break the long line of walls, ever greater than sixty feet. Eleven aisles ran north and south within the building of 786, and were formed by long rows of low marble pillars, in number not less than 1200, the pride of the contemporary Arab, and the spoil of the more ancient Roman.[2] The central aisle, an alley wider than the rest, led to the *Mihráb*[1] or Holy Place, which was rebuilt by the Caliph Hakam in 965, and remains to this day one of the most beautiful and elaborate specimens of the best age of Saracenic architecture in Spain. The fine mosaics that still decorate the façade—admirable specimens of Roman Byzantine art—were placed there, according to Adzari, a contemporary author, in 965, and were sent by the Emperor Leo, from Constantinople, with a Greek artist, who instructed and superintended the Moslem workmen employed by Hakam.[2] Abdur Rahman III. added a Minar or tower which has since been destroyed, as well as the beautiful Fountain of the Court of Oranges which still remains. The mosque was enlarged by Almanzor, seeking popularity, at the end of the tenth century, by the addition of eight new aisles to the east of the then existing building, which was thus increased to a parallelogram of 420 feet by 375 feet; and the beautiul *Maksurah* or seat of the Caliph, now converted into a Christian shrine known as the chapel of Villa Viciosa[3] was probably added at the same time.

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[1] This arrangement had already been made in the Basilica of St. John, afterwards converted into the great mosque of Damascus, which was destroyed by fire, alas, on the 1st of December, 1893, long after this note was first written.

[2] The number of pillars still standing are 920, of which 834 are of a fine red marble from Cabra, near Cordova; the remainder may have been brought, as tradition relates, from Narbonne, from Italy, from Mauritania, from Egypt, and

The new *choir*, an immensely lofty Gothic church, built within the *Mezquita*, and for which no less than 200 of the

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from the furthest eastern provinces of the Roman world. Of these columns, twenty-one are said by Ford to be of "*marino bigio* (dappled gray), ten of *cipollino*, ten of fluted or channelled white, probably Greek, three of plain white, eight of gray Egyptian granite, and over thirty of uncertain, but foreign origin". Ford (1888), pp. 309-10.

[1] The great mosques of Islam are all built in the form of a parallelogram, of which the longer sides run from north to south. At the north end is a great court or *Patio*, surrounded by cloisters with a fountain in the middle, for the purpose of the prescribed ablutions. Within the building itself, and at the end furthest from the *Patio*, is the *Mihráb*, the most sacred and the most highly-ornamented part of the temple, indicating also the *Kiblah* or direction of the *Kaaba* at Mecca, towards which every good Moslem must turn his face in the act of prayer. Near the *Mihráb* is the *Minbàr* or pulpit from which the Imâm leads the prayers of the assembled people. See Girault de Prangey, *Architecture des Mores et des Arabes*, pp. 21-49.

[2] See Madrazo, *Cordova;* and Fergusson's *Modern Architecture*, p. 395. During the reign of Alfonso the Learned, in 1275, permission was granted to the dean and chapter of the cathedral to have at all times free of taxes, four Moorish workmen, two of them masons, and two carpenters, who were to be employed exclusively for repairs in the cathedral, with the other artists. This circumstance has undoubtedly contributed to the good preservation of the Moorish remains. See Don J. F. Riaño, *Discurso*, etc., 1869; and Fergusson, *ubi supra*.

[3] Mr. Fergusson places the chapel of Villa Viciosa, circ. 1200. He can hardly have realised the character of the Almohades. Neither *Yacúb ben Yussuf* (1187-1199), *Mohammed ben Yacúb* (1199-1213), nor *Abu Yacúb* (1213-1223), were likely men to have beautified a church, still less to have developed the chapel of Villa Viciosa.

ancient columns were swept away, is the work of Bishop Alfonso Manrique in 1523. Such pious destructiveness might well fill us with indignation; but let us rather marvel that the Inquisition did not consume the whole of the Moslem edifice by fire—and rejoice at their inconsequent apathy. Even the exquisite carving of the stalls hardly assuages the wrath of the artistic visitor, shocked at the incongruous vandalism which has so sadly marred a building unique among the art treasures of Europe. Yet as it stands to-day in mouldering Cordova, the great cathedral which perpetuates the glory of the Moslem in Spain, and which is still familiarly known as *La Mezquita* or the mosque, is one of the most interesting of the temple structures of the world.[1]

Covering nigh upon four acres of ground, it ranks second as regards area among the churches of Christendom, being surpassed only by the vastness of St Peter's at Rome, and the pillars that still remain, the glorious wreck of the 12,000 that once supported the roof, are suggestive of an immense forest of marble, in which the visitor may wander in ever-increasing admiration and amazement, at once at the variety and the regularity of the display.[2]

But the *Mezquita* is far from being remarkable only for its vast size, or even for its artistic beauty. Built upon the site of the old Roman temple of Janus, pulled down centuries before the birth of Mohammed, to give place to a Christian church, the forerunner of that in which the Moslem was first permitted to worship God at Cordova, it perpetuates the memory of many religions and varying traditions of sanctity for over 2000 years. The only place of worship in Europe that may be compared with it, both in antiquity and in similarity of interest, is *Aya Sofia* at Constantinople, of which the first stone was laid by

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[1] As a holy place of devotion, it ranked as the third among the temples of Islam, equal it may be to *Al Aksa* at Jerusalem, and inferior only to the Caaba of Mecca itself. The mosque was called *Zeca*, "the house of purification"—the old Egyptian *Sekos*. A pilgrimage to it was held to be equivalent, by the Spanish Moslem, to that of Mecca. There is a well-known Spanish proverb, *andar de Ceca en Mecca*, quoted by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, i., 18, and in Garay's *Collection*, fo. 399. To go from Ceca to Mecca, *i.e.*, to go from one pilgrimage to another—to saunter (a word itself derived from *Sainte terre*). The meaning of A Mint, which is sometimes attributable to *Ceca*, has caused me to err on this point, in a note to *Sancho Panza's Proverbs* (ed. 1892), p. 8.

[2] The remaining pillars are more than 900 in number. The church even as it now stands, is about 420 feet long by 370 feet broad, and covers 157,500 feet of ground. Seville Cathedral, which most nearly approaches it, not only in Spain but in Europe, encloses only 125,000 feet. See *post*, chapter xxvii.

Justinian in 532, on the site of the great Christian temple that had been erected by Constantine 200 years before.

Constructed like the *Mezquita* of the architectual spoils of a more ancient world, St. Sofia passed unharmed by time or siege into the hands of the Moslem in 1453, 200 years after the mosque on the Guadalquivir had been converted into a Christian cathedral. It is strange, indeed, and suggestive of much that may not be here set down, that the oldest of all the mosques of Islam was built as a Christian church, and that the oldest of the great Christian churches of the world was built as a mosque at Cordova; that 500 years before St. Peter's was commenced, 400 years before Milan was completed, the *Mezquita* stood as now it stands, consecrated to the worship of God.

II.—*The Fakihs.*

The great body of Moslem devotees at Cordova, at the end of the eighth century, was largely recruited by Christian *renegades,* who found protection under the just rule of Abdur Rahman, and who acquired under his son Hisham something of the old power and influence that had been enjoyed by the Christian priesthood under the later Visigothic kings. No priest, indeed, is known to the religious system of Islam, but the readers of the Koran, the students of divinity, and the doctors of Mohammedan law, constituted a sacerdotal class, that congregated in ever increasing numbers and ever increasing importance around the great mosque at Cordova.[1] These *Maulvis* and *Fakihs,* the Scribes and Pharisees of Islam, were lodged in the beautiful suburb to the south of the city that was known to the Romans as *Corduba Secunda*; and they recognised as their spiritual chief and leader the learned doctor Malik ben Anas of Medina, the founder of one of the four orthodox schools of Mohammedan theology. Students from Spain constantly repaired to the East to study under this egregious doctor of Islam. And of all his bold and bigoted disciples, few were more learned, none was more zealous than the Berber, Tahia ben Tahia of Cordova, a worthy successor of Leander and Julian.

The greatest theologian and the proudest Moor of Spain or Mauretania, this extraordinary man united many of the characteristics of a modern demagogue with those of a mediæval Pontiff; and he was reverenced and obeyed without question as the leader of the *priestly party* in Moslem Cordova. When Hisham, in 796, fulfilled by his death the predictions of the prophets, the entire power of the new theocracy was devoted to the subjection of his son and successor Hakam. Suleiman and Abdullah, the brothers of the late king, who had been pardoned by Hisham after their rebellion at the beginning of his reign, now rose once more against their nephew; nor did they scruple to send envoys to Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, entreating his assistance in their rebellion, and promising him their support in the destruction of the Moslem monarchy. But Charles remembered Roncesvalles, and contented himself with dispatching his son Louis to stir up the Christians at a safe distance in Septimania. The rebel envoys returned dissatisfied to Spain, where Abdullah and Suleiman were soon afterwards defeated by their nephew Hakam. Suleiman was killed in battle. Abdullah was once more magnificently pardoned.

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[1] Gayangos, i., 899; Dozy, *Histoire,* ii., 56-59.

But if the rebellion was at an end, the Moslem ecclesiastics were not suppressed. They were roused on the contrary to new and vigorous action. The success of Charlemagne would have, no doubt, justified the reconversion of the renegades to Christianity of a peculiarly intolerant type. The success of the king's uncles would have been a direct victory for the mosque. Smarting under their double disappointment, they were fain to take the matter into their own hands, and to stir up a popular revolt in Toledo. But Hakam was more than a match for the militant clerks. The revolt was suppressed. The rebels were dispersed. No mercy was shown to those who were taken in the city (805). Tahia, foiled once more in his endeavours, now offered the throne, quite after the good old Visigothic fashion, to one Ben Shammas, a cousin-german of the king. But the conspiracy was betrayed by Shammas himself, and many of the conspirators were taken and executed (806). A still more serious insurrection[1] at Toledo in 807 was repressed with still greater severity. Many hundreds of the conspirators were slain by order of the king in the ditch or *fosse* of the castle, and the massacre by which the revolt was terminated was long known and remembered as *the day of the fosse.*

For seven years after this dreadful example there was peace at home in southern Spain. And then the Cordovans, undeterred by the fate of the rebels at Toledo, rose once more at the bidding of the bigots of the day. Tahia returned to the capital in the month of Ramadan (May, 814), and the preachers took advantage of the excitement of the populace at the season of the annual fast, to stir up their passions against the civil Government. Hakam was besieged in his palace. The city was in the hands of Tahia and the *Fakihs*. The people, mad with excitement, filled the streets, and demanded the life of the Caliph. The coolness of Hakam saved the fortunes of the day. Assembling within the palace walls a small force of faithful horsemen, he ordered them to cut their way through the crowd, press on to the suburb of Secunda, and to set fire to the houses of the principal ecclesiastics. The orders were faithfully executed. The rebel leaders, hastily returning to save their own property, left the people in confusion, and Hakam, sallying out of the palace gate with his few remaining followers, was able to disperse the mutineers, and joining his forces to those which had done such good service in drawing away the leaders to the suburbs, completely subdued the insurrection, which was afterwards called, from the most striking incident in the struggle, *the day of the suburbs* or of the *Arrabal*.

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[1] Dozy, *ubi supra*, pp. 77-79.

It was now at least clear to Hakam that an end must be put to this ecclesiastical rebelry. The suburb was razed to the ground; and an immense number of the inhabitants were driven not only out of the city but out of the country. Eight thousand found a home in the rising city of Fez in Morocco, where their descendants were long to be found in the *Andalusian quarter* of the town: while twice as many more were exiled to Egypt, and after a sojourn of some twelve years in Alexandria, found a permanent home in the island of Crete, where they built the town of Candia.[1]

III.—*Ziriab*.

Hakam, the vigorous, died of fever in 821, and was succeeded by his son Abdur Rahman II. This amiable prince, without the superstition of his grandfather, had none of the severity, and little of the independence, of his father. A poet, a musician, a lover of display; generous, mild, and liberal; he devoted the greater part of his time and of his revenues to the embellishment of his capital; and he made Cordova at once the most beautiful and the most magnificent city, the most favoured home of art and science and liberal culture, of the mediæval world.

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[1] In spite of many attacks they maintained themselves in Egypt until 826, when they were forced to evacuate the country. They sailed for Crete, ill defended by the Imperial troops, and possessed themselves of the entire island; and their *Spanish* Moslem leader, Al Baluti, a native of Cordova, founded a dynasty which enjoyed the dominion of Crete until the year 961, when the island passed once more under the sway of the Roman Emperor at Constantinople. Dozy, *ubi supra*, pp. 76, 77; Gibbon, ch. lii.

Tahia, a second Leander, who had fled from the just wrath of Hakam, was welcomed on his return to Cordova by the gentle Abdur Rahman, who abandoned to him the entire government of the State. But in personal influence over the young king, Tahia was fain to accept a divided empire with Ziriab, a poet, musician, and a *virtuoso,* who had been driven from the court at Bagdad by the jealousy of a rival singer, more sure of the favour of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid. Ziriab received a magnificent welcome at the court of Cordova, and made himself in a very short time entirely indispensable to Abdur Rahman.[1] The versatility of his genius, indeed, was so astounding that it could only be explained by the theory of *possession*, for Ziriab not only wrote verses and sang them to the king, he planned palaces, he invented dishes, he designed costumes. His conversation is said to have been brilliant beyond the possibility of description. In architecture, in astronomy, in geography, in literature, in science, in cookery, in all things Ziriab set the fashion, and gave the tone to the court at Cordova. The proportions of a bath, the decoration of a dinner table, the fashion of a head-dress, the reception of an ambassador, the beauty of a slave, the doubtful wisdom of a move at chess, customs and costumes, poems and perfumery—everything was submitted to his judgment, and in all things his opinion was accepted as final. His royal pension or allowances amounted to a yearly income of not less than ten thousand pieces of gold. Nor does his genius as an artist appear to have been more remarkable than his prudence as a favourite. The king was never tired; the ecclesiastics were never offended; the courtiers were never jealous; the people were never indignant. And by a good fortune, unique, perhaps, in the history of courts, this intelligent epicurean retained during his lifetime the affection and respect of the king, of the courtiers, and of the people; and his name was long held in honour by succeeding generations of Spanish Moslems, among those of the most illustrious of the heroes of Cordova.

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[1] On le considérait comme un modèle pour tout ce qui concernait le bon ton; et sous ce rapport il devint le lègislateur de l'Espagne arabe. Les innovations qu' il fit, furent hardies et innombrables. Dozy, *Histoire*, ii., 88 and 95. See also Gayangos, ii., 119-121.

Nor did he play his part in life to an uncritical or unappreciative audience. Of the wonderful aptitude of the Cordovans for science and philosophy, of their love of books, and their care for education, of their powers of memory, and of their felicity in repartee, we may read in every contemporary history. Yet their wit and their erudition, their love of science, and their love of literature, were even less remarkable than their wonderful aptitude for poetry.

The mosque asserted its influence only by the prohibition of the study of astrology and natural philosophy; but in every other department, a wide and wise liberality, as well as a generous encouragement of study, distinguished both the Government and the people. The richer citizens, moreover, even when they were illiterate, rewarded poets and scholars with the greatest munificence, and spared neither trouble nor expense in the formation of large collections of books.[1] Of such was the court of the second Abdur Rahman.

But his personal devotion to the gentler arts of life, and even his political submission to the authority of the mosque, did not serve to spare the king from the miseries of internal dissension and civil discord. An insurrection, headed by the irrepressible Abdullah, his great-uncle, was quelled soon after his accession to the throne, and the old rebel was once more pardoned after defeat.[2] The citizens of ever turbulent Merida, intriguing with Louis le Debonnaire[3] were constantly in a state of revolt. Toledo for eight years maintained a species of independence. For seven years there was civil war in Murcia; and a powerful band of brigands ravaged the neighbouring country. At length even the gentleness of Abdur Rahman was roused to action. Toledo was taken by storm on the 16th of June, 837; the brigand chief was slain; the city and the country were pacified and reduced to subjection. The Toledans were treated with a noble clemency; and the king was content to receive the submission of the citizens, who once more owned his sovereignty.

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[1] The Caliphs maintained in all the great towns of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, North Africa, and even far-away Persia, Residents whose duty it was to transmit to Cordova copies of all important works either of literature or of science that were to be procured in the country where they resided, as well as to inform the Spanish Moslem Government of any interesting discoveries, or scientific or industrial progress. Viardot, *Essais*, pp. 100, 101; Gayangos, i., 139-167.

[2] He had even assigned to him the government of Tadmir, where he lived peacefully until his death.

[3] *España Sagrada*, xiii., p. 416.

The Spanish historians speak of a second invasion of north-west Spain by the Franks from Aquitania in 823, and a second rout of their forces at Roncesvalles in 824, by the Basques of Navarre, assisted by some troops dispatched from Cordova by Abdur Rahman, whose alliance was sought by the Christians to the south of the Pyrenees, against their still more hated Christian foes to the north. But the whole story is usually considered to be apocryphal.[1] What is more certain is that no less than two embassies were received by Abdur Rahman from the Emperor Theophilus at Constantinople, praying the aid of the Ommeyad Caliph of Cordova against the Abbaside Caliph of Bagdad, Al Mutassim (833-842), who was threatening the Empire in the East.

In the perpetual conflicts with the Christians in the north of the Peninsula, Abdur Rahman was more successful than his predecessors. Neither Alfonso nor Ramiro gained any advantage over the Moslem commanders, and the Christian kings were glad to secure the possession of their frontier provinces by the payment of an annual tribute to Cordova.

Thrice in twenty years did a Frankish army make its appearance in north-east Spain, and thrice was it driven back across the border, while a Moslem fleet assaulted and burned the suburbs, if not the city of Marseilles.

But a more savage invader appeared in this reign off the coast of Lusitania. Some Scandinavian Vikings or Northmen, with over fifty ships, suddenly descended upon the Tagus. They plundered Lisbon, and ravaging the whole of the south-west coasts of the Peninsula, they pursued their course as far as Seville, which they captured and sacked; and then making off with their spoils, they set sail, and disappeared as suddenly as they had come.

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[1] See Lafuente, iii., 273-275.

CHAPTER XV.

SANTIAGO.

(788—910.)

I.—*Alfonso the Chaste.*

MAUREGATO died, after his uneventful reign, in 788; and for the fourth time the legitimate claims of Alfonso were postponed by the electors to those of a more favoured relation; no warrior, but a Churchman, Bermudo, the brother of Aurelius. This royal deacon, for Bermudo had never attained the dignity of the priesthood,[1] was of a kindly and even generous disposition, and the patient Alfonso was gratified with the subordinate, but all-important position of commander of the royal armies at the hands of his more successful rival, until, in 791, Bermudo voluntarily forsook the throne for the cloister; and Alfonso, surnamed the Chaste, at length reigned alone and supreme over the kingdom of Asturias.

The inactivity of the Christian kings, ever since the death of Alfonso the Catholic, had been accompanied by a similar indisposition for raids and forays on the part of the cultivated Moslem, Abdur Rahman. But in 794, Hisham invaded the Asturias with a considerable army, and the new Alfonso showed something of the skill and energy of his grandfather in the field. By a happy stratagem, he drove the Arabs into a mountain defile, where he fell upon them with such vigour with his little force, that a considerable portion of their army was cut to pieces. In the north-east, the Christian arms were less successful; and Narbonne was taken and plundered by the Moslems. But the Christian kingdom of the north-west grew and prospered, and the seat of government was removed by Alfonso[1] from Pravia to Oviedo, a city founded by his father Fruela, and already one of the most important centres of Christian power and Christian progress in northern Spain.

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[1] It was on this ground that the objection to his election, as unlawful, under the old Gothic law of Wamba's time, was overruled in the council. Ramiro of Aragon was afterwards accepted under the same extenuating circumstances.

From Oviedo, Alfonso undertook at least one important expedition to the southward, and possessing himself temporarily, after the fashion of the day, of the whole country as far as to the Tagus, he entered and plundered Lisbon, before the advancing Moslems compelled him to retreat to his mountain home in Gallicia (797).

Flushed with this success, Alfonso sent envoys to Aix-la-Chapelle to solicit the assistance of Charlemagne; but Charles did not trust himself again to the south of the Pyrenees. The dispatch of another embassy, two years later, to the court of the Frank at Toulouse, was no more successful as regards Charlemagne, and was attended with very remarkable results as regards Alfonso. For the Spanish nobles, jealous of any possible foreign interference with their most independent kingdom, took a very decided way of manifesting their political feelings, and locked up their king in a monastery at Abelania, until he had announced his intention of having nothing more to do with Frankish alliances.[2] Then, and only then, was Alfonso released. The nobles went unpunished, and nothing more was heard of Charlemagne in the Asturias.

II.—*Catalonia.*

In the north-east, on the other hand, the armies, if not the presence of the great Frank, played an important part in the early history of Spain. In the first year of the ninth century, a solemn assembly, or *Champ de Mai,* was held by Louis of Aquitaine at Toulouse; and a league of Christian lords was founded for the taking of Barcelona. In the autumn of 801, accordingly, an immense host of Christian soldiers in this early crusade marched over the slopes of the eastern Pyrenees. At first they met with but little opposition. The Moslem troops were for the most part engaged in suppressing revolts in the south; and the Franks soon made themselves masters of Gerona, Cardona, Manresa, and many other cities and fortresses as far south as Lerida, whose lofty citadel commands a rich district in fertile Catalonia. But the most important town of the *Spanish Marches*, as this newly conquered territory was called by the Franks, refused to open its gates to the Christian invaders. In Barcelona, the celebrated Zaïd held chief command. And Zaïd kept the town for his master at Cordova. The siege was long protracted; but no assistance was received from Hakam. From Lerida, Duke William of Toulouse had made a successful descent upon Tarragona; and a line of Christian troops from the sea to Lerida blocked the way of any relieving army that might be on its way from Cordova to Barcelona. Yet of a relieving army no tidings was heard in the beleaguered city. Messenger after messenger had been sent in vain. At length the heroic Zaïd determined to go himself. He would see Hakam; and he would return at the head of an army that should drive the Christians once more beyond the Pyrenees. The stealthy departure, the midnight ride, the turn of evil fortune at the very moment of successful evasion, the arrest of Zaïd, his exhortation to the citizens to hold the town, when his life was the price of surrender: the final treaty by which the hero was spared, and the garrison, abandoned by their sovereign, marched out of Barcelona with all the honours of war—these are some of the thousand romantic incidents of the early struggles between Christians and Moors in north-eastern Spain.

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[1] The cathedral at Oviedo, founded by Fruela, was consecrated in 812, in the presence of Alfonso, who appointed a noble Goth, Adulphus, to be the first bishop of the capital city of the Asturias.

[2] *Chron. Albeld.*, 58.

The fall of Barcelona was the signal for rejoicings all over Europe, and was especially agreeable to the new Emperor. King Louis, after a triumphal entry into the city with great military and religious pomp and splendour, invested Count Bera, a noble Goth, with the government of the city and of the Spanish Marches; and leaving a strong garrison of Franks and Spaniards under his command, retraced his victorious steps into Aquitaine. A considerable number of Christians from all parts of Spain now sought a refuge in this new Marquisate, which was soon the abiding place of a large and thriving Christian population, the ancestors of the modern *Catalans*, the most industrious, and the most turbulent, the richest, and the most restless of all the inhabitants of Spain.

Charlemagne died in 814, and among the various divisions of territory that took place on his death, Septimania was cut off from the kingdom of Aquitaine, and joined to the *Spanish March*, which was raised to the dignity of a quasi-independent *Duchy* or county, with its capital city at Barcelona.[1]

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[1] The Spanish March was at first known as Gothia, which, says Lafuente, became modified as follows: Gothia, Gothland, Gothlandia, Gothalania, Catalonia, Cataluña. Lafuente, iii., 88 and 198, 205-208.

In 821, Duke Bera, accused of high treason, and vanquished in trial by battle, was exiled to Rouen, and Bernard, a son of William of Toulouse, was chosen by the Emperor Louis to be his successor. The son of the exile summoned the Moslems to his assistance, and their united forces blockaded Bernard in Barcelona. But on the approach of an Imperial army from Aquitaine, this insignificant revolution melted away. Yet Christian intriguers were ever ready to call in the aid of the nearest Moslem; and the Moslem was ever near. Intrigues, indeed, were rife at the Christian courts. Bernard, the paramour of the Empress, and the reputed father of Charles the Bald, was alternately promoted and degraded by Louis. And thus the Christian power grew weaker in the Spanish Marches, and Abdur Rahman II., the son of Hakam, was able not only to recover Tarragona, but to despatch from that once Imperial port a flotilla which sacked and burned the suburbs of Marseilles.

The history of Catalonia from the time of Charlemagne to the time of the excellent Ramon Berenguer I., a period of over two hundred years, is not only uncertain, but is uninteresting to the student of the national history of Spain. Bera, the Gothic nominee of *Louis le Debonnaire,* who ruled from 801 to 820, was succeeded by a number of counts or dukes more or less dependent upon the successors of Charlemagne in the north, and exposed to the constant attacks of the Moslems on their southern frontier. In 852 the city of Barcelona was taken by the Moors, in whose possession it remained for twelve or thirteen years; and a period of special confusion was closed by the assumption, in 874, of the supreme power by Wilfrid the Hairy, who asserted his independence of his Carlovingian overlord, and made the county of Catalonia hereditary in his own family. In 984 the little State was overrun by the armies of Almanzor; but on the death of that Moslem conqueror in 1002, the southern invaders were finally driven out of the country; and by the year 1035, on the accession of Ramon Berenguer I., or *El Viejo,* the serious history of Catalonia may fairly be said to have begun.[1]

III.—*Compostella.*

Turning our attention once more to Leon, we find that the most remarkable domestic event in the annals of the little kingdom of Alfonso II. was the discovery or manifestation of *Santiago*.

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[1] Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv., pp. 311 and 496.

A shepherd, we are told, watching his flock in a wild mountain district in Gallicia, was astonished at the appearance of a supernatural light. The Bishop of Ira Flavia was consulted. The spot, so divinely illuminated, was carefully searched; and in a marble sarcophagus the body of St. James the Greater was revealed to the faithful investigators. The king, overjoyed at the discovery, at once erected upon the ground thus consecrated, a church or chapel dedicated to the Apostle—the forerunner of the noble Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella,[1] and from the first, the favourite resort of the pilgrims of Christian Europe. For it was not only a relic, but a legend had been discovered by the pious doctors of the Church.

St. James, it was said, had certainly preached and taught in Spain during his lifetime. His body, after his martyrdom at Jerusalem in the year of Christ 42, had been placed by his disciples on board a ship by which it was conveyed to the coast of his beloved Spain, miraculously landed in Gallicia, and forgotten for 800 years, until the time was accomplished when it should be revealed to the devoted subjects of King Alfonso the Chaste.[2] The date of the discovery of these precious remains is given by Ferreras as 808, by Morales as 835. But as it was Charlemagne who obtained from

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[1] Perhaps *Campo Stellæ*, "the field of the star" that guided the Gallician shepherd to the mysterious spot. Lafuente, however (iii., 218), prefers *Campus Apostoli:* and see an article by the Rev. Wentworth Webster in the *Foreign Church Chronicle*, viii., 200.

[2] See *España Sagrada*, xix., p. 64. The evidence, if evidence it can be called, for any connection whatever of St. James with Spain, consists of a few words in a treatise, *De Ortu et orbitu Patrum*, vii., 9, said to be the work of Isidore of Seville, to the effect that St. James preached the Gospel to the natives of Spain and the West. But the treatise is certainly not the work of Isidore, and is absolutely without any historical value. On the other hand, the negative evidence of the silence of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, Pope Innocent, and other writers, in places where they might have been expected to refer to the Apostle's visit, is sufficiently remarkable as regards any possible or projected voyage of the Apostle during his lifetime. As to the subsequent miracle connected with his death, his sepulture, and his epiphany in Gallicia, no evidence would avail to prove, or would be accepted to disprove, such matters of national faith in Spain. See Tillemont, *Mem. Ecclésiastiques*, tom. i., pp. 324-333; Geddes, *Tracts*, vol. ii.; Romey, iii., 416-23. One of the most remarkable phases or developments of this legend of St. James, is the *rediscovery* of the sacred body, which had been lost in the sixteenth century, after, and in some way on account of, the destruction of the Spanish Armada by the English; and the promulgation of the entire story as an Article of Faith by the present Pope Leo XIII., in his Letters Apostolic of 1st November, 1884, to which the more curious reader is very respectfully referred. See also *ad hoc*, Fita, *Viaje á Compostella* (Madrid, 1880). For the views of Dr. Döllinger, see Meyrick, *Church in Spain*, pp. 12, 13.

Leo III. the necessary permission or *faculty* to remove the Episcopal See of Ira Flavia to the new town of Compostella, the discovery or *invention* must have taken place at least before 814, the year of the death of the emperor. Whatever may have been the actual date of its first establishment, the mean church with mud walls soon gave place to a noble cathedral, which was finished by the year 874, consecrated in 899, and destroyed by the Arabs under Almanzor nigh upon a hundred years afterwards in 997.[1]

Santiago was as much a political as a religious institution. When Cordova had been made a second Mecca by the astute and liberal policy of Abdur Rahman, the Apostle was *invented*, not only to lead Christian armies against the infidel, as a general, but to attract Christian pilgrims, as a saint.[2]

In later times Clement VIII. (1603) jealous of the pretensions of the Spaniards as regards the Apostle, made some alterations in the words of the Breviary, casting doubts upon the entire story of his coming to Spain. But the vigorous remonstrances of Philip III. induced the Pope to modify his criticisms, and twenty years later the saint was restored by Urban VIII. to his full ecclesiastical honours.[3]

Alfonso II. having died without issue in 842, Ramiro, son of Bermudo the deacon, was chosen to succeed him. A rebellion, as usual, immediately broke out against the newly-elected monarch, but it was speedily put down; and Nepociano and Aldroito, the aspirants to the royal dignity, were deprived of their eyesight, and immured in monasteries, according to precedent in such cases.[4]

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[1] The first cathedral was built 874-899, destroyed in 997, and refounded by Gelmirez (1096-1139). The bells, which had been carried away by Almanzor, were hung up, reversed, as lamps in the Mezquita at Cordova till 1236, when St. Ferdinand sent them back to Compostella on the shoulders of Moorish prisoners. The present edifice was raised on the old site under Bishop Pelaez in 1078.

Santiago was made an Archbishopric some time between 1100 and 1130; and Diego Gelmirez was the first archbishop.

[2] The number of visitors to Compostella from the twelfth to the sixteenth century was enormous. The roads of Christendom were thronged with its pilgrims. See Dante, *Paradiso*, xxv., 17. The myriads of stars that traverse the firmament, known to us as the Milky Way, are called in idiomatic Castilian *El Camino de Santiago*. In the single year 1434 no less than 2460 licences are said to have been granted to pilgrims from England alone. Rymer, O., x., xi.

[3] Ford (1855), ii., 607; Masdeu, xiii., 322; *España Sagrada*, xxx., 57, 58.

[4] The tearing out of the eyes, or *exoculation* seems to have been a common Asturian punishment at this time; and thieves as well as pretenders were subjected to it by Ramiro; but "wizards and fortune-tellers" met with a more terrible fate at the hands of the king, by whom they were burned alive. For *Political* offences, *Decalvation*, or scalping, was not uncommon, previous to seclusion or imprisonment in a religious house.

An invasion of the Northmen, or Vikings from Scandinavia, was a more novel, and, perhaps, a more serious danger. But the pirates fared ill in Gallicia. Repulsed at Gijon, and afterwards at Corunna, in 843, they pursued their course to Lusitania and Andalusia, whose richer shores they ravaged with little resistance, and they even made their way up the Guadalquivir as far as Seville.

Ramiro undertook no operation of importance against the Moslem; and although a tremendous victory at Clavijo was invented for him by Archbishop Roderic—whose most pious and glorious details, amplified by the imagination of Mariana, were accepted as history in Spain for close upon a thousand years—it is now universally admitted that the battle is purely a thing of the imagination, and that its popularity is due chiefly to the glowing language of the Jesuit historian, who tells how King Ramiro, in the agony of defeat at the hand of a vast army of opposing infidels, fell into a deep sleep, in which he became aware of the presence of the Apostle St. James, who assured him of victory. The army was quickly informed of this celestial visit, and after the performance of certain religious exercises, the whole host rushed anew upon the foe with shouts of *Santiago y cierra España*, which then and there became the war-cry of the Spanish armies.[1]

The Apostle himself, mounted on a white charger, and bearing in one hand a snow-white banner on which was displayed a blood-red cross, and in the other a flashing sword, took his place at the head of the Christian legions, and led them on to victory. Over sixty thousand Arabs were slain by the Apostle and his followers, and the remnant of the Moslems was pursued as far as Calahorra. The king is further said to have made a vow, on the field of battle, of an annual payment of a certain amount of corn and wine per acre by every Christian landholder in Spain, to be made to St. James, "as also that when any booty was divided, Saint James was to have his share as a horseman."[2]

The falsity of this story, both as regards the vow and the battle, has been demonstrated with much gravity by various Spanish authorities. Yet the tribute was duly paid to the king, if not to the saint, in Spain, for over a thousand years, and the corn rent of Santiago ceased only to be included in the national income of the kingdom in the reign of Ferdinand VII. King Ramiro, as was becoming in a monarch who was honoured by the special intervention of St. James, was by no means inattentive to his religious duties. He not only burned the fortune-tellers and magicians, but he founded numerous churches, among which that of St. Mary on Mount Naranco, within a mile of the city of Oviedo, remains to this present day.

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[1] See generally the *Historia Compostellana*, compiled under the orders of Gelmirez, first Archbishop of Santiago, in the twelfth century, and printed in *España Sagrada*, tom. xx. See also *ibid.*, tom. xiv., p. 459.

[2] Roderic of Toledo, *De Rebus Hisp.*, lib. iv., 13; Mariana, vii., 6; Lafuente, iii., 292-3; Masdeu, vi., pp. 66-8, and p. 166.

As to the apocryphal *Voto de Santiago*, see D. José Perez, *Dissertationes Ecclesiasticæ;* Ortiz, *Discurso historico—legal sobre el pretentido diploma del voto de Santiago: Esp. Sagrada*, xix.; Ferreras, *Sinopsis*, tom. iv.; Masdeu, tom. xii., xvi., and a learned treatise in the *Mem.* of the *Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. iv., pp.

King Ramiro died in 850, and was succeeded by his son Ordoño, whose greatest military successes were, by a strange chance, distinctly favourable, not to the Christian, but to the Mohammedan power in Spain. One Musa, a renegade Goth, and a rebel Moslem, had by a series of bold intrigues and successful skirmishes, contrived to possess himself of a considerable amount of territory in northern and central Spain, He had defeated the Arab troops in many encounters, and had actually founded a city near Logroño, to which he gave the name of Albaida or Albelda, where he established his capital, and won for himself the title of the Third King of Spain. Master of Tudela, of Saragossa, of Huesca, this bold and indefatigable warrior directed his forays, without respect of creeds or of races, against Moslems and Christians like, against the Count of Alava and the Duke of Barcelona, against Ordoño of Asturias, and even against Charles of France.[1]

Yet among his many adversaries it was to the king of the Asturias that it was given to defeat this powerful chieftain, and by his most authentic victory at Clavijo,[2] Ordoño was delivered from a dangerous neighbour, and Mohammed of Cordova from a successful rebel. Yet the advantage was ultimately all on the side of the Christians. For within ten years after the victory at Clavijo, the sons of Musa had concluded an intimate alliance[3] with Alfonso III., and induced

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1-33. This corn rent was actually paid until the year 1835, when it produced about £200,000 a year. See Ford (ed. 1855) ii., 604. (It had been peremptorily abolished by the Cortes of 1812, but like other ancient abuses was restored by Fernando VII.—H.)

[1] Charles the Bald paid great court to Musa, and sent envoys with magnificent presents to secure his good will. See Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 182-3.

[2] This battle of Clavijo may have suggested the apocryphal victory of Ramiro.

[3] Alfonso actually entrusted the education of his son Ordoño to these *Beni-Casi*. Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., i., 222-226, and ii., 290-300.

the entire population that had owed allegiance to their father to submit themselves to the government of the Christian king.

Nor was Ordoño less successful in defeating another attempt that was made by the northern Vikings to effect a landing on his coasts (851). Repulsed on the shores of Gallicia, these terrible sea wolves continued their career to richer and more defenceless coasts, and ravaging the shores of Lusitania and Andalusia, they pursued their course of plunder as far as Africa and the eastern coasts of the Peninsula, if not of the Mediterranean. Nor were the Lusitanians, thus ravaged from the sea, exempted from attacks on their north-eastern frontiers. Ordoño in one of his marauding expeditions penetrated as far as Lisbon, and actually burned Cintra; and although he was speedily dislodged by the troops of Mohammed, he was able to make good his retreat into the mountain fastnesses of Gallicia, where, as usual, the Moslems were fain to leave him unmolested. But Ordoño was a builder as well as a destroyer, and in addition to many new *castles* along his southern and eastern frontiers[1] he restored and largely rebuilt the cities of Astorga, Tuy and Leon, which remained until the days of Almanzor uninterruptedly in the hands of the Christians.

Alfonso III., the eldest son of Ordoño, succeeded his father in 866, being at that time just eighteen years of age. The private intrigues of a certain Fruela, and the national jealousy of the Basques of Alava drove the young Alfonso for a short time from the throne; but the timely assassination of Fruela, and the delegation of the government of Alava to a popular *Count*[2] secured to Alfonso the enjoyment of his hereditary honours. The young king gave early proof of the vigour and intelligence which characterised his reign, and in less than two years after his accession he had already gained a considerable advantage over the Arabs in southern Gallicia (868).

Up to this time the Vasco Navarrese had owed a slight and uncertain allegiance to the king at Oviedo; and Alfonso, deeming it wiser to recognise, at least, the nominal independence of this proud and warlike people, sought and obtained the hand ot Jimena, daughter of Don Garcia of Pamplona in marriage, as a bond of a personal and political alliance.

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[1] Hence, *Castile*=the land of Castles.

[2] Count Vigilez or Velez Ximenez. The difference between counts and kings in these early Christian States was only in name. The title of chief would have been more appropriate to all of them. The *dux* or duke indeed was for a long time considered as of inferior dignity to the *comes* or count.

The Moslem power was now growing weaker under the incompetent Amirs that preceded the great Abdur Rahman an Nasir; and Alfonso III., taking advantage of every opportunity that presented itself, gradually extended and strengthened the Christian dominions in central Spain, and pushed his victorious arms as far south as Lusitania. After an unsuccessful siege of the celebrated border town of Zamora, a truce for three years was agreed upon between Alfonso and the Amir Al Mondhir, and when the fighting was renewed, a Moslem victory at Aybar was balanced by a successful foray of the Christians, who crossed the Guadiana below Merida, and penetrated as far south as the Sierra Morena. A second treaty or truce agreed upon between the king and the Amir in 883, is worthy of notice, if only on the account of the provision that the bodies of the Christian martyr saints Eulogius and Leocricia, should be brought with due respect from Cordova to Oviedo, a condition which was faithfully carried out.

The Christian kingdom of Oviedo by this time comprehended not only the modern province of Gallicia, including a part of the modern kingdom of Portugal as far south as the Douro, with Leon and the Asturias, but a part of what is now Old Castile, as far south as the lines of Zamora, Toro and Simancas. The county of Alava was in alliance with, if not in subjection to, the king at Oviedo, and Count Diego Rodriguez was encouraged and assisted by Alfonso to build the castle, and to found the city, which was afterwards so well known in Spanish history as Burgos, the first town in Castile.

On the frontier, meanwhile, the war went on with ever varying fortune. Zamora was taken and retaken times beyond number. Constant victories were claimed by Christians and by Moslems. But the issue of one particular battle in which the Christians were undoubtedly successful (901)—known as *El dia de Zamora*—inspired Alfonso with such confidence, that he proceeded to march on Toledo. The expedition was unsuccessful: but Alfonso returned with no loss of honour to Oviedo in 902. To harry the infidel was at once the highest Christian duty, and the most profitable political practice of the kings of Leon. But it was not always, even against the infidel, that the Christians were united. For not only was Navarre jealous of Asturias, and Alava impatient of Castile; but intrigues and quarrels were scarcely less common at the sacred city of Oviedo than they were among the Moors and Arabs at Cordova. Alfonso gained almost as much from the Moslems by judicious treaties as some of his predecessors had done by force of arms; and pre-eminent position that he occupied as a Christian sovereign enabled him to deal, with unusual success, with the ever-ready rebels at home.

Thus he contrived, almost alone of all the Christian sovereigns of the north, to live on good terms, at once with the bishops at Oviedo, and the Caliph at Cordova.[1] If he sent his son to be educated at Saragossa under Ismael, he replaced the modest chapel of Alfonso the Chaste at Compostella, by the magnificent temple that was the admiration of Christendom, until it was destroyed by the mercenaries of Almanzor. If he forebore from forays against the Caliph at Cordova, he richly endowed the cathedral and the clergy of Oviedo. At length in 909, this prudent king, wearied out rather by family feuds than by foreign foes, abdicated in favour of his turbulent sons[2] among whom his inheritance was divided. Garcia took the governorship of Leon; Ordoño, of Gallicia and Christian Lusitania; Fruela, of the Asturias; Gonzalvo, a priest, was made bishop or archdean of Oviedo; while Ramiro, a child of tender years, had no part in the division. For himself, Alfonso kept only the city of Zamora, where, after a pious pilgrimage to the tomb of Santiago at Compostella, he died, within twelve months of his abdication, on the 19th of December, 910, after a long and worthy reign of forty-four years—and was succeeded by his son, Garcia, as first King of Leon.

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[1] "On good terms," that is, after the fashion of the day; which did not exclude a little bit of fighting from time to time.

[2] His abdication was the result of a plot fomented by his wife and eldest son, Garcia, aided by Nuño Fernandez, the father-in-law of the latter, Count of Castile.—H.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA.

(852—1031.)

I.—*Abdur Rahman an Nasir.*

We have seen with how noble a liberality the Christian worship was tolerated and even encouraged by the early Arab rulers of the Peninsula,[1] a liberality that was not to be attained in Christian Spain for 1150 years, and as yet undreamed of by the gentlest of Roman or Gothic Spaniards. Yet the Christian clergy were not content. The laity for the most part accepted the situation, with philosophy if not with satisfaction. They took advantage of the admirable schools provided by the Arabs. They aspired to important positions in the administration. They copied, as well as they could, the luxury of their new masters. But the priests had no love of knowledge; they despised culture, and they alone of the subject population hated the Moslem with a bitter and deadly hatred. Unwilling to accept with gratitude even the toleration of the Unbeliever, they spared no opportunity of reviling the great Prophet under whose benign laws they were permitted to exist.

Perfectus, a priest at Cordova, having publicly insulted the faith and founder of Islam, was condemned, according to the Mohammedan law, to death; and his execution, in the month of Ramadan 852, was the signal for new ecclesiastical insults. Isaac, a fanatical monk, sought and found martyrdom by his extravagant public abuse of Mohammed. Martyrdom became the fashion. In two months, eleven ecclesiastics trod boldly in the footsteps of Perfectus and of Isaac.

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[1] By the laws of Islam, liberty of conscience and freedom of worship were allowed to all under Moslem dominion. The passage in the Koran, "Let there be no compulsion in religion," testifies to the principle of toleration and charity inculcated by Islam. "What wilt thou force men to believe, when belief can come only from God?"—Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 303.

Abdur Rahman was infinitely distressed at the progress of this fatal frenzy; and anxious to avoid further bloodshed, he determined to convoke a Christian Council, to stay, if possible, the tide of religious folly. The Council of Cordova, constituted for the most part, like the Councils of the Visigoths, of Christian bishops, assembled under the presidency of Reccafred, Metropolitan of Seville; and Abdur Rahman, who could hardly have attended in person, was formally represented by a Christian Palatine of the name of Gomez, who laid before the assembled prelates the circumstances that had led to their Convocation. Saul, Bishop of Cordova, who undertook the defence of the martyrs, was unable to approve of any further persistence in conduct which amounted to suicide; and the Council formulated a decree in accordance with this prudent opinion. But the fanatics heeded not the monition of the Council; and they denounced their own bishops as freely as they reviled the Prophet of Arabia. The leading spirit in all these religious suicides was Eulogius, an enthusiastic young priest of Cordova, who, in 851, was found to be implicated in the conversion and flight of two young Moslem ladies. These fair proselytes, after the utmost indulgence on the part of the Cadi, persisted in a bold denunciation of the faith which they had abjured, and were condemned to death on the scaffold. Eulogius, unwilling himself to come forward, was not molested by the authorities. But the mania reached its height when, in September, 852, two monks forced their way into the great mosque at Cordova, at a time when it was full of worshippers, and cried aloud, until they were mercifully arrested: "The Kingdom of Heaven is reserved for the Christians; for you miscreants is prepared the fire of Hell!" The ecclesiastical madmen were saved by the Cadi from the fury of the populace, and after a deliberate and regular trial they were executed with many others according to law.

Abdur Rahman died in September, 852, and was succeeded by Mohammed I., a far less liberal sovereign; and Eulogius, who had about the same time been elected Metropolitan Bishop of Toledo, was convicted once more of participation in the flight and conversion of a Moslem lady, who had adopted the name of Leocritia, under which she was afterwards canonised; and he suffered death, together with his proselyte, in 859. But the force of the folly would seem at length to have spent itself; and the death of Eulogius put an end to the voluntary martyrdoms, although under the cruel and narrow-minded Mohammed, the Christians were far from enjoying that complete toleration that had distinguished the rule of the first and of the second Abdur Rahman.

But if the Christians were less favoured under the new Amir, the Moslems were no whit more contented. For the rule of Mohammed I. was as inglorious as it was illiberal. If the Christians were ill-treated in the south, the Arab possessions were curtailed in the north, and the power of Cordova was everywhere suffered to decline. The rebellion of the Moslem Musa in the central provinces was even more disastrous than the forays of the Christian Ordoño in the north-west; while throughout the south, rival chiefs and rival tribes acquired an authority, independent of, and even hostile to, that of the Amir at Cordova, which reduced the power of the central government to a phantom. A strange and terrible foe moreover added to the general disorder, for the Vikings once more descending upon the coasts from the savage northern seas, plundered the rich and ill-defended provinces of southern Spain.

But the revolt of Ibn Merwan, in 875, was, perhaps, the most serious to which the Government of the Amir was at any time exposed. For this Ibn Merwan, a renegade captain of the Guards at Cordova, had fled into Gallicia on some palace affront, and assembling a large band of supporters, he had concluded an alliance with Alfonso III. of Leon, and made vigorous war against his former sovereign. Victorious in an important battle, he took prisoner and held to ransom the Amir's favourite general, Hisham, and he inspired the feeble court of Cordova with such terror of his arms that he was actually permitted to harry entire districts in the south-west of the Peninsula without let or hindrance at the hands of the nominal rulers[1] of the country. Nor did some passing successes of the Amir's forces in the north-east of Spain make up for these serious reverses.

But within as well as without, the condition of the Caliphate was most critical. The old Arab aristocracy, the descendants of the heroes of the conquest, were by this time greatly outnumbered by the other Moslem races in the Peninsula, and established as they were, for the most part, at Seville, they owed a very half-hearted allegiance to the supreme Government at Cordova. The Berbers or Moors—the wild, uncultivated soldiers of Africa—were more numerous, more intolerant, and even more disaffected than the graceful and polished Arab, and their authority in Estremadura and southern Lusitania was well-nigh independent of the Caliph at Cordova. The renegades or Spanish Moslems who inhabited Algarve were no less hostile to the Ommeyad rulers of the country. Tadmir or Murcia was virtually independent. Toledo was ever in revolt. The central authority at Cordova was daily becoming weaker and less regarded. If the Moslem still possessed the fairest portion of the Peninsula, the Amir had almost ceased to rule. Yet, even in these dark and troubled days, the Arab culture had not quite died out; the Arab refinement had not been entirely destroyed.[1] Excellent schools were maintained at Cordova. The judicial and financial administration were superior, not only to anything in Spain, but probably to anything in Europe. Ambassadors were welcomed from Emperors and Caliphs; and the art and sciences were cultivated in the cities, even when the country was being ravaged by rebels and robbers, and the frontiers were harried by Christians from the Asturias, and more savage pirates from the Baltic.

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[1] My authority for these pages is very largely the second volume of Dozy's, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne.*

Mohammed I. died after a long and inglorious reign, in 886, and was succeeded by his son, Al Mondhir, who gave place, in 888, to his brother Abdullah, who reigned without glory, if without special shame, until 912, when he was succeeded by the third and the last Abdur Rahman, the greatest of all the Mohammedan rulers of Spain.

Under the master-hand of this blue-eyed, fair skinned Arab, the amiable, the gentle, the prudent, the accomplished Abdur Rahman *an Nasir*—who first made the title of Caliph of Cordova,[2] no less honourable and no less honoured than that of Caliph of Bagdad—was Moslem Spain once more raised from insignificance and anarchy to a splendour undreamed of by any former sovereign.

The Berber, the Marabout, the renegade, the refugee, all these had vexed Spain for nearly one hundred years. And Spain rose once more to new and greater glory under an Arab Caliph at Cordova. The first care of the young monarch was to restore peace and unity to the Moslem Commonwealth; and his efforts were completely successful. Distracted by constant revolts, and dissatisfied with a fruitless independence, the rebel cities gradually submitted themselves to the arms of one who was bold enough to demand obedience, and strong enough to enforce it. One by one the leading rebels were vanquished and slain; one by one the leading cities were subdued and pacified. The new Caliph was stern, but he was not cruel. His work was at once quietly and thoroughly done. Unconquered in war, he was essentially a man of peace; liberal, refined, magnificent, with an iron will and a generous heart; and after eighteen years of firm and resolute government he found himself, not only the master, but the idol of a united country. Nor was he less successful in his attacks upon the Christians in the north; and his great victory at Val de Junqueras, in 920, over the combined forces of Leon and Navarre, was scarcely overshadowed by the Moslem defeat at Alhandega twenty years later, in 939.[1]

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[1] This was especially the case in Seville at this time under the enlightened Ibn Hajjāj, the practically independent governor, and also in Murcia.—H.

[2] In 929 he was also called *Amir al Momenin*, Commander of the Faithful, a title as familiar to every reader of the *Arabian Nights* as that of the Caliph of Bagdad. It has been corrupted by Spanish writers into *Miramamolin*.

Abdur Rahman *an Násir* died in 961.[2] In the course of his long and brilliant reign he had restored the rule of the Moslem in Spain from a condition of anarchy, weakness and disgrace to the highest pitch of power, of glory, and of prosperity. Beloved at home, respected abroad; renowned not only for his liberality, his good taste, and his magnificence, but for his gentleness, his justice, his generosity, his name will ever be associated with the most glorious days of that most glorious empire which was well-nigh the creation of his youth, and became the idol of his maturer years.[3]

II.—*The City of Cordova.*

The most beautiful, the most magnificent, the most luxurious, the most civilised city of mediæval Europe in the tenth century was Cordova. Its markets were always stocked with the richest and most varied products of every country. No robe, however costly, says a contemporary writer, no drug, however scarce, no jewel, however precious, no rarity of distant and unknown lands, was wanting in its splendid bazaars.

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[1] Ramiro II. also defeated the Moslems at Talavera in 950.

[2] Abdur Rahman *an Násir lidín illah;* Defender of the Religion of God, was the title assumed by the Caliph in 929.

[3] Viardot, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Mores d'Espagne* (1833); Dozy, *Histoire*, tom. ii. and iii.; Stanley Lane Poole, *Moors in Spain;* Murphy and Shakspear, *Mohammedan Empire in Spain;* Casiri, ii., 39; Cardonne, i., 338; Gayangos, i., pp. 200, etc., *et seq.*

Even before his arrival, the visitor had some foretaste of the luxury that awaited him, for on all the principal roads leading to the city, the Caliph established *Manzils* or rest-houses—something after the fashion of the *Dàk-Bungalows* maintained by the modern Anglo-Indian Government—for the gratuitous occupation of travellers.[1] Within the city the Caliph had his Palace of Flowers, his Palace of Contentment, his Palace of Lovers, and most beautiful of all, the Palace of Damascus, looking upon gardens watered by the noble Guadalquivir; while the humblest Moslem took his ease in the *Golden Meadow*, in the *Garden of the Waterwheel*, and the *Meadow of Murmuring Waters*.[2] Rich and poor met in the Mezquita, the noblest place of worship then standing in Europe,[3] with its 1200 marble columns, and its twenty brazen doors; the vast interior resplendent with porphyry and jasper and many-coloured precious stones, the walls glittering with harmonious mosaics, the air perfumed with incense, the courtyards leafy with groves of orange trees—showing apples of gold in pictures of silver. Throughout the city, there were fountains, basins, baths,[4] with cold water brought from the neighbouring mountains, already carried in the leaden pipes that are the highest triumph of the modern plumber.

But more wonderful even than Cordova itself was the suburb and palace of *Az Zahra*. For five-and-twenty years the third and greatest Abdur Rahman devoted to the building of his royal fancy one-third of the revenues of the State; and the work, on his death, was piously continued by his son, who devoted the first fifteen years of his reign to its completion. For forty years ten thousand workmen are said to have toiled day by day, and the record of the refinement as well as the magnificence of the structure, as it approached completion, almost passes belief. It is said that in a moment of exaltation the Caliph gave orders for the removal of the great mountain at whose foot the fairy city was built, as the dark shade of the forests that covered its sides overshadowed the gilded palace of his creation.

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[1] Viardot, *Essai*, p. 101.

[2] Gayangos, i., lib. iii., cap. 1.

[3] The *Parthenon* had no worshippers; *St. Sophia* alone could compare with the great temple at Cordova.

[4] "The Arabs of Andalusia are also the cleanest people on earth in what regards their person, dress, beds, and in the interior of their houses; indeed, they carry cleanliness to such an extreme that it is not an uncommon thing for a man of the lower classes to spend his last dirhem in soap instead of buying food for his daily consumption, and thus go without his dinner rather than appear in public with dirty clothes." Of the general rudeness and dirt of their Christian contemporaries the evidence is only too abundant. Gayangos, i., pp. 116, 117.

Convinced of the impossibility of his enterprise, *An Nasir* was content that all the oaks and beech trees that grew on the mountain side should be rooted up; and that fig trees, and almonds, and pomegranates should be planted in their place; and thus the very hills and forests of *Az Zahra* were decked with blossom and beauty.

Travellers from distant lands, men of all ranks and professions, princes, ambassadors, merchants, pilgrims, theologians and poets, all agreed that they had never seen in the course of their travels anything that could be compared with *Az Zahra*, and that no imagination, however fertile, could have formed an idea of its beauties. Of this marvellous creation of art and fancy not one stone remains upon another —not a vestige to mark the spot on which it stood; and it is hard to reconstruct from the dry records of Arab historians the fairy edifice of which we are told no words could paint the magnificence. According to these authors the enclosing wall of the palace was 4000 feet in length from east to west, and 2200 feet from north to south. The greater part of this space was occupied by gardens, with their marble fountains, kiosks and ornaments of various kinds, not inferior in beauty to the more strictly architectural parts of the building.

Four thousand three hundred columns of the rarest and most precious marbles supported the roof of the palace; of these some were brought from Africa, some from Rome, and many were presented by the Emperor at Constantinople to Abdur Rahman. The halls were paved with marble, disposed in a thousand varied patterns. The walls were of the same material, and ornamented with friezes of the most brilliant colours. The ceilings, constructed of cedar, were enriched with gilding on an azure ground, with damasked work and interlacing designs. Everything, in short, that the wealth and resources of the Caliph could command was lavished on this favourite retreat, and all that the art of Constantinople and Bagdad could contribute to aid the taste and executive skill of the Spanish Arabs was enlisted to make it the most perfect work of its age. Did this palace of Zahra now remain to us, says Mr. Fergusson, we could afford to despise the Alhambra and all the other works of the declining ages of Moorish art.[1]

It was here that Abdur Rahman an Nasir received Sancho the Fat, and Theuda, Queen of Navarre, the envoys from Charles the Simple of France, and the ambassadors from the Emperor Constantine at Constantinople.[2] The reception of these Imperial visitors is said to have been one of the most magnificent ceremonies of that magnificent court. The orator who had been at first entrusted with the speech of ceremonial greeting, was actually struck dumb by the grandeur of the scene, and his place was taken by a less impressionable rhetorician.[3]

Nor was it only material splendour[4] that was to be found at Cordova. At a time when Christian Europe was steeped in ignorance and barbarism, in superstition and prejudice,[5] every branch of science was studied under the favour and protection of the Ommeyad Caliphs. Medicine, surgery, botany, chemistry, poetry, the arts, philosophy, literature, all flourished at the court and city of Cordova. Agriculture was cultivated with a perfection, both theoretical and practical, which is apparent from the works of contemporary Arab writers.[1] The *Silo*, so lately introduced into England as a valuable agricultural novelty, is not only the invention of the Arabs, but the very name is Arabic, as is that of the *Acequia* and of the *Noria* of modern Spain. Both the second and the third Abdur Rahman were passionately fond of gardening and tree-planting; and seeds, roots and cuttings were brought from all parts of the world and *acclimatised* in the gardens at Cordova. A pomegranate of peculiar excellence, the *Safari*, which was introduced by the second Abdur Rahman from Damascus, still maintains its superiority, and is known in Spain to the present day as the Granada Zafari.

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[1] There was another palace and city somewhat similar in name, *Az Záhirah*, built by Almanzor between 978 and 981, on the banks of the Guadalquivir, not far from Cordova. In riches and beauty *Az Záhirah* is said to have rivalled even *Az Zahra*, but owing to its having been destroyed by the Berbers during the civil wars on the death of Almanzor, all trace of the city has perished, and even tradition is very uncertain as to the details. Gayangos, i., 232-242.

[2] The Imperial embassy was sent by Constantine VII. in 947. The Caliph is said to have also received embassies from the Duke of the Slavonians, the King of the Alamani, and from Hugo of Franconia. (The appearance of Sancho the Fat of Leon, and his grandmother Theuda, Queen of Navarre, at the Court of Cordova arose out of the deposition of Sancho by Fernan Gonzalez, Count of Castile, in favour of Ardoño IV. (the Bad). Sancho appealed to the Kalif of Cordova who sent him a Jewish physician to cure him of his corpulency, and invited him and Theuda with her son, the King of Navarre, to visit Cordova. On their return to Navarre Abdur Rahman gave Sancho armed aid against the usurper Ordoño IV. and restored him to the throne of Leon.—H.)

[3] Gayangos, ii., 143-145.

[4] Respecting the state of science among the Andalusians, we must own in justice that the people of that country were the most ardent lovers of knowledge, as well as those who best knew how to appreciate and distinguish a learned man and an ignorant one; indeed, science was so much esteemed by them that whoever had not been endowed by God with the necessary qualifications to acquire it did everything in his power to distinguish himself and conceal from the people his want of instruction; for an ignorant man was at all times looked upon as an object of the greatest contempt; while the learned man, on the contrary, was not only respected by all nobles and plebeians, but was trusted and consulted on every occasion. His name was in every mouth, his power and influence had no limits, and he was preferred and distinguished in all the occasions of life. Gayangos, vol. i., lib. ii., cap. iii. And see Renan, *Mélanges*, p. 15.

[5] *Les Espagnols* (*i.e.*, the Christians at this period, says Condé) vivent comme des bêtes sauvages, entrant les uns chez les autres sans demander permission, et ne lavent ni leur corps, ni même leurs habits, qu'ils n'ôtent que lorsque qu'ils tombent en lambeaux. Viardot, *Essais*, i., 191-2.

Thus, in small things as in great, the Arabs of Cordova stood immeasurably above any other people or any other government in Europe. Yet their influence unhappily was but small. They surpassed, but they did not lead. The very greatness of their superiority rendered their example fruitless. Mediæval chivalry, indeed, was largely the result of their influence in Spain. But chivalry as an institution had itself decayed long before a new-born Europe had attained to the material and moral perfection of the great Amirs of Cordova. Their political organisation was unadapted to the needs or the aspirations of western Europe, and contained within itself the elements, not of development, but of decay. Their civilisation perished, and left no heirs behind it—and its place knows it no more.[2].

III.—*Almanzor*.

The reign of Hakam II., the son and successor of the great Caliph, was tranquil, prosperous and honourable, the golden age of Arab literature in Spain. The king was above all things a student, living the life almost of a recluse in his splendid retreat at *Az Zahra*, and concerning himself rather with the collection of books for his celebrated library at Cordova, than with the cares of State and the excitements of war. He sent agents to every city in the East to buy rare manuscripts and bring them back to Cordova. When he could not acquire originals he procured copies, and every book was carefully catalogued and worthily lodged. Hakam not only built libraries, but, unlike many modern collectors, he is said to have read and even to have annotated the books that they contained; but as their number exceeded four hundred thousand, he must have been a remarkably rapid student.[1]

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[1] Particularly the work of *Abu Zakariah al Awán*, which has been translated by D. José Antonio Banqueri (Madrid, 1802). *Cf.* Viardot, *Essai*, i., 129-131; and Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, p. 45.

[2] L'irrémédiable faiblesse de la race arabe, says M. Renan—*Mélanges*, p. 283—est dans son manque absolu d'esprit politique, et dans son incapacité de toute organisation.

The peaceful disposition of the new Caliph emboldened his Christian neighbours and tributaries to disregard the old treaties and to assert their independence of Cordova. But the armies of Hakam were able to make his rights respected, and the treaties were reaffirmed and observed. Many were the embassies that were received at Cordova from rival Christian chiefs; and Sancho of Leon, Fernan Gonzalez of Castile, Garcia of Navarre, Rodrigo Velasquez of Gallicia, and finally Ordoño the Bad, Pretender to the Crown of Leon, were all represented at the court of *Az Zahra.*[2]

The reign of this royal scholar was peaceful and prosperous; but kingly power tends to decline in libraries, and when Hakam ceased to build and to annotate, and his kingdom devolved upon his son, the royal authority passed not into the hands of the young Hisham, who was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, but into those of the Sultana Sobeyra and of her favourite, Ibn-Abu-Amir, who is known to later generations by the proud title of *Almanzor.*[3]

Ibn-Abu-Amir began his career as a poor student at the University of Cordova. Of respectable birth and parentage, filled with noble ambition, born for empire and command, the youth became a court scribe, and, attracting the attention of the all-powerful Sobeyra[4] by the charm of his manner and his nobility of bearing, he soon rose to power and distinction in the palace; and as Master of the Mint, and afterwards as Commander of the City Guard,[1] he found means to render himself indispensable, as he had always been agreeable, to the harem. Nor was the young courtier less acceptable to the Caliph. Entrusted by him on a critical occasion with the supremely difficult mission of comptrolling the expenditure of the army in Africa, where the General-in-Chief had proved over prodigal or over rapacious, Ibn-Abu-Amir acquitted himself with such extraordinary skill and tact, that he won the respect and admiration, not only of the Caliph whose treasury he protected, but of the general whose extravagance he checked, and even of the common soldiers of the army, who are not usually drawn to a civilian superintendent, or to a reforming treasury official from headquarters. The expenses were curtailed; but the campaign was successful, and the victorious general and the yet more victorious *Cadi*,[2] shared on equal terms the honour of a triumphal entry into the capital.

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[1] Hakam sent 1000 dinars of gold to Ispahan to have the first copy of the celebrated *Anthology of Abulfaraj*, and this celebrated work was actually read, says Renan (*Averroes et l'Averroisme*, p. 3), in Andalusia, before it was known in Irak.

[2] Ordoño the Bad lived and died a pensioner at the court of the Arab. Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 95-108, and see also *post*, chap. xvii. of this work.

[3] *Al Manzor al Allah;* "The Victor of God: or, Victorious by the Grace of God".

[4] More accurately, Sobha, the Dawn. M. Dozy calls her Aurora, merely, as he says, because it is more euphonious than her own name. Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 118. *Cf.* Gayangos, ii., 178 and 476.

On the death of Hakam,, in September, 976, Ibn-Abu-Amir showed no less than his usual tact and vigour in suppressing a palace intrigue, and placing the young Hisham on the throne of his father. The Caliph was but twelve years of age, and his powerful guardian, supported by the harem, beloved by the people, and feared by the vanquished conspirators, took upon himself the entire administration of the kingdom, repealed some obnoxious taxes, reformed the organisation of the army and sought to confirm and establish his power by a war against his neighbours in the north. The peace which had so long prevailed between Moor and Christian was thus rudely broken, and the Moslem once more carried his arms across the northern frontier. The campaign was eminently successful. Ibn-Abu-Amir, who contrived not only to vanquish his enemies but to please his friends, became at once the master of the palace and of the army. The inevitable critic was found to say that the victor was a diplomatist and a lawyer rather than a great general; but he was certainly a great leader of men, and if he was at any time unskilled in the conduct of a battle, he owned from the first that higher skill of knowing whom to trust with command. Nor was he less remarkable for his true military virtue of constant clemency to the vanquished.

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[1] Afterwards *vali al Medina*, or the governor of the city.

[2] The title with which he had been specially invested was that of *Cadi of Africa*.

In two years after the death of Hakam, Almanzor had attained the position of the greatest of the *maires du palais* of early France, and he ruled all Mohammedan Spain in the name of young Hisham, whose throne he forebore to occupy, and whose person was safe in his custody. But if Almanzor was not a dilettante like Abdur Rahman II., nor a collector of *MSS.* like Hakam, he was no vulgar fighter like the early kings of Leon or of Navarre. A library of books accompanied him in all his campaigns; literature, science and the arts were munificently patronised at court; a university or high school was established as Cordova, where the great mosque was enlarged for the accommodation of an increasing number of worshippers. Yet in one thing did he show his weakness. He could afford to have no enemies. The idol of the army, the lover of the queen,[1] the prefect of the city, the guardian of the person of the Caliph, Almanzor yet found it necessary to conciliate the theologians; and the theologians were only conciliated by the delivery of the great library of Hakam into the hands of the *Ulema*. The shelves were ransacked for works on astrology and magic, on natural philosophy and the forbidden sciences, and after an inquisition as formal and as thorough, and probably no more intelligent than that which was conducted by the curate and the barber in the house of Don Quixote, tens of thousands of priceless volumes were publicly committed to the flames.

Nor did Almanzor neglect the more practical or more direct means of maintaining his power. The army was filled with bold recruits from Africa, and renegades from the Christian provinces of the north. The organisation and equipment of the regiments was constantly improved; and the troops were ever loyal to their civilian benefactor. Ghalib, the commander-in-chief, having sought to overthrow the supreme administrator of the kingdom, was vanquished and slain in battle (981). The Caliph was practically a prisoner in his own palace, and was encouraged by his guardian and his friends, both in the harem and in the mosque, to devote himself entirely to a religious life, and abandon the administration of his kingdom to the *Hájib*,[2] who now feeling himself entirely secure at home, turned his arms once more against the Christians on the northern frontiers; and it was on his return to Cordova, after his victories at Simancas and Zamora in 981, that he was greeted with the well-known title of *Almanzor.*

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[1] *I.e.*, Sobha, or Sobeyra, the mother of the young Caliph. Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 204-7, and p. 177; Renan, *Averroes*, etc., p. 15.

[2] Great Chamberlain.

In 984 he compelled Bermudo II. of Leon, to become his tributary. In 985 he turned his attention to Catalonia, and after a brief but brilliant campaign he made himself master of Barcelona. Two years later (987) Bermudo having dismissed his Moslem guards and thrown off his allegiance to Cordova, Almanzor marched into the north-west, and after sacking Coimbra, overran Leon, entirely destroyed the capital city, and compelled the Christian king to take refuge in the wild fastnesses of the Asturias.

Meanwhile, at Cordova, the power of Almanzor became year by year more complete. Victorious in Africa as well as in Spain, this heaven-born general was as skilful in the council-chamber as he was in the field. The iron hand was ever clad in a silken glove. His ambition was content with the substance of power, and with the gradual assumption of any external show of supreme authority in the State. In 991 he abandoned the office and title of *Hájib* to his son, Abdulmelik. In 992 his seal took the place of that of the monarch on all documents of State. In 993 he assumed the royal cognomen of *Mowayad.* Two years later he arrogated to himself alone the title of *Saíd ;* and in 996 he ventured a step further, and assumed the title of *Málik Karim,* or king.

But in 996 Almanzor was at length confronted by a rival. Sobeyra, the Navarrese Sultana, once his mistress, was now his deadly enemy, and she had determined that the queen, and not the minister, should reign supreme in the palace. Almanzor was to be destroyed. Hakam, a feeble and effeminate youth, was easily won over by the harem, who urged him to show the strength that he was so far from possessing, by espousing the cause of his mother against his guardian. The queen was assured of victory. The treasury was at the disposal of the conspirators. A military rival was secretly summoned from Africa. The minister was banished from the royal presence. The palace was already jubilant.

But the palace reckoned without Almanzor. No Wamba was he, tamely to accept his deposition ; no rude soldier to be vanquished by the wiles of a woman. Making his way into Hakam's chamber, more charming, more persuasive, more resolute than ever, Almanzor prevailed upon the Caliph not only to restore him to his confidence, but to empower him, by a solemn instrument under the royal sign manual, to assume the government of the kingdom. Sobeyra, defeated but unharmed by her victorious and generous rival, retired to a cloister; and Almanzor, contemptuously leaving to one of his lieutenants the task of vanquishing his subsidised rival in Africa, set forth upon the most memorable of all his many expeditions against Christian Spain (3rd July, 997).

Making his way, at the head of an army, through Lusitania into far away Gallicia, he took Corunna, and destroyed the great Christian Church and city of Santiago de Compostella,[1] the most sacred spot in all Spain, and sent the famous bells which had called so many Christian pilgrims to prayer and praise, to be converted into lamps to illuminate the Moslem worshippers in the mosque at Cordova.

Five years later, in 1002, after an uncertain battle, Almanzor died in harness, if not actually in the ranks, bowed down by mortal disease, unhurt by the arm of the enemy.[2]

In force of character, in power of persuasion, in tact, in vigour, in that capacity for command that is only found in noble natures, Almanzor has no rival among the regents of Spain. His rise is a romance; his power a marvel; his justice a proverb. He was a brilliant financier; a successful favourite; a liberal patron; a stern disciplinarian; a heaven-born courtier; an accomplished general; and no one of the great commanders of Spain, not Gonsalvo de Aguilar himself, was more uniformly successful in the field than this lawyer's clerk of Cordova.

Hisham, in confinement at *Az Zahra*, was still the titular Caliph of the West, but Almanzor was succeeded as commander-in-chief and virtual ruler of the country by his favourite son, his companion-in-arms, and the hero of an African campaign, Abdul Malik Almudaffar, the Hajib of 991. But the glory of Cordova had departed. Abdul Malik indeed ruled in his father's place for six years. But on his death in 1008,[1] he was succeeded by his half-brother Abdur Rahman, who, as the son of a Christian princess, was mistrusted both by the palace and by the people; and the country became a prey to anarchy.

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[1] According to the Moslem authorities, he spared the actual shrine of the apostle and placed a guard over it so that it should suffer no injury at the hands of any of his soldiers. According to the Christian view the holy place was miraculously preserved from defilement of infidel hands. See *ante*, chapter xv.

[2] His end was hastened, according to the author of the *Historia Compostellana* and other Christian chroniclers, by his chagrin at the incompleteness of a victory—for Almanzor never knew defeat—at Calatañazor, near Soria, fourteen leagues from Medina Celi, when he was carried on to the field in a litter, being too much broken by illness to be able to mount a horse. Pope Leo XIII., in his *Apostolic Letter* of 1st November, 1884, suggests, at least, that his death was the vengeance of heaven, on account of his pillage of Compostella. Florez, however, fairly points out that Almanzor lived certainly five, and perhaps thirteen years after the taking of Santiago, *España Sagrada*, xix., 7. The relief of the Christians at his death was unspeakable; and is well expressed, says Mr. Poole, in the simple comment of the Monkish annalist, "In 1002 died Almanzor, and was buried in hell," *Moors in Spain*, p. 166.

Calatañazor (Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 211-221), is scarcely a more authentic battle than *Clavijo;* and seems never to have been mentioned by any Arab chronicler. The rise of the legend, as traced by M. Dozy, *ubi supra*, is sufficiently curious. But see Gayangos, ii., 197.

Cordova was sacked. The Caliph was imprisoned; rebellions, poisonings, crucifixions, civil war, bigotry and scepticism, the insolence of wealth, the insolence of power, a Mahdi and a Wahdi, Christian alliance, Berber domination, Slav mutineers, African interference, puppet princes, all these things vexed the Spanish Moslems for thirty disastrous years; while a number of weak but independent sovereignties arose on the ruins of the great Caliphate of the West.[2]

The confused annals of the last thirty years of the rule of the Ommeyades are mere records of blood and of shame, a pitiful story of departed greatness.

On the death of Hisham II., the Romulus Augustulus of Imperial Cordova, Moslem Spain was divided into a number of petty kingdoms, Malaga, Algeciras, Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Badajoz, Saragossa, the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, and Granada. And each of these cities and kingdoms made unceasing war one upon another.

From the death of Hisham, if not from the death of Almanzor, the centre of interest in the history of Spain is shifted from Cordova to Castile.

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[1] According to Dozy—*Recherches*, i., 200-211—Almanzor married no less than two royal princesses of Christian Spain: one a daughter of King Sancho, whether of Castile or of Navarre is uncertain, about 985, and the other Princess Teresa, daughter of Bermudo II. of Leon, in 993. Abdur Rahman, the successor of Abdul Malik, was probably the son of the former marriage.

[2] The Caliphate indeed is said to have come to an end only on the death of Hisham III. in 1031; but the sovereigns from the death of Almanzor had little authority and no merit.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KINGDOM OF LEON.

(910—1068.)

The brief reign (912-914) of Garcia, the son and successor of Alfonso the Great, is only remarkable for the transfer of the Christian capital from Oviedo to Leon; and his younger brother, who succeeded him at his death as Ordoño II., reigned from 914 to 921 as king of Leon. This Ordoño abandoned the peaceful policy of his greater father, and undertook many expeditions with varying and uncertain success against the Arabs. He plundered Merida, in 917, and routed the Berbers in southern Spain in 918. Yet three years later, at Val de Junqueras (921), near Pamplona, the Christians suffered disastrous defeat. The usual rebellion at home was appeased by the treacherous execution or murder of no less than four Counts of Castile in 922, and was followed by the king's death in 923.

Of Fruela II. (923-925), Alfonso IV.[1] (925-930), and Ramiro II. (930-950), little need be said, but that they lived and reigned as kings of Leon.

To Ramiro, however, is due, at least, the honour of an authentic victory over the Moslem forces of the great Caliph, Abdur Rahman an Nasir (939), at Simancas,[2] and afterwards in the same year at Alhandega.[3]

Ramiro, after the usual rebellion, abdicated, in 950, in favour of his son Ordoño—who had married Urraca, daughter of the principal rebel of the day, Fernan Gonzalez, Count of Castile—and who succeeded his father as Ordoño III.

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[1] Alfonso IV. abdicated in favour of his brother Ramiro, 11th October, 930; and retired, having first been fraternally *exoculated*, into the monastery of Sahagun (Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 165).

[2] As to the celebrated battle of Simancas, see Lafuente, iii., 437, and iv., 15, 16.

[3] Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 181-186, discusses, with his usual erudition and acuteness, the situation of Alhandega, the second battle of this well-nigh forgotten campaign—*victoire si éclatante qu'on en parla au fond de l'Allemagne aussi bien que dans les pays les plus reculés de l'Orient.*

But decapitation was a far more certain way of suppressing rebellion than matrimony; and Fernan Gonzalez lived to intrigue against his daughter and her royal husband in favour of Sancha, a younger brother of the king. Ordoño, however, held his own against his brother, and revenged himself on his father-in-law, by repudiating his wife; who, with her personal and family grievances, was promptly *acquired* by Sancho, who succeeded, on his brother's death, to the crown of which he had failed to possess himself by force. But even as a legitimate sovereign, Sancho, surnamed the Fat, was not allowed to reign in peace. He was driven from his kingdom by that most versatile rebel, Count Fernan Gonzalez, and sought refuge at the court of his uncle Garcia of Navarre at Pamplona. Thence, in company with Garcia, and his mother Theuda, he journeyed to the court of the Caliph at Cordova, where the distinguished visitors were received with great show of welcome by Abdur Rahman at Az Zahra; and where Hasdai, the Jew, the most celebrated physician of the day, succeeded in completely curing Sancho of the distressing malady—a morbid and painful corpulency—which incapacitated him from the active discharge of his royal duties.

The study and practice of medicine were alike disregarded by the rude dwellers in Leon; but the Cordovan doctor, surpassing in his success, if not in his skill, the most celebrated physicians of the present day, contrived to reduce the king's overgrown bulk to normal proportions, and restored him to his former activity and vigour, both of body and mind. Nor was the skill of Hasdai confined to the practice of medicine. An accomplished diplomatist, he negotiated a treaty with his Christian patient, by which Sancho bound himself to give up ten frontier fortresses to the Caliph, on his restoration to the crown of Leon, while Don Garcia and Doña Theuda undertook to invade Castile in order to divert the attention of the common foe, the ever ready Fernan Gonzalez.[1]

In due time Sancho, no longer the fat, but the hale, returned to Leon at the head of a Moslem army, placed at his disposal by his noble host at Cordova, drove out the usurper, Ordoño the Bad, and reigned in peace in his Christian dominions. The visit of this dispossessed Ordoño to the court of the Caliph Hakam at Cordova, in 962, is an interesting specimen of the international politics or policy of his age and country.[2]

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[1] Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 80-89.

[2] See Gayangos, vol. ii., lib. vi., cap. vi.

As Sancho had recovered his throne by the aid of Abdur Rahman, so Ordoño sought to dethrone him and make good his own pretensions by the aid of Hakam. The Caliph, already harassed by Fernan Gonzalez, and doubting the honesty of King Sancho, was not ill-pleased to have another pretender in hand, and Ordoño the Bad[1] was invited to Cordova, and received by Hakam in the palace at Az Zahra with the utmost pomp and display. The Leonese prince craved in humble language the assistance of the Moslem, and professed himself his devoted friend, ally and vassal; and he was permitted to remain at the court of Hakam, to await the issue of events in the north. Some few days afterwards a treaty was solemnly signed between the Caliph and the Pretender, and once more the glories of Az Zahra were displayed to the eyes of the astonished barbarian from Leon.

Nor did the fame of these splendid ceremonies fail to reach Sancho in the north-west; and his spirit of independence was considerably cooled by the prospect of a Moslem army, headed by his cousin Ordoño, making its appearance before his ill-defended frontiers. The manœuvre was sufficiently familiar; and the reigning monarch lost no time in disassociating himself from the hostile proceedings of Fernan Gonzalez; and sending an important embassy to Hakam at Cordova, to assure him of his unwavering loyalty, he hastened to announce his readiness to carry out to the letter all the provisions of his recent treaty with the Caliph. Hakam was satisfied. Ordoño languished disregarded at Cordova, despised alike by Moslem and Christian, but unharmed and in safety as the guest of the Arab. Sancho reigned in peace until 967, when he was poisoned by the rebel count of the day, Sanchez of Gallicia. His son, who was known as Ramiro III., an unwise and incapable monarch, reigned at Leon from 967 to 982, without extending the possessions or the influence of the Christians in Spain; and Bermudo II., who usurped the throne, was no match for the fiery Almanzor, who ravaged his kingdom, took possession of his capital, and compelled the Christian court to take refuge in the wild mountains of the Asturias, and once more to pay tribute to the Moslem at Cordova.

Bermudo died in 999; and on the death of Almanzor, three years later, the Christian fortunes under the young

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[1] Ordoño IV. was a son of the Alfonso IV. who had abdicated in favour of his brother Bermudo.—H.

Alfonso V., who had succeeded his father Bermudo, at the age of only five, began to mend.[1] Cordova was given up to anarchy. The Moslem troops retired from northern Spain. Leon became once more the abode of the king and his court, and though Alfonso gave his sister in marriage to Mohammed an Amir or Vali of Toledo, he extended his Christian dominion in more than one foray against the declining power of the Moslem.[2]

Alfonso V., who is known in Spanish history as the Restorer of Leon, sought to consolidate his own power, as he certainly exalted that of his clergy, by the summoning of a Council, after the manner of the Visigothic Councils of Toledo. The Council met at the city of Leon on the 1st of August, 1020, in the Cathedral Church of St. Mary.[3] The King and his Queen Elvira presided, and all the bishops and the principal abbots and nobles of the kingdom took their seats in the assembly. And if there was no Leander, nor Isidore, nor Julian to impose his will upon King or Council, the interests of the Church were not entirely overlooked. Of the fifty-eight decrees and canons of this Council, the first seventeen relate exclusively to matters ecclesiastical; the next twenty are laws for the government of the kingdom, the remaining thirty-one are municipal ordinances for the city of Leon.

But Alfonso V. was not exempted from the usual rebellions, and marriages, and assassinations, and executions, which constituted the politics of the day. Garcia, the last Count of Castile, was treacherously slain in 1026; and Alfonso was himself more honourably killed in an attack upon a Moslem town in Lusitania in 1027.

The life of Fernan Gonzalez, the Warwick of mediæval Spain, is almost as much overlaid with romantic legends as that of Roderic or Roland.[4] The lives and deeds of his ancestors, and the origin of his ever-celebrated County of Castile, are involved in the utmost confusion and obscurity; but Fernan Gonzalez himself is at least a historical personage. He married Sancha, daughter of Sancho Abarca of Navarre, and their son, Garcia Fernandez, succeeded him as hereditary Count of Castile.

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[1] Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv., pp. 451-2.

[2] There was an invasion of the Northmen in 966-971, and again about the year 1008, when the town of Tuy, at the mouth of the Minho, was destroyed.

In 1018 Catalonia was ravaged by the French Normans, under one Roger; and the taking of Barbastro, in Sobrarbe, from the Moslems in 1064, by the same bold adventurer, was accompanied by the most terrible atrocities. The unhappy town was recovered in the course of the next year by the Arabs under Moctadi, of Saragossa, the first patron of the Cid; and was once more taken by Peter of Aragon in 1101, after which it remained for ever in the power of the Christians. For an account of all these expeditions, see Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., vol. i., 300-315, and 388-390.

[3] As to this most interesting assembly—the first of the great Councils of Spain after the fall of the Visigoths—see *post*, chapter xxxiii., *Constitutional History.*

[4] The monumental tomb at Burgos has "*A Fernan Gonzalez, libertador de Castilla, el mas excelente General de ese tiempo*". *Cf. España Sagrada*, xxvi.;

As early as the year 905, Sancho, a Christian chief of whose ancestors and predecessors much has been written, much surmised, and nothing is certainly known, was king or ruler of the little border state of Navarre. A prudent, as well as a warlike sovereign, he fortified his capital city of Pamplona; and when his son, in alliance with Ordoño II. of Leon, was defeated by the Moslems at Val de Junquera, the Navarrese not only made good their retreat to that celebrated fortress, but succeeded in course of a short time in driving the Moslem out of their country. The grandson of this successful general was Sancho *El Mayor*—or the Great—the most powerful of the Christian princes in Spain (970-1035). Besides Navarre and Sobrarbe he held the lordship of Aragon; in 1026, in right of his wife, Muña Elvira, he became King or Count of Castile; while his successful interference in the affairs of Leon made him virtual master of all Christian Spain outside the limits of the quasi-Frankish County of Catalonia.

Sancho the Great died in 1035, when his territories were divided according to his will,[1] among his four sons; and from this time forth the history of Navarre so far as it is not included in the history of Aragon, of Castile, and of France, is a confused and dreary record of family quarrels, of plots and assassinations, of uncertain alliances, of broken treaties. The marriage of the Princess Berengaria with Richard I. of England, in 1191, failed to secure for Sancho V. the influence that he had hoped to secure; and with Sancho VI.,[2] who died in 1234, the male line of the house of Sancho Iñiguez or Inigo, the founder of Navarre, was extinct. A French prince was chosen by the Navarrese to rule over them. And from the death of Sancho VI. in 1234, to the death of Charles the Bad, in 1387—150 years—the history of Navarre is that of France.

Lafuente, iii., 494-501, and iv., pp. 19, 20. See also a *Disertacion* by Don F. Benito Montego, printed in the *Mem.* of the *Real Acad. de Hist.*, iii., 254-317; and a judicious summary in Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv., pp. 286-295.

[1] The division was as follows: *Navarre* and *Biscay* to his eldest son Garcia; *Castile* to Ferdinand; *Ribagorza* to Gonzalo; *Aragon* to Ramiro.

[2] He left the kingdom to James of Aragon. But the Navarrese elected a French prince Thibault, Count of Champagne, to be their ruler in his stead (1236).

Bermudo III., who succeeded on the death of his father, Alfonso V., in 1027, as King of Leon, was at once attacked by his powerful neighbours, and the little states were distracted by family quarrels and civil war until the death of Bermudo in battle, in 1037, when the male line of the house of Leon became extinct. Ferdinand I., King of Castile, the second son of Sancho the Great, then succeeded to the kingdom of Leon, and became, after over twenty years of civil war (1058), the most powerful monarch in all Spain. The Moslems offered but an uncertain and half-hearted resistance to his arms. For while the Christians were growing strong, the Moslem Empire was already declining to its fall. And the decay of the Caliphate of Cordova, and the internal dissensions of the Arabs, enabled Ferdinand not only to recover all the territory that had been conquered by Almanzor, but to pursue the disheartened Moslem as far as Valencia, Toledo and Coimbra. Ferdinand confirmed the Fueros of Alfonso V., and summoned a Council at Coyanza (Valencia de Don Juan), over which, with his Queen Sancha, he presided in 1050. All the bishops and abbots, together with a certain number of lay nobles thus assembled *ad restaurationem nostræ Christianitatis,* proceeded to make decrees or canons, after the manner of the Councils of Toledo, of which the first seven were devoted to matters ecclesiastical, and the remainder connected with the civil government of the country.[1] With territories thus recovered and augmented, with cities restored and fortified, Ferdinand determined to excel all his Christian predecessors, and to emulate the noble example of the Arab, by enriching his dominion, not with treasures of art or literature, with schools, with palaces, with manuscripts—but with the bones of as many martyrs as he could collect.

An army was raised for this sacred purpose, and the country of the Moors was once more invaded and harried by the Christian arms. Ibn Obeid of Seville, learning the objects of the invasion, offered Ferdinand every facility for research in his city; and a solemn Commission of bishops and nobles were admitted within the walls to seek the body of Justus, one of the martyrs of Diocletian. But in spite of all the diligence of the Christians, and all the good will of the Arabs, the sacred remains could nowhere be found. At length the spirit of Saint Isidore removed the difficulty by appearing miraculously before the Commission, and offering his own bones in the place of those of

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[1] The defeat and death of the disloyal invader, Garcia Sancho of Navarre, at Atapuerca, 1054, helped to consolidate the power of Ferdinand.

Justus, which were destined, said he, to remain untouched at Seville. The Commission was satisfied. And the body of the great metropolitan "fragrant with balsamic odours" was immediately removed to the Church of St. John the Baptist[1] at Leon—to the great satisfaction of both Christians and Moors, in 1063.

It was on the occasion of the return of these blessed relics to the Christian capital that Ferdinand proclaimed the future division of his kingdom. For after all the success that had attended the union of the dominions of Leon and Castile under the sole authority of Ferdinand, who rather perhaps for his sanctity than for his wisdom had earned the title of the Great, the king made the same grievous mistake that his father had done before him, in dividing his united territories at his death (1065) among his sons and daughters. To Sancho, the eldest son, he left the kingdom of Castile; to Alfonso, Leon and the Asturias; to Garcia, Gallicia; to his younger daughter Elvira, the town and district of Toro; and to her elder sister Urraca, the famous border city of Zamora, the most debatable land in all Spain, and a strange heritage for a young lady. Thus Castile and Leon were once more separated; and the usual civil wars and family intrigues naturally followed. Alfonso, though not at first the most successful, survived all his rivals, and was at length proclaimed King of Leon and Castile.

But the successes and glories of Alfonso VI., such as they were, are overshadowed by the prowess of a Castilian hero, whose exploits form one of the most favourite chapters in the national history of Spain—the Christian knight with the Moslem title—Ruy Diaz, THE CID.

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[1] The church was dedicated of course to Saint Isidore. Lafuente, iii., 204-208.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CID.

(1040—1099.)

I.

Two years before William of Normandy landed at Hastings, a Castilian knight, a youth who had already won for himself the proud title of *The Challenger*, from his reckless bravery and his success in single combat,[1] is found leading the royal armies of Sancho of Castile against the enemy. The knight was Ruy Diaz de Bivar.[2] The enemy was Alfonso VI. of Leon, the brother of Sancho, who was endeavouring to re-unite the inheritance divided by his father, in the good old mediæval fashion in Spain.

Of noble birth and parentage, a Castilian of the Castilians, Roderic or Ruy Diaz was born at Bivar, near Burgos, about the year 1040. His position in the army of Sancho was that of *Alférez,* in title the standard-bearer, in effect the major-general or second in command.

For seven years Alfonso of Leon and Sancho of Castile had been at war; each seeking to destroy the other; and at length at Golbejara, near Carrion, on the eve of what promised to be a decisive battle, a solemn engagement was entered into by the brothers that whichever of the two were worsted in the encounter should resign his kingdom to the other without further bloodshed. The Castilians, in spite of Sancho and his famous standard-bearer, were defeated at Golbejara; and Alfonso of

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[1] In a battle between Sancho of Castile and Sancho of Navarre. See Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., pp. 111, 112.

[2] According to the ballad, *Ese buen Diego Lainez*, he was the illegitimate son of Diego Lainez. But he was more probably of honourable birth, and seventh in direct descent from the Castilian Nuño Rasura, who was also the ancestor of the royal house of Castile. The ballad in question is judged by Mr. Ormsby to be of no greater antiquity than the sixteenth century.

Leon, foolishly trusting his brother's word, took no heed to improve his victory, and his unsuspecting army was overwhelmed the next day by the Castilian troops under Ruy Diaz de Bivar, the author of this exceedingly characteristic, if not entirely authentic, piece of treachery.

It is scarcely surprising that the Cid was not trusted by Alfonso of Leon, when he, in his turn, succeeded to the crown of Castile. But for the moment Alfonso was not only deprived of his throne and of his liberty by his more successful brother, but he was compelled to purchase his life by a promise to enter the monastery of Sahagun.[1] Disregarding this vow, and making good his escape to Toledo, the royal refugee was received with the usual Arab hospitality by El Mamun, the Moslem ruler of the city, who sheltered and entertained him, as he himself admitted, "like a son".

Sancho meanwhile had turned his arms against his brother Garcia, whom he dispossessed of his territories; against his sister Elvira, who met with a similar fate, and, lastly, against his sister Urraca, who withstood him boldly in her city of Zamora. And not only did this time-honoured fortress resist the attack of Sancho and his wily standard-bearer, but the king was slain outside the walls of the city by one of his sister's knights. Alfonso then not only recovered his own kingdom of Leon, but, swearing perpetual friendship with El Mamun of Toledo, he was *elected* King of Castile by the Commons assembled at Burgos; and the defeated refugee of 1071 found himself, in less than two years, the greatest prince in Christian Spain; Alfonso VI. of Leon and of Castile[2]

Yet the legend runs that Alfonso was compelled to undergo the indignity of a public examination, and a triple oath before the knights and nobles assembled at Burgos, to the effect that he had had no share in the murder of King Sancho; and the oath was administered by Ruy Diaz of Bivar, the companion in arms of the Castilian king, sometime the faithless enemy of Carrion, but now the acknowledged leader of the Castilian nobility.

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[1] According to another story, it was owing to the intercession of Urraca that he was allowed to go into banishment at Toledo. (Most of the chronicles make him escape to Moorish Toledo from the monastery into which, on the intercession of Urraca, he was permitted to retire.—H.).

[2] There is no evidence, says Mr. Ormsby, for this transaction except the ballads and the account in the *Cronica*, which is certainly taken from them. If there were any true historical foundation for the story, it would have been referred to in the *Genealogia* and the *Gesta*.

Alfonso of Leon may have forgiven the treachery in the field, but he never forgot the insult in the Council. He restrained his indignation, however, and was even induced by reasons of State to grant to the bold Castilian lord the hand of his cousin Ximena[1] in marriage, and to entrust him with the command of an expedition into Andalusia. But the royal favour was of brief duration; and in 1081 we find that Roderic, partly owing to the intrigues of Garcia Ordoñez, and partly to the enduring enmity of the king, was banished from the Christian dominions.

Of all the petty sovereignties that came into existence on the breaking up of the Ommeyad Caliphate of Cordova, that of Moctadir, the chief of the Ben-i-hud of Saragossa, was the most powerful in northern or central Spain; and at the Moslem court of Saragossa, Ruy Diaz with his fame and his followers, was warmly welcomed (1081) by Moctadir as a *Saïd* or *Cid*—a lord or leader of the Arabs.[2] He had been driven out of Castile by Alfonso. He found a home and honourable command at Saragossa. So long as he could make war upon his neighbours, all countries were alike to Roderic of Bivar. Nor was it long before his prowess brought honour and profit to Moctadir, or, rather, to his son and successor, Motamin.[3]

Ramon Berenguer III., Count of Barcelona, was engaged, like other Christian princes of his time, in chronic warfare with his Moslem neighbours; and Motamin, with his Castilian Cid, marching against the Catalans, defeated the Christians with great slaughter at Almenara, near Lerida, and brought Ramon Berenguer a prisoner to Saragossa (1081), where the victorious

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[1] July, 1074. Ximena Diaz—I maintain the old spelling—was a daughter of D. Diego Rodriguez of Oviedo, one of the leaders of the Leonese nobility. The story of the marriage of Ruy Diaz with Ximena Gormaz, the Chimène of Corneille, after having slain her father, D. Gomez de Gormaz, "Lozana," as the ballads call him, in single combat, is generally admitted at the present day to be apocryphal.

[2] Moctadir died within a few months of the engagement of the Cid, 1081.

[3] It is sufficiently remarkable that while Ruy Diaz has ever been known to Christian writers by his Arab title of the *Cid* (*Saïd*), he was spoken of by his Moslem contemporaries and chroniclers under his Spanish surname of the *Campeador* (*el Gánbitur*). The title Campeador, which may be translated Challenger, has nothing to do with the Latin Campus: but is derived from the Teutonic *Champh* = a single combat. The verb *Kamfjan* is equivalent to—to do battle; and Kamfjo, Anglo-Saxon *Cœmpa* = a gladiator, athlete or combatant. Hence the mediæval Latin words *campeare*, whence Latin *campeator*, and Spanish *Campeador*, a challenger; as David challenged Goliath to single combat in the face of two contending armies, according to a well-known oriental custom. The Arabic word for a *campeador* is *mobáriz*. See authorities cited by Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 65, 66, and id., pp. 254-257.

Cid was loaded with presents by the grateful Motamin, and invested with an authority in the kingdom subordinate only to that of the king himself. Two years later (1083) an expedition was undertaken by the Moslems under Roderic, against their Christian neighbours in Aragon. King Sancho Ramirez was completely defeated by the Castilian champion, who returned once more to Saragossa loaded with booty and renown. In 1084 the Cid seems to have paid a friendly visit to the court of Alfonso VI. But although he was apparently well received, he suspected treachery, and, returning to the court of the Moslem, once more took service under the delighted Motamin. His next campaign, undertaken in the following year, was not against any Christian power, but against the hostile Moslems of northern Valencia, and was crowned with the usual success. Motamin died in 1085, but the Cid remained in the service of his son and successor, Mostain, fighting against Christian and Moslem as occasion offered, partly for the King of Saragossa, but chiefly for the personal advantage of Ruy Diaz of Bivar. A stranger national hero it is hard to imagine! Nor were his subsequent proceedings in any degree less strange.

Al Mamun, the host and protector of Alfonso VI., had died in 1075, leaving his grandson, Cadir, to succeed him as sovereign of Toledo. Abdulaziz, the viceroy of the subject city of Valencia, took advantage of the weakness of the young prince to declare himself independent, and placing himself under the protection of the Christians, undertook to pay a large subsidy to Alfonso VI. in return for his recognition and support.[1] The subsidy was punctually paid, and, in spite of a present of no less than 100,000 pieces of gold handed over by Moctadir of Saragossa to Alfonso as the price of Valencia, Abdulaziz retained his hold of the city until his death in 1085. On this, numerous pretenders to the government immediately arose, including Moctadir of Saragossa, a purchaser for value, and the two sons of Abdulaziz; while Alfonso took advantage of the confusion that ensued to persuade Cadir to surrender Toledo, much coveted by the Christian king, and to accept, or more exactly to retain, for himself the sovereignty of Valencia, under the humiliating protection of Castile. Alfonso cared nothing that Toledo was the inheritance of his youthful ally, the home of his old protector, when he himself was a hunted refugee. He cared nothing that the Valencians were hostile to Cadir, and that powerful neighbours were prepared to dispute his possession. He cared nothing that Moctadir, who had actually purchased the city from Alfonso himself, was on the way to make good his claim. A treaty was forced upon Cadir by which Toledo was surrendered to Alfonso VI. (1085), and the Christian king was bound to place and maintain the unhappy prince in possession of his own subordinate city of Valencia.

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[1] Ibn Bassam, *MS. Gotha*, fol. 10, v.; *apud*, Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 124.

Toledo thus became the capital of Christian Spain; and the evicted sovereign, escorted by a large force of Castilian troops under Alvar Fanez,[1] made his sad and solemn entry into Valencia, despised at once by the citizens of Toledo, whom he had abandoned to the Christian sovereign, and by the citizens of Valencia, where his power was maintained by Christian lances. And costly indeed was this Christian maintenance. Six hundred pieces of gold are said to have been the daily allowance of the army of Castilian mercenaries; and the taxes that were necessitated by their presence only added to the unpopularity of the Government. Many of Cadir's Moslem subjects fled from the city; and their place was taken by his Christian supporters or pensioners, whose rapacity was, if possible, exceeded by their cruelty.[2] But the coming of the Almoravides from Africa gave a new turn to the fortunes of the city. Alvar Fanez and his knights were recalled by Alfonso, and after the defeat of the Christians at Zalaca near Badajoz in October 1086, Cadir found himself threatened with immediate expulsion by his own citizens, supported by Mondhir of Lerida, the uncle of Mostain of Saragossa. In this difficulty he once more sought the protection of Christian lances, and applied for aid to the Cid, who immediately advanced on Valencia.

An intriguer at all times and places, Roderic promised his support to Cadir in return for admission within the walls. He entered into a formal treaty with Mostain that the city should be his, if all the booty were handed over to the Campeador; and he sent envoys to Alfonso to assure him that in all these forays and alliances he thought only of the advantage of Christendom and the honour of Castile. Mondhir, overawed by the appearance of the allied army from Saragossa, hastily retired from before Valencia, where Mostain and his Christian *Saïd* were welcomed as deliverers by Cadir.

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[1] A cousin of the Cid; Fanez (contracted from Fernandez), not Fañez, as Duran, Damas-Hinard, and others write it. The word is always spelt in the poem with a single n, Fanez. The comparatively modern ñ, represents the older nn; and *señor*, *mañana*, etc., were formerly written *sennor*, *mannana*.

[2] Elles massacraient les hommes, violaient les femmes, et vendaient souvent un prisonnier Musulman pour un pain, pour un pot de vin, on pour une livre de poisson. Quand un prisonnier ne voulait, ou ne pouvait, payer rançon, elles lui coupaient la langue, lui crevaient les yeux, et le faisaient déchirer par des dogues. *Cronica General*, folio 315, col. 2; *apud* Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 130, 131. See also pp. 186-7, and 204-214.

But although the Cid imposed a tribute upon the unhappy Valencians, he failed to give over the city to Mostain, and assuring Cadir of his constant support, as long as a monthly allowance of 10,000 golden dinars was punctually paid,[1] he withdrew himself from the remonstrances of the disappointed Mostain—to whom he continued to protest his continued devotion—on the plea of a necessary visit to his Christian sovereign in Castile, to explain or excuse his position, and to engage some Castilian troops for his army. Mostain during his absence, perceiving that he could not count upon so versatile and so ambitious a *Saïd* in the matter of the handing over of Valencia, entered into an alliance with his old enemy, Ramon Berenguer, of Barcelona; and the Catalans had actually laid siege to the city when the return of the Cid induced them to abandon their trenches, and retire to Barcelona.

If the Cid was a hero of romance, he did not wield his sword without the most magnificent remuneration. At this period of his career (1089-92), in addition to the 80,000 golden pieces received from Ramon Berenguer, he is said to have drawn 50,000 from the son of Mondhir, 120,000 from Cadir of Valencia, 10,000 from Albarracin, 10,000 from Alpuente, 6000 from Murviedro, 6000 from Segorbe, 4000 from Jerica, and 3000 from Almenara.

With such an amount of personal tribute, the Cid cannot, says Lafuente, have been greatly inconvenienced by the action of Alfonso VI. in despoiling him of his estates. Supporting his army of 7000 chosen followers on the rich booty acquired in his daily forays upon eastern Spain, from Saragossa to Alicante;[2] regardless of Christian rights, but the special scourge of the Moslems; no longer a Saragossan general, but a private adventurer, the Cid could afford to quarrel at once with Mostain and with Alfonso, and to defy the combined forces of Mondhir and Ramon Berenguer.

The rivalry between the Cid and the Catalan was ever fierce in eastern Spain. The opposing armies met at Tebar

[1] *Cron. Gen.*, fol. 321, col. 2; *Gesta*, p. 26; Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 132-137.

[2] Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., pp. 134-141; Lafuente, iv., 402.

del Pinar in 1090, and although the Cid was wounded in the battle, his army was completely successful. Mondhir fled from the field; and Ramon Berenguer was once more a prisoner in the hands of Roderic. Nor was the Christian Count released from a confinement more harsh than was generous or necessary, until he had given good security for the payment of the enormous ransom of 80,000 marcs of gold.[1]

It is not easy, nor would it be fruitful, to follow the various movements of the Cid at this period of his career. His quarrels and his intrigues with Alfonso of Castile, with Cadir of Valencia, with the various parties at the court of Saragossa, with Ramon Berenguer at Barcelona, and even with the Genoese and Pisans, are neither easy nor interesting to follow. But his principal objective was the rich city of Valencia. Alfonso of Leon, ever jealous of his great and most independent subject, resolved to thwart him in his design; and having secured the co-operation of the Pisans and Genoese, who had arrived with a fleet of 400 vessels to assist the Cid, the king took advantage of the absence of his rival on some foray to the north of Saragossa, to advance upon Valencia, and to push forward his operations to the very walls of the city. Ruy Diaz *riposted* after his fashion.

Leaving the Valencians to make good the defence of their own city, he carried fire and sword into Alfonso's peaceful dominions of Najera and Calahorra, destroying all the towns, burning all the crops, slaughtering the Christian inhabitants; and razing the important city of Logroño to the ground. This savagery was completely successful, and met with no reproach. The Cid is one of those fortunate heroes to whom all things are permitted. His excesses are forgotten; his independence admired; his boldness and his success are alone remembered. Alfonso, thus rudely summoned to the north of the Peninsula, abruptly raised the siege of Valencia, and left his Genoese and Pisan allies to make the best of their way back to Italy.

Nor was the king's action at Valencia without a favourable influence upon the fortunes of the Cid. Far from wresting the city from the grasp of Roderic, Alfonso had rather precipitated the crisis which was ultimately to lead to his triumphal entry as the independent ruler of the city. Cadir was murdered by a hostile faction within the walls: and the Cid, advancing with his usual prudence, spent some time in possessing himself of the suburbs and the approaches to the city, before the siege was commenced in good earnest, in July, 1093.

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[1] Yet when the money was not forthcoming, the Cid showed his generosity by remitting the amount of the ransom and allowing his noble prisoner to go free, after a friendly meal in his company. *Gesta, apud* Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., ii., p. 144.

The operations were carried on in the most ferocious fashion by the attacking force. Roderic burned his prisoners alive from day to day within the sight of the walls, or caused them to be torn in pieces by his dogs under the very eyes of their fellow-townsmen.[1]

The blockaded city was soon a prey to the utmost horrors of famine. Negotiation was fruitless. Succour came not. Neither Christian nor Moslem, neither Alfonso the Castilian, nor Yussuf the Almoravide, nor Mostain of Saragossa, appearing to defend or to relieve the city, Valencia capitulated on the 15th of June, 1094.

The Moslem commander, Iban Jahaf, was burnt alive. The Moslem inhabitants were treated with scant consideration, and the Cid, as might have been supposed, proclaimed himself sovereign of Valencia, independent of either Christian Alfonso or Moorish Mostain; and at Valencia he lived and reigned until the day of his death, but five years afterwards, in 1099. His rule was often threatened by the Almoravides; but as long as the champion lived they could effect no entry within the walls of his city.

For full three years after his death, moreover, his widow Ximena, and his cousin Alvar Fanez, maintained a precarious sovereignty at Valencia. At length, unsupported by Alfonso of Leon, and unable to stand alone in the midst of the Moslems, they retired to Burgos, carrying with them the body of the Cid embalmed in precious spices, borne, as of old, on his faithful steed Babieca, to its last resting place in Castile. Valencia was immediately occupied by the Almoravides, and became once more a Moslem stronghold; nor did it finally pass into Christian hands until it was taken by James I. of Aragon in 1238. The Cid was buried in the monastery of Cardeña,[2] near Burgos; and the body of his heroic wife, Doña Ximena, who died in 1104, was laid by his side in the tomb.

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[1] Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 130, 131, and 186, 187.

[2] The bones of the Cid were removed from San Pedro de Cardeña in 1842 to the Casa del Ayuntamiento or Town Hall of Burgos, where they may now be seen.

The legend of the marriage of the Cid's daughters with the Infantes of Carrion, of their desertion, and of the vengeance of the Cid upon their unworthy husbands, is undoubtedly an invention of the Castilian minstrels.

The legend of the death of the Cid's son at the battle of Consuegra is also fallacious. There is no evidence that a son was ever born to him at all. But he had undoubtedly two daughters, one of whom, Christina, married Ramiro, Infante of Navarre, and the other, Maria, became the Countess of Ramon Berenguer III. of Barcelona.[1] The issue of Ramon

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[1] Neither Masdeu nor Dunham are inclined to admit that the Cid is in any sense an historic personage, and doubt whether such a man ever existed at all. See Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 70-81. Considering the faith that both these authors have shown in many other directions, this scepticism is all the more remarkable.

The authorities for the life of the Cid are the fourth book of the *Cronica General* of Spain, the work of Alfonso X., which follows partly the Latin chronicles of Lucas of Tuy and Roderic of Toledo; the *Cronica del Cid*, a corrected and slightly expanded edition of the fourth book of the *Cronica General;* the *Cronica Rimada*, which may perhaps hardly count as an authority, being an inferior metrical composition of doubtful date, dealing chiefly with the apocryphal invasion of France; the *Gesta* or *Historia Roderici Didaci campidocti*, certainly older than 1238, and published in 1792 in Manuel Risco's *La Castilla y el mas famoso Castellano* (Madrid, 1792), together with the Santiago *Genealogia* and the original marriage settlement of Roderic, in Latin, 1074, the most entirely authentic document bearing upon the life of the Cid; and, lastly, an anonymous poem in 3744 lines, treating of his life only after his banishment, and entitled *The Poem of the Cid*, based partly upon an Arab contemporary original now lost. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 38-60. See also *Cronica del famoso caballero el Cid Ruy Diaz Campeador*, Medina del Campo, 1552, and a different text, with a separate *Genealogia* (Burgos, 1593). Also D. Malo de Molina, *Rodrigo el campeador* (Madrid, 1857).

The edition of the *Poem of the Cid*, with an introduction and a translation by M. Damas-Hinard, in 1859, is a sumptuous but somewhat inaccurate publication. The latest work of any value on the subject is John Ormsby's scholarly and most trustworthy little volume, *The Cid* (London, 1879), to which, as to the author himself, I am under many obligations as regards this chapter. See also John Ormsby's article, *Cid*, in vol. iii. of Chamber's *Encyclopædia*. But the most interesting modern discovery, and one that has greatly modified all previous, conceptions of the character of the Cid, is that made by M. Dozy at Gotha in 1844 in the fragment of the Dhákira of Ibn Bassam, written at Seville, A.D. 1109 (503 Hijrah), that is to say, ten years only after the death of the Cid. Finally, M. Dozy's own work, *Recherches*, tom. ii. *passim*, a masterpiece of erudite and painstaking criticism, has been my constant and valued guide in the preparation of this chapter, and is frequently referred to in the footnotes.

The best collection of ancient Spanish ballads is certainly the *Primavera y Flor de Romances* of Wolf and Hofmann (Berlin, 1856). But the thirty-nine *Ballads of the Cid* therein contained tell us very little of the life of the hero, and treat chiefly of his early life, his duel with the insulter of his father, and his marriage with Doña Ximena, which is the foundation of Corneille's drama. Dr. Döllinger speaks of him as a "faithless and cruel freebooter". See *Conversations*, etc. (ed. Miss Warre), 1890, pp. 247-8.

His career, perhaps, cannot better be summed up than in the words of an Arab contemporary and a foe—Ibn Bassam of Seville—"A Gallician dog, one Roderic, surnamed the *Canbitur* (Campeador) the scourge of the country, raised by the Beni Hud out of obscurity. They delivered over to him divers provinces of

Berenguer III. was a daughter who died childless, but a granddaughter of Ramiro of Navarre married Sancho III. of Castile, whose son Alfonso VIII., was the grandfather both of St. Ferdinand and of St. Louis. And thus in a double stream, through the royal houses of Spain and of France, the blood of the Cid is found to flow in the veins of His Majesty Alfonso XIII., the reigning King of Spain.

II.

To understand or appreciate the position that is occupied by the Cid in Spanish history is at the present day supremely difficult. A mediæval *condottiere* in the service of the Moslem, after he had fought with perfect impartiality against Moor or Christian to fill his own coffers: banished as a traitor by his Castilian sovereign, and constantly leading the forces of the infidel, against Aragon, against Catalonia, and even against Castile, he has become the national hero of Spain. Warring against the Moslem of Valencia, whom he pitilessly despoiled, with the aid of the Moslem of Saragossa, whose cause he cynically betrayed, while he yet owned a nominal allegiance to Alfonso of Castile, whose territories he was pitilessly ravaging; retaining conquered Valencia for his personal and private advantage, in despite of Moslem or Christian kings, he has become the type of Christian loyalty and Christian chivalry in Europe. Avaricious, faithless, cruel and bold, a true soldier of fortune, the Cid still maintains a reputation which is one of the enigmas of history.

The three favourites of mediæval Spanish romance, says Señor Lafuente, Bernardo del Carpio, Fernan Gonzalez, and the Cid, have this at least in common, that they were all at war with their lawful sovereigns, and fought their battles independently of the Crown. Hence their popularity in Spain. The Castilians of the Middle Ages were so devoted to their independence, so proud of their *Fueros*, such admirers of personal prowess, that they were disposed to welcome with national admiration those heroes who sprang from the people, and who defied and were ill-treated by their kings.

the Peninsula, so that he overran the plains like a conqueror, and planted his banner in the fairest cities. His power grew very great, nor was there any district that he did not ravage. Nevertheless this man, the scourge of his time, was in his love of glory, strength of character, and heroic courage, one of the marvels of the Lord." *Apud* John Ormsby in Chamb. *Ency.*, sub. tit.—CID.

The theory is both ingenious and just, yet it by no means solves the difficulty, Ruy Diaz of Bivar, who was one of the proudest nobles of Castile, can scarcely be said to have sprung from the people, nor do we clearly perceive why his long service under Moslem kings, even though he was a rebel against his own sovereign, should have endeared him to the Christian Spaniards, however independent or however democratic. Yet we may learn at least from the character of the hero, ideal though it be, that the mediæval Castilians were no bigots, and that they were slaves neither to their kings nor to their clergy.

The people of Aragon no doubt held their king in a more distinctly constitutional subjection. No Castilian chief justice was found to call the sovereign to order: no privilege of union legalised a popular war in defence of popular liberties. But Roderic took the place of the justiciary in legend, if not in history, when he administered the oath to Alfonso at Burgos; and he invested himself with the privilege of warring against an aggressive king, when he routed Alfonso's forces, and burned his cities, to requite him for his attack upon Valencia.

It is this rebellious boldness which contributed no doubt very largely to endear the Cid to his contemporaries. It is one of the most constant characteristics of his career; one of the features that is portrayed with equal clearness by the chroniclers and the ballad makers of Spain.[1] For the Cid is essentially a popular hero. His legendary presentment is a kind of poetic protest against arbitrary regal power. The Cid ballads are a pæan of triumphant democracy. The ideal Cid no doubt was evolved in the course of the twelfth century; and by the end of the fifteenth century, when the rule of kings and priests had become harder and heavier in Spain, an enslaved people looked back with an envious national pride to the Castilian hero who personified the freedom of bygone days.

The Cid is the only knight-errant that has survived the polished satire of Cervantes. For his fame was neither literary nor aristocratic; but like the early Spanish proverbs, in which it is said he took so great a delight, it was embedded deep in the hearts of the people.[2] And although the memory of his religious indifference may not have added to his popularity in the sixteenth century in Spain, it is a part of his character which must be taken into account in gauging the public opinion of earlier days.

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[1] John Ormsby (*The Poem of the Cid*, Introd., p. 41), also speaks of the anti-royalist spirit that pervades the Cid ballads as a whole, and of their tendency to make the Cid a mouthpiece for democratic sentiments.

[2] *Mas Moros mas ganancia*, "The more the Moors, the greater the booty," was one of his sayings, and it has passed into a well-known national proverb.

From the close of the eighth century to the close of the fifteenth, the Spanish people, Castilians and Aragonese, were if anything less bigoted than the rest of Europe. The influence of their neighbours the Moors, and of their Arab toleration, could not be without its effect upon a people naturally free, independent[1] and self-reliant, and the Cid, who was certainly troubled with no religious scruples in the course of his varied career, and who, according to a popular legend, affronted and threatened the Pope on his throne in St. Peter's, on account of some fancied slight,[2] could never have been the hero of a nation of bigots. The degenerate Visigoths from the time of Reccared the Catholic, to the time of Roderic the Vanquished could never have produced a Cid. Yet, even in the dark days of Erwig and Egica, there was found a Julian, who boldly maintained a national independence against the pretensions of the Pope of Rome. For 1000 years after the landing of St. Paul—if, indeed, he ever landed upon the coast—the Spanish Church was, perhaps, the most independent in Europe. The royal submission to the Papal authority, first by Sancho I. of Aragon, in 1071, and afterwards by Alfonso VI. of Leon, in 1085, in the matter of the Romish Ritual, was distinctly unpopular. Peter II. found no lack of recruits for the army that he led against the Papal troops in Languedoc, and King James I., the most popular of the kings of Aragon, cut out the tongue of a meddlesome bishop who had presumed to interfere in his private affairs (1246). It was not until the Inquisition was forced upon United Spain by Isabella the Catholic, and the national lust for the plunder of strangers was aroused by the destruction of Granada, that the Spaniard became a destroyer of heretics. It was not until the spoliation and the banishment of Jews and Moriscos, and the opening of a new world of heathen treasure on the discovery of America, that the Castilian, who had always been independent himself, became intolerant of the independence of others. Then, indeed, he added the cruelty of the priest to the cruelty of the soldier, and wrapping himself in the cloak of a proud and uncompromising national orthodoxy, became the most ferocious bigot in two unhappy worlds.[1]

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[1] This I take to be the true meaning of Strabo's *αὐθάδεια*, so strangely mistranslated moroseness. See Strabo (Bohn's ed.), lib. iii., 4, 5.

[2] Having kicked to pieces the splendid furniture and beaten the Papal chamberlain, he proceeded to threaten to caparison his horse with the rich hangings of the chapel, if the Pope refused him instant Absolution!

> Si no me absolveis, el Papa,
> Seriaos mal contado
> Que de vuestras ricas ropas
> Cubriré yo mi caballo!
>
> —Wolf and Hofmann, *Cid Ballads*, viii.

The story, says Ormsby, is in reality that of the Count of Cifuentes, who in the time of Henry IV. at the Council of Basle treated the English envoy in the same manner. The story was obviously transferred to the Cid at the time when ballad-manufacture became the rage, in the time of Sepulveda.

But in the beginning it was not so. And if the Cid could possibly have been annoyed by Torquemada, his knights would have hung up the inquisitor on the nearest tree. No priests' man, in good sooth, was Roderic of Bivar, nor, save in that he was a brave and determined soldier, had the great Castilian free lance anything in common with the more conventional heroes of United Spain.

If history affords no reasonable explanation of his unrivalled renown beyond that which has already been suggested, we find but little in the early poetry to assist us. The Cid ballads impress us "more by their number than their light". They are neither very interesting in themselves, nor are they even very suggestive. Only thirty-seven ballads are considered by Huber to be older than the sixteenth century. *La plupart de ces romances*, says M. Dozy, *accusent leur origine moderne ;* and according to John Ormsby they do but little towards the illustration of the Cid, either us a picturesque hero of romance or as a characteristic feature of mediæval history.[2]

The great French dramatist scarcely touches the true history of his hero. The scene of the play is laid at Seville, where no Christian king set his foot for 150 years after the death of

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[1] It may be added that however bigoted and intolerant the sovereigns of Spain became after Isabella the Catholic, their motives in the main were political rather than religious, and that full of lip submission as they sometimes were to Rome for their own ends, the struggle to emancipate the Spanish Church from the control of the Pontiff went on without interruption. For many instances of this see "Spain: its Greatness and Decay, 1479-1788," by the writer of this note, and also the "Chronica del Emperador Alfonso VII.," by Prudencio de Sandoval.—H.

[2] To any one about to write a history of morals, the *Poem of the Cid* may be recommended as a curious study, illustrating the peculiar ethics of the Middle Ages. The poet who boasts that no perfidy was ever found in his hero, represents him as pledging for 600 marks, two chests, well weighted with sand, which he declared to be filled with gold. He lamented, no doubt, the necessity which drove him to it, but he never troubles himself about repaying his swindled creditors. John Ormsby, *The Poem of the Cid*, Introduction, p. 44.

Roderic. The title which he accepted from his employer Mostain of Saragossa, is said to have been granted by Alfonso of Leon, after the capture of two imaginary Moorish kings, unknown to history, in an impossible battle on the banks of the Guadalquivir, which was never seen by the Cid. The whole action of the play turns upon the moral and psychological difficulties arising from the purely legendary incident of the killing of *Chimène's* father by her lover, avenging an insult offered to his own sire, and of the somewhat artificial indignation of the lady, until she is appeased by a slaughter of Moors. Corneille's drama abounds in noble sentiments expressed in most admirable verse; but it does not assist us to understand the character of the Cid, nor the reasons of his popularity in his own or in any other country. But certain at least it is that from the earliest times the story of his life and his career took a strong hold upon the popular imagination in Spain, and his virtues and his vices, little as they may seem to us to warrant the popular admiration, were understood and appreciated in the age in which he lived, an age of force and fraud, of domestic treason and foreign treachery, when religion preached little but battle and murder, and patriotism was but a pretext for plunder and rapine. Admired thus, even in his lifetime, as a gallant soldier, an independent chieftain, and an ever successful general, fearless, dexterous, and strong, his free career became a favourite theme with the *jongleurs* and *troubadours* of the next generation; and from the Cid of history was evolved a Cid of legendary song.[1]

It is most difficult at the present day to know exactly where serious history ends and where poetry and legend begin. Yet the Cid as represented to us by M. Dozy, one of the most acute of modern investigators of historic truth, is not so very different from the Cid represented by Southey, or even by earlier and less critical poets, but that we may form a reasonable estimate, from what is common to both history and tradition, of what manner of man he was. The Cid of the twelfth century legends, indeed, though he may be more marvellous, is by no means more moral than the Cid of history. It was reserved for the superior refinement of succeeding generations, and more especially for the anonymous author of the poem of the thirteenth century, to evolve a hero of a gentler and nobler mould; a creature conforming to a higher ideal of knightly perfection. From this time forward we have a glorified Cid, whose adventures are no more historically false, perhaps, than those of the unscrupulous and magnificent Paladin of the legends and romances of the twelfth century, but whose character possesses all the dignity and all the glory with which he could be invested by a generous mediæval imagination. And it is this refined and idealised hero; idealised, yet most real; refined, yet eminently human, that has been worshipped by nineteen generations of Spaniards as the national hero of Spain.

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[1] And as new ballads were ever demanded on the ever favourite theme, the romancers drew upon their well-trained imaginations for new facts, and they treated the Cid precisely as they had treated Charlemagne. As they invented the journey to Jerusalem, the expedition to Gallicia, the bridge of Mantible, and the Emir Balan for the greater glory of the emperor, so they made Ruy Diaz cut off the head of Count Gormaz, and marry his daughter; they devised an invasion of France, and a victorious entry into Paris! They made the Spanish champion defy the Emperor Henry, and beard the Pope at Rome! John Ormsby, in Chamber's *Encyclopædia*, *s.v.*, CID.

Ruy Diaz—as he lived and died—was probably no worse a man than any of his neighbours. Far better than many of them he was, and undoubtedly bolder and stronger, more capable, more adroit, and more successful.

Seven of the Christian princes of Spain at this period fell in battle warring against their own near relations, or were assassinated by them in cold blood. Garcia of Castile was slain by the sword of the Velas. Bermudo III. of Leon and Garcia Sanchez of Navarre died fighting against their brother, Ferdinand of Castile. Sancho II. of Castile was assassinated by order of his sister Urraca, besieged by him in her city of Zamora. Among the Christian kings of the century immediately before him, Garcia of Gallicia was strangled in prison by the hands of his brothers, Sancho and Alfonso; Sancho Garcia of Navarre was assassinated by his brother Ramon, at Peñalva; Ramon Berenguer II. of Barcelona died by the dagger of his brother Berenguer Ramon; Sancho the Fat, in 967, was poisoned at a friendly repast by Gonzalo Sanchez; Ruy Velasquez of Castile, in 986, murdered his seven nephews, the unfortunate Infantes de Lara;[1] Sancho of Castile, in 1010, poisoned his mother, who had endeavoured to poison him. At the wedding festivities at Leon, in 1026, Garcia, Count of Castile, was assassinated at the church door, and the murderers were promptly burned alive by his friends; Garcia of Navarre, in 1030, as an incident in a family dispute about a horse, accused his mother of adultery. Such was the standard of the eleventh century in the north of the Peninsula.

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[1] Mariana, viii., 4, 6, 9, 10.

To judge the Cid, even as we now know him, according to any code of modern ethics, is supremely unreasonable. To be sure, even now, that we know him as he was, is supremely presumptuous. But that Ruy Diaz was a great man, and a great leader of men, a knight who would have shocked modern poets, and a free lance who would have laughed at modern heroes, we can have no manner of doubt. That he satisfied his contemporaries and himself; that he slew Moors and Christians as occasion required, with equal vigour and absolute impartiality; that he bearded the King of Castile and Leon in his Christian Council, and that he cozened the King of Saragossa at the head of his Moslem army; that he rode the best horse and brandished the best blade in Spain; that his armies never wanted for valiant soldiers, nor his coffers for gold pieces; that he lived my Lord the Challenger, the terror of every foe, and that he died rich and respected in the noble city that had fallen to his knightly spear—of all this at least we are certain: and, if the tale is displeasing to our nineteenth century refinement, we must be content to believe that it satisfied the aspirations of mediæval Spain.

CHAPTER XIX.

AVERROËS.

I.—*The Almoravides.*

(1086—1149.)

For ninety years after the death of Almanzor, *Andalus* remained without a master. The Cid was the only national champion, Alfonso was the only national sovereign, in the Peninsula. The strong and generous hand of the Arab ruler no longer held together the discordant elements of Moslem Spain.

The long reign of the last Abdur Rahman had been one of the most brilliant periods in Spanish, or, indeed, in European history. But the very completeness of the success of the greatest of the western Caliphs had in it the seeds of future dissolution. The strength and the weakness of the political system of Islam was alike made manifest under his government. So beneficial and so enlightened a despot—terrible from his absolute power, admirable from his noble designs, beloved from his personal liberality—could brook no rival near his throne in his lifetime, and could find no successor to carry on his splendid government at his death. *An Nasir,* moreover, who was rather the maker than the inheritor of the Caliphate, had but little confidence in the loyalty of the old Arab aristocracy, and he preferred, like Louis XI. of France, or Ferdinand of Aragon in later days, to select his agents from among men of humble birth, whose advancement should depend upon his royal favour alone. Thus, at the end of his fifty years of government, he had well-nigh destroyed the power of the old *Saracen* nobility. No great minister had been permitted to share with the sovereign the burden or the glory of the administration; and the Caliph had been served by irresponsible subordinates, by those Berbers who are usually spoken of as Moors from Africa, by renegades and slaves and foreigners of every nation, Franks, Gallicians, Lombards, Venetians, and even Greeks, who were known by the general name of *Slavs*.[1] For a commonwealth thus administered, nothing was possible, on the death of the legitimate autocrat, Abdur Rahman, but the upstart autocrat, Almanzor: and after Almanzor—anarchy.

Twenty independent and hostile dynasties rose upon the ruins of the great Caliphate, and each one of them was vexed by rivals, by rebels and by pretenders.[2] Had the Cid been born thirty years sooner, or had the Christian kings and nobles been less completely occupied in cutting one another's throats, the Arab might have been driven out of southern Spain before William of Normandy marched on London from Hastings. Yet as it was, by the year 1086, the Cid Campeador was at the gates of Valencia; Alfonso ruled in the citadel at Toledo; and the Moslem chiefs or kings of Andalusia, fearing for their common safety, were fain to turn their eyes once more across the Straits of Gibraltar to seek a common defender.

Far away in the deserts of Africa, on the slopes of the Atlas Mountains, the defender was found in Yusuf, the bold leader of the Puritan soldiers of Islam, the Berber chief of the terrible *Almoravides*.[3] Invited by Motamid of Seville to assist him in his struggle against the Christians, Yusuf crossed over into Spain, and meeting Alfonso VI. at Zalaca near Badajoz, on the 23rd of October, 1086, he routed him with great and historic slaughter. Alfonso escaped with his life,[1] but his army was destroyed; and the victorious Berbers entered and garrisoned Cordova.

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[1] Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 58-60; S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

[2] Yet a great deal of the culture of Cordova was found at some of these little courts. C'est un spectacle charmant, says M. Renan (*Mélanges*, p. 284), celui de ces petites Cours d'Espagne qui succédèrent au démembrement du califat de Cordoue, vraies académies ou présidait une famille patricienne. And according to M. Dozy (*Essai*, etc., ed. 1879, pp. 357, 358), le morcellement de l'Espagne en béaucoup de petits royaumes aprés la chute des Ommiades fut très favorable à l'étude de la philosophie. La plupart des princes qui se rendirent maîtres des différentes provinces étaient fort avancés dans la civilisation: ils protégeaient les arts et les sciences et ne souffraient point qu'on opprimât la conscience.

One of the last of the great pure-blooded Arabs of Spain was Ibn Abbas, the Grand Vizier of the accomplished Zohair of Almeria. At thirty years of age he is said to have accumulated a library of 400,000 MSS. He was killed by some rude and envious Berbers in 1038. See Dozy, *Hist.*, tom. iv., 35.

[3] *Almoravides*, or religious soldiers, is a word of similar origin to *Marabout*, which signifies, according to Littré (*Dict. s.v.*), one who is *bound* to a holy life, as in the Latin *religio*.

From the Arabic root *r.b.t.*, to bind, we have many words of this character, such as *Râbit* = a hermitage or a convent; *Rebâta* = monks; *Murabit* = one bound in a military sense. Thus the dual character of these religious warriors from Africa is fairly conveyed or suggested in the word *Almoravides*, whose exact meaning and origin appears to have puzzled many commentators and critics. See F. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland*, tom. ii., p. 614.

The traditional Arab view of the etymology may be found in the work (*Raudh-al-Kartás*) of the Arab historian, Ibn Abu Zar of Fez. See the edition with Latin translation by C. J. Tornberg (*Annales regum Mauritaniæ*), Upsala, 1843, p. 107; also the French translation by A. Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 171. I am indebted for the reference to my friend, Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum.

Yusuf had come as a Moslem defender, but he remained as a Moslem master. And once more in Spanish history, the over-powerful ally turned his victorious arms against those who had welcomed him to their shores. Yet Yusuf was no vulgar traitor. He had sworn to the envoys of the Spanish Moslems that he would return to Africa, in the event of victory, without the annexation to his African empire of a field or a city to the north of the Straits. And his vow was religiously kept. Retiring empty-handed to Mauretania, after the great battle at Zalaca, he returned once more to Spain, unfettered on this new expedition by any vow, and set to work with his usual vigour to make himself master of the Peninsula.[2] Tarifa fell in December. The next year saw the capture of Seville, and of all of the principal cities of Andalusia. An army sent by Alfonso VI., under his famous captain, Alvar Fanez, was completely defeated, and all southern Spain lay at the feet of the Berber, save only Valencia, which remained impregnable so long as the Cid lived to direct the defence. In 1102, after the hero's death, Valencia succumbed, and all Spain to the south[3] of the Tagus became a province of the great African empire of the Almoravides.

The rule of these hardy bigots was entirely unlike that of the Ommeyad Caliphs of the West. Moslem Spain had no longer even an independent existence. The sovereign resided not at Cordova, but at Morocco. The poets and musicians were banished from court. The beauties of *Az Zahra* were forgotten. Jews and Christians were alike persecuted. The kingdom was governed with an iron hand. But if the rule of the stranger was not generous, it was just, and for the moment it possessed the crowning merit that it was efficient. The laws were once more respected. The people once more dreamed of wealth and happiness. But it was little more than a dream.

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[1] Gayangos, vol. ii., lib. iii., chap. vi.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., lib. vii. But see Lafuente, iv., 373, and Stanley Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[3] And in the north-east as far as Saragossa. Yet Toledo defied their attacks.

On the death of Yusuf in 1107, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son Ali, a more sympathetic but a far less powerful ruler. In 1118 the great city of Saragossa, the last bulwark of Islam in the north of the Peninsula, was taken by Alfonso I. of Aragon, who carried his victorious arms into southern Spain, and fulfilled a rash vow by eating a dinner of fresh fish on the coast of Granada.

II.—*The Almohades.*

(1149—1235.)

Yet it was by no Christian hand that the Empire of the Almoravides was to be overthrown.

Mohammed Ibn Abdullah, a lamplighter in the mosque at Cordova, had made his way to remote Bagdad to study at the feet of Abu Hamid Algazali, a celebrated doctor of Moslem law. The strange adventures, so characteristic of his age and nation, by which the lowly student became a religious reformer —a *Mahdi*—and a conqueror in Africa, and at length overthrew the Almoravides, both to the north and the south of the Straits of Gibraltar, forms a most curious chapter in the history of Islam; but in a brief sketch of the fortunes of mediæval Spain, it must suffice to say that having established his religious and military power among the Berber tribes of Africa, Ibn Abdullah,[1] the *Mahdi*, landed at Algeciras in 1145, and possessed himself in less than four years of Malaga, Seville, Granada and Cordova. The Empire of the *Almoravides* was completely destroyed; and before the close of the year 1149, all Moslem Spain acknowledged the supremacy of the *Almohades*.[2]

These more sturdy fanatics were still African rather than Spanish sovereigns. Moslem Spain was administered by a *Vali* deputed from Morocco; and Cordova, shorn of much of its former splendour, was the occasional abode of a royal visitor from Barbary. For seventy years the Almohades retained their position in Spain. But their rule was not of glory but of decay. One high feat of arms indeed shed a dying lustre on the name of the Berber prince who reigned for fifteen years [1184-1199] under the auspicious title of Almanzor, and his great Moslem victory over Alfonso III. at Alarcon in 1195, revived for the time the drooping fortunes of the *Almohades*. But their empire was already doomed, decaying, disintegrated, wasting away. And at length the terrible defeat of the Moslem forces by the united armies of the three Christian kings[1] at the *Navas de Tolosa* in 1212, at once the most crushing and the most authentic of all the Christian victories of mediæval Spain, gave a final and deadly blow to the Mohammedan dominion in the Peninsula. Within a few years of that celebrated battle, one province alone was subject to the rule of Islam. And the history of the kingdom of GRANADA, the noble remnant of a yet more noble empire, is all that remains to be written of the glorious and romantic annals of the Moslem in Spain.

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[1] Gayangos, vol. ii., p. 521.

[2] Almohades = Unitarians; from *Wáhid* = One, *i.e.*, the people of the One (God).

The Almohades were not actually driven out of the Peninsula until 1235, and then not by the Christians, but by the Moslem rulers of the various cities and districts of southern Spain. From 1235 to 1238 an Arab leader, Ibn Hud by name, maintained a doubtful empire in the Peninsula; but in the latter year he too was driven out, to join the Almohades in their native Africa; and the most important Moslem chief left in Andalusia was Mohammed al Ahmar of Granada. Between 1238 and 1260, Ferdinand III. of Castile, and James I. of Aragon, conquered the cities and districts of Valencia, Murcia, Seville and Cordova, as is more particularly set forth in the history of those Christian kings; and Granada was content to purchase peace and independence at the price of an annual tribute.

III.—*The Learning of Cordova.*

(820—1200.)

If the annals of the Spanish *Almohades* are undistinguished by territorial acquisitions, or noble feats of arms, they are illumined by one great name, the last and the most celebrated of the Arab philosophers of the West. From the time of Archimedes to the time of Roger Bacon, full 1500 years, science slumbered in Europe. And if the English friar was, perhaps, the greatest and boldest speculator among the scientific pioneers of the thirteenth century, the names of Raymond Lull in

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[1] Alfonso of Castile; Sancho of Navarre; and boldest perhaps of all, Peter II. of Aragon.

Aragon, and Alfonso the Learned in Castile, show Spain in the van of European progress and modern discovery. But long years before the coming of Alfonso or of Raymond, Spain was already preparing the way for the great revival.

The encouragement that was given by the Caliphs at Cordova to men of science, and learning of every kind, the studies of Hisham, the liberality of Abdur Rahman, the richly endowed colleges and universities of Moslem Spain; all these things made Cordova the home of the philosophers, the students, and the experimentalists of mediæval Europe. Almanzor, *batallador* as he was, and *conquistador*, was a collector of books and a patron of bookmen; and even the political anarchy that followed on his death, did not immediately drive away the philosophers from Cordova. It was chiefly, if not entirely by the great Moslem doctors of Arab Spain—even when the political glory of the Caliphate had wholly departed—that after twelve centuries of darkness, the ancient learning was once more brought before the Christian world, and speculation was awakened in mediæval Europe; until at length knowledge was triumphant at the Renaissance, and thought was made free at the Reformation.

And thus it was that in Spain, whose history is associated in men's minds rather with a narrow and intolerant ecclesiasticism,[1] the lamp of learning was kept alight, even in the darkest ages of Papal oppression and Italian ignorance. For within less than half a century from the day that Hildehand triumphed at Canossa, Averroës was born at Cordova.

The immediate successor of Avempace[2] of Saragossa, the friend of Abenzoar of Seville, the disciple of Abubacer of Cordova, Averroës is accounted the greatest doctor of science and philosophy of Moslem Spain—in that he has had the greatest influence upon the world at large; yet he was but prince among many learned peers in the Arab schools at Cordova.

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[1] Yet the honour of first seeking to diffuse the superior learning of the Arabs among their Christian contemporaries is due to a Spanish archbishop, Raymond, *Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Chancellor of Castile*, 1130 to 1150. Renan, *Averroës et L'Averroisme*, p. 201. (As the author has pointed out in a previous page, this narrow and intolerant ecclesiasticism, which was adopted for purely political ends, did not become characteristic of Spain until centuries after the period at present under discussion.—H.)

[2] *Avempace* is the conventional name for Abu Bekr Ibn Yahya, surnamed Ibn Bâja (1080-1138), *Abenzoar* is Ibn Zohr (1072-1162), *Abubacer* is Ibn Tufail, who died in A.H. 581 (A.D. 1185-86).

The studies of Averroës were, no doubt, largely influenced by the writings of *Abu Ali Ibn Sinâ* (Avicenna) who preceded him by a century and a half (980-1037).

High among those forgotten worthies, stands the name of Hasan Ibn Haithem, more commonly known in the West as Al Hazen, a man who was probably born in Spain, and who certainly lived and studied at Cordova in the early years of the eleventh century.[1] Over two hundred years before the time of Roger Bacon, the Christian student who suffered persecution and actual imprisonment for the novelty of his scientific discoveries (1280-1290), Al Hazen lived too late for the patronage of Abdur Rahman or of Almanzor, yet too early for the appreciation of Christian Europe. But his works remained, and his discoveries smoothed the path of future students, ungrateful, without doubt, to the Moslem who went before them; ignorant, perhaps, of the great debt that science owed to the liberality of Islam. His explanation of the physical marvels of the human vision are no less remarkable than his discoveries with regard to the properties of light; his demonstration of the nature of the atmosphere, and his bold but accurate theories of optics,[2] of astronomy, and of physical science generally; while his theory of gravitation was only modified after a lapse of nearly five hundred years by the more splendid genius of Newton.

Abu Bekr Mohammed Ibn Jahya, surnamed Ibn Badja, or the son of the goldsmith, corrupted by the Christians into *Avempace*, was born at Saragossa about the time of the invasion of the Almoravides. By profession a doctor of medicine, but a poet, a musician, a mathematician, an astronomer; his reputation as a metaphysician extended not only into Christian Spain, but into all parts of Christian Europe. Yet the fame of Avempace might have perished like that of so many of his fellow-students, had it not been for the criticisms upon his philosophy in general, and more especially upon his work entitled *The Conduct of the Solitary*, that were published by his greater successor, Averroës.[1]

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[1] See Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*, and Bailley, *Astronomie Moderne*, tom. vi., p. 20. Al Hazen's *Optics* and his *Treatise on Twilight*, were published in a Latin translation by Frederic Risner in 1572. The *De Crepusculis* was translated by Gerardus of Cremona. The translator of the *Optica* is uncertain. (There were two contemporary Arab writers of the same name at this time, between whom much confusion exists, namely Ibn al Haithem of Cordova who died in 1063, and Ibn al Haithem of Basrah who died at Cairo in 1038. The writings above mentioned were in all probability the work of the latter, who had apparently no connection with Spain.—H.)

[2] In a book called the *Balance of Wisdom*, sometimes attributed to Al Hazen, the writer discusses those general dynamical principles—supposed to be the monopoly of modern science. He describes minutely the connection between the weight and density of the atmosphere, and how material objects vary in weight in a rare and in a dense atmosphere. He discusses the submergence of floating bodies, and the force with which they rise to the surface when immersed in light or heavy media. He recognises at least the principle of gravitation. He recognises gravity as a force. He knows correctly the relation between the velocities, spaces and times of falling bodies, and has very distinct ideas of capillary attraction. Syed Amir Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* (1890), p. 556. See also Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., pp. 44-48. The *Balance of Wisdom* is the work of a certain Al Khāzinī, about whom very little is known. The book cannot possibly be by Ibn Haithem, as it is dedicated to Abul Hārith Sanjar, the Seljuk ruler of Persia, who reigned A.D. 1117-1157, whereas Ibn Haithem (of Basrah) died in A.D. 1038.—A. G. E.

IV.—*The Grandson.*

(1126—1198.)

Abu 'l Walid Mohammed Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mohammed Ibn Rosht, whose Arab patronymic is hardly distinguishable in the conventional name by which he is known to Christian writers, was born at Cordova in the dark days of the last Almoravides, in 1126. His father, and more especially his grandfather, were both distinguished members of the family of Ibn Rosht, and had occupied important and honourable positions in the State.

A student from his earliest childhood, of theology, of law, of medicine, of philosophy, Ibn Rosht—the Grandson, as he is styled in Arabian literature, has left but the scantiest records of his way of life. He was commissioned before he was thirty years of age by the celebrated Ibn Tufail to undertake the establishment of certain colleges in Africa, where he probably passed a considerable time. Ten years later we find him occupying the position of Cadi of Seville; and he was afterwards appointed Chief Cadi of Cordova, an office which had been worthily filled by his father and his grandfather.

Meanwhile his writings had already begun to excite attention. He was accused of theological heterodoxy; and after a solemn inquisition, undertaken by order of Almanzor, his heretical doctrines were condemned, and his books were publicly burnt at Cordova, while their author suffered the minor penalty of banishment from the court and from the city. But his exile was of no very long duration. The favour and the disfavour of the Berber princes were alike uncertain, and he was permitted to return to Cordova by the generous Almanzor,[1] ere he passed of his own free will into Africa, and died at Morocco in December, 1198.

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[1] It would be unjust to omit all mention of the Jewish influence in keeping alive and reviving learning in Moslem Spain. The Jew, Ibn Gebirol or Avinbron, at the end of the eleventh century was acknowledged by Duns Scotus as his master, and Judah ben Samuel the Levite, the famous Spanish-Hebrew poet of the same period, became famous throughout Europe; whilst Maimonides (Saladin's physician), born a Cordovese Jew (1135) was the first, and perhaps the greatest, to European theological philosophers.—H.

It is a small record of a great life. But Ibn Rosht enjoyed little reputation among his Arab contemporaries, save as a physician. He founded no school in Islam. His philosophical successors in the east are not Moslems, but the Jewish disciples of Moses Maimonides. His fame is due entirely to the Christian doctors, who admired, misunderstood, discussed [2] and quarrelled over his commentaries. And thus the great Moslem whose translations and speculations were as the seed whose fruit was the reformation of Christendom, was almost without influence in Islam; the great Spaniard was nowhere less honoured than in Spain. The light shone out of Cordova; and Cordova was soon afterwards enveloped in the blackness of darkest night.[3]

It is sufficiently remarkable that Averroës, the translator and preserver of Aristotle, was not even acquainted with the language of the original, and that the Latin translation of his Arabic version which served the Christian doctors of the twelfth century was the translation of his translation of a Hebrew translation of a commentary on an Arab translation of a Syriac [4] translation of the original Greek text! But although Ibn Rosht was ignorant of Greek, and although he was far from being the first translator of Aristotle, he had so great an appreciation of the works of the Stagyrite, that to him is certainly due the credit of introducing the Greek philosopher to western Europe. His own views no doubt were largely affected by the Neo-platonism of the Alexandrian School; yet Aristotle was his master, his model, the inspirer of all his works. Even in his medical writings, more celebrated by far among his contemporaries than his philosophical commentaries, Averroës is ever the champion of Aristotle against the more popular theories of Galen, especially in what is probably his first work, the celebrated treatise on medical science, which was entitled *Kalliyath* or general survey, written about the year 1162, and translated into Latin under the *canting* title of *Colliget*, and was repeatedly printed in Europe.[1] His abridgement of the *Almegist* or Μεγάλη Σύνταξις of Ptolemy, preceded by nearly half a century the earliest Latin translation of that work, which was made by the order of the Emperor Frederic II.

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[1] Dozy, pp. 224-25. The sovereign was, of course, the *Almohade* Almanzor—Jacub ben Yusuf (1186-1197).

[2] The celebrity at Cordova of the father and grandfather of Averroës, as well as the comparatively small honour in which the philosophical prophet was held in his own country—Renan, *Averroës*, etc., p. 37—has led to the curious freak of nomenclature by which the most widely celebrated of all the philosophers of Islam was known to his Moslem contemporaries only by his modest family *sobriquet* of "the Grandson" (el Háfid).

[3] The great struggle between Mohammedan learning and morals, and Italian ignorance and crime, may be said to have commenced on the return of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., from Cordova, at the close of the tenth century. Draper, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 5-7.

[4] Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 52

The total number of his works that can now be identified is sixty-seven; but the destruction of Arabic MSS. by Ximenez after the fall of Granada has rendered copies of the original works of Averroës, as of every other Spanish Moslem writer, extremely rare.

The first printed edition of any of the works of Averroës in the original was that by Müller, published at Munich in 1859, containing three treatises on religious and philosophical questions.[2] But the Latin editions may be counted by hundreds; more than fifty having appeared at Venice alone; and Padua, as may be supposed, lags not far behind her great neighbour. The philosophical writings may be roughly divided into three classes:—The Greater Commentaries, The Minor Commentaries, and the Paraphrases or Analyses; yet they are all of them presentments of the views of Aristotle: and of the acknowledged writings of the Greek master, only the Politics and the History of Animals remain untranslated by his Moslem disciple.[3] To a Scotsman, Michael Scot, who resided and studied at Toledo in the early days of the thirteenth century, is due the honour of first introducing the works of Averroës to the scholars of Christian Europe.[4] William of Auvergne, in the thirteenth century, was the first of the schoolmen to criticise his doctrines, and Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas devoted special treatises to his theories. At Oxford, Averroës was soon read and admired, and already, in the days of Roger Bacon, at the end of the thirteenth century, he had become so great an authority in England, that the great Franciscan advised his disciples to acquire so strange and difficult a language as the Arabic[1] for the special purpose of studying in the original the works of the great commentator. Duns Scotus, John of Baconthorpe, and Walter Burley, were all among his admirers and disciples in England. But it was chiefly in the universities of northern Italy, and more especially at Padua, that the works of Averroës were most ardently studied, and that their influence was most chiefly felt, although the Italian students were led by their new enthusiasm into philosophical excesses which the great Cordovan would have been the first to condemn and to deplore.

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[1] Renan devotes many erudite pages (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-79) to an enumeration of the works of Averroës, which include, beyond the Aristotelian commentaries and translations, original treatises on philosophical and theological and physical subjects, especially on medicine, astronomy, and even on grammar and jurisprudence.

[2] Renan, p. 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 205-208.

Before the end of the fourteenth century, Averroism had incurred the deadly hatred of the Church, and the followers of the Spanish Dominic distinguished themselves among all other Christian orders by their attacks upon the studies and students of the Spanish philosopher.[2] And with the view of horrifying the faithful at his philosophy in general, the famous speech was invented for him by some fourteenth century Churchman that "Moses, Christ, and Mahomet were the *three great impostors* who had deluded the human race".

Strangely enough this famous phrase *de tribus impostoribus*, in spite of its inherent absurdity, has been attributed not only to Averroës but to at least a dozen eminent *Christian* writers, including Milton, Servetus, Rabelais, Macchiavelli, Boccaccio, and the Emperor Frederic II.[3] Queen Christiana of Sweden caused all the great libraries of Europe to be searched in the seventeenth century for any authentic record of the phrase, its authorship, or its origin; but the researches were conducted in vain.

In spite of the enormous influence that is attributable to the publications of Averroës, and the philosophical revolution that was brought about by the study of his works,[4] it cannot be said that there was much originality in the philosophy of Arab Spain. Nor was Ibn Rosht more original, though he was possibly more daring than his predecessors. It is by a freak of fortune that his commentaries on the works of his Greek master were taken by an ignorant and uncritical age for masterpieces of original thought, and were themselves the subject of commentaries, discussions and disputations, as foreign to the Arab, as to the Greek, philosophy. Disregarded in the language in which they were written, and by the people to whom they were addressed, the works of Ibn Rosht, the Grandson, found a wider field than that of the Peninsula. It was upon European Christendom, yet slumbering, in the twelfth century, that the light of reason "flashed forth from Cordova,"[1] and the form of Averroës began to assume those giant proportions which, at a later period, overshadowed the whole intellect of Europe.[2]

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[1] Greek was, of course, as yet almost unknown in England, or, indeed, in any part of western Europe.

[2] According to Mr. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, vol. iii., pp. 565-578, the inquisitors were somewhat chary of interfering with the speculations of the school of Averroës.

[3] See Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, i., pp. 507 and 782.

[4] Renan, 88-90.

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[1] Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i., p. 48.

[2] See in addition to Renan, *Averroës est l'Averroisme*, so often referred to; Mehren, *Etudes sur la Philosophie d'Averroës* (Louvain, 1888); and Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RISE OF ARAGON.

(1027—1213.)

I.—*The Inheritance of Ramiro.*

ARAGON, in the days of Sancho the Great of Navarre, was but a small tract of country on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, lying to the west of the little river which gives its name to the modern province, as it did to the mediæval kingdom of Aragon.[1] The eastern portion of the old territory of the Vascones, it was but a poor mountainous district of some twenty-four leagues in length by ten or twelve in breadth, without a single town of importance within its boundaries.

Ramiro, who succeeded, as we have seen, on the death of Sancho the Great, to this slender inheritance, is usually reckoned as the first independent King of Aragon; and by his fortunate forays and bold encroachments upon the territories of his neighbours, Christian and Moslem, he increased both the area and the importance of his little kingdom. His son Sancho was no less enterprising and no less fortunate; and at the time of his death in battle[2] in 1094, he had extended his dominions as far as the Ebro; and had even threatened the important town of Huesca, which within two years was captured by his eldest son and successor Peter. This Peter the First of Aragon died after an uneventful reign in 1104, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Alfonso, who married Urraca, Queen of Castile and Leon, widow of Raymond of Burgundy,[1] and who may be distinguished by his appropriate title of *El Batallador*.

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[1] For an exhaustive treatise on the history and geography of the north-eastern districts of Spain at this time, see D. José Pella y Forgas *Historia de Ampurdán* (Barcelona, 1883), with an excellent map, and many illustrations. Gerona is partly in this district; Figueras entirely so; and Tossa on the coast is the most southerly village.

[2] At this most important battle, St. George is said to have appeared at the head of the Christian chivalry, and his cross was adopted as the arms of Aragon, on a field Argent, with four bloody heads of Moorish chiefs in the four cantons. (It was not at the battle at Huesca where Sancho of Aragon was slain in 1094 that St. George aided the Aragonese host; but at the great fight on the plain of Alcoraz two years afterwards, where Peter of Aragon was pitted against the Moors of Saragossa and a contingent of Castilians under Count de Najera.—H.).

See Appendix V., *St. George.*

After the taking of Huesca, the Aragonese assisted the Cid in his expedition against Valencia.

The number of royal Alfonsos that flourished in Christian Spain at this time is perplexing to the last degree; and a double or doubtful numeration renders their identity still more difficult to ascertain. Alfonsos there were on the thrones of Aragon, of Leon, of Castile, and even of Barcelona. Alfonso the *Sixth* of Leon was at the same time Alfonso the *First* of Castile. Alfonso the *First* of Aragon is sometimes spoken of as Alfonso the *Seventh* of Leon in right of his wife Urraca, while their son Alfonso is usually reckoned as the *Eighth*, though he was really but the *Seventh* of Leon, and only the *Second* of Castile.

Finally Ramon Berenguer, the son of Petronilla, who is sometimes called the *Fourth* and sometimes the *Fifth* of the Ramons of Catalonia, changed his name to Alfonso, out of compliment to his Aragonese subjects, and to the despair of future students of history.

Of all these early Alfonsos none was more unhappy in his domestic relations, none was more enterprising in his military policy than Alfonso *El Batallador*, first of his name in Aragon. He not only drove the Moslems out of the northern provinces of the Peninsula, but he invaded Lerida and Valencia, and even carried his Christian arms into Andalusia.[2] Nor for the most part, were these mere plundering expeditions, such as were too often undertaken by his neighbours in the west. Before he had sat for more than a dozen years upon his insignificant throne, he had actually driven the Moslems out of the important neighbouring city of Saragossa, which became the capital of his dominions (1118). But his disputes with his Christian neighbours; his quarrels with his wife; his wars with her subjects in Castile and Leon, distracted his attention from more fruitful undertakings, and in spite of his military capacity and his many opportunities, he made a few permanent conquests to the south of the Ebro. He occupied Calatayud,[1] but he failed to reduce Lerida. Victorious outside the walls of Valencia (1128) he did not enter the city. Successful at Bayonne, which he besieged and took in 1132, he left his southern frontiers to be harassed by the Moslems; and hastening back to defend his territory in Aragon from many invaders, he was unable to retain any part of all that he had conquered to the north of the Pyrenees. His death without issue [2] shortly after the disastrous battle of Fraga, when he was defeated by Ibn Ghamah in July 1134, put an end to his Imperial pretensions, after a reign of eight-and-thirty years in Aragon.

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[1] She was the eldest daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile and Leon, who died without male issue in 1109. See *ante*, chapter xvii.

[2] Alfonso is said to have traversed Spain, to have approached Cordova, and actually to have reached the sea near the strong Moslem city of Almeria, *ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

This childless and defeated *batallador* bequeathed his kingdom by will to the two great orders of religious knighthood, the Templars, and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; but his testamentary disposition was wholly disregarded by the Aragonese. Not one but two kings were elected by hostile factions, in the place of the deceased monarch; and it was not until their rival claims had been more or less amicably adjusted by the elevation of Ramiro the Monk [3] from the cloister to the throne, that the Grand Master of the Templars arrived (1140) in Spain to take possession of his inheritance. But the foreigner found neither subjects nor soldiers, and was glad to content himself with the establishment of some commanderies in Aragon, and the grant of certain legal privileges to his disappointed Order, in the kingdom which he had come to acquire.

The royal monk, having married a princess of the House of Aquitane, was blessed with a daughter, Petronilla,[4] who was destined not only to continue the direct line of the House of Aragon, but to bring honour and happiness to two nations. Her infant hand was granted to Ramon Berenguer the *Fourth* or the *Fifth* [5] count of neighbouring Catalonia, and Ramiro, having resigned his sovereign rights in a solemn assembly of the Estates of Aragon at Balbastro, in 1137, to this most worthy son in-law, retired once more to the cloister, having contributed not a little, by his modest patriotism, to the advancement of the true interests of his country.[1]

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[1] After the battle of Daroca in 1120.

[2] Don Pascual de Gayangos, in his most admirable edition of the *Chronicle of James I. of Aragon*, says (Introduction, p. xiii.) that he left "no heir to his crown but a daughter". I find no mention of the lady in any other authority.

[3] He is said to have been only in deacon's orders. A similar excuse, it may be remembered, was made for the election of Bermudo in 788.

[4] Petronilla was but two years old at the time of her marriage, an early entry into the field of politics. She is called by Don Pascual de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, p. 15, the *niece* of Ramiro the monk; the word is perhaps a euphemism for the *daughter* of an ecclesiastic.

[5] The name and numeration of the Ramon Berenguers of Catalonia is even more uncertain than that of the Alfonsos of Castile and Leon. Fortunately they were not by any means as numerous!

Ramon and Petronilla reigned happily and successfully for five-and-twenty years. In war and in politics they were equally fortunate. The important cities of Lerida and Fraga were added to the Christian possessions; and when Ramon died, in 1162, on his way to meet the Emperor Frederic and do homage for the County of Provence, the Moslem had no possessions within the limits of Aragon or Catalonia.

The virtuous Petronilla survived her husband eleven years, till 1173, but she gave up her regal title and authority in her own dominions after her husband's death, to her son, who is known in history as Alfonso the *Second*, of the united kingdom of Aragon[2] and County of Barcelona.

II.—*Catalonia.*

The little County of Barcelona or Catalonia, which came into existence, as we have seen, after the victories of Louis of Aquitaine in the early years of the ninth century, has no history, certain, or worthy of our attention, until the days of Ramon Berenguer I., *el viejo* (1035-1076), whose victories over the Arabs were even less remarkable than the vigour and success of his domestic policy. The first undisputed master of all Catalonia, he introduced a modified form of the feudal system among the barons and knights, and as a supplement or complement to the old Gothic laws of the *Fuero Juzgo*[3] he formulated the celebrated *Usages* of Catalonia, which were promulgated at the Council of Gerona, and confirmed, in 1068, by the *Cortes* of Barcelona, one of the earliest Councils, at which no bishop was present, and which was a true popular and political assembly. This Ramon Berenguer acquired, moreover, by marriage and treaty, considerable possessions beyond the Pyrenees, and, at the instance of Pope Alexander II., he restored or rebuilt the cathedral at Barcelona. The wisdom ot Ramon Berenguer the elder was not perpetuated in his children, nor did he himself display it in the disposition of his dominions at his death; for he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Ramon Berenguer II., surnamed *cap d'estopa,* or the flaxen-headed, and his younger brother, Berenguer Ramon; and the succession was only settled, after five years of domestic strife, by the assassination of the elder of those princes by the younger in 1081. The fratricide found no favour with the Catalans, and after a brief period of sovereignty the new monarch fled to the Holy Land, and was succeeded by his infant nephew, the son of his flaxen-haired brother, who reigned for nearly fifty years as Ramon Berenguer III. (1082-1131). By his marriage with Douce, Countess of Provence, by treaty, and by inheritance, this prudent sovereign extended his dominions on either side of the Pyrenees, and making head against the Arabs on his southern frontier, he actually carried his victorious arms across the sea to Majorca, which was taken and occupied by the Catalans in 1100.[1]

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[1] During the war which Ramon Berenguer waged against Raymond V. of Toulouse, he sought and obtained, in 1153, the alliance of Henry II. of England, who claimed the Duchy of Aquitaine as the inheritance of his wife Eleanor, the repudiated Queen of Louis VII. of France. And Ramon Berenguer dying when his son Alfonso was still of tender years, constituted Henry II. guardian of his kingdom, and of his successor. (Ramon Berenguer modestly called himself Prince —not King—of his wife's realm of Aragon.—H.)

[2] His father left by will to his younger brother Peter, Cerdagne, Carcassonne, and Beziers.

[3] The *Fuero Juzgo* was not, as is sometimes stated, abolished by this early Parliament. Its authority was fully maintained, except in such particulars as it was modified by the newer code.

This Ramon Berenguer III. is known in history by the honourable title of the *Consolidator of the Realm.* He reigned over both Barcelona and Aragon with infinite advantage to the Commonwealth; and was succeeded by his son, Ramon Berenguer IV., a still greater consolidator, for whom was reserved the happy honour of uniting the sovereignties of Aragon and Catalonia by his marriage with Petronilla, the daughter of Ramiro the Monk, as has been already related.

With dominions thus extended, and at peace with all his neighbours, Ramon Berenguer was able to offer substantial assistance to his Christian neighbours in their wars against the Moslems. His son, Ramon, who assumed, in 1161, the name of Alfonso—surnamed *The Chaste*—and who peacefully inherited the double crown of Catalonia and Aragon, was undistinguished in history; and, dying in 1196, was succeeded by his son, Peter, who played a more conspicuous part, not only in Aragon and in southern Spain, but in Languedoc, and even in Italy.

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[1] The occupation did not long endure, and the Balearic islands soon afterwards fell again into the hands of the Moslems.

His first public step of interest or importance was a journey to Rome in 1203, undertaken at the instance of Innocent III., that he might receive his crown at the hands of the Pope, and submit to the issue of a Papal Rescript constituting Aragon a Fief of the Holy See, and the "perpetual property" of the successors of St. Peter; and he at the same time undertook for himself and all future kings of Aragon, to pay tribute, as well as to do homage, to the Pope, for his dominions. This wholesale political surrender was, however, a more practical admission of the supreme power of the Vicar of Christ on earth than was agreeable to the Aragonese;[1] and while it raised the indignation of the king's subjects at Barcelona and Saragossa, it does not seem to have procured for him any special favour, spiritual or temporal, at Rome. An assembly of the States' Council at Saragossa, in 1205, protested against the king's action as derogatory to the honour of the nation, and pronounced his surrender null and of no effect. Nor was the stipulated tribute ever paid.[2]

But a greater figure than that of Peter the Catholic of Aragon was now looming darkly on the northern frontiers of Spain.

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[1] Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, t. i., f. 91. The king was gratified with the title of The Catholic, for having placed his kingdom under the patronage of the Holy See. Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles* (1880), tom. i., p. 421.

[2] Lafuente, v. 191.

CHAPTER XXI.

DOMINIC.

(1170—1221.)

Dominic de Guzman was born at Calaroga,[1] near Osma, in Old Castile, in 1170. His birth and childhood were attended with the usual miraculous portents common to all mediæval saints, and at the age of fifteen he proceeded to the University or High School of Palencia, an institution which afterwards attained so great a reputation in the more famous city of Salamanca. After an uneventful academic career of nearly ten years, Dominic returned to Osma, where he enjoyed the protection of the bishop of the diocese; and, having entered into religion under the rule of St. Augustine, he was soon raised to the dignity of sub-prior.

At length, after ten years more of earnest work at Osma, Dominic was introduced to the great world beyond the frontiers of Spain, having been chosen by his patron the bishop to accompany him as his secretary on a diplomatic mission to Limoges, to negotiate the marriage of Alfonso VIII. of Castile with a princess of the House of Hugues de Lusignan, Count de la Marche.[2] And it was on his way through Languedoc, struck, it is said, by the very scant respect that was paid to the clergy, compared with the homage to which he was accustomed in Castile, that the young ecclesiastic found his true mission, which was not that of negotiating foreign marriages, but of preaching to foreign heretics.

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[1] Not at Calahorra, in Aragon, as is sometimes said. *Calaroga* was only a village, some sixty miles due north of Madrid, in an out of the way part of Castile. Calahorra, the Roman *Calagurris*, the birth-place of Quintilian and Prudentius, has always been a busy and important little town.

[2] It is sometimes said, but on very doubtful authority, that this mission was to Copenhagen. It would have been hard to have accomplished the three journeys which the envoys undertook, had their road extended from Castile to Denmark, in less than a year. Père Jean de Rechaac, Baillet, Fleury, Touron, and Miss Drane, are all in favour of the more manageable journey to *Limoges*, in the Marches of the Limousin. The double or doubtful signification of the word *Marches* has no doubt puzzled the chroniclers.

Up to the time of the election of Innocent III., in 1198, the suppression and persecution of ecclesiastical heresy had occupied but a small share of the attention of the leaders of the Catholic world. For as yet ecclesiastical heresy can hardly be said to have existed. A Council, indeed, had been convoked at Lerida, in 1194, by Cardinal Gregory of Saint Angelo, as legate of Pope Celestine III.; and Alfonso II. of Aragon, yielding to the solicitations of the ecclesiastics, had given orders for the banishment of heretics from his kingdom, for the confiscation of their goods, and the infliction of severe penalties upon all who should shelter them.[1] Three years later Peter II., at the Council of Gerona, confirmed and reiterated the decrees of Lerida; yet no serious steps seem to have been taken to put them into execution in Spain.

But with the accession of Innocent, the policy and temper of the Papacy became aggressive and uncompromising in the highest degree; and the commission that was granted by this most vigorous of Pontiffs on the 29th of May, 1204, to Arnold of Citeaux, with Pierre and Raoul de Castelnau, is generally considered to be the origin of the Inquisition in Europe. These apostolic legates were to take measures for the restoration of heretics to the Catholic faith. They were to hand over to the secular power—after preliminary excommunication—those who failed to submit themselves; and they were to enter into possession of all the worldly goods of such obstinate heretics, in the name of the Church. Their authority was made independent of the local bishops. They were to take their instructions direct from Rome. The King of France, moreover, and all the princes and barons of the realm were ordered to render active assistance to the three legates or *Inquisitors of the Faith,* whenever and howsoever it should be demanded.[2]

But in spite of these tremendous powers, the legates met with but little success. The heretics were obstinate. The bishops were unfriendly. The princes were indifferent. Yet one stranger was found to attach himself devotedly to the cause of the disappointed Abbot of Citeaux. The young enthusiast from Osma became at once his disciple and his critic, his friend, his champion and his supercessor. Aroused, not only to thought, but to action, by the storm that he saw brewing around him, the sub-prior of the quiet monastery in Castile perceived the gravity of the situation, while bishops and legates were too blind or too careless to see the danger that was looming in the distance. To bring the *World* back again within the pale of the *Church*; this was the dream of Dominic. And his zealous indignation was stirred up at the sight of the lordly prelates and the luxurious *Legati pro Pontifice*, too proud to approach the common people save with fire and sword, no less than at the contemplation of the idle and useless monks hidden in the seclusion of their cloisters. The work of Dominic was to be done by a complete reversal of the practice of the older monasticism, by the enlisting of an army of spiritual soldiers who should sally forth to meet the foe on his own ground. Least of all were the heretics to be converted by legates in silk attire, rich, luxurious, epicurean, faithless. Their splendid retinues, their pomp of priestly power were indeed most distasteful to the Spanish ascetic, who, in the humble guise of a poor brother in Christ, addressed himself at once to the work of his life, observing at least the letter, if he failed to perceive the true spirit, of the Gospel injunctions to the first missionaries of Christianity.

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[1] Llorente, *Hist. de la Inquisition*, etc., i., ch. ii.

[2] Manrique, *Annales de Citeaux* (1204), liv. ii., No. 6, and (1205, chaps. i., ii.).

Nothing could be more unlike the splendour of a Pontifical legate than the conversation of the bare-footed apostle who begged his daily bread as he preached his religion from door to door. But even thus, devoted, earnest, self-denying, sincere, enthusiastic, Dominic failed to convert the early Protestants of Languedoc. The people were as heedless of the strange sub-prior as they had been of the teaching of their own clergy. They had become impatient, not only of their local priests, but of the control of Innocent at Rome. A tempest was, indeed, brewing over religious Europe; and the first mutterings of the storm were heard in Languedoc. But if Dominic was unable to shake the faith of the Albigensian heretics, his visit to Languedoc had results which shook the world. Before the Sub-Prior of Osma had been a year in the south of France he had established at *Prouille*, between Fanjeaux and Montreal, near Carcassonne, a convent for nuns (1206); and shortly afterwards, a brotherhood or company of preaching friars, who were spoken of as "the companions of Dominic."[1]

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[1] The first religious house actually founded by Dominic was in 1214 at Toulouse. The building was presented by Pierre Cellain, a citizen of the town..

Yet were the results not immediately felt; and the assassination of Pierre de Castelnau by the over-zealous Provençals, resenting his denunciations of their sovereign Raymond VI. of Toulouse, brought the earliest stage of the Papal intervention to a disastrous conclusion. But Rome had not said its last word. The dead legate was beatified as a martyr.[1] Raymond of Toulouse was excommunicated as a heretic. His subjects and his territories were given over to the secular arm. In March, 1208, Pope Innocent called upon the faithful in Europe to undertake a crusade, for the conversion, by fire and sword, of those unhappy dwellers in Languedoc, whose subsequent fate has made their name famous in history as that of the Albigenses.[2]

Peter of Aragon, as the nearest neighbour of the unfortunate Raymond of Toulouse, was called upon at once by Simon de Montfort, the commander of the Papal troops, and by the unhappy heretics whom he threatened with destruction, to carry his forces across the Pyrenees.[3] But Peter maintained a timid neutrality which pleased neither the persecutor nor the persecuted. He had, indeed, affianced his more distinguished son, James of Aragon, to a daughter of Simon de Montfort. But he had himself married (in 1204) Maria, the daughter and heiress of the Count of Montpellier; and wishing, perhaps, like the Scottish nobles of the eighteenth century, to have a relation in either camp, he had also given his sisters, Doña Lenora and Doña Sancha, in marriage to two Counts of Toulouse, Raymond VI., and his son, who succeeded him in 1222, as Raymond VII. Desirous, no doubt, of withdrawing from the neighbourhood of so embarrassing a contest, he offered his services to Alfonso of Castile in his expedition against the infidel, and turned his steps towards Andalusia, while his more distinguished countryman[4] took his place in the van of the Crusaders as the spiritual delegate of Arnold of Citeaux.

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[1] Manrique, tom. iii. (1208), chap. ii.

[2] Inhabitants of the district of *Albigeois*, south of the Cevennes, and condemned at the Council of Lombes or *Albi*, in Languedoc, in 1176. Albi is capital of the modern department of the *Tarn*.

[3] Simon de Montfort was not chosen leader of the *Papalini* until 18th June, 1209, *after* the massacre of Beziers and Carcassonne. The Duke of Burgundy must share with the Papal Legate, Milo, the honours of those memorable acts of faith. It is uncertain whether Dominic was present on either occasion. But he certainly approved of what was done. Drane's *Life of St. Dominic* (1891), 78, 79.

[4] Manrique, *Annales de Citeaux*, tom. iii. (1210), ch. iv. It is true that Calaroga is many miles from the frontier of Aragon. But Peter and Dominic were, at least, both of them Spaniards.

Disappointed at the failure of his personal efforts for the conversion of the heretics, Dominic was content to hand over to the material sword of Simon de Montfort[1] and his pitiless Papal troops, the unhappy people who were unconvinced by the moral sword of his preaching. But not even then did he relax his own personal efforts. The cross and the sword moved side by side. The tongue and the lance should each be in the service of the Faith. If Dominic was merciless, he was sincere; if he was bigoted, he was enthusiastic; if his methods were odious, his aims were noble; if his religion was inhuman, he was yet a true man. Of such are the rulers of the world.

Lacordaire and other admirers of the great founder of the Dominicans are much concerned to prove that the saint was not present at, and had nothing whatever to do with, the wholesale slaughterings that were ordered or approved by Innocent. The preacher it is said, was never an executioner. This tenderness for the bodies of heretics is very modern; this indirect censure of a Pope is hardly orthodox; nor is it possible to acquit Dominic of active participation in the Papal work of what he believed to be praiseworthy destruction. His hands, no doubt, were stained with no Christian blood. He may not even like Arnold of Citeaux[2] have shouted to the massacre. But his chosen work was the "examination and conviction" of the heretics, in cold blood, before they were handed over to the executioner. And his parting words to the people among whom he had so long laboured for the Faith, tell, at least, of no tenderness for the bodies of the obstinate heretics. "For many years," said he to the unconverted Albigenses, "I have spoken to you with gentleness, with prayers, with tears, but according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold now I rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms, and many shall preach by the sword."[3] And by the sword assuredly did many preach, aye, and by the faggot too, under the patronage of *Santo Domingo,* in the days that were yet to come.

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[1] *Le glaive matériel . . . le glaive moral.* Lacordaire, *Vie de St. Dominique,* p. 122.

[2] *Fertur dixisse,* "*Cædite Cædite, novit Dominus qui sunt ejus!*" See an article by Lord Acton in *Eng. Hist. Review* (1888), p. 738. Such sayings are rarely authentic, and can never, of course, be proved.

[3] *MSS. de Prouille Monuments du Couvent de Toulouse,* par. P. Percin, p. 20, No. 47, and Drane, *Life,* etc., p. 181.

Peter of Aragon, in the south of Spain, was at once bolder and more fortunate than he had been in his own dominions; and in the great Christian victory at *las Navas de Tolosa*, he may claim an honourable share. Inspired apparently by this great success, he returned to Aragon, and abandoning his neutral attitude as regards his persecuted neighbours in Languedoc, he boldly took the field against Simon de Montfort,[1] and fell, sword in hand, outside the blood-stained walls of *Muret*. Thus it was that the king who began his reign with a most servile self-abasement before the ecclesiastical power, for which his memory even in Spain has justly been held in contempt, gave his life for the unhappy victims of ecclesiastical tyranny, slain by the emissaries of the self-same Pope who had received his homage, and had even honoured him with the title of *The Catholic*, less than ten years before.

If Dominic was not present at Beziers, he was certainly found on the field of blood at Muret,[2] holding aloft a gigantic crucifix to animate the courage of the soldiers. And if the Spanish king drew the sword on the side of liberty within sight of his own Pyrenean mountains, the Spanish priest marched with uplifted cross in the ranks of the persecutors, and shared with de Montfort and Bishop Fulques of Toulouse,[3] the honour of participation in that sacred massacre, which is characterised by Lacordaire as one of the finest acts of faith that man has accomplished on this earth.[4] One of the greatest, no doubt, it may have been; but it was very far from being the last of those *Acts of Faith* with which the name of the Dominican is so dreadfully associated in Spain; for Peter of Aragon was but the first of the many tens of thousands of Spaniards who have died, innocent of any earthly crime, under the uplifted cross of the Brothers of the Inquisition.[5]

Two years after Muret, Dominic took the great resolution of his life. He would establish a new Order; an Order of preachers, not of ascetics; of brothers, not of monks; of men of action in the world, not of hermits in the desert. The sanction of Rome was required for so revolutionary a scheme; and Dominic made his way from Provence to the Vatican.

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[1] Simon de Montfort was killed at the siege of Toulouse in 1218.

[2] This crucifix is still preserved in the Church of St. Sermin at Toulouse (whither it was removed from the house of the Inquisition in 1791). Three or four holes are pointed out as made by the heretic arrows.

[3] The Bishop of Toulouse had armed himself with a fragment of the True Cross, which he brandished aloft to cheer on the Papal soldiers to the massacre. Drane, *Life of St. Dominic*, p. 144.

[4] Cette bataille mémorable comptera tojours parmi les *beaux actes de foi* qu'ont fait les hommes sur la terre. Lacordaire, *Vie de St. Dominique*, p. 89.

[5] Twenty thousand heretics are said to have been killed in the massacre at Muret, while only one Catholic knight and eight common soldiers were slain. Drane, p. 145.

The great Council of Lateran had just assembled. Five hundred bishops and eight hundred priors and abbots were collected in Imperial Rome.[1] Innocent, the most powerful Pontiff since the death of Hildebrand, if not since the death of Diocletian, presided over the august assembly. Yet was there one among them, but not of them, whose greatness was as yet unknown to the Church or to the world, a man whose name and whose work would endure when they and theirs were long forgotten —the bare-footed Spanish friar from Toulouse.

Before the formal opening of the Council (1215) the Pope had issued to Dominic an apostolic brief, by which the convent of Prouille was placed under the protection of the Holy See, and all former grants that had been made to it were fully confirmed. But when the plan for the foundation of the new Order was laid before Innocent, the novelty and vastness of its design induced him to hesitate. The Church still possessed only the more ancient forms of monasticism, for the Franciscans were not as yet fully established as a religious order; and the scheme of Dominic included a much wider field than had opened itself to any earlier Christian founder.

The Church was somewhat jealous of innovation, and the Council, moreover, had formally decreed that no new Orders should be established or permitted. The language of the canon was at once so precise and so recent that it was impossible entirely to disregard it. But Dominic was not a reformer to be baffled by Councils. Innocent was not a ruler to be tied by decrees. The importance of the scheme was made apparent to the clear-sighted Pontiff, and on the strength of a celestial vision the canon was happily evaded.

Dominic was permitted to establish his new Order—but it was to be considered as a mere offshoot of an old one; and he was authorised to select any one of the ancient rules that should appear best fitted[2] for his purpose. He selected the rule of the Augustinians. But he made it entirely his own.[1] And the order of Dominic has played a part in the history of the Church and of the world greater by far than that which has fallen to the share of all the other followers of Augustine.

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[1] See Manrique, *op. cit.*, tom. iii., chap. iii.; Monteiro, *Historia de la Santa Inquisiçao de Portugal*, tom. i., par. i., liv. i., chap. lvii.; Llorente, *ubi supra*, chap. ii., art. 4, and the *Collection royale des Concilles*, tom. xxviii., 3.

[2] Drane, pp. 156-164.

In the autumn of 1217 the great friar turned his back upon Languedoc for ever, and took up his abode in the Imperial city. Innocent had died in 1216, and Dominic, recognised by his successor Honorius as the master spirit of the Catholic Church, found his place at the capital of the world.[2]

If the Spanish friar was the most powerful man in Rome, the influence of the Spanish philosopher Averroës, who had died but ten years before the massacre at Beziers, was beginning to make itself felt throughout Christendom. From Spain had come at once the man of dogma that was confirming the Church, and the man of liberty that was disturbing the world. And the speculations of the Cordovan doctor found no bolder, no more determined, no more powerful opponent than the priest of Osma. Yet if in later days Averroës would have been astounded at the theories of the Italian Christian Averroists, Dominic might have been shocked at the practices of the Spanish Dominican inquisitors.

The progress of human thought is no more certain than the progress of fleets or of armies. Yet when the wretched strife of petty chieftains, the wholesale slaughter of Moslems or of Christians shall cease to interest the world; when the bandits and cutthroats of the growing north, and the poets and castle builders of the dying south; when the Ferdinands and the Alfonsos, the Hakams and the Hishams, and the greatest An Nasir himself are all forgotten, as the extinct and uninteresting forces of a dead past; the ever-enduring struggle between the spirit of persecution and the spirit of religious liberty, between the spirit of Dominic[3] and the spirit of Averroës, will compel every student of human progress to turn to the history of Spain, and to read of the *Càdi* annotating his Aristotle on the banks of the Guadalquivir, of the friar from Osma bearing aloft the crucifix at Muret, and dictating to Innocent at Rome.[1]

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[1] As to the addition of certain rules of the Premonstratensians, see Père Denifle, in the *Athenæum*, 30th April, 1892, p. 559.

[2] The last branch of his Order was founded by Dominic in 1219, as the *Third Order of Penitence*, or *The Militia of Christ*, whose members were specially charged with the duty of assisting in the work of the Inquisition, and who came in time to be known by the hated name of *Familiars of the Holy Office*. See Llorente, tom. i., chap. ii., art. 4; Castillo, *Hist. de St. Dominic*, pt. i., chap. xlix.; Monteiro, *op. cit.*, pt. i., chap. xxxvi.; Paraino, *Origine de l'Inquisition*, lib. ii., tit. i., chap. iii.

[3] Dominic died at Rome in 1221, and was canonised by Pope Gregory IX. in 1233. As to whether the institution of the *Rosary* is due to Dominic, as is generally asserted, the curious in such matters may consult Drane, *op. cit.*, pp. 120,138, where an entire chapter is devoted to the subject, and many appropriate references collected.

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[1] See generally Molimir, *Histoire de l'Inquisition dans le midi de la France dans le xiii. and xiv. Siècles.* Paris, 1881.

CHAPTER XXII.

IMPERIUM ROMANUM.

The Gothic Missal.

(1064—1252.)

Until the twelfth century the Christian principalities of Spain had been less subject to the control or intervention of the Pope at Rome than any of the other kingdoms of western Europe.[1] Isidore and Julian had manfully asserted the independence of their Church in the days of Visigothic Christianity; and the petty and distant kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, of Gallicia and the Asturias, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the Moslem, had scarcely attracted the attention, and could never have aroused the jealousy, of the Holy See. The kings who fought for the extension of their own territories were engaged in a crusade against the infidel which was pronounced on Papal authority to be as meritorious as the weary and dangerous pilgrimage to fight the Saracen in Syria. And as long as the Moslem was practically supreme in the Peninsula, the Popes interfered very little in the spiritual or temporal affairs of the struggling Christians of Spain.

But towards the end of the twelfth century, the condition of affairs both at the capital and in the Spanish provinces had entirely changed. And in 1064, Alexander II. despatched a cardinal legate to the court of Aragon, with orders to denounce the ancient Gothic Ritual and Breviary—the Mozarabic, as it was familiarly called—which had been in use in Spain since the time of Reccared, and which had been revised both by Isidore and Julian;[2] and to prescribe the use of the Italian

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[1] As to the tardy and unwilling acceptance of Papal supremacy by the Church in Spain, see an interesting *Dissertation* by Geddes, printed in vol. ii. of his *Tracts*.

[2] Masdeu, tom. xiii., p. 280.

Mass Book[1] and Formularies in its stead. Great opposition on the part of the king, the people, and even the clergy was offered to the change; but by the year 1071 Rome had prevailed and the old ritual of Christian Spain was supplanted by that of Italy. Alexander was the first Pope since the Moslem conquest who had interfered in the affairs of the Peninsula. The Pope who succeeded him was not a man to abandon any of the pretensions of his predecessors. Gregory VII. had assumed[2] the tiara in 1073; and Cæsar once more ruled the world from Rome. Alexander had required the change of Breviary. Hildebrand laid claim to the absolute. property of the whole of Spain.[3] In his brief addressed *To the Princes of Spain*, he says "You are aware, I believe, that from the earliest times the kingdom of Spain was the special patrimony of St. Peter, and although Pagans have occupied it, yet the right remains, and it belongs to the same master. Therefore, Count Eboli de Rocayo, whose fame is known to you, goes forth to conquer the land in the name of St. Peter, under the conditions that we have stipulated. And if any one of you should undertake a similar task, he shall take care in the same manner and in no other, to pay to St. Peter that which is due."[4] These were bold pretensions, and Alfonso VI. was not the man to resist them. But Hildebrand, content with his prompt acquiescence, made no further demand upon the king's obedience than that of his acceptance of the Italian in place of the Mozarabic ritual in the churches[5] of

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[1] See Meyrick, *The Church in Spain* (1892), pp. 342-350. The Gothic Ritual of Spain had been solemnly approved by Pope John X. at Rome in 923. *Esp. Sag.*, iii., 117. It was largely at the instigation of the French monks of Cluny that the change was ultimately insisted upon. But see Masdeu, xv., 252-266. The Gallican Church, having lost its own ritual, was jealous of the greater independence of Spain. From the earliest times the influence of the Cluniac monks in Spain was very great. Hildebrand, it must not be forgotten, was himself a monk of Cluny.

[2] It was Damasus II. that first caused himself to be crowned with a tiara, in 1048. Boniface VIII. encompassed the tiara with a crown in 1294; Benedict XII. added a second in 1334, and John XXIII. a third in 1410.

[3] Lafuente, iv., 333-4. Not only was the Roman substituted for the Gothic liturgy, but the whole system of Roman canon law as contrasted with that of the old codes and councils was imposed upon the Spanish Church, *Hist. Compostell.*, i., 2-12. It is remarkable, says Mr. Meyrick on this point, that the *False Decretals* which were brought into the Church in the ninth century, under the name of the Spanish Bishop Isidore, were not recognised or acknowledged in Spain until the middle of the eleventh century. This is proved by the *Coleccion Escurialense de Sagrados Canones y Decretales* drawn up about 1050. Meyrick, *ubi supra*, pp. 303, 4.

[4] *Esp. Sag.*, xxv., 132; Masdeu, xiii., 280.

[5] It was in the *Capilla de San Victorian*, in the Benedictine Convent of La Peña, near Jaca—once the capital of Aragon—that on the 13th of March, 1071,

Leon and Castile. Alfonso, at the request of his French wife, Constance of Burgundy, and her ecclesiastical protégé, Bernard, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, was quite ready to give his consent; but the Castilians, ever jealous of Papal aggression, were even less disposed than their neighbours to accept the change; and the king was unable or unwilling, in the first instance, to do more than submit the question to the ordeal of trial by battle—a strange method of deciding a theological controversy.[1] Two champions accordingly appeared and fought in public; and the Knight of the Gothic Missal, Don Juan Ruiz de Matanzas, slew the champion of the Italian, and remained unhurt[2] and victorious. A pair of bulls, not of the *sealed* but of the *horned* variety, were next entrusted with the solution of the difficulty;[3] and the national *toro* slew the Roman *toro* in the arena at Toledo, to the joy of religious and tauromachian Castile. But the Pope was not satisfied. The queen was not convinced. Yet delay is ever acceptable in Spain; and for seven years nothing further was done in the matter.

But Hildebrand was not to be baulked by push of horn, lance, nor even by Castilian procrastination. And at length by the Pope's orders a Council was held at Burgos under the presidency of his legate, Cardinal Ricardo, which formally decreed the abolition of the Spanish Service Book in Castile. Nevertheless the Castilians were not satisfied; and before the Italian Ritual was introduced into the Metropolitan Cathedral of Spain, it was thought fit once more to appeal to the verdict of Heaven. Once more the lists were set outside the city of Toledo, and in the sight of an immense concourse of people, a copy of the Gothic and a copy of the Roman Missal were cast together into a fire. The book that remained unconsumed was to be pronounced acceptable to the Almighty. The pious experiment was once more unfavourable to the foreigner. For the Roman Mass Book was burnt to ashes, while the Gothic resisted the flames. But Alfonso tossed the victorious volume

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says Richard Ford, *Spain* (ed. 1878), p. 524, the *first Roman Mass* was celebrated in the Peninsula. Cardinal Hugo de Candido, legate of Pope Alexander II. was the celebrant, and King Sancho Ramirez was present in person. See *Hist. de San Juan de la Peña*, by Juan Briz Martinez (Zaragoza, 1620).

[1] On the wager of battle generally, see H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*, (1886), especially p. 244.

[2] *Esp. Sag.*, iii., 173; Masdeu, xiii., 279-287.

[3] Watts, *Spain*, p. 159.

back into the fire,[1] and the will of the Pope was done. The people made no resistance. And Spain became once more, after the lapse of nearly seven centuries, the obedient Province of ROME.

II.—*The Emperor.*

Alfonso VI. of Castile and Leon finding himself, in 1095, for the fourth time a widower, espoused the beautiful Zaida, a daughter of Ibn Obeid, the Arab king of Seville; and in less than a year the young queen abjured the religion of her fathers, and was baptised under the Christian name of Maria Isabella. Of this union was born Sancho, a young prince of great promise, who was slain while yet only eleven years of age, fighting against the Moslems outside the walls of Ucles, where the Christians were completely defeated, in 1108. King Alfonso never rallied after this double disaster; and he died in June, 1109, at the good old age of seventy-nine, after an eventful reign of forty-three years.

His wives were almost as numerous as those of our own Henry VIII.; but although the exact number is uncertain, he is not usually supposed to have exceeded five. Yet he left no man child to take his place; and he was succeeded on the thrones of Castile and Leon by his unworthy daughter Urraca, who was not only a faithless wife, but a false and incapable sovereign.[2]

Her marriage with Alfonso I. of Aragon, surnamed *El Batallador*, should have brought peace and harmony to two kingdoms; but the husband was a savage; the wife was a wanton; and Castile suffered even more severely than Aragon for the vices and the crimes of their sovereigns. Alfonso harried his wife's subjects in Leon more remorselessly than their Moslem enemies; Urraca intrigued with her various lovers in Castile against her husband in Aragon; and the usual civil wars were only varied by the addition of a woman's frailty to a sovereign's faithlessness. Aragon and Castile, Portugal and Leon were all at war; Diego Gomez and Pedro de Lara, the queen's lovers, Alfonso, the queen's husband, and Alfonso, the queen's son, were one and all involved in perpetual strife; nor did the dissolution of Urraca's marriage by the Pope in any way tend to abate the stress of warfare, which was maintained until her unregretted death in 1126.

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[1] The old proverb *Allá van leyes dô quieren Reyes*, is said to have had its origin on this interesting occasion. See the *Cronica de España* of Alfonso X.

[2] At this time, says Lafuente (v., 26) the kingdom of Castile affords the sad spectacle of husband and wife, mother and son, brother and brother, in open war one against the other; now the mother and son against the husband and the father; now the sister against the sister and the nephew; now nephew and uncle against mother and sister. Urraca is said to have at least had for excuse that she was brutally treated by her husband . . . *faciam meam suis manibus sordidis multoties turbatam esse, pede suo me percussisse.* See *Hist. Compostel.*, lib. i., cap. 64, *apud* Lafuente, iv., 475.

Her son Alfonso VII. by her first husband, Raymond of Burgundy, who succeeded her at her death as King of Leon and of Castile, assumed the title of Emperor of Spain,[1] and from 1126 to 1134 one of these Alfonsos—the step-father—is found still occupying the throne of Aragon, while another—the son—sat upon the throne of united Leon and Castile.[2] But the formal homage of Navarre and of Toulouse, which led to the assumption of the Imperial title by the son of Urraca, were merely moves in the political game of the period; and the so-called emperor of all Spain soon found himself at war with Aragon and with Navarre in the north; with the new kingdom of Portugal in the west; and with the new empire of the Almohades in southern Spain. But the Moslem power was rapidly decaying; and Alfonso, in spite of civil wars, was able to push forward the Christian frontier from the line of the Tagus to the line of the Sierra Morena; and in 1147, during a brief interval of Christian amity, the united forces of Castile, of Aragon, of Leon and of Navarre, with the fleets of Barcelona, of Genoa and of Pisa, possessed themselves of the rich and important Moslem city of Almeria, on the far away south-eastern coast of what had for 400 years been exclusively Moslem Spain. An immense booty was divided among the adventurers, but the city of Almeria was suffered to remain as the Imperial portion of *Alfonso of Castile el Emperador.*[3]

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[1] *Imperator totius Hispaniæ*, in 1135. (For particulars of the life of Alfonso VII. the Emperor, see the *Chronica de Alfonso VII.*, Sandoval.—H.).

[2] As to the comparison between or among all the various Alfonsos at this period, see *ante*, p. 214, and *Table* at the end of this volume. One of the most Imperial acts of Alfonso VII., *el Emperador*, was the coining of money with Arabic inscriptions or legends for the use of his Arab-speaking subjects in the Peninsula. A number of these inscriptions are given in Romey, vi., 306-308.

[3] The title of emperor had occasionally been used in documents by Alfonso the Battler and his wife, as well as by most sovereigns of Castile, but Alfonso VII. assumed the dignity with all formality at the Cortes of Leon in 1135, and in the same year summoned the Cortes of Castile at Toledo to confirm the assumption.—H.

III.—*Berengaria.*

Alfonso the Emperor died in 1157, and the kingdoms were once more divided. Castile was the appointed portion of his eldest son, Sancho, while his younger brother, Ferdinand, inherited the kingdom of Leon. For one entire year the royal brothers lived, strangely enough, in harmony, in their several dominions; but the death of Sancho, in 1158, and the accession of his infant son, Alfonso III. of Castile (usually called Alfonso VIII.) led to an outbreak of strife in that kingdom, between the *Castros* and the *Laras*, rival aspirants to the guardianship of the royal minor, as well as to more regular warfare with Ferdinand of Leon, which was conducted with the usual savagery and fruitlessness.

Arriving at man's estate, Alfonso III. (or VIII.) of Castile entered into a treaty of peace and amity at Sahagun (1170) with Alfonso Ramon of Aragon, the son of Petronilla and the last Ramon Berenguer; and in the same auspicious year he married the Princess Eleanor, daughter of our English king, Henry II. Up to the time of this happy union the reign of Alfonso III. in Castile had been nothing but a succession of intrigues and civil wars of the accustomed character; but from the day of his marriage, in 1170, to the day of his death, in 1214, after a reign of no less than fifty-six years, he exercised the sovereign power without hindrance, if not entirely without opposition, within his dominions. If the domestic tranquillity of Castile during four-and-forty years may not be attributed exclusively to the influence of the English queen, yet the marriage bore fruits, in a second generation, of which it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance; for it was the blood of the Plantagenets that flowed in the veins of their daughter, Berenguela, or Berengaria, one of the true heroines of Spain.

Yet if Alfonso enjoyed peace at home, it was not to be supposed that war should be absent from his borders. United for a brief season against the Moslem, Alfonso III. of Castile and the young monarch who had succeeded to the neighbouring throne as Alfonso IX. of Leon, were defeated by Yusuf the Almohade, with great slaughter, near the little town of Alarcon, on the Jucar, in the modern province of Cuenca—July, 1195.

Nor could these discomfited kings find any better or wiser way of restoring the Christian fortunes than by making war upon one another after their defeat; and the wretched strife was only composed by the politic marriage of Berengaria of Castile with the rival Alfonso of Leon (1197). The young princess had been previously betrothed to Conrad of Suabia, the son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarrossa; but she had refused to ratify the engagement made without her consent; she had maintained her independence against the will of kings and emperors, and her independence brought union and happiness, not to herself, but to Spain. Upon the marriage of Berengaria, peace was at once proclaimed between the Christian sovereigns; and the birth of a son to the royal pair foreshadowed the absolute union of Leon and Castile. But kings and queens reckoned all in vain without the sanction of the masterful ecclesiastic who at that time ruled the world from Rome.

Innocent III. had not only excommunicated, but he had deposed, the so-called Roman emperor, and he had imposed a successor upon the electors and people of Germany. He had not only excommunicated Philip Augustus of France, but he laid his kingdom under an interdict. He had denounced and dissolved a marriage between Alfonso IX. of Leon and Teresa of Portugal.[1] He had humiliated King John of England.

The sack of Christian Constantinople by his Eastern Crusaders, the massacre of Christian heretics by his western troops, and the establishment of the inquisition in southern France—all this made it known to the world that Cæsar still reigned at Rome. And Cæsar was at once surprised and offended by the marriage between King Alfonso IX. of Leon and the Princess of Castile. Such marriages were solemnised every day with the fullest approbation of the Church. Alliances less regular by far were constantly authorised between royal suitors. The domestic peace of Christian Spain was directly due to this union of the rival houses of Leon and Castile. To all these considerations Innocent turned a deaf ear. Alfonso and Berengaria were first cousins. They had married without the Papal licence. The marriage was declared void. The king and queen were excommunicated. Leon was placed under an interdict. It is difficult in the nineteenth century to realise the full signification of the words. For nearly six years the husband and wife stood firm. Yet the nations were once again distracted; and Leon was further divided into two parties; the more powerful faction reproaching their sovereign for the assertion of his independence of a foreign priest, while a minority only were indignant at the pretensions of Rome.

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[1] He had excommunicated the parties, and laid *both* kingdoms under an interdict until they separated. (Alfonso IX., however, had two daughters, Sancha and Dulce, by Teresa of Portugal, before he left her and married Berengaria of Castile. Not only did the Pope dissolve both marriages of Alfonso IX., but he acted similarly towards Alfonso's father, Ferdinand II., on his marriage to Princess Urraca of Portugal, his cousin.—H.)

The Pope, as usual, gained the victory; if somewhat less completely than was his wont. For although after a noble resistance of nearly seven years, Alfonso and Berengaria were forcibly put asunder, yet were their five children, born of unwedded parents, pronounced legitimate, and Ferdinand, their eldest love child, the hope of Leon and Castile, was recognised by the highest ecclesiastical authority in western Christendom, as the lawful heir to the crown of his father. Yet in spite of this most illogical concession, the royal separation was followed by a renewed outbreak of domestic strife in Leon and Castile. The civil war, indeed, was prosecuted without vigour on either side, but when Alfonso of Castile was able, in the ever famous valley of Tolosa (1212), to avenge the Christian defeat at Alarcon, his cousin of Leon was not found fighting against the infidel, but taking advantage of the forward movement of the victorious army to plunder some of the border cities of Christian Castile.

The great and most authentic Christian victory at *Navas de Tolosa*[1] was largely due to the diplomatic skill of Alfonso of Castile, who, with the assistance of Innocent III., now happily in favour of union, brought about a great coalition of the Christian forces in the Peninsula. Sancho of Navarre, Alfonso of Leon, Alfonso of Portugal, and, most valued of allies, Peter II. of Aragon, were thus united in the supreme effort; and with them were associated, it is said, no less than 100,000 *Crusaders*,[2] lords, knights and common soldiers from every country in western Europe. Navarre and Aragon alone of the Peninsula sovereigns were loyal to their engagements to Castile and to Christendom. The Crusaders turned back ere they had crossed swords with the Moslem; but the three kings, with their united armies, were able to carry the war with such unaccustomed vigour into the enemy's country that the fate of the Almohades was sealed in a single battle, in that ever celebrated valley of the Sierra Morena—hard by the modern mining town of Linares—which is known as the *Navas de Tolosa.*

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[1] His son James the Conqueror and Chronicler of Aragon, speaks of this battle as the battle of Ubeda, *Comm.*, cap. 369.

[2] Of these the greater number turned back as soon as the army had got as far south as Calatrava. Among those who accompanied the allied Christians to the end was Arnault, Archbishop of Narbonne.

Bishop Roderic of Toledo, the most renowned chronicler of thirteenth century Spain, was not only present at the engagement; but he carried his red cross into the thickest of the fight; and wielding the pen as well as the sword, after the best Castilian fashion of the day, he has left us a description of the battle, written with all the vigour of an eye-witness. Had the Alfonsos of Portugal and Leon been truer knights or better Christians, the victorious march of St. Ferdinand upon Cordova and Seville might have been anticipated by nearly half a century.

Alfonso III. (or VIII.) of Castile did not long survive his great triumph. He died in 1214; his crown passed to his eldest son Henry, a child of ten years old; and the regency of the kingdom was entrusted to the prudent hands of the un wedded Berengaria,[1] by common consent the fittest ruler in all Spain, the most prudent princess in all Christendom. Yet did her prudence avail but little against the force and fraud of Alvaro Nuño, the chief of the turbulent house of *Lara;* and after an ineffectual struggle of over a year's duration, she was forced to surrender the person of the young king into the hands of Alvaro, who assumed at once almost absolute power in the kingdom. An accident frustrated all the schemes of the ambitious intriguer. The boy king was killed by a falling tile as he was playing in the courtyard of the bishop's palace at Palencia; and Berengaria herself became the lawful Queen of Castile.

And right nobly did she use her queenly power. Without a moment's delay she sent messengers to Alfonso IX. of Leon, sometime her husband, with the request that their eldest son Ferdinand might be permitted to visit his mother at Valladolid. The request was prudently granted. Berengaria, ever striving after union in Christian Spain, immediately summoned the States-General of the kindgom, and abdicated her own regal authority in Castile in favour of her son, the heir to the kingdom of Leon; and having further induced most of the partisans of the rebellious House of Lara to submit themselves peaceably to Ferdinand, as sovereign of Castile, she caused him to be formally recognised by the assembled *Cortes*, and proclaimed king in her room (31st of August, 1217).

Yet peace was not assured. The contemptible Alfonso of

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[1] As a matter of fact, the administration was at first entrusted to Queen Eleanor, but she died in less than a month after her nomination; and the Regency at once passed to her daughter (1214).

Leon was jealous of his son's honours, and envious of his wife's renown. Alvaro Nuño de Lara was still at large. And Leon once more made war upon Castile. The father once more warred against the son; the husband against the wife; the subject against the sovereign. But the struggle was of short duration. Ferdinand, who was but eighteen years of age, was content to be advised by his mother Berengaria, who having already despoiled herself of her kingdom in favour of union and peace, did not hesitate to despoil herself of her personal jewels, to provide pay for the royal troops, when it became necessary to prepare for war. Her efforts were completely successful. Enthusiasm filled the ranks of her defenders. Alvaro Nuño was taken prisoner. Alfonso was but feebly supported. An age which knew no shame was yet unable to sympathise with the father who sought the life of his own son, the legitimate monarch of a neighbouring kingdom. At length, rather by the prudent conduct of the queen than by any force of arms, the hostile coalition was dissolved; the horrors of civil war were averted; and the united armies of Castile and Leon were despatched against the decaying power of the Moslem in southern Spain.

Unwilling to seek alliances and troubles in any of the Christian courts of the Peninsula, Berengaria found a wife for her son in the Princess Beatrice of Suabia, cousin-german of the emperor; and the marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp at Burgos, after the young king had received the honour of knighthood (30th November, 1219), and had been invested with the insignia of a royal cavalier in the chapel of the monastery at Las Huelgas[1] at the royal and right worthy hands of his own mother. It was before the same altar, some five-and-thirty years later, that another royal Plantagenet watched his arms ere he was girt with the sword of Castilian chivalry, when King Edward I. of England, betrothed to a grand-daughter of Henry Plantagenet, was knighted by the hands of her brother, Alfonso the Learned of Castile.

Ferdinand, relieved from all opposition on the part of his Christian neighbours in the north, was now able to turn his attention to the Moslems, whose power was still dominant, though ever decaying, in the south.[2] For over two centuries after the death of Almanzor nothing but the constant warfare among the Christian sovereigns had suffered the Moslem domination to continue to exist in Spain. Aragon, in the vigorous and unfettered hands of James I., had already extended the Christian power to the furthest south-east coasts; and now Ferdinand of Castile and Leon possessed himself in successive campaigns of many important cities and districts in the south and south-west. It was while besieging Jaen that the king received the letter from his mother which told him of the death of his father, Alfonso IX., at Leon and the final union in his proper person of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. Yet was his legitimate succession not undisturbed by the dead hand of his most unworthy father, who had left his kingdom by will to his illegitimate daughters, Sancha and Dulce[1] to the specific exclusion of his son and legitimate successor on the throne. The queen-mother not only urged Ferdinand to return with all speed to his paternal dominions; but she herself repaired to Leon, and by her promptitude and prudence she was enabled to enter the city, where she caused her son to be proclaimed king, without the shedding of one drop of Christian blood. Ferdinand, arriving in all haste from the south, found no foes to conquer, no rivals to bar the path of the king of the United Monarchy of Leon and Castile.

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[1] See Ford (1878), pp. 15, 16.

[2] In 1226 Ferdinand laid the first stone of the existing Cathedral of Toledo.

It remained, indeed, to reckon with the *Infantas*, his half-sisters, unwilling pretenders to the throne. But the queen sought and found means to conciliate their claims, and to remove their pretensions; and at Valencia de Alcantara, on the Minho, in Gallicia, Berengaria of Castile, the mother of the king, and Teresa of Portugal, the mother of the princesses, both of them the unwedded wives of the same man, met to discuss the claims of their children to the throne of their dead husband. A stranger interview is not perhaps recorded in history.

Berengaria, as usual, was successful; and with the full approbation of their mother, and to their own personal satisfaction, the *Infantas* accepted from Ferdinand a pension of 15,000 gold doubloons, which was secured to each one of them on her abandonment of her claim to the kingdom of Leon (11th December, 1230); and the engagement, both as regards the pretensions and the payment, was faithfully and honourably carried out. Thus was King Ferdinand once more free to do battle against the Moslem in southern Spain. Six years he fought with ever increasing success, and at length, on the 26th June, 1236, the banner of Castile and Leon floated over the great mosque at Cordova, and the proud capital of the once glorious Arab Empire remained in the hands of the Christians. Murcia was invaded and occupied to the confines of Aragon; and a great part of Andalusia, to the very borders of Granada, acknowledged the rule of Ferdinand. Seville only remained; but before *La Giralda* was converted from a Moslem observatory into a Christian belfry [1] the true glory of Ferdinand's reign had passed away. On the 8th of November, 1246, Queen Berengaria died, and was laid in the ground at Burgos, as she herself had directed, "in plain and humble fashion."

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[1] The question of their illegitimacy is a somewhat open one. The princesses were born in wedlock, the daughters of Alfonso IX. and Teresa of Portugal. It is true that the Pope dissolved the marriage for reasons already stated; but he also dissolved for the same reasons the subsequent marriage of Alfonso and Berengaria the mother of Ferdinand.—H.

Berengaria was one of those rare beings who seem to have been born to do right, and to have done it. From her earliest youth she was a leading figure, a happy and noble influence in one of the most contemptible and detestable societies of mediæval Christendom. Married of her own free will to a stranger and an enemy, that she might bring peace to two kingdoms, she was ever a true and loyal wife; unwedded by ecclesiastical tyranny in the very flower of her young womanhood, she was ever a faithful daughter of the Church; inheriting a crown when she had proved her own capacity for royal dominion, she bestowed it on a strange and absent son, with no thought but for the good of her country and of Christendom; and, finally, as queen-mother and ever faithful counsellor, she accepted all the difficulties of government, while the glory of royalty was reserved for the king whom she had created. Berengaria was ever present in the right place and at the proper time, and her name is associated only with what is good, and worthy, and noble, in an age of violence, and wrong, and robbery; when good faith was well-nigh unknown, when bad men were all powerful, when murder was but an incident in family life, and treason the chief feature in politics.

Two years after her death her son determined to complete his conquests from the Moslem by the taking of Seville. And Ferdinand, after immense preparations, sat down before the city of the Guadalquivir. Invested on three sides by the royal forces and those of his Moslem ally and vassal, Al Ahmar, King of Granada, with the river blockaded by a fleet brought by Raymond Boniface, Admiral of Castile, from the far away coasts of Biscay, Seville[1] was forced to capitulate; and after the triumphal entry of the Christians into the city of Isidore (23rd November, 1248), nothing remained to the Moors in Spain but the little kingdom of Granada.[2]

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[1] See chap. xxvi.

Yet did Granada, unmolested, according to honourable treaty, by Ferdinand, resist all the attacks of his successors, and continued to defy Spanish chivalry and Spanish Christendom for 250 years.

Four years after the capitulation, King Ferdinand died in his palace at Seville, one of the most fortunate of all the kings of Spain. Fortunate in the presence during a great part of his reign of a princess of extraordinary prudence, most loving of mothers, most discreet of counsellors, most loyal of subjects; Ferdinand was no less fortunate in his peaceful inheritance of a double crown, in the unusual fidelity of his nobles, and in his easy victories over the decaying Moslem; fortunate alike in his relations, in his friends, in his enemies, he is known to posterity as a saint as well as a conquerer, and is fairly reckoned among the great kings of Spain.[3]

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[1] The capitulation was honourable to both Moor and Christian, and was faithfully observed on both sides. A large number of the Moslems retired unmolested to Africa. Ferdinand granted to the city for arms, himself, seated on his throne, with his brother saints, Leander and Isidore, as his supporters.

For the life of Ferdinand generally, see Lucas de Tuy, *Memorias para la Vida del Santo Rey D. Ferdinando.*

[2] Some time after the taking of Seville, early in the reign of Alfonso the Learned, the towns of Jerez, Cadiz, San Lucar, Medina, Arcos, and the southern and south-western coasts fell into the hands of the Christians.

[3] He was canonised in 1668 by Clement IX.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GREAT MILITARY ORDERS.

(1164—1500.)

I.—*Calatrava.*

"WHETHER the military orders of Castile," says Prescott, "were suggested by those of Palestine, or whether they go back to a remoter period, as contended by their chroniclers, or whether they are survivals or imitations of similar associations that are known to have existed among the Spanish Arabs,[1] there can be no doubt that the forms under which they were actually organised in the latter part of the twelfth century were derived from the monastic orders established during the early crusades for the protection of the Holy Land."[2]

The Hospitallers, and especially the Templars, had obtained greater possessions in Spain than in any other part of Europe, and it was partly upon the ruins of their rich commanderies—sequestrated by order of Clement V., in the early days of the fourteenth century—that arose the three-fold glory of the great Spanish Orders.[3] Yet, long before the destruction of the magnificent Confraternity of the Knights Templars[4] in Spain, the great military and religious Orders of Calatrava,[1] of Santiago, and of Alcantara, associated as they are with so much that is noblest in Spanish history—were already flourishing in the Peninsula.

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[1] The Moors had established *Rábitos* or soldier monks (see note on the Almoravides, *ante.*, p. 202), to guard their frontier and protect their pilgrims. So the imitating Spaniards founded their military religious Orders. Ford (1845), ii., 66.

[2] The following pages are based chiefly upon information collected in *Tratado historico-legal . . . de los quatro ordenes . . . Santiago, Calatrava, Alcantara, y Montesa . . . compuesto de orden de S. M. Fernando el sexto por Pedro de Cantos Benitez, Alcalde de su casa y corte. Egerton MS.*, British Museum, No. 486. See also *Capitulo general de los ordenes Militares*, Toledo, 1560, *Egerton MS.*, 485, D. xviii. There is a very good catalogue of works on Monastic, Religious, and Military Orders at the end of vol. iii. of Helyot, *Dictionnaire Historique des ordres Monastiques* (Guingamp, 1838).

[3] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabel.*, i., 231.

[4] As to the destruction of the Templars by Philip le Bel and Clement V., and the attitude of the Spanish kings of that time with regard to the Order, see Mr. H.

The origin of the eldest born, if not the most famous of the three, was entirely accidental. King Alfonso[2] VII. *el Emperador* of Leon and Castile, advancing the southern outposts of Christian Spain on his way to the capture of Almeria, possessed himself, in 1147, of the fortress of Calatrava, which commanded the frontier of Andalusia, and which was confided by him, on its capture, to the keeping of the Knights Templars, who had accompanied him on his most adventurous march. For ten years the Templars maintained their position in this advanced post at Calatrava, until, on the death of King Alfonso and the advance of the Almohades in 1157, the Christians were compelled to retire. The fortress, thus abandoned, reverted as of right to Sancho III., the successor of Alfonso VII. in Castile; and it was offered by that king, in 1158, to whomsoever would undertake to occupy and defend it against the Moors.

The honour was sought and found by two Cistercian monks, Raymond Abbot of Fitero, in Navarre, and Fray Diego Velasquez, who received at the king's hands, in addition to the castle of Calatrava, some twenty-eight square leagues of country surrounding the fortress. The Church was no less encouraging than the Crown; and the Archbishop of Toledo not only supplied the bold clerical adventurers with the needful funds, but he assisted their enterprise by preaching a local crusade against the infidel. The monks and their retainers, in fine, acquitted themselves so bravely, that within a short time the Moslems were expelled, not only from the castle, but even from the neighbourhood of Calatrava.

On the death of the bold Raymond, the knights, preferring a soldier to a priest for their captain, elected Don Garcia de

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C. Lea, *Eng. Hist. Review*, April, 1894, as well as that author's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. iii. The first association of knights at Jerusalem which developed into the great Order of the Temple, took place in 1119; and nine years later, at the Council of Troyes (1128) St. Bernard of Clairvaux drew up the statutes of the Order.

[1] Calatrava is an Arabic word, *Kalât* = Fort; *Rabah* = the name of one of the companions of the prophet. See Abulfeda, *Géographie* (Paris, 1848), vol. ii., p. 239; Gayangos, i., 356. The original name of the city before the Arab invasion is said to have been Oreto. Helyot, viii., 5.

[2] Son of Queen Urraca and Raymond of Burgundy. See chapters xx. and xxii.

Redon, under whom the Order was formally established, in conformity with the rule of St. Benedict, with Fray Rodrigo as their abbot or chaplain. Under the new master the religious military Order was recognised by Pope Alexander III. in a Bull of 1164; and the powers and privileges of the knights were afterwards confirmed and augmented by Gregory VIII. and Innocent III.

The aid of these Calatravan companions being sought soon after their incorporation by the king of Portugal, the knights responded to his appeal, and commanderies or convents were established at Evora,[1] at Santarem, and other places in Portugal; while in Aragon, Alfonso II. endowed the new Order with the city of Alcañiz in 1179. After the battle of Alarcon in 1195, Calatrava was retaken by the Almohades, and the knights, transferring their headquarters to the castle of Salvatierra, were known for some time by the name of that fortress.[2] In 1210 Calatrava was once more conquered and occupied by the knights under Don Martin Fernandez.

Their heroic defence of Salvatierra,[3] in the following year, against all the attacks of the Almohades, was but the prelude to their prowess at the battle of the Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The Christians having obtained a firm footing in Andalusia after this memorable engagement, a new Calatrava was built, under the supervision of Don Martin Fernandez, at a distance of some thirty-five miles from the old one, which had been destroyed by the Moors; and the headquarters of the Order was transferred to this new and no less dignified fortress.[4] A century later, Pope John XXII., by his Bull of 1317, recognised the new establishment, which was to be governed by the same rules as the old Order of Calatrava.

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[1] The military Order of Avis was founded in 1162 in Portugal, under the name of the New Militia, and was affiliated to the Cistercian Order of Monks, and dependent to some extent upon the more distinguished Order of Calatrava in Spain. They took the name, in 1166, of Knights of Evora; but this was again changed soon after for that of *Avis*. It is said that two eagles or birds (*Aves*) pointed out the spot where the fortress was to be built in which they first established themselves, and whose name they took (1187). Angel, Manriquez, *An. Ord. Cisterc.*, tom. ii.; Helyot, *ubi supra*, viii., 39-45.

[2] A convent of nuns was attached to the Order in 1219, and a second in 1479. Lawrence-Archer, *Orders of Chivalry* (1887), p. 226.

There was a schism in the Order of Calatrava in 1296; and a grand master and an anti-grand master, after the manner of the Popes; Lopez de Padilla *versus* Gutierrez Perez. There was another schism in 1404, which was put an end to by the confirmation of the celebrated Henry de Villena in his office as Grand Master. Benitez, i., 16.

[3] Romey, vi., 257. The old Calatrava was retaken by the knights, but the fortifications do not seem to have been worth restoring. Benitez, i., 16.

[4] Lawrence-Archer (1887), p. 226.

The subordinate Order of Montesa[1] was established by James II. of Aragon in 1317, and chartered in accordance with a Bull granted by John XXII. in the previous year, endowing the new Order with all the estates of the Templars and of the Knights of St. John in the province of Valencia.[2] But practically the new Order was little more than a branch of that of Calatrava, by whose statutes it was governed, although the administration was in the hands of the masters of Montesa, invested with separate jurisdiction over their own knights. In 1399, a third Order of knighthood was united with that of Calatrava, in accordance with a Bull of Benedict XIII.—the Spaniard Pedro de Luna—the Order of St. George of Alfama, which had been founded in 1201 by Peter II. of Aragon. To confirm and complete this union, another Bull was obtained from Benedict XIII. in 1400, and the Red Cross of St. George[3] took the place of the sable insignia of earlier days as the badge or cognisance of Calatrava.[4]

The United Order remained independent, but unimportant, for nearly two hundred years, until the death of Pedro de Borja, the last grand master, in 1587, when the revenues were finally appropriated by Philip II., and the independence[5] of the confraternity extinguished, although royal lieutenants-general were appointed as *pro* or *vice*-grand masters by successive kings of Spain.[1]

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[1] Benitez, i., 19.

[2] Of the history of Montesa, and incidentally of the parent Order of Calatrava, there is a most excellent and trustworthy history in two vols., 4to (Valencia, 1669), by Hippolyto de Samper, prior of the Order, well arranged, with references to many authorities, a good table of contents, and a full and admirable index. The title takes up thirty-five lines; but the headline is *Montesa Illustrada*, which may suffice as a reference. See also Helyot, *Dict.*, viii., 34-37.

[3] As to the foundation of the Order of St. George—so spelt in the old documents, and not Jorge, as the name is now written, see Samper, i., fols. 378-383, where all the original documents, bulls and charters are given. For a fuller account of the legend of St. George, and the rise of the various military orders in Christendom under his protection, including that of the Garter, see Appendix V.

[4] The old black cross of the Order survived for some time in the *bordure sable* to the *cross gules* borne by the knights of Calatrava.

At the present day the insignia consists of a red cross "cut in the form of lilies" (Sir B. Burke, *Orders of Knighthood*, p. 305) on a silver ground.

A black hood, or headpiece, closed under the chin and round the neck, was a part of the early habit. The frock was white. Helyot, *op. cit.*, viii., 5. In 1540 the statutes were so far modified that the knights, like those of the other Orders, were permitted to marry.

[5] Benitez, i., 21; Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, II., vi., 24, fol. 30; Samper, i., fols. 54-59 and fol. 201; and ii., fol. 937 *et seq.* At the accession of Isabella the Order of Calatrava possessed sixteen priories and fifty-six commanderies, with a total revenue of about half a million of ducats. Sir Bernard Burke, *ubi supra.*

II.—*Santiago.*

The origin of the more distinguished Order of Santiago[2] was no less accidental, and no less curious, than that of Calatrava. The Order is traditionally supposed to have been instituted by Ramiro after the battle of Clavijo in 846, and is referred to at times as the Order of the sword, which was wielded by St. James himself at that apocryphal battle.[3] According to the more serious authorities, the Order of Santiago came into existence in or about the year 1161, on the conversion from their lawless ways of certain outlaws (*foragidos*), who infested the territories of Leon, by Pedro Hernandez de Fuente, whom the converts accepted as their first chief or master.

United under his leadership, they turned their arms against the Moors, and became faithful subjects of King Ferdinand, who granted to them lands at Valdeverna and Villafafilla, and recognised their company as a loyal and knightly corporation of defenders of the faith and destroyers of the infidel. To ensure the practice of a Christian life in the midst of the dangers of war, this band of reformed robbers associated with themselves certain monks of St. Logo or Eloy, of the rule of St. Augustine, as canons or chaplains, whose spiritual ministrations, adapted to their military life, they required and enjoyed, until the appointment of regular chaplains as clerical members of their Order. So successful was this band of warriors in harrying the infidel, that in 1172, the Archbishop of Santiago accorded to their leader or *Maestre*, "the honour of his presence" as spiritual chief of the company, which then and there became formally incorporated under the "Banner, Insignia and Invocation" of St. James.[1]

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[1] The first of these subordinate masters was D. Jayme Juan Falco, appointed in 1593. The second was a Ferrer. The fourth general was a Borgia (1603-1610, Crespi de Borja). The ninth was another Crespi, appointed by Philip IV. in 1646, who was still in office in 1669 (*es, y sea por largos años*, Samper, ii., fol. 591 h.).

[2] The best early account of the history of the Order of Santiago is a small folio published, without author's name, by Francisco Sanchez, Madrid, 1577; called *La Regla y establimentos de la Cavalleria de Santiago del Espada.*—H.

[3] Benitez, i., 3. The sword is said to have been the noble charge on the coat of arms *then* granted to the Order, with the motto :—

"*Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum*".

Heraldic charges, or coat armour, were of course unknown in Europe for more than 200 years after the death of Ramiro.

See D. Vincente de la Fuente, *Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, tom. iv., p. 163 and *España Sagrada*, xxvii.

The knights of Santiago were distinguished by a white mantle, embroidered with the escallop shell—the special badge of St. James—under a cross in the fashion of a sword with its hilt "carved like a lily," not *white*, like that suggestive flower, but *red* with the blood of the infidel; and this ancient insignia and costume remain the same to the present day.

Two years after the formal incorporation, the progress of the Order was recognised, and its *status* assured by a Bull of Pope Alexander III., granted at the instigation of the Cardinal Legate Jacinto, and dated 5th July, 1175, by which Pedro Hernandez de Fuente was appointed master, with whom was associated a chapter or council of thirteen knights, entrusted with the general government of the Order, which was as constituted entirely independent of the local bishops. The knights were to be of pure Christian blood, untainted by any Jewish or Moorish ancestry; and were to assert their belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. The ecclesiastical members of the Order were subject to the rule of St. Augustine, and were to be of noble or, at least, of gentle birth.

At the end of the fifteenth century Santiago possessed no less than two hundred commanderies, with as many priories, and an immense number of castles and villages, together with movable and immovable property of every description.[2]

III.—*Alcantara.*

The Order of Alcantara—originally called the Order of *Pereyro*, from the wild pear tree or *peral silvestre* which grew at the door of the hermitage of St. Julian near Salamanca—owed its foundation, in the year 1156, to Don Suero Gomez and others, who, with the approbation of a local hermit of the name of Armando, established a fort on the banks of the river Coa which divides the kingdom of Leon from that of Castile. The valour and success of Don Suero and his comrades attracted a great company of the hardiest warriors of the neighbourhood, who undertook many forays against the Moors on the frontier. Their valour was rewarded by success. The marauders were confirmed in their conquests by King Ferdinand II. of Leon. Ordono, Bishop of Salamanca, permitted certain Cistercian monks to take service in the band; and these reverend fathers or brothers, we are told, devoted to religious and pious exercises in the hermitage of St. Julian[1] as "much time as they could spare from their principal duty, *su primera obligacion*, of war!"

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[1] Alfonso I. of Portugal and his son Sancho, in 1171, gave them the castles of Montesanto and Abrantes, and the knights were largely instrumental in the recovery of Algarve in the next century.

[2] Sir Bernard Burke, *ubi supra*, 299.

For an account of the early history of the Order, the names of the grand masters, etc., see Helyot, *op. cit.*, vii., 79-99, and *Rades y Andrada*, *Las Tres Ordenes*, etc. There are also canonesses of the Order of Santiago; the first convent having been founded at Salamanca in 1312 by Pelayo Perez, a knight of the Order, and Maria Mendez, his wife. The convents are at Salamanca, Toledo, Barcelona, Valladolid, Merida and Granada. The rules of the different institutions vary in every case: the Barcelona ladies are not considered as *Religieuses*. (Until the revolution of 1868 there was a convent of canonesses of Calatrava at Madrid, adjoining the still existing church of the Order.—H.)

It is amusing to note that a new military Order of Spanish knights was founded in the nineteenth century—the Order of *St. Hermenegildo*—founded on the 28th Nov., 1814, by Ferd. VII. Such knights must have been apt *pronunciamientistas!*

On the death of Don Suero in 1174, Don Gomez succeeded to his captaincy, and it is he that is considered to be the first regular master[2] of the Order, which was formally constituted by Ferdinand of Leon after the battle of Arganam[3] or Arganal on the frontiers of Portugal, in 1177.

The Confraternity further received the approbation of the Holy See in the form of a Bull of Alexander III. (1178) which, however, did not, as in the case of Santiago, exempt the members of the new Order from the local authority of the diocesan. And it was not until 1183 that their inferior status in this respect was altered by another Bull which placed the Order of *Pereyro* under the rule of St. Benedict, and granted to its members authority and privileges not inferior to those possessed by the great company of Santiago.

Their bravery at the taking of Truxillo in 1188 induced Alfonso IX. to grant to them the castle of Ronda in the diocese of Toledo. And the same king, having received from the Knights of Calatrava the town of Alcantara on the Tagus, which he had previously given to them, regranted it in 1213, after the battle of Las Navas, to the companions of *Pereyro*, who had greatly distinguished themselves under the mastership of the illustrious Niño Fernandez. From this date the Order was known by the name of that of Alcantara, and to the *Peral* on their knightly shield was added by royal order the *Trabas y Cruz* of Calatrava.

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[1] The Order was sometime known as the Order of *St. Julian*. Sir B. Burke, 306.

[2] He is called *Prior* in one of the MSS.

[3] This battle was fought against Henry, King of Portugal, when large grants of castles and lands were made to the Order by the king.

The Knights of Alcantara wore a white mantle with a capoch and black scapulary three inches wide, reaching down to the girdle. In 1441 the present white mantle, embroidered with a green cross, in form and shape precisely similar to that of Calatrava, was substituted for the former black insignia, but the pear tree of St. Julian is still the time-honoured crest of the Order.

From the time of Niño Fernandez, the Order of Alcantara continued to be ruled by masters elected by the company, until the time of Juan de Zuñiga, when the administration was assumed, and the grand mastership, with its noble revenues, usurped by Ferdinand the Catholic.

IV.—*The Grand Masters.*

The constitution, the duties, and the privileges of each of the three great knightly orders, Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, were essentially similar; while in minor matters of discipline and of conduct, their government was regulated by their various charters of incorporation. The first duty of every member of every Order was to make war against the Moslem.[1] But the king, and the king alone, could authorise the knights to engage in any operation of war; and as a matter of history, they took their place in battle against Christian sovereigns and Christian neighbours at least as often during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as against the Moors who remained in the Peninsula.[2] Within the Order the knights owed absolute obedience to the master, who, although nominally subject to the king, was in many cases a semi-independent military prince.[3] Each knight furnished himself with his horse and his arms, and was chosen or accepted only by the master, after full examination and consideration.[1] The aspirant was admitted with due ceremony ; and was solemnly invested with the habit of his Order by the master himself. At first no stipulation was made as to the nobility of the knights, although it was in course of time insisted upon as a condition precedent to admission.[2] In the case of the *clerical* members, noble birth was not essential.

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[1] Benitez, cap. ix., s. 6, 7.

[2] John II. of Castile, for example, ordered Gutierrez de Sotomayor to make war upon the kings of Aragon and Navarre. And the knights of Santiago had previously played an important part in the battle of Arganam between Ferdinand of Leon and Alfonso Henrique of Portugal in 1177.

[3] The subordination of every knight, and even of the purely ecclesiastical members, to the master of the Order, the more complicated relation of the master to the king, and all such questions, are treated with the greatest fulness by Benitez, *ubi supra.* See also Rohrbacher, *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*, tom. viii., p. 421; and tom. ix., p. 818.

The homage that was due from every master to the sovereign, the manner of recruiting, the obligations of the knights to the master, to the king, and to one another, with numerous minute directions as to the acquisition and disposal of plunder, and the administration of the property of the Orders, are the subject of various charters and bulls of incorporation ; and the absolute power of each master was tempered rather by these organic statutes than by any respect for royal authority or municipal law. The vows of the military knights in each of the three Orders were (1) of *Obedience*, which was rigorously enforced ; (2) of *Poverty*, which did not import the giving up of worldly goods, as in the case of purely religious confraternities, but was simply taken to mean that no property granted to the Order should be used for the individual advantage of any individual knight. But the masters were permitted to dispose by will of one-half of all such property as they might have acquired from the Order. The vows (3) of *Chastity* did not prohibit lawful marriage, but enjoined only conjugal fidelity.[3]

From the first institution of the Orders, the masters enjoyed the fullest powers for the political and military government of their subordinate knights and dependents, and to this was soon added an authority over the ecclesiastical associates of the Orders. No sooner had the masters of Santiago acquired the special patronage and protection of the Holy See, than they sought, in the words of Benitez, *fraudar la jurisdiccion* of their founder Ferdinand II., by a pretended cession of *Castro-Taraf* to the Papal Legate *Jacinto*. And so independent and presumptuous did these masters become,[4] that instead of the modest title of *Alferez*, with which in the early days they contented themselves, they assumed the style of *Maestre, por la gracia de Dios*.

The relations of these powerful captains with Papal Rome are worthy of careful study. A king in Spain was, until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, rather *primus inter pares* than a monarch in the fullest sense of the term. The Popes, who in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries regarded the independence of the Spanish kings and of the Spanish people with a by no means favourable eye, were glad to support an adventurous grand master in any judicious attack upon the privilege of a king less devoted to the Church and to the Vatican. Thus Pope Sixtus IV. assisted the rebellion of the master Juan de Zuñiga against Henry IV. Innocent III. declared that the masters were not obliged to observe the treaties made with the Moors by Alfonso VIII. ; and his successor Honorius III., gave orders to the kings of Spain that they should not forbid the masters to make war against the Moors whenever they chose, with or without their royal authorisation.[1]

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[1] Benitez, 5, 7, and 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14, 15, 21.

[3] Except in the case of the more distinctly religious Order of Calatrava. Benitez, cap. x.

[4] *Se vió à los Maestres levantar y deponer los Reyes*, as being sure of the support of the Popes !

Yet, on the other hand, we read of the constant attempts of the Pontifical legates to abate the privileges of the Orders, to exercise alleged rights of supervision, and generally to prevent the masters from becoming too independent of the Church. The Popes claimed the right of revoking what they had granted.

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[1] Benitez, vii., 31.

See generally Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, *Historia de las Ordenes de Caballeria y de las Condecoraciones Españolas* (Madrid, 1864) ; and *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., 89.

A list of the grand masters of the three Orders, from the earliest times, is given in Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, iv., 583-4.

The number of commanderies of the Orders even as late as 1570, was considerable. Santiago included eighty-three ; Calatrava included seventy ; Alcantara included thirty-nine. The names of each one of these commanderies, as well as a catalogue of the grand masters of the three Orders, is given in the *Cronica de las tres ordenes y Cavallerias*, etc., by Rades y Andrada, one vol. (Toledo, 1572). This chronicle contains not only a full account of the origin and constitution of the three Orders, their habits, arms, seals, etc., but lists of the names of the grand masters, priors, and even the commanders of the Order, down to the year 1570.

I have also found a good deal of general information of a most interesting character as regards their revenues, with numerous statistics as to the Spanish nobility in the Middle Ages, in an MS. in the British Museum collection, Sir Julius Cæsar MS., Lans, 171.

The following list of all the great Orders of knighthood still in existence in Europe, arranged in the order of their foundation down to 1450, may be interesting :—

Calatrava ...	... 1158.
Santiago ...	... 1170.
Alcántara ...	... 1179 (1213).
Christ (Portugal) ...	... 1320.
Seraphim (Sweden)	... 1336.
Garter ...	... 1349.
Golden Fleece ...	... 1429.

The knights maintained that their sovereign rights must be paramount.

The masters, or grand masters as they came to be called, were thus not only the most important, but the most powerful subjects in Spain; and the absorption of their great offices in the royal prerogative by Ferdinand the Catholic, as we shall see in the course of this history, was a most politic abuse or exercise of his royal power.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JAMES THE FIRST OF ARAGON.[1]

(1213-1276.)

I.—*Catalonia and Aragon.*

The union of Catalonia with Aragon, by the marriage of Queen Petronilla with Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona, in 1150, was the foundation of the greatness of Spain. Barcelona was not only then, as it is now, the greatest and most prosperous seaport town in the Peninsula, but it was, as it is, inhabited by the sturdiest, the most energetic, and the busiest population in Spain. And the happy union[2] between the hardy mountaineers of Aragon, and the no less hardy mariners of the coast, gave rise to a people who were not only able to drive out the Moslems from their borders, and to possess themselves of fairest Valencia, but who covered the great sea with their merchant ships, and filled the warehouses of Barcelona with the choicest goods of the Mediterranean and the Levant.

Barcelona was the only town in Spain where trade was not considered a disgrace. Yet no mere tradesmen were the sturdy Catalonian inhabitants. They established the first bank of exchange and deposit in Europe—in 1401. They compiled the most ancient code of maritime law in the western world—a code that embodied the commercial usages of all civilised nations, and formed the basis of the mercantile jurisprudence of Europe during the Middle Ages. Energetic alike in the pursuits of peace and the arts of war, they not only drove out the pirates of Majorca and the nobler Moslems of Valencia, but they made their prowess felt in Greece and Asia Minor, and won for their sovereign the splendid, if somewhat unprofitable title of Duke of Athens. Thus, while the nobles of Leon and Castile were slaughtering their Moslem neighbours, and quarrelling with their Christian friends, the burghers of Barcelona were sailing the seas in quest of commerce and of adventure, and emulating the civilisation of the East. More than this, consuls and commercial factories were established, and resident consuls appointed, by these early Catalans, to watch over their interests in every considerable port in the Mediterranean,[1] and even in the north of Europe.

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[1] The standard English authority for the reign of James I. of Aragon is now Mr. Darwin Swift's *Life and Times of James the First*, etc., one vol. (1894), a work which, to my great regret and loss, only came into my hands as I was actually revising the sheets of this chapter, but which I have read with pleasure and admiration.

[2] It should be mentioned that the County of Barcelona or Principality of Catalonia, as it came to be called, was not merged into the kingdom of Aragon, though the same sovereign ruled both. The privileges of the two dominions were kept rigidly separate, and the monarchs were obliged to appeal to two distinct Cortes for recognition and supplies.—H.

But the peculiar glory of Barcelona was the freedom of her municipal institutions. The government,[2] at least as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, consisted of a Senate or deliberative assembly of 100 members, and a council of *regidores* not exceeding six in number; the larger body entrusted with the legislative, the smaller with the executive functions of government. A considerable proportion of the members of these august bodies were selected from the merchants, tradesmen and mechanics of the city. They were invested not merely with municipal authority, but with many of the rights of sovereignty. They entered into commercial treaties with foreign powers. They superintended the defence of the city in time of war. They provided for the security of trade, granted letters of reprisal against any nation who might violate it; and they raised and appropriated the public monies for the construction of useful works, or the encouragement of such commercial ventures as were too hazardous or too expensive for individual enterprise. The councillors who presided over the municipality were invested with certain honorary privileges not even accorded to the nobility. They were addressed by the title of *Magnificos*. They remained covered in the presence of royalty. They were preceded by mace-bearers, or lictors, in their progress through the country;[3] and their deputies claimed and received at the king's court the honours that were accorded to foreign ambassadors.

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[1] Capmany, *Mem. de Barcelona*, i., 2, 3. Fine wool was imported into Barcelona from England in large quantities, and manufactured into cloth, which was afterwards sent back to London. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, i., 655.

[2] The most important royal charters are those of 1249 and 1258.

[3] These, it will be remembered, were plebeians, merchants and mechanics; for trade never was considered a degradation in Catalonia, as it came to be in Castile. They were the professors of the different arts, as they were called, organised into

The political institutions of Aragon in the fourteenth century were, without doubt, the most liberal that existed in any country of mediæval Europe. The king, escorted by twelve peers of the realm, knelt down before the chief justice or justiciary as he swore to maintain the laws which were made by the representatives of burghers and nobles, assembled in annual or special councils.[1] This Aragonese Parliament consisted of four branches or *brazos* —(1) the RICH-HOMES or great lords of the State;[2] (2) the CABALLEROS, including the *Infanzones* or knights of lesser degree, and the *Mesnaderos*, or descendants of a *Rich-home;* (3) the CLERGY; (4) the COMMONS, who, as may be supposed in so democratic a constitution, enjoyed higher consideration and greater civil privileges than in any other country of mediæval Europe. The veto of a single member, as in the Diet of Poland, sufficed to defeat or postpone any measure introduced and supported by the most powerful majority in the chamber.

The first General Assembly of the Estates of Aragon and Catalonia was held in 1162, while similar *Cortes*, in 1163 and 1164, were certainly attended by representatives of the three, or, rather, four estates of the realm, six years before the first burgher was summoned to a National Assembly in Castile, and more than a century before the towns were admitted to full rights of representation in the Parliament of England.

The Cortes of Aragon was not only a legislative and deliberative assembly; it was the High Court or Parliament of the realm. The *General Privilege*, which has been called the *Magna Charta* of Aragon, and which was granted by Peter III. in 1283 to the Cortes of Saragossa, is a noble monument of the prudence and liberality of the sovereign, and of the courage and independence of the people. It contains a series of provisions against arbitrary taxation, royal spoliation, and secret tribunals, against sentences even of the justiciary, without the assent of the Cortes,

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guilds or companies, constituted as so many independent associations, whose members alone were eligible to the highest municipal offices. And such was the honour attached to civic positions, that the nobles in many instances resigned their hereditary rank, in order that they might become candidates for civic employment. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, i., 66, 67.

[1] No king of Aragon was qualified even to assume the royal title until he had taken this coronation oath. Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, tom. i., f. 104; and tom. ii., f. 76.

[2] The word has nothing in common with *rico*, or rich; but is from a root akin to *Reich* = empire.

against the appointment of unfit persons as judges, against the use of torture, and against trials beyond the sea. It declares, in plain language, that absolute power never was, nor shall be, the Constitution of Aragon; and that men shall only be judged according to the laws, customs and privileges which have been anciently used in the kingdom.[1]

The *General Privilege* was confirmed in the Cortes of Saragossa in 1325, when, among many other admirable enactments, the use of the *Question* or torture, applied to witnesses in judicial proceedings, was formally abolished. This odious and absurd practice remained part of the procedure of most other European countries for long years after 1325.[2]

The Great Charter of England was wrung from a distressed and contemptible monarch; the Great Privilege of Aragon was granted by a bold and successful king. Both John and Peter, indeed, were so far in the same position that each one had been excommunicated by the Pope. But Peter, who defied the thunders of the Vatican, was no less liberal in his grant of popular rights than our own *Lackland*.

But from the necessities of the King of Aragon, some five years later, a still more remarkable charter was obtained in the *Privilege of Union*,[3] which appears to have authorised any members of a great confederation of subjects to combine or unite in making war upon the king, in case of a denial of justice, or any attempt on the part of the sovereign to act independently of the Justiciary. How far this legalisation of the highest form of treason may have extended we cannot now be certain, for every copy or record of the dangerous charter was destroyed by order of Peter IV. at the time of its abrogation in 1348; and the destruction was so complete that even the words of the instrument are not remembered. The year before the abolition of this strange privilege, the independence of the Aragonese nobles had become so complete that they had caused a seal to be prepared, representing the king sitting on his throne, with the confederates kneeling, indeed, before their sovereign, but backed by a long line of tents and lances, denoting their ability or resolution to defend themselves if needful.[3] But the confederates were defeated by the king at the battle of Epila, and the original charter of the Privilege of Union was cut in pieces by Peter with his own dagger. Yet did not the king abuse the victory. All good laws and reasonable privileges were confirmed, and Aragon enjoyed a greater and more legitimate liberty under more ancient and more constitutional safeguards.

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[1] *Fueros de Aragon*, 9; Zurita, fol. 265.

[2] The application of torture in judicial proceedings had been an exclusively royal privilege in Aragon. Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 152. See also Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii., chap. i., and *Documentos ineditos*, tom. xl., pp. 434-573.

[3] See Castelar, *Estudios Historicos* (1875), pp. 40, 41.

[3] The legend on this most remarkable seal is *Sigillum Unionis Aragonum*.

But the great glory of the kingdom of Aragon, greater by far than the most liberal of her laws or the most extensive of her privileges, was the loyal attachment of the people to monarchical institutions, and to the principle of hereditary succession, joined to a noble determination to resist all arbitrary power—a love of law, and a love of liberty.[1]

The popular revolutions aimed not at dethroning the king, after the manner of Leon and Castile, still less at his assassination, but at the maintenance of the popular rights, and the subjection of the sovereign to well ascertained national laws. The greatest code of laws in mediæval Europe was the work of Castile ; but the great principle of legitimacy—of a free and law-abiding people, ruled by a free and law-abiding king—lived in the heart of Aragon. With their personal liberties secured, not only by the general privilege, but by many earlier and later laws, with a Cortes endowed not only with legislative but with judicial powers, and distinguished by an uncommon boldness and independence of action, with the Justiciary ever at the king's side, to maintain, if need were, the rights of the humblest subject, the people enjoyed an amount of personal and political liberty, superior, without doubt or question, to that of any other people of mediæval Europe.[2]

Two special powers call forth the admiration of a distinguished English historian, that of *Jurisfirma* or *Firma del derecho*, by which causes were transferred from the cognisance of any court in the realm to that of the Justiciary himself—being in fact an extended form of our writ of *Certiorari*, and that of *Manifestacion*, by which the person of any applicant was at once wrested from the hands of the royal officers—answering to some extent to our writ of *habeas corpus.*[3] But good laws are worthless without good administrators. And one of the happiest accidents of

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[1] See Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.*, i., 63, note 65.

[2] The powers of this justiciary did not exceed, according to Hallam, those of the Chief Justice of England. But he admits that these powers were exercised in Aragon in a way that English judges, "more timid or more pliant," never presumed to act.

[3] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., 50, 51.

Constitutional Government in Aragon was that the *Justicias* were almost without exception men of virtue and probity, who did not hesitate to use, but who scrupled to abuse, their enormous powers.

II.—*James the Conquerer.*

James the Conqueror, in Catalan *En Jacme lo Conqueridor,* the most celebrated of all the sovereigns of Aragon,[1] was but six years of age when his father met his death under the walls of Muret (1213). In spite of the vigorous opposition of Simon de Montfort, who would have kept him under his own control, the education of the young king was entrusted by the States of Lerida to the grand master of the Templars at Monzon; and the government of the country during his minority was committed to his uncle Sancho, who took advantage, as might have been expected, of this favourable position to endeavour to possess himself of his kingdom.

For fifteen years civil war raged with varying fortune; intrigue followed intrigue; and the condition of Aragon differed but little from that of neighbouring states, save that the king from his earliest childhood gave proof of a sagacity, a determination, and a patience under adverse fortune, that marked him as a true leader and ruler of men. The bad faith of Simon de Montfort, the intrigues of the Regent Sancho, the interference of the Papal Legate, the rebellion of the nobles, the flight of the young king, the armed pursuit of his uncle Ferdinand, the varying fortunes of civil war; in all this there was nothing new. Yet from the day on which the child of nine years old made his escape from the castle of Monzon (1216), and took his place at the head of the loyal barons, James of Aragon was ever a force to be reckoned with in Spain.

Crafty, no doubt, and cruel by the force of his early education, he was bold, enduring, strong, a king and a conqueror, licentious beyond the common licentiousness of the times, but above all things a man. His marriage in February, 1221, with the Princess Eleanor of Castile, a daughter of Alfonso III. (or

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[1] The title of *Don Jayme* of Aragon, by which this king is usually known, is attractive and picturesque, but decidedly inaccurate. *Jayme* is rather a modern or foreign modification of the Catalan *Jacme*, as the king himself wrote his name. See *Chronicle*, cap. v. Nor was he ever by himself or any of his contemporaries spoken of as Don, which was the Castilian prefix of nobility, representing the Aragonese *En*, of which the feminine was *Na*, or lady.

VIII.), and sister of the celebrated Berengaria, is perhaps the first bright spot in the dark and dreary record of the earlier years of his reign. The marriage, indeed, was afterwards pronounced null and void by the Pope, nominally on account of the blood relationship between the contracting parties, but really to enable the king to marry a Princess Violante or Yolande of Hungary; and the offspring of the intercourse pronounced by the highest spiritual power to be illicit, was recognised by the same authority as legitimate.

By the year 1228, James was at length able to feel himself master of his kingdom. The most powerful nobles were vanquished; the most turbulent rebels were pacified; the royal authority was at last supreme; and an adventurous and capable king was free to turn his attention to the great work of the destruction of the Moslem by land and by sea.

At one-and-twenty, James, already a conqueror, had vanquished all his domestic enemies; and he turned his attention to the Balearic Islands, a nest of Moorish pirates which seriously hampered the growing trade of Barcelona. His proposal to invade (1229) that neighbouring stronghold of Moslems and Corsairs was welcomed at once by the nobles, the merchants, and the clergy of the kingdom; and although the Archbishop of Tarragona was, we are told, unable on account of his great age to take a personal part in the operations of war, Berenguer, Bishop of Barcelona, took his place at the head of 100 knights and 1000 foot soldiers. Nor were the Bishops of Gerona and the Provost of Tarragona, the abbots and canons, and even the humbler members of the regular and secular clergy behindhand with offers of personal co-operation in the adventure, which was at length, by the king's good generalship and good fortune, carried to a most successful conclusion. The taking of Majorca was not only a brilliant feat of arms and a profitable commercial enterprise; it was an important political event, and tended greatly to confirm the power of the young king and commander. Minorca was soon after (1232), subjugated and occupied by the Aragonese; and the conquest of Iviza in 1235 secured the Catalan merchants from all danger of molestation in the neighbouring seas.

As early as 1232, a still more important enterprise had been planned by the king; and the expedition against Valencia was the worthy and legitimate sequel to the conquest of Majorca.

For six years the war continued, and by the spring of 1238 King James had pushed forward his victorious armies to the walls of Valencia, where at length, in the autumn of the same year, a treaty was concluded, by which the Moors marched out of the city with all the honours of war, and the royal standard of *En Jacme* floated over the last stronghold of the Arab in Aragon. Thus did James the Conqueror, before his Castilian neighbours had even pushed forward their southern outposts to the banks of the Guadalquivir, free his country from the Moslem; and thus, 260 years before the fall of Granada, the Christians of Aragon remained undisturbed by Moor or Arab within their borders—supreme from Montpellier to the Sierra Morena.

The quarrels of James with the Castilians about the town of Xativa, his quarrels with the Aragonese about the royal succession, his intrigues in the domestic affairs of Navarre, and his schemes for the division of Aragon among his sons, make but weary and unprofitable reading. But one incident among many less remarkable is deserving of appreciative record. At the urgent request of Alfonso X., in 1264, the king raised an army to assist his Christian neighbour. And, in spite of the opposition of most of his nobles, he led his troops in person against the Murcians (1265) who had risen in rebellion against Castile. And so successful was his intervention that the Moslems were glad to purchase immunity from further attack by the delivery into his hands of the important city and fortress of Murcia (1266), which was with great and almost unprecedented loyalty handed over by King James to King Alfonso at the end of the campaign.

An expedition to the Holy Land, at the suggestion of the converted Khan of Tartary, in 1269, bade fair at one time to become a highly romantic incident in the king's reign. The most complete and elaborate preparations were made for the crusade. Thirty ships, with a small army, which included two bishops, the master of the Templars and of the Hospitallers, with many royal and noble personages, actually sailed from Barcelona, but a sudden storm had so disastrous an effect at once upon the ships and upon the courage of the crusaders, that they turned back before the fleet had got any further east than Aigues Mortes, in Provence, whence the king returned by way of Montpellier to Barcelona.[1] A journey to Lyons, on the occasion of the great Christian Council in 1274, was carried to a more successful termination; and the king took his seat among the thousand ecclesiastics that recognised the

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[1] Fernan Sanchez, a son of King James, continued his course and arrived at Acre in the Holy Land.

Catholic supremacy of Pope Gregory X., who presided in person at the council. James I. of Aragon was, as he is ever styled, a *conquistador*. And he had all the defects of the character. Conquerors in the thirteenth century were not distinguished for mercy or good faith. Yet James, though unfortunate in his domestic relations, and most irregular in his domestic life, was less cruel to his enemies and far more faithful to his friends than most of his contemporaries and predecessors. Towering, like Saul, a head and shoulders above all his subjects, he was, like the greater son of Jesse, ruddy and of a fair countenance; and he was a king of a thoroughly masculine type. Fiery, cruel, inexorable in warfare, until his enemies were vanquished and submissive, his harshness turned to gentleness as soon as victory had converted his former foes into subjects and vassals; and it was with difficulty that he could be induced in times of peace to sign an ordinary death warrant.[1]

To protect himself from a suspicion of heresy James was obliged to prohibit the use by the laity in Aragon of the translation of the Bible into Limousin, which was made in his reign.[2] Yet he did not hesitate to cut out the tongue of an indiscreet Bishop of Gerona in 1246—a piece of sacrilege which cost him the building of the Monastery of St. Boniface, near Morella; and he was certainly immoderately licentious. But with all his faults, he was anything but a mere *conquistador*. His *Commentari*[3] or Chronicles of Aragon, written in the language of the Catalans, in a style at once simple, vigorous and picturesque, is though far less celebrated, an older and, in some ways, even a more interesting work than the Castilian History of his contemporary, Alfonso the Learned of Castile. The one is the work of a conqueror, the other is that of a student. The one is written in a merely local language,[4] the other in the noblest of the romance tongues. Yet though the *Chronicle of Aragon* is by no means worthy to be compared, as it often is, with the *Commentaries* of the greatest of the Cæsars, it is a work which honourably distinguishes King James from the rude and uncultivated manslayers who for over five hundred years bore the title of kings in Christian Spain.[1]

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[1] Lafuente, vi., 326.

[2] Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, i., 294; Castro, *Bibl. Espan.*, i., 411; and Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. i., pp. 434, 435, where we are tantalised with the following note: Sobre las traducciones y fragmentos de traducciones Catalanes de la Biblia, *Vease mi Bibliografia critica de traductores*, TODAVIA NO TERMINADA!

[3] The king's other work, the *Libre de Saviesa*, or Book of Wisdom, a collection of proverbs and sententious sayings, was also written in Catalan; a language which must be carefully distinguished from the Limousin of the troubadours.

[4] Since the publication, in 1814, by Señor Ballot y Flores of his *Gramatica y Apologia de la Llengua Cathalana*, the study of Catalan has been revived and prosecuted with much enthusiasm by many good Catalans (and an important literary movement has taken place in the ancient and copious language.—H.).

III.—*The Troubadours.*

Under the twelve princes of the House of Burgundy who successively ruled over the fair and romantic district bordering on the northern and eastern Pyrenees, a new language and a new literature took their rise. And when in 1113 the crown was transferred, by the marriage of the Princess Douce to Ramon Berenguer III. of Barcelona, the knightly poets and noble troubadours naturally followed their liege lady from Arles to Barcelona, which thus became the chosen seat of the language and literature known as the *Limousin*. In due time, as we have seen, the counts of Barcelona became kings of Aragon, and when they had further acquired the rich districts to the southward from the vanquished Moslem, the soft language of Provence was spoken by kings and courtiers in the palace at Valencia.

In the twelfth century the Catalans had distinguished their own speech from that of their Provençal neighbours by calling the latter Lemosina, but from the thirteenth century, the name given to the vulgar tongue of eastern Spain was that of the *Catalan*; while the language of poetry was known as the *Limousin* or *Lemosi*, a word which was afterwards adopted as the generic name for the language of the troubadours; and which at the present day is used to distinguish the old literary language, whether of prose or verse, from the spoken dialects of modern north-east Spain of which the *Catalâ* is that in common use in Catalonia.

The oldest composition in any of these languages or dialects, whose author is known to posterity, is a little poem of some few stanzas or *coplas* (*coblas*), from the royal hand of Alfonso II. of Aragon—a troubadour and a patron of troubadours at his court at Barcelona (1162-1196). His son, Peter II., was no less a friend to the gay science, and when, after his death at Muret,

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[1] One of the chief authorities for the events in this reign is naturally the *Chronicle* of King James himself. As I do not read Catalan, I have used, with great satisfaction, the English translation so ably edited by Don Pascual de Gayangos, two vols. (London, 1883).

Mr. Swift, I find, devoted an *Appendix*, pp. 277-383, to a consideration of the king's work, which he pronounces untrustworthy, but undoubtedly genuine. The royal authorship has, of course, been doubted by various critics.

Languedoc was given over to priests and inquisitors, the troubadours sought an asylum in free and independent Aragon, and sang of the dead hero in the long poem of "The War of the Albigenses".[1]

At the court of James I. of Aragon many celebrated troubadours lived and sang;[2] and the young king has sometimes been reckoned among the poets, as well as among the conquerors of his age.[3] Another Aragonese writer, good old Ramon Muntaner, wrote a continuation of the Chronicles of En Jacme, beginning with a sketch of the life of the conqueror, whom he ardently loved and admired; and he continued the history of Aragon down to the coronation of Alfonso IV. at Saragossa, in 1327.

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[1] *Histoire de la Croisade contre les hérétiques albigeois*, écrite en vers Provençaux par un poëte contemporain. Paris, 1837, p. 738.

[2] Zurita, *Anales*, x., 42; N. Balaguer, *Historia de los Trovadores*, i., 329.

[3] For an account of the endeavours to restore or maintain the Provençal spirit, in the floral games at Toulouse, and the consistory of the Gaya sciencia at Barcelona; of the Catalan and Valencia poetry as distinguished from the Limousin of Jordi and Roig; and of the decline of this special poetry under the larger influences of Italy and Castile, the reader is referred to Ticknor, i., 296-321, and the excellent article on Catalan language and literature in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Señor A. Morel-Fatio (and also to Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature.*—H.)

CHAPTER XXV.

ALFONSO X. OF CASTILE.

(1252-1284.)

I.—*El Sabio.*

For nigh on five centuries all that was learned and all that was refined in Spain was found among the Arabs of *Andalus.* But on the taking of Seville by St. Ferdinand, the centre of gravity was completely changed; and Spain came into existence—civilised if not yet united—as a Christian kingdom. Aragon and Castile, it is true, were not yet one. The Moslem ruled, and ruled gloriously, in Granada. Yet these were but accidents by which the general position was scarcely affected. The Catalans ruled in Sicily under Peter III. of Aragon, and stretched out their hands to the Bosphorus and the Ægean. The most skilful artificers of the West had yet to construct the most beautiful palace that still remains to tell of Arab culture and Moorish magnificence in Spain. But Castile was the great power in the Peninsula, and the Castilian was the new language of a new and a noble kingdom.

The first man in Castile in the middle of the thirteenth century was Alfonso, the eldest son of St. Ferdinand, who is known and honoured in European history as Alfonso X. From the death of Averroës, and the dispersal of his student companions at Cordova, science had been well nigh dead among the Moslems. Among the Christians it had not yet come into existence. Their mathematical attainments did not go beyond the multiplication table. Their medical skill[1] did not go beyond the exhibition of relics. Their historical criticism did not go beyond a belief in the prowess of St. James at the battle of Clavijo, and the destruction of Paris by the Cid. Of astronomy, of physics, of natural philosophy, they knew nothing; and for science, moreover, of any kind, they cared nothing. They had no aspirations beyond the slaughter of Moors; no amusements but fighting; no occupation but intrigue. The Spanish chivalry, unlike that of every other country in western Europe, had never joined in the crusades; they had their own unbelievers close at hand; and thus, while the knights and lords of France and of England, of Italy and of Germany, were ever bringing back to their feudal castles some of the refinement and some of the science and some of the luxury of Oriental civilisation, and recognised at least the greatness of the world beyond the frontiers of their Fatherland, the Castilian nobles, as a rule, had never left Spain. They knew nothing of the Imperial traditions of Byzantium, of the material glories of Damascus, of the wisdom, of the splendour, and of the greatness of the East. Thus the Castilian knight differed from his fellows in France or England much as a Somersetshire squire in the eighteenth century may have differed from his brother who had fought under Clive at Plassey, or his cousin who had visited half a dozen European cities as the envoy of His Most Gracious Majesty King George. The Castilian nobleman, like the English squire, may have had all the sturdy good qualities of a home-keeping hero, but he scorned to learn anything from the hated Moslem, whom he regarded, not as a more civilised neighbour, but as an odious and contemptible pagan.

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[1] Pope John XXI., indeed, is said to have been a Spanish physician, who afterwards took Holy Orders, and was raised to the Papacy; but the identity of the Pope and the obscure writer of the thirteenth century, known as Petrus Hispanus, is doubtful; and the works of Petrus Hispanus are certainly worthless. Dunham, iv., 259, 260.

But from the time of St. Ferdinand, Moors in Castile became as scarce as foxes in Middlesex. Christian castles became dwelling-places rather than fortresses; and, worn out with the weariness of unaccustomed peace, the knights and nobles were glad to welcome the minstrels and the ballad-singers to their halls. They may have even themselves learned to read. They had at least time to look around them, to cast their eyes abroad; and they woke up to new interests in life, to notions, at least, of refinement, of comfort and of civilisation. Their king in Castile was aspiring to Imperial dominion in Germany. Their neighbours in Aragon had actually acquired a new kingdom across the great sea. The occupation of Cordova and of Seville displayed new wonders of art and architecture, of skill and of science to their astonished gaze. The world, indeed, contained greater things than the cave at Covadonga.

In the thirteenth century, Spain was passing through a great social and intellectual revolution; and the first man of intellectual Spain was Alfonso of Castile, who, at the death of his father St. Ferdinand, in June 1252, succeeded, at the mature age of thirty-one, without opposition, to his crown. Gallicia and the Asturias, Leon and Castile, Murcia and the the greater part of Andalusia, cheerfully accepted his sway; and Al Ahmar, the sovereign of the last remaining Moslem kingdom in the Peninsula, sent envoys to assure the new monarch of the respectful alliance of Granada. Nor were these assurances a mere empty ceremonial. Less than twelve months after the Christian king's accession, the Moslem fortresses of Jerez, Arcos and Medina Sidonia opened their gates to the united forces of Granada and Castile.

Within two years another and a more splendid alliance was cemented by the marriage of Eleanor, the king's sister—great grand-daughter of Henry II. of England—to Prince Edward, the eldest son of Henry III., lord of the neighbouring province of Gascony, and heir to the crown of England. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Burgos, in October, 1254, after the young prince had received the honour of knighthood at the hands of the King of Castile. But the domestic enemy was ever at the gate. Don Diego Lopez de Haro, intriguing against his sovereign, was welcomed and encouraged in his rebellion at the court of his sovereign's son-in-law, James of Aragon, at the very moment when that prince was renewing his protestations of friendship to Alfonso of Castile. Alfonso, meanwhile, was looking further afield. A claimant, in right of his mother Beatrix, to the vacant Duchy of Suabia, he aspired to the greater dignity of the Imperial crown; and he divided the suffrages of the electors at the Diet of Frankfort (in 1257) with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. Neither candidate was duly elected, and the fruitless endeavours of Alfonso to secure his final elevation, his embassies to Germany and to Rome, his largess to the electors, his solicitation of the Popes, drew his attention overmuch from the affairs of Spain, and offended his Spanish subjects. Nor was his administration by any means successful at home. An attempt to increase his revenues by the debasing of the coinage, and to cheapen produce by the fixing of arbitrary prices, was neither very wise nor very learned, and brought nothing but distress and dishonour. An outbreak of the Moors of southern Spain proved too strong for the fidelity of Al Ahmar of Granada, who consented to accept the leadership of the revolt, and who, in more than one important battle in the course of the year 1262, remained victorious over the Christians. The happy intervention of James of Aragon in Murcia, and the jealousy of some of the subordinate Moslem leaders, broke up the confederacy; but the treaty of peace in 1265, which left the contending parties much in the same position as they had occupied before the war, brought no honour to Castile.[1]

A Christian rebellion in 1270 against the authority of Alfonso X., if not more serious at the time, is at least more interesting to the historian.[2] Philip, the king's brother, and Nuñez Gonzalez de Lara, the actual chief of his ever turbulent house, at the head of a number of disaffected nobles, assembled at Palencia, and formulated demands for certain administrative reforms, and for the redress of a long list of grievances, under which they alleged that they suffered. The king consented to hear them.[3] The chroniclers are unanimous in considering that he would have done better if he had cut their throats. And the rebels, as much surprised as the chroniclers, increased their demands, ever more and more, even as their demands were granted. They required, in fine, remission of taxation; compensation for their losses in war; the maintenance of their special *fueros*, or privileges of nobility; an abatement of their burden of military service, and exemption from the jurisdiction of the royal courts. It was a formidable list; but on every point the king gave way; and a Cortes was summoned at Burgos to confirm the new privileges. Alfonso presided. The armed petitioners took their places in the peaceful assembly, and the royal concessions were incorporated in the law of the land. Astounded rather than gratified at the success of their remonstrance, and possibly suspecting some treachery in this new and strange mode of dealing with aggrieved subjects, the rebels fled to Granada, where they were hospitably received (1272) by Al Ahmar, and on his death by his son Mohammed II., until after two years' residence on the banks of the Xenil, they returned unmolested to their homes in Christian Spain.

During the absence of Alfonso on a fruitless visit to

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[1] The conspirators of course secured the assistance of Al Ahmar, the Moslem King of Granada.

[2] Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, *Hist d'Espagne*, tom. v., p. 448.

[3] The first cause of their discontent was the King's surrender to Portugal of his feudatory rights over the kingdom of Algarve, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Beatrice with the King of Portugal.—H.

Beaucaire, in Languedoc, to solicit the intervention of Pope Gregory in the vexed question of the election of an emperor, the Infante Ferdinand, Alfonso's eldest son, died at Ciudad Real (25th July, 1275). Whether his son, according to the Roman law, or his younger brother, according to the Visigothic code, should be treated as his successor and heir to the crown of Castile, was a question hotly debated, and was finally referred by Alfonso to the Cortes at Segovia in 1276. By the king's own code of the *Siete Partidas*, the claims of his grandson were paramount. Yet the assembly decided according to the Visigothic law, in favour of his son Sancho; and Sancho was immediately proclaimed heir to the throne of Spain.

Philip IV. of France, however, whose sister Blanche, the widow of Ferdinand, was the mother of the disinherited Infantes, took umbrage at this legislative decision, and promptly declared war against Castile. No invasion actually took place; but the threatened appearance of the foe on the frontier was the signal for domestic trouble. The young princes with their mother, and Alfonso's own queen, Violante, fled to Aragon, where they were kindly received at the court of Peter III. Don Fadrique, a younger brother of the king, who was supposed to have connived at the escape, was executed or assassinated in his own palace at Burgos. Pope Nicholas III. menaced Philip of France with excommunication if he interfered in the family quarrel. But while Sancho, the recognised heir to Castile, with the assistance of his own mother, a refugee at Saragossa, was making a treaty with Peter of Aragon (1281), for the conquest and division of French Navarre, Alfonso was at Bayonne making a treaty with Philip of France for the partial disinheritance of the same Sancho in favour of the Infantes, his grandsons. And the result of the several negotiations was war between the father and son, between Alfonso the King, and Sancho the Prince Royal of Castile, quite after the good old fashion of their royal ancestors.

The nobles, of course, took the part of the rebel son, who allied himself with Peter of Aragon and Dionysius of Portugal, and having obtained the support of the grand masters of Santiago and Calatrava, was able to treat the king his father with becoming insolence and contempt. He assumed the royal style and title, and even summoned a Cortes to meet at Valladolid, which pronounced Alfonso deposed, even while Alfonso was presiding over a Cortes at Seville, where the rebel prince was formally disinherited; and the French Pope, Martin

IV., supported the cause of the legitimate monarch in a Brief, declaratory, mandatory and minatory (1283). Sancho at first defied the Pope, married his first cousin, Doña Maria of Leon, and decreed the penalty of death against any one who should be found to possess a copy of the Papal Brief. But this "spirited conduct" was not long maintained.

Alfonso, though abandoned by his family and his nobles, was generously assisted by the Moslem emperor of Morocco, to whom he applied in the hour of his distress, with money and troops. Thus reinforced and encouraged, he was able to inflict a crushing defeat upon the forces of his son at Cordova; and Sancho, finding his declining cause deserted by all his allies, was glad to make peace with his father, to submit himself to the Church, and to allow the Moslem troops to return to Africa. Alfonso died soon afterwards, on 5th April, 1284, and his most unworthy son was at once acknowledged king in his room.[1]

Few kings have suffered more severely in their reputation from an inappropriate title of honour than Alfonso X. of Castile. The most learned man in his kingdom, at a time when learning was despised, and the glory of kings was to slaughter their enemies, to murder their relations, and to harry and spoil the infidel, Alfonso was no hero to his contemporaries; and every scribbler in more modern times is at the pains to point out that *El Sabio*, though *learned*, was certainly not *wise;* and to illustrate the statement with the profound reflection that learning and wisdom are unfortunately not synonymous. Erudition and folly may, it is true, sometimes go hand in hand, but ignorance and folly is surely a less honourable combination.

Alfonso X. was not only a lover of letters and a lover of science, but he was himself an accomplished mathematician, an astronomer, a poet, a musician and a linguist. He was the author[2] of the first history, and possibly the first prose composition in that noble language, which grew into greatness under his master hand; and he was the compiler of a national code of laws, which forms the basis of the common law of Spain, and is still quoted with respect before the tribunals of two worlds. He may not have been as bold as his grandfather James of Aragon, nor as fortunate as his father St. Ferdinand, nor as crafty as Ruy Diaz of Bivar; but Alfonso X. was assuredly a great king. The weakness and poor success of his domestic policy is usually attributed to his want of kingly spirit; but in ambition, at least, the royal student soared far above any of his predecessors, and aspired to that Empire which was afterwards the greater glory of Spain under Charles V. of Germany. His own father was born but the doubtful heir to a petty kingdom in the far north-west of Spain; yet he himself stretched out his hand to grasp the Imperial crown of European supremacy. It was a far cry, in the thirteenth century, from Leon to Aix-la-Chapelle. And if Alfonso failed to sit on the throne of Barbarossa, he was at least the first Spaniard from the time of Theodosius the Great who aspired to the Imperial purple. It was two centuries and a half before the greatest of his successors was called to wield the sceptre of Charlemagne; but it was under Alfonso the Learned that Spain first asserted her right—forgotten for nearly nine hundred years—to take her place among the great powers of Europe.[1]

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[1] The death of Alfonso X. is said to have been hastened by a false rumour of the death of his graceless son.

[2] Or at least the promotor and editor.—H.

The character of Alfonso X. is one somewhat hard to unravel, for it displays, to an uncommon degree, a strange mixture of the great and the little. His many misfortunes may possibly be attributable to adminstrative incompetence. A philosopher is rarely gifted with the firm and fortunate hand of a successful statesman; and Alfonso was probably a poor ruler. But of his transcendent learning, of his intellectual *pre-eminence* in the age in which he lived, it is almost impossible to form too high an estimate; for here, at least, record takes the place of rumour. If His Royal Highness, the present heir-apparent to the crown of England, were a senior wrangler, and a double first-class man at our English Universities; if he were called upon to fill the post of astronomer-royal of England, in default of any other man in the kingdom worthy even to be compared with him in that department of science; if he had written a more brilliant history than Macaulay, and a finer poem than Tennyson; if he were fit to teach Wagner music, and Cayley mathematics; and if, in the intervals of his studies, he had found time to codify the entire laws of England into a digest which might endure for six hundred years to come—then, and only then, would the practical pre-eminence of his intellectual attainments, in modern England, represent the practical pre-eminence of the *sabiduria* of Alfonso X. in mediæval Spain.

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[1] Of the king's place in the history of his country as a poet, and a man of letters, as a maker of laws, and a maker of languages, I shall speak in the following chapter.

No Spaniard but Isidore of Seville, and no sovereign of any age or nation, not even Alfred the Great, so much surpassed all his contemporaries in learning as the King of Leon and Castile; and the *Siete Partidas* is a work which as great a scholar as Isidore, and as great a statesman as Alfred, might well have been proud to own. But learning, or even law-giving, is not wisdom, and many a wiser and better king than Alfonso has performed his most elaborate calculations on his ten fingers, and signed his name with the pommel of his sword.

II.—*The Alfonsine Tables.*

From the days of Ptolemy, 150 years after the birth of Christ, to the days of Roger Bacon, at the end of the thirteenth century, there are no greater names in the annals of European science, than those of Al Hazen, the Spanish student at Cordova, and Alfonso the Christian king at Seville.

For 1300 years science had slumbered in Christian Europe; and of all branches of knowledge or of speculation, that which would seem to have been the most completely disregarded was the study of the starry universe in which we move. Nor do we meet with the name of any astronomer in the Christian world, whether as a discoverer or a student, before the time of Copernicus,[1] in the middle of the sixteenth century of our era, with the single exception of Alfonso X. of Castile. In no city or country of the Roman Empire, after the death of Hadrian, not in Athens nor at Rome, nor at Byzantium, by no Pope, nor doctor, nor monk, had anything been added to the discoveries of the old Greek astronomers. Nor did any Christian man concern himself with the study of their works. The encyclopædic Isidore, indeed, may have speculated upon the "motions of the spheres"; but the great metropolitan was assuredly no astronomer.

The most tremendous of those scientific pursuits in which man demands the secrets of nature had absolutely no interest for the guardians of human and Divine knowledge who looked upon an eclipse of the sun as a display of the Divine anger, or a shooting star as a mark of the Divine approval; and who would have deemed the study of astronomy nearly as impious as the study of therapeutics.

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[1] George of Purbach and Müller of Königsberg, indeed, obscure astronomers of the fifteenth century, preceded Copernicus by a few years. The great work *De orbium cœlestium revolutionibus* was not published until 1543, when the author was actually on his death-bed, although written many years before; as Copernicus dreaded the outcry that would be caused by the appearance of so heterodox a work.

With the followers of Mohammed however, it was far different. Islam had no priesthood and no prejudices. The Μεγάλη σύνταξις, after lying unnoticed for 700 years by Christendom, was translated into Arabic as early as the ninth century under the suggestive title of the *Almagest*;[1] and more than one Arab student distinguished himself as a practical astronomer not only at Bagdad but at Cordova. The Caliph Harun al Rashid was a munificent patron of the science, and many were the professors and students in the Moslem world from the eighth to the thirteenth century.[2]

But the first name in Christian Europe, as a man of science and a lover of knowledge, a man of letters in the best sense of the word, a mathematician and a natural philosopher, and above all as an astronomer, is that of Alfonso X. of Castile. A marvel in mediæval Christendom, a king and a student, Alfonso was not content with the study of the works of the ancient astronomers. He set himself to criticise and to correct them. The tables of Ptolemy were defective and misleading. He determined to prepare new ones. He accordingly assembled, during his father's life-time, all the Arab and Jewish men of science that he could bring together, and presiding himself over this scientific council, set himself to perform the interesting and most original task which he had given himself to do, in the royal palace at Toledo. New calculations were made of times and distances. The position of the planets was reascertained. Their movements were recomputed. Old errors were corrected. New truths were established. At length, after years of study and labour, the great work which has ever since been known by the name of the *Alfonsine Tables* was completed, and published on the very day of the accession of Alfonso to the throne of Castile.[1]

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[1] *Al* (Arabic), the; μέγιστος (Greek), greatest. A suggestive *hybrid*. The *Almagest* was translated into Latin by order of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1230, say *eleven hundred years* after its first publication in the original.

[2] The tables of Al Batani, who studied at Antioch, were celebrated until the thirteenth century, when their place was taken by those of Alfonso X.

Astronomy was studied with peculiar diligence in Moslem Spain, and the tables of Arzachel and the observations of Al Hazen are only overshadowed by the greatness of Averroës, who himself wrote a commentary on the *Almagest*.

Pope Sylvester II. (Gerbert) studied mathematics, if he did not teach astronomy at Cordova (*circ.* 980); and our own John Holywood dog-Latinised, after the fashion of his time, as *Sacro Bosco*, and sometimes known as John of Halifax (from the place of his birth, *circ.* 1200), after much study in Spain, made an abridgment of the *Almagest*, which was long famous under the title of *Treatise on the Spheres*. The Caliph Al Mămūn had also ascertained the size of the earth from the measurement of a degree in the plain of Mesopotamia—an operation implying true ideas of its form, and in singular contrast with the doctrines and doctors of Constantinople and Rome.

See Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 41.

But this was by no means the sum of the king's contributions to astronomical science. He discovered the true theory of the progression of the stars, explained by all previous astronomers upon the most extravagant suppositions, and, as Bailly says, on the publication of his treatise, *il y eut une erreur de moins dans les hypothèses célestes*.[2]

The Christian world in the thirteenth century was already beginning to awake from its long sleep in the darkness of ignorance and sacerdotalism. Roger Bacon, indeed, the great light of the age, was imprisoned by the Franciscans in Paris, jealous of his fame and distrustful of his discoveries; but he was not effectually silenced. Frederick II.,[3] though excommunicated, was not cowed, nor hindered from opening the doors of knowledge in Germany, by all the efforts of the ecclesiastical power; and although successive Popes prevented Alfonso of Spain from taking the place of the great Suabian on the throne of Charlemagne, they were unable to interfere with his speculations and his discoveries, with his patronage of Jewish doctors, or with his dissemination of Moslem science. The pen was superseding the lance in the new conquest of the world; and Spain had an honourable place in the van of the army of knowledge.

It was not, indeed, given to Alfonso or to any of his contemporaries to see the learning of Cordova prevail over the rude valour of Covadonga, the certainties of science over the traditions of Santiago. The seed may have been sown in sunny Andalusia. The harvest was to be reaped in yet more favoured lands. But if in modern Spain, Ermengild is more honoured than Alfonso, and Dominic more respected than Averroës, the Castilian may yet proudly remember that one of the first blows that was struck against the old forces of ignorance and savagry was dealt by a Spanish knight; and that the bright standard of knowledge was first displayed upon the walls of the ancient city of superstition by the most Christian hand of a king of Castile.

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[1] The work is said to have cost 400,000 gold ducats. Bailly, *Astronomie moderne*, i., tom. i., pp. 299-301. See also Reinand's *Tr. of Abulfeda*, Intr., p. 44.

The chief assistant of the prince in the preparation of these tables was a Jew of the name of Isaac Ibn Said Hassan. See Riccius, *de motu oct. Sph.*, p. 25.

The tables are based, of course, upon the same hypothesis as those of Ptolemy. Copernicus did not enlighten the world for another two and a half centuries.

The *epoch* of the *Alfonsine Tables* was fixed at 1st June, 1252, the day of the king's accession to his throne. The tables were *printed* for the first time at Venice (1492). *Cf.* Mondejar, *Memorias Historicas del Rey Alfonso X.*

[2] Bailly, *op. cit.*, i., 300. See also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Ubersetzungen Arabischen Werke in das Lateinische seit dem XI. Jahrhundert*, printed in the Abhandlungen des K. Ges. der Wiss., zu Göttingen (Hist. Phil. Classe), xxii., 2.

[3] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 208-210.

III.—*Language and Literature of Castile.*

Alfonso X. was no favourite of fortune. His studies, and even his publications, have been almost forgotten by posterity; his learning was in no way appreciated by his contemporaries; and even his great code of laws, the most practical and the most enduring work of his life, was not promulgated for nearly three-quarters of a century after his death. His ruder subjects misunderstood, even as they took advantage of, his refined and peaceful nature; and a nation of soldiers has always held it as a reproach to his memory that he did not disregard his father's solemn treaty with Al Ahmar, and drive the Moors of Granada off the sacred soil of Spain. To great commanders, great deeds are never impossible; yet the conquest of Granada was no easy task even in 1492, and the enterprise was assuredly far more difficult in 1254. Alfonso himself was no general. No *Great Captain* was found among his knights and nobles. The king, after all, may have done wisely, as well as honestly, in observing his father's treaties, and maintaining the existing peace with the friendly Moslem.

But although Alfonso was no warrior, he had perhaps more to do with the making of Spain than was admitted by his contemporaries, or has ever been recognised by their successors. For no man had so large a share in the making of the noble language of Castile. He developed it by his studies. He popularised it by his laws. He fixed it by his writings. In his hands an unknown *patois* became the language of poetry and of history, of science and of legislation; and the debased Latin which had hitherto been the only medium of communication for rich and poor, gave place to a new national tongue—the language of the king and of the subject, of the priest and of the people, of the knight and of the lawyer, of the judges and councillors, of the great assemblies of the nation. In none of the states of modern Europe has one man done so much to make the language of a country—not Bede, nor Alfred, nor Chaucer; not Luther, nor Dante, nor Froissart. To find a rival we must turn to a distant Continent, and to a more ancient people, where a greater lawgiver than Alfonso, in a greater work than the *Partidas*, fixed if he did not found the noble language of the *Koran*.

To discover the origin, and to trace the gradual development of one of the most interesting of modern European languages, would be a task at once difficult and delightful. It must suffice, in a brief sketch like the present, to say that the Castilian was evolved out of the Latin, as the nation itself grew into national life,[1] and that from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century it assumed a form not very unlike the Spanish of the present day, differentiated from the other languages of romance origin by the influence of the ancient Iberian or Basque upon the spoken language of the refugees in the Asturias, and that of the Arabic upon the more numerous sojourners in the southern provinces. The little band of patriots of the north drove out, indeed, the foreigner of the south. Yet in the world of letters, culture prevailed over the sword.[2] The Arabs have enriched the modern Spanish with a wealth of words, artistic, scientific and literary; while the more ancient Celtiberian, although it may and must have modified the national language, has scarcely affected the national vocabulary.[3]

Spain, we must remember, had been conquered but not colonised by Taric and Musa. Moslems of various races and nations, indeed, accompanied or followed the Arab armies of occupation; but the Christian Spaniards were neither slain nor banished; and they continued, under the liberal sway of the Arab rulers, to constitute the great mass of the population of Moslem Spain.

Those who embraced Islam, and they were many, became, after two or three generations, undistinguishable from their Moslem neighbours, and spoke, no doubt, a debased form of

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[1] Hovelacque, *La Linguistique*, p. 256; Renan, *Origines de la Langue Française*, p. 203.

[2] On the frontiers of Andalusia a species of *patois* or *lingua franca*, half-Spanish, half-Arabic—the *Algarabia*—was familiarly spoken and understood by both Moor and Christian as late as the time of Peter the Cruel.

[3] Quand le latin eut définitivement effacé les idiomes indigènes de l'Italie, de l'Espagne et de la Gaule, la langue littéraire devint une pour ces trois grands pays; mais le parler vulgaire—le parler Latin—y fut respectivement différent . . . ces peuples, conduits par le concours des circonstances à parler tous le latin, le parlaient chacun avec une mode d'articulation et d'euphonie qui leur était propre, les grandes localités mirent leur empreinte sur la langue, comme la mirent les localités plus petites qu'on nomme provinces. Littré, *Dict. de la Langue Française*, Introd., p. 47 (1863).

Arabic. But the immense mass of Christians who maintained their old religion, and who were known, as we have seen, as *Mozarabs,* spoke a low Latin language, differing from that spoken by their cousins in the north only in having a larger admixture of Arabic influence.

But as the supremacy of the Arab decayed in Spain after the death of Almanzor, the great mass of the Spanish Moslems came themselves to speak a *patois,* commonly known as the Aljamia, which was to a great extent the language of their Christian fellow-countrymen, with a still larger admixture of Arabic words and forms, and which was written in the Arabic character.[1] A linguistic curiosity at the present day, almost exactly analogous to this Spanish Aljamia, is the *Yiddish-Deutsch,* spoken by the Jews in our own Whitechapel and written by them in the Hebrew character.

Thus in Spain there were two linguistic movements between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries—the one, as the Arab waxed strong, in the direction of a bastard Arabic, spoken by Christian as well as Moslem—the other, as the Arab supremacy waned, in the direction of a bastard romance or Spanish, spoken by Arab as well as Christian.

Both of these vulgar tongues were written, when occasion required, in the Arabic character ; and the later and more Latin development was carried by the Moors and Moriscos into Africa, and used by them as their familiar speech for over a century after their expulsion from Spain.

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[1] See Silvestre de Sacy (in *Notices et Extraits*, etc., tom. iv., p. 626); and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, *New Series*, iii., 81 and 379, where Lord Stanley of Alderley gives a long poem in the *Aljamiado* text, of 1603, by Mohammed Rabadan, a Morisco of Aragon. The poem is continued in vols. iv., v. and vi. of the same journal.

Of the works originally written in this strange fashion, some few have been lately reprinted, such as :—

(1) *Leyendas Moriscas sacadas de varios manuscritos existentes en las Bibliotecas Nacional, Real, y de D. P. de Gayangos.* Por F. Guillén Robles ; 3 tom. Madrid, 1885-86. 8vo.

(2) *Collección de textos aljamiados.* Publicada por P. Gil, J. Ribera y M. Sanchez ; pp. xix., 167. Zaragoza, 1888. 8vo.

(3) *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno*, sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Por F. Guillén Robles ; pp. lxxxviii., 283. Zaragoza, 1888. 8vo.

(4) *El Hadits de la Princesa Zoraida*, del Emir Abulhasan y del Caballero Aceja. Relación romancesca del Siglo XV. ó principios del XVI. en que se declara el origen de las Pinturas de la Alhambra. Sácala á luz D. Leopoldo de Eguilaz Yánguas, pp. 8, 374-7. Granada, 1892. 8vo.

I am indebted for this list to the kindness of my friend, Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum. (To these may be added the *Poema de José* or *Historia de Yusuf*, telling the story of Joseph in Egypt in good Spanish, written in Arabic letters in fourteen syllable rhyming lines.—H.)

IV.—*The Ballads.*

If, as is almost certainly the case, the oldest compositions in Spanish literature are the ballads or *Romances*, many of which have been preserved to our day, it is not to be supposed that the language in which we now may read them is the same as that in which they were originally composed. Handed down from minstrel to minstrel, and rarely, no doubt, committed to writing, the language and even the phraseology of the early ballads may have changed almost from year to year. And thus as the rustic Latin, in which the oldest ballads were first sung in castle and at watch-fire, was gradually assuming the form of the national language of modern Spain, the popular songs kept conforming to the popular speech, as it developed, almost from day to day, down to the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

It is probable that the earliest ballads now existing in Castilian are those included in the edition of the *Cancionero General*, by Hernando de Castillo, which was published at Valencia in 1511. Thirty-seven ballads are included in this ancient collection, of which eighteen are attributable to an earlier date than 1450.

The *Silva de Romances*, a collection made by Esteban de Najera, and printed at Saragossa in 1550, contains the whole of the *Conde de Claros*, which is certainly one of the oldest existing ballads, and of which a fragment only is given in the *Cancionero General* of 1511.

The influence of the Arab poetry upon that of the Christians in Spain has usually been greatly exaggerated.[2] There is, indeed, as a rule, but little originality in the Arab poems, and nothing whatever that in the smallest degree resembles either the Spanish ballads of chivalry, the national ballad poetry of Castile, or the more artificial compositions of Provence and Languedoc.

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[1] On the question of the development of the Spanish ballad and cantar there still remains much difference of opinion. It may be seriously doubted whether the author's theory of the gradual evolution of Spanish is correct. The earliest form of separate speech in which ballads were written or sung in Spain was Gallician, and from the twelfth century onward also in the Limousi of the troubadours; and yet side by side with such verse we have the almost full-fledged Spanish of the poem of the Cid, written certainly not later than the twelfth century; and in the time of Alfonso X. Gallician verse, the songs of the French troubadours and Castilian poems were all equally fashionable.—H.

[2] The *Spirit of Islam*, Syed Ameer Ali, p. 560-561. See also Conde, *Dom. de los Arabes en España*, Prologue, xviii., xix., and i., p. 169; Argote de Molina, *Discurso*, fol. 93; Bruce-Whyte, *Histoire des langues romanes* (Paris, 1841), tom. i., p. 15, and tom. ii., p. 43.

The influence of the Spanish Arabs upon Castilian poetry, great as it was, was rather indirect than immediate. The influence of Mohammedan Andalusia on the neighbouring Christian provinces may possibly, as Syed Amir Ali considers, have led to the introduction of chivalry into Europe. But it is at least certain that the ballads on Moorish subjects, far from being the oldest, are among the most recent [1] of the true ballads of Spain. They date, as a rule, from the middle of the fifteenth century, and are concerned chiefly with the last wars of Granada.

. The early Spanish ballads have been somewhat magniloquently spoken of as "Iliads without a Homer". But they recall no author however legendary. They are of a people rather than of a poet; spontaneous rather than artistic, and in themselves essentially national. At one time they were considered to be necessarily a Moorish form of poetry. But the most persistent endeavours of modern critics have failed to find a source whence they can have had their origin, other than in the peculiar genius of the Spanish people; and their special form of rhyme—the *assonant* or vowel harmony, as opposed to the *consonant* or full syllable rhyme of other literatures, is like the ballads themselves, entirely racy of the soil.

Hand in hand with the national ballads, of which so large a proportion are warlike and patriotic, as opposed to amatory or sentimental, we have the ancient chronicles of Spain.[2] The connection between the early ballad and the early chronicle was indeed most intimate. The knights of the thirteenth century were directed by King Alfonso [3] X. to listen at their meals to the reading of histories of the great feats of arms done by their ancestors, histories which were no doubt both said and sung. And such tales and records, in prose and verse, were collected by the same king in the preparation of his *Cronica General* of Spain—first of Castilian classics.

The authenticity of the *Charter of Aviles*, or its confirmation by Alfonso the *Emperor*, in 1155, which was long considered to be the oldest existing document in the Spanish language, has in recent times been completely discredited.[1]

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[1] Ticknor, i., 136-141; Syed Amir Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

The pastoral romance, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, was not introduced into Spanish literature until the middle of the sixteenth century. Ticknor, according to Dr. Rennert, assigns far too early a date.

See *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, by Hugo Rennert. Baltimore, 1892.

[2] A writer in the sixteeth century actually converted large portions of the old chronicles into ballads of the ordinary metre and assonance with but little change of their original phraseology, so largely did the prose of the chronicles unconsciously frame itself in eight-syllabled verse. Ticknor, i., 103, 104.

[3] Partidas, ii., lib. xxi., ley. 20.

The earliest metrical composition that has been handed down to us is the anonymous *Poem of the Cid,* which can hardly have been written later than the end of the twelfth century.[2] The language of this celebrated poem is as yet hardly fully developed from the more ancient Latin ; imperfect in form, yet full of life and vigour, the worthy medium of a great national tale of knightly prowess and romantic valour, noble, bold, original, struggling for that world-wide success which awaited the Castilian at the end of the fifteenth century. The subject-matter has already been spoken of in the chapter on the Cid. The metre is rude and irregular ; the lines, as a rule, are of fourteen syllables, but are often reduced to twelve, or extended to sixteen or even twenty.

In inspiration somewhat similar to that of the *Poem of the Cid,* in language somewhat more developed, but evidently a work of the same period, is the *Book of Apollonius,* a poem of 2600 lines, divided into stanzas of four rhyming verses. It is a translation or adaptation of the well-known story used by Gower in his *Confessio Amantis,* and by Shakespeare in *Pericles.*[3] *The Life of Our Lady St. Mary of Egypt,* of which the MS. was discovered in the present century, bound up with that of the *Poem of the Cid* and the *Book of Apollonius,* is also in Spanish of the thirteenth century, though the language is more akin to old French or Provençal than either of the other works. Written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, in its general character and supposed antiquity it is not unlike the *Adoration of the Three Holy Kings,* a religious or legendary composition of 250 lines, which has also survived to our day. But the authors of all these early poems are now unknown or forgotten.

The works of the priest Gonzalo of San Milan—known from the place of his birth as *Berceo*—who flourished from 1220 to 1250, are the first metrical compositions in the Spanish language by a known author ; and they consist of some 13,000 lines of religious poetry or verse in the *quaderna via* or four rhymed stanzas that was adopted in the *Apollonius of Tyre.* The *Life of Santa Domingo of Silos,* the *Miracles of the Virgin,* and the *Mourning of the Madonna at the Cross* are also the works of Berceo.

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[1] By Señor Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe. Madrid, 1865.

[2] Between 1150 and 1200. See Ticknor, i., 11, 12, and notes, for the various theories and conjectures as to the date of their composition.

[3] It is the one hundred and fifty-third tale of the *Gesta Romanorum.*

But save by students and commentators they are all deservedly forgotten. In Spanish poetry, as in Spanish literature generally, in science, in legislation, and in history, the first name is that of Alfonso X.

The *Cantigas* or hymns of the virgin are not only true poetry, but they are undoubtedly the work of the King of Castile. Nor are there many of the ballads whose antiquity can certainly be traced to an earlier date than the thirteenth century, that are superior to King Alfonso's verses, although from their essentially national character they may be more interesting to modern readers. Yet the *Cantigas* may hardly be reckoned among the early masterpieces of Castilian literature; and they contributed in no way to fix or to develop the Castilian language. For they are written, strange to say, not in Castilian, nor in Latin, but in Gallician, an idiom or dialect which bears more resemblance to the modern Portuguese than to the noble language of Spain.[1]

But the greatest literary triumphs of the learned king were not in verse but in prose. No reader of Don Quixote in the original Spanish can fail to have been struck by the great number of quotations from the Bible that are put by Cervantes into the mouth of Sancho as well as of the knight of La Mancha. Many of them had apparently become so common in men's speech in their native Castilian, that they are actually classed as *refranes*, or proverbs; and it is obvious that translations of the Bible into the vernacular must have been widely spread in Christian Spain, until on the arrival of Ferdinand of Aragon and the Inquisition,[1] *se hizo necesaria la prohibicion*. The earliest translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue of Castile, of which we have any note or record, is one that was made under the superintendence of Alfonso X., although the work itself has apparently perished.[2]

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[1] They were composed between 1263 and 1284 under the title of *Cantigas de Santa Maria:* or, *Loores y milagos de Nuestra Señora;* and consist of a collection of 401 poems, in the Gallician dialect, in various metres, upon miracles, sanctuaries, images, and other subjects connected with the life of the Blessed Virgin. (Gallician, as has already been pointed out, was the earliest, and still remained the most cultivated language for verse in the time of Alfonso the Learned. But it is especially to be noted in these Cantigas how strong had already been the influence of the French troubadours on the native Gallician verse. Alfonso the Learned thus taunts his father's old bard, Pedro da Ponte, for being so old-fashioned as to adhere to the antiquated Spanish-Gallician forms of verse:—

"*Vos non trovades como Provençal*".

Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly's admirable History of Spanish Literature should be consulted on this subject.—H.)

This interesting work has lately been published, in a deservedly magnificent edition, at the instance of the Royal Academy of Madrid, by the Marquis de Valmar. For further particulars see *post*, chap. xli.

The king is said to have founded and endowed a military and religious order in honour of Our Lady, and to have further provided that these *Cantigas* should be sung *in perpetuam* over his tomb in the Church of Santa Maria de Murcia. Mondejar, *Memorias Historicas*, 438; Ticknor, i. 40; and Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 34.

In addition to this uncertain translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, the *History of the Great Conquests beyond the Sea* was compiled rather under his direction than by his own royal hand;[3] and the work has been preserved to the present day. The *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* can never, like the Bible in the vulgar tongue, have excited the persecuting and destroying zeal of the Holy Office. It is an historical, geographical and romantic history of the wars of the Crusaders in Palestine, beginning with the life and death of Mohammed, and continued down to the year 1270, and the great and special interest that attaches to the work at the present day is that it is the first work of any importance composed in the language of Castile. For the language of the grants and charters, technical as a rule, or legal in form, beginning, if it may be, with the doubtful grant to Aviles in 1155, is rather deformed

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[1] *Menendez y Pelayo*, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. ii., p. 700.

[2] This translation of the Bible is so casually referred to by the authorities that I had—after much search—well-nigh abandoned all hope of knowing anything more about it, than the somewhat doubtful fact that it had been made, when I became possessed of a copy of Muñoz, *Diccionario-historico de los antiguos Reinos y Provincias de España* (Madrid, 1858), and at p. 27 of part. ii. of that admirable work, I found a reference to an MS. existing in the monastery of the Escurial, of "the Castilian translation [of the Bible] made by order of Alfonso the Learned, following the Hebrew text," with a *quotation* from the first Psalm.

There is no hint as to whether the New Testament as well as the Old is included; probably not, as the translation is expressly said to be *hecha siguiendo el texto hebreo.* I give the first two verses of the quotation as a specimen of the style:—

"Bien auenturado es el uaron que non andudo enel conseio delos malos syn ley nin estudo enla carrera de los pecadores nin enla sylla de nuzimiento se assento, mas fue la voluntad del enla ley del sennor et enla ley del mesura dia et noche."

I can find no further reference to this early and most interesting translation even in Muñoz. But he says (p. 5), that translations of the Holy Scriptures into Castilian were multiplied in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and *habiendo ocasionado graves inconvenientes el abuso que ya se hacia de los traducciones de la Biblia al lenguage vulgar se hizo necesaria la prohibicion.*

These early translations were apparently taken not from the Vulgate but from the version of St. Jerome.

As to translations of the Bible into the Catalan or Limousin language of Aragon, see Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. i., p. 435.

[3] It is more probable that the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* was compiled in the time of Alfonso's son, Sancho IV. The work is unquestionably very fine but it is not original, being largely a translation of William of Tyre's history, written a century previously, with many additions and adornments.—H.

Latin or unformed Spanish, and may in no wise be compared with the finished Castilian of Alfonso X.[1]

The *General Chronicle of Spain*, a work which, if perhaps less ambitious, is scarcely less interesting than the *Siete Partidas*, occupied the attention of Alfonso X. during the greater part of his reign. It is divided into four books, the *first* extending from the creation of the world to the death of Alaric, the *second* comprising the Visigothic occupation, the *third* bringing down the history to the reign of Ferdinand the Great, and the *fourth* closes in 1252 with the accession of Alfonso himself. The first and second books are merely compilations from the ecclesiastical writers, and are dull and uninteresting. But the third book is founded, to a very large extent, on the ancient national ballads; and the stories are told with great vigour and spirit, of Bernardo del Carpio, of Pelayo, of Fernan Gonzalez and the seven children of Lara, of Santiago fighting at Clavijo, and of Charlemagne flying from Roncesvalles. The fourth book is largely taken up with the legendary *Chronicle of the Cid*, after which, in soberer and more serious style, the annals of Spain are brought down to the days of authentic history.

The independent *Chronicle of the Cid* is in itself one of the most remarkable and interesting records of the ancient literature of Castile. It differs but slightly in style and general treatment from that contained in the fourth book of Alfonso's history; and it is probable that it is taken direct from the king's *General Chronicle of Spain*.[2]

V.—*The Siete Partidas.*

But it is not as a chronicler, nor yet as a linguist, not as a poet, nor even as an astronomer, that Alfonso is best remembered in nineteenth-century Spain. It is as a lawgiver[3] that he takes rank with the emperor on the Bosphorus and the emperor on the Seine; and his great code still finds a place in the library of every Spanish lawyer, from Barcelona to Valparaiso.

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[1] Alfonso X. . . . a créé la prose Castillane; non pas cette pale prose d'aujourdhui . . . mais la vrai prose castillane, celle du bon vieux temps, cette prose qui exprime si fidèlement le caractère Espagnol, cette prose vigoureuse, large, riche, grave, noble, et naive tout a la fois; et cela dans ce temps ou tous les autres peuples de l'Europe, sans en excepter les Italiens, étaient bien loin encore d'avoir produit un ouvrage en prose qui se recommendât par le style. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 34. See also Ticknor, *op. cit.*, i., 40-43.

[2] Ticknor, vol. i., chap. viii.

[3] Alfonso not only made good laws; he endeavoured to improve the administration of justice. He named twenty four Alcaldes—nine for Castile, eight for Leon, and seven for Estremadura. From the decisions of the judges an appeal

The first translation of the *Fuero Juzgo*, or Visigothic code, from the Latin into Castilian, was planned, if not actually undertaken, in the reign of St. Ferdinand. But whether as prince or as king, it was his more studious son who took the principal share in the execution of the work. Not content, however, with translating old laws into a new language, Alfonso aspired to be a legislator as well as a linguist, and his *Espejo*, or Mirror of Rights, comprising five books of laws written by him some time before 1255—was followed in that year by his *Fuero Real,* a shorter code, divided into four books; and at length, after ten years of unremitting labour, his greatest work was given to Spain, in 1265.

Las Siete Partidas (the Seven Sets, or Divisions) is the modest title of a comprehensive digest of the code of Justinian and of that of the Visigoths, of the national and local *Fueros*, of the canon law, and of the decrees of the great councils of Spain. The code of Alfonso would at any time have been a noble monument of wisdom and prudence, of patient study, of intelligent research, and of an enlightened understanding. At the time of its compilation it was not only superior to anything of the kind that had ever been attempted since the times of Justinian; it stood alone and unrivalled in the mediæval world; and for over six hundred years it remained not only the great text-book of Spanish jurisprudence, but the greatest exclusively national code of laws in Europe.[1]

Yet the *Siete Partidas* did not at once become the law of

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lay to the royal Alcaldes at the capital; and from them to the king himself, who sat three days a week for this purpose. He also appointed *corregidores*, not correctors, but co-rulers, who superintended, and in some cases superseded, the provincial judges, as will more fully be shown in a subsequent chapter on the constitutional and judicial development of Castile.

[1] The code Napoléon, which is nearly 650 years later, is necessarily somewhat more modern and more complete, and is itself the parent of most of the later codes of the nations of Europe and America. Justinian's great work was not national; it was Imperial, and will ever be a text-book for the world. In England we have not yet attained to any code whatever.

As to the adoption, to some extent, of the code of the *Siete Partidas* in the United States of America, see Ticknor, i., 46.

"If all other codes were banished," says Mr. Dunham, "Spain would still have a respectable body of jurisprudence in the *Siete Partidas*"; and an eminent Spanish advocate is said to have told the historian in 1832 that during an extensive practice of twenty-nine years scarcely a case occurred which could not be virtually or expressly decided by the code of Alfonso X. Dunham, iv., 121.

the land; and it was not until 1348, the year of the abrogation of the *Privilege of Union* in Aragon, that it was promulgated, in a somewhat uncertain manner, as a text-book of the great common law of Castile.[1]

The first book or *partida* of the code treats of natural law, the law of nations, and law ecclesiastical, mainly taken from the Roman codes and decretals. The second lays down the power and duties of the king. The third prescribes judicial procedure. The fourth treats of personal and social rights. The fifth is the law of contract; the sixth of wills, inheritance, and succession. The seventh contains the penal code, and the code of criminal procedure. The modern reader who would intelligently and fruitfully study this celebrated code, whether as an historian or as a jurist, will not fail to take advantage of the well-known historical and critical commentary, modestly styled an *Ensayo*, or essay, of Don Francisco Martinez Marina, which was first published at Madrid[2] at the beginning of the present century, and which is itself a work of great value and interest to the student of comparative legislation.

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[1] This was accomplished by the ever-celebrated *Ordenamiento de Alcala*, promulgated by Alfonso XI., in which it was provided that all cases that could not be decided by the application of the local *Fueros*, should be decided according to the laws of the Partidas. The spirit of the *Fueros* was, no doubt, more liberal than that of the *Partidas;* and it might have been unjust to impose the new code upon Castile immediately, or without some preliminary mitigation. It was thus gradually introduced.

[2] I have used the *second* edition (two vols., Madrid, 1834); as well as Don Marcelo Martinez Alcabilla, *Códigos de España* (two vols., Madrid, 1886).

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE UNIVERSITIES.[1]

I.—*Education at Cordova.*

The first college that was established in the Peninsula was, no doubt, that of Sertorius at Huesca. But the institution was in advance of the times. It perished on the death of its noble founder and patron; and for half a dozen centuries nothing like public instruction was found or imagined in Spain.

With the development of Christianity the clergy arrogated to themselves the exclusive power of teaching.[2] Clerical seminaries were established at least as early as 527 by the Visigothic bishops in the second Council of Toledo;[3] and Isidore is said, on somewhat doubtful authority, to have founded a school at Seville. But after the coming of the Arabs, and more especially in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, schools and colleges were established in most of the Spanish cities; and at

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[1] The materials for a sketch, however brief, of the universities of Spain, can hardly be found outside the Peninsula. Don Vicente de la Fuente's *Historia de las Universidades* is the best general authority; and a good deal of miscellaneous information is to be found in the *España Sagrada* and the *Documentos ineditos.* With regard to special institutions, Maestro Pedro Chacon's *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salmantica, 13 Januar. Ann. Salut, 1709), is undoubtedly the most interesting. The copy which I consulted in the National Library at Madrid, where this chapter was actually written, was in MS., and it was not until I returned to Bloomsbury that I learned that Chacon's work was printed in the *Semanario Erudito*, tom. xviii., Madrid, 1788, with a continuation of the original work in 1726 by D. Antonio Valladares. The *Boletin de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. xv., p. 179 *et seq.*, contains some interesting information. But the Spanish universities do not seem, as a rule, to have engaged the attention of English writers. Of Ticknor's carelessness I have spoken in the text. In Laurie's *Early Rise and Constitution of Universities*, A.D. 200-1350, there is not a word about Spain! But see P. H. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten bis* 1400 (1886), especially pp. 470, 515.

[2] One of the most offensive heresies of the Priscillianists was the claim to call themselves *doctors.* V. de la Fuente, i., 22.

[3] *Conc. Caes. Aug.* (380), 7.

Cordova especially an admirable system of public instruction anticipated much that was excellent in the Christian universities of modern Europe; for in these early establishments general culture and special knowledge were alike aimed at, while liberality dominated the whole.[1]

Of the scientific attainments of the great doctors of Cordova, a few words have already been said in relation to the philosophy of Averroës. But the Spanish Arabs were not merely philosophers or even physicians. The numeral figures that are in daily use throughout modern Christendom are of their invention or introduction, and are still called by their name.[2] Algebra, unknown even to the great Greek mathematicians, was similarly introduced by the Arabs, and the English word represents the original *al jeber*, or "the reduction of numbers". The Arabs more punctiliously called, and still call, the science *al jeber o al makabella*, as that of "reduction and comparison".

Having thus rendered possible the arithmetical operations, which under the Roman system of numeration could not even have been attempted, they proceeded to develop the theory of quadratic equations and the binomial theorem. They invented spherical trigonometry. They were the first to apply algebra to geometry, to introduce the tangent, and to substitute the sine for the arc in trigonometrical calculations.[3] At a time when Europe firmly believed in the flatness of the earth, and was making ready to burn any foolhardy person who thought otherwise, the Moslems at Cordova were teaching geography by globes.

In the practical department of medicine, no less than in the speculative fields of philosophy, the Spanish Arabs offered to their students, without distinction of creed or nationality, the highest education that was known or dreamed of in Europe.[1] Avenzoar or *Ibn Zoar*, a chemist and a botanist, published an elaborate *Pharmacopœia* for the use of his students at Cordova. Arabic became the language of science, and Andalusia the home of study. Surgery, too, which was lightly esteemed by Christian nations until comparatively modern times, had its professors and its practitioners in Moslem Spain. Albucasis or *Abu al Kasim*, of Cordova, was not only a bold and a skilful operator, but his treatise on surgical instruments may be read with interest at the present day.[2]

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[1] See Littré, *Études sur les Barbares*, pp. 440-3.

[2] It was through the Hindus that the Arabs learned arithmetic, especially that valuable invention termed by us the Arabic numerals, but honourably ascribed by the Arabs to its proper source, under the designation of "Indian numerals". Our word cipher recalls the Arabic word *tsaphara* or *ciphra*, that which is blank or void. Murphy and Shakespear, *Mahometan Empire in Spain*, pp. 351-3; and Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 40. Algebra was also known to the Hindus.

[3] En science and en philosophie, les Arabes pendant deux siècles furent bien nos maitres, mais—le fond de cette science Arabe est Grec; . . . C'était des Espagnols ecrivant en Arabe. Renan, *Mélanges*, 13.

La Giralda at Seville, the first astronomical observatory in Europe, was built by the Spanish Arabs, under the superintendence of Jabir ibn Aflah (Geber) in 1190. Murphy and Shakespear, *op. cit.*, 256. See Draper, *Intell. Dev. of Europe*, ii., 40-43; Syed Amir Ali, *Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, 361, 422, 425, 548, 556, 577, 578.

Nor were the students either of medicine or of arts confined to the sterner sex; and we may possibly plume ourselves less upon the liberality and extent of our progress in modern England, when we read of the fair scholars and doctors who graduated in the schools of Cordova, and brought their skill and their science to the bedsides of their Moslem sisters in the day of sickness.

In the schools of Moslem Spain, not only at the capital, but at Seville, at Saragossa, at Toledo, at Granada, arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy, the entire circle of the sciences occupied the attention of the students. The professors gave lectures also on philosophy, on natural history, on literature, on rhetoric and composition.[3] The language which, it was their boast, was the most perfect ever spoken by man, was studied with peculiar care. But others were by no means excluded from the course. Grammars and lexicons, not only of the Arabic, but of Greek, of Latin, of Hebrew, were prepared and re-edited. The works of the great master of science, *Lisan ud-din* of Granada, constitute one of the earliest encyclopædias in the world of letters. The commentaries of Ibn Roshd (Averroës) of Cordova opened the treasure-house of Greek learning to the students of mediæval Europe.[4]

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[1] The mediæval physicians, not only in Spain but even in France, were actually known by the name of the *Emir* or *Mir*. See the old French proverb: *Il ne faut pas choisir son Mir pour son héritier.*

[2] Murphy and Shakespear, p. 249; Draper, ii., 39, 40; S. Lane Poole, *Moors in Spain*, p. 144.

[3] The more cultivated Christian Spaniards in the Moslem provinces from the eighth to perhaps the eleventh century, spoke Arabic more largely than their own Latin. Romey, vi., 310.

[4] The learning and culture of the Spanish Arabs is simply denied by many modern Spaniards, as, for instance, by Father Camara, the author of the orthodox *Contestacion* or refutation of Draper's *Intellectual Development* (Valladolid, 1885). See especially chap. iv.; "*De la ciencia en el Mediodia de Europa*," p. 183. The mere denial, uncritical, rhetorical, and unsupported by any authorities, is in itself,

To do more than allude to the numerous and admirable schools that existed in Moslem Spain, almost from the time of the conquest, would be at once outside the scope and beyond the limits of this work. Yet they were the resort of students, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, from every part of Europe. The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II., most liberal of mediæval Popes (993-1003), is said to have been a student at Cordova towards the end of the tenth century.[1] Peter the Venerable, the friend and protector of Abelard, who spent much of his time in Cordova, and not only spoke Arabic fluently, but actually had the Koran translated into Latin, mentions that, on his first arrival in Spain, he found several learned men, even from England, studying astronomy and other less recondite branches of science.[2] It was from Toledo that Michael Scot brought his translation of Aristotle and Averroës at the beginning of the thirteenth century (1194-1250) to the strangely enlightened court of the Emperor Frederick II.

Hermann the German, or *Alemannus*, continued Michael Scot's work at Toledo,[3] and carried his versions of other works into Naples and Sicily, where Manfred had inherited his father's tastes, if not his father's power.

"When the narrow principles of Islam are considered," says a Spanish writer, "the liberality of the Arabs towards the professors of literature justly demands our admiration". The Eastern Caliphs employed foreigners in the superintendence of their schools, and in Spain we find that Christians and even Jews were

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of course, worthless; but it is highly interesting as showing the temper of Spanish Churchmen as regards history and science at the present day, and more particularly as regards the bitterness of their bigotry towards Islam, with which Christian Spain has not been brought into serious conflict for 400 years.

A modern Spanish apologist of the great Cardinal Ximenez, Simonet, *Ximenez de Cisneros* (Granada, 1885), p. 6, speaks of "*Lo Atrasado y grosero de su civilizacion*" of the Spanish Arabs, "*que . . . nunca pasó de la barbarie!*" This from Granada!

[1] This, indeed, is denied, as far as I know, for the first time, by Don Vicente de Lafuente, who asserts that Gerbert studied, not at Cordova, but at Vich in the County of Barcelona, and that he attained his high mathematical excellence under a Christian bishop—name unknown—at a time long anterior to the study of exact sciences at Cordova. *Hist. de las Universidades*, tom. i., 45-49. There is an interesting sketch of the Life of Gerbert in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1892, p. 625, by Mr. R. Allen.

[2] Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 12; Murphy and Shakespear, *op. cit.*, part ii., sect. ii., especially p. 217. Peter the Venerable was not the translator but the patron. The Englishman who did the work was Robertus Retenensis. See the edition of this celebrated translation, Basle, 1543.

[3] *Siete Partidas*, p. vii., tit. xxvi., lev. i.; Renan, *Averroës*, pp. 205-216; Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., 561.

appointed to direct the studies in the Academies of Cordova. Real learning was, in the estimation of these Moslems, of greater value than the religious opinions of the learners.[1]

Yet all this liberality and all this erudition did not save the Spanish Arabs. The patronage of the Abdur Rahmans and the Hakams, the studies of Abenzoar and Averroës, the library at Az Zahra, the scholars who flocked to Cordova from every part of Europe and the East,[2] the learning of the professors, the intelligence of the students, the skill of the operators, the refinement of the men and women who graduated in the great schools of Moslem Spain, all this availed nothing against the Almoravides, and the Almohades, and the greater forces of disintegration and decay. For the schoolmaster can never supply the place of the statesman. The highest education may not atone for a long course of political ineptitude. The pen, alas, is powerless, as the world is constituted, without the ruder protection of the sword. The institutions that had flourished under the Moslem, died when the Moslem departed; and after four centuries of light and leading, Andalusia fell back, under the Christian rule, into a condition of ignorance and barbarism, nearly, if not quite, equal to that of the north-western provinces of the Peninsula.

II.—*The Maestrescuelas.*

For more than a hundred years after the death of Abdur Rahman an Nasir, scarcely anything that can be called a school existed in Christian Spain.[3] From the eleventh century,

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[1] Rodriguez de Castro, *apud* Murphy and Shakespear, *Hist.*, p. 217.

[2] See Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroisme*, p. 4; Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, pp. 557-8.

[3] As to the ignorance of the Christian Spaniards, even in the case of the clergy, see Lafuente, iv., 342; Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, pp. 548 and 584.

Masdeu, xiii., 205, 206, in accounting for the fact that we have no record of any intellectual activity in Christian Spain during the palmy days of the Moslems at Cordova, maintains that there certainly *was* an abundance of learning and scholarship among the Christians, but that no vestige remains of their work. *Del descuido que habran tenidos los obispos y abades de conservar sus obras—por haberlas considerado como obras profanas!* This is at once very *naif* and very instructive. As an instance of the condition of learning and the prodigious rarity of books at the Christian courts long after the time when the catalogue of Hakam's library was hardly contained in *forty-four* large volumes, we read that in 1044 the purchase of two books on grammar in civilised Catalonia was an event necessitating the intervention of notaries and bishops, and that the price of the strange fancy articles indeed, it would seem that the ecclesiastics attached to the various cathedral churches were in the habit of giving instruction of some sort to candidates for Holy Orders; and it was decreed by the Council of Coyanza,[1] in 1050, that the clergy of Leon should teach the children the *Creed* and the *Pater noster*, while every ordained priest was supposed to know the Psalter, Epistles and Gospels in the Latin of the period. Nor does monastic instruction appear to have proceeded any further than these ecclesiastical rudiments.

A royal donation in 1086 to the clergy of Coimbra is said to have been the origin of the celebrated university at that place. But it is certain that in the eleventh century Coimbra was the home of studies exclusively ecclesiastical, and that the schools were the resort only of theological students. Fifty years earlier, in Castile, some kind of superior scholastic instruction seems to have been provided by Bishop Poncio in the diocese of Palencia,[2] under the patronage of Sancho the Great; and at the end of the next century we find no less a personage than Dominic de Guzman enrolled among the students. But the *Maestrescuela*, as it was called, was not formally incorporated as a university, if, indeed, it ever acquired that exalted status, until the year 1212; and from that time, overshadowed by the rising glory of Valladolid and Salamanca, its prosperity seemed to have steadily declined, and within a very few years the institution had practically ceased to exist

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was a site in the city of Barcelona. *Pergamino*, No. 75, *del Archivo general de la corona de Aragon*, *apud* Lafuente, iv., 340.

The rarity and high price of books, even as late as the time of Henry III., is incidentally referred to in a curious work on the coinage of that reign, Saez, *Demonstracion de Monedas*, etc. (ed. 1796), p. 368 and sec. ix. A curious and interesting catalogue of the books in certain libraries of the same period will be found in the same work, pp. 368-379. In Señor Menendez Pelayo's *Ciencia Española*, vol. iii., pp. 125-478, will be found a very interesting list of Spanish books on scientific, artistic, philosophic and other subjects, from the earliest times to the present day. The author admits the incompleteness of the catalogue, which he calls *Inventario Bibliografico*, which, unfortunately, having no index, and being generally ill-arranged, is almost useless for reference.

[1] Now Valencia de Don Juan.

[2] As to the foundation and extinction of Palencia, its chequered and uncertain history, and the extent to which the foundation can be said to have been transferred to Salamanca, see *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. xx., pp. 1-279. Yet, as the treatise in question, by Señor Floranes, is written avowedly (p. 57) to prove a higher antiquity for the Castilian universities than that usually admitted in Spain (*en grave detrimento al credito literario de la nacion, y de su honor*), the statements and surmises of the author must be taken with a great deal of caution. He asserts, indeed, that there was an *estudio*, or high school, at Palencia from the year 607 to the year 1212, when it was constituted a University.

(1246). The name indeed lingered for some time longer; and a Bull of Urban IV., of 14th May, 1263, gave certain privileges to the masters and students of Palencia. But Palencia in 1263 had no students; its masters, if they existed, had no income; the university itself was no more.

At Salamanca, the greatest name in the history of the Spanish foundations, uncertain studies in connection with the cathedral were carried on from the middle of the eleventh century (1179 is the date usually assigned), and a *Maestrescuela*[1] or *Estudio* was established in 1215. But the first charter or privilege of incorporation is dated in the Era 1280—*i.e.*, A.D. 1242; and certain *Privilegios* granted by Alfonso X. in 1252 laid the foundation of the future greatness of the university.

From the earliest times Salamanca seems to have found favour with Church and State. The first Bull relating to the foundation is one of Alexander IV. in 1245. In 1254 the *privilegios* of Alfonso were confirmed by the same Pope in a more formal Bull of Incorporation; and in the course of 1255 no less than four Bulls relating to the studies and students at Salamanca were sealed in the Papal Chancery. St. Ferdinand, shortly before his death, had exempted the students of Salamanca from the payment of certain taxes; and Alfonso X. not only endowed the university in a more direct and positive manner, but he personally revised the curriculum of studies, and took the warmest interest in the progress of the students.[2]

The University of Alcala was founded by a formal charter or ordinance of Sancho the Brave in 1293. Valladolid[3] was first endowed, if not first established,[4] by Ferdinand IV. in 1304, and the institution was gratified with Papal sanction by a Bull of Clement VI. in 1346. These high schools, or *Maestrescuelas*—for the word university was not as yet applied to them—are mentioned repeatedly in the laws of the *Siete Partidas*,[1] which contain the first legal or public provisions for the foundation or government of the new institutions.[2]

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[1] The Council of Leon, in 1245, makes honourable mention of Salamanca, which was already one of the four great universities of the world—Oxford, Salamanca, Bologna, Paris. *Clementinas*, lib. v., cap. i., tit. i. (1311). *Vide* Don V. de Lafuente, *Hist. de las Universidades*, pp. 290-296. As to the foundation of Salamanca, and the reason for the choice of that city for the university, see *Partida*, ii., ley. ii., tit. 31.

[2] For the Bull of Boniface VIII. (1298) as to the Decretas, see V. de Lafuente, *Hist. Univers.*, 299, 300.

[3] The Christian city of Valladolid was only founded in 1058; the university, according to Floranes, must have been founded in 1095. No evidence is offered in the *Documentos Ineditos*, xx., 115, but *es muy racional el presumirlo!* The students, bachelors and doctors of Valladolid were freed *de todo pecho y tributo*, by an ordinance of Henry II. in 1367, and the exemption was ratified by later kings. The establishment was reformed in 1771, in 1807, in 1824 and in 1845. *Anuario de la Instrucion Publica en España*, sub tit. Valladolid.

[4] It is said to have been established in 1260 with chairs of Hebrew, Greek and mathematics. The college, and subsequently established University of Alcala, will be spoken of with greater fulness in dealing with the life of Ximenez, in vol. ii. of this work.

The earliest and most celebrated of the Universities of Aragon was that established in the territory to the north of the Pyrenees, which still survives at Montpellier. Founded, it would seem, in the first instance, as a school of medicine, and recognised by Papal authority in 1220 as an institution already respectable, it was not formally constituted a university until 1289, in the reign of Alfonso III., by Bull of Nicholas IV. From this time it continued to enjoy the special protection of the bishop, as distinct from that of the crown,[3] until Montpellier ceased to be ruled by an Aragonese monarch in 1392.

The origin of the University of Lerida, in Catalonia, was somewhat different from that of Montpellier or any of the seminaries of Castile. For without any previous ecclesiastical *Estudio* or cathedral school of any kind, King James II. of Aragon obtained from Boniface VIII., in 1300, a Bull establishing an *Estudio General* at Lerida, which was invested by the king with very large privileges and powers, under the government of its *Bedel*, *Rector*, and *Cancellarius*. But the monopoly of teaching in the entire kingdom of Aragon to the south of the Pyrenees, which had been conceded to Lerida, was soon invaded by the establishment, in 1354, of a rival school at Huesca, which, after a temporary extinction in 1450, was restored by Peter IV., and fully constituted as a university in 1461.[1]

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[1] The whole of titulo xxxi. of *Partida* ii. of the great code is devoted to education. It is headed: "*De los estudios en que se aprenden los saberes, et de los maestres y de los scolares*," and consists of eleven laws preceded by an introduction—surely the earliest law of public instruction in Europe. The *estudio general* (or university course) included grammar, logic and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry and astrology. But private tuition in special subjects was also contemplated, to be authorised by the bishop or municipal council (*concejo de algun logar*). The duties of the headmaster, or, as he was called in some cathedral schools, the chancellor, of these early high schools, are laid down by Alfonso X., *Partida*, i., tit. vi., ley. 7. The following laws scattered throughout the *Partidas* have also reference to public instruction: P. i., tit. vi., 7; P. vi., tit. xvii., 3; P. vii., tit. vi., 2.

[2] D. Vicente de Lafuente, c. x., *Partida*, ii., tit. xxxi., and i., ley. vii., tit. vi.

[3] King James the Conqueror appointed, or sought to appoint, a Regius professor of civil law in 1268, for which act of patronage he was rewarded by *excommunication*. Swift, *James the First*, p. 259.

When Ticknor[2] states that "in the year 1300, although there were five universities established in Italy, Spain possessed not one, except Salamanca, which was in a very unsettled state," he might fairly have added that in that year, the foundations at least of no less than four other universities had already been laid—that is to say, at Alcala (1293), at Palma (1280), at Seville (1256), and at Valencia (1245); and that the Universities of Montpellier and of Lerida[3] were fully established, making, together with Salamanca, not one but seven in all Spain.

But at the very time when so much activity was being manifested in these new institutions, Salamanca itself had fallen on evil days. Clement V., the French Pope at Avignon, jealous of the fame of the great Spanish foundation, and desirous only to favour the University of Paris, gave orders, in 1305, that the *Tercias*, which had been granted by the Castilian kings to the Castilian University, should be diverted from that purpose, and devoted to the building of churches; and Salamanca was menaced with ruin.[4] In consequence, however, of the earnest remonstrances of the masters and students, a new Pontifical grant of one-ninth of the ecclesiastical tenths of Salamanca was made by Clement in 1312, and this slender Papal benefaction took the place of the more substantial royal bounty. It was the Spanish anti-Pope, Benedict XIII., that restored Salamanca to life and vigour. He reformed the studies, increased the income, and encouraged the development of the university to which he owed his own early instruction.

Pedro de Luna, a member of the same celebrated family of which the magnificent Alvaro in the next century was no less distinguished a member was born near Calatayud in 1324. After studying first at Salamanca and afterwards at Montpellier, he was made a Cardinal by Gregory IX. in 1375; and, acting as Papal Legate in Aragon at the time of the Great Schism, he referred the question, of the legitimacy of the rival claimants to the Papacy, to the University of Salamanca. The Council decided in favour of Clement VII. (1387), and he was not unnaturally inclined to favour so judicious an institution. Pedro de Luna himself, who succeeded Clement as anti-Pope in 1394, at once restored the *Tercias* (1413-1416), augmented the professoriate, and established the university[1] on so solid a basis that it had no further need of either royal or ecclesiastical protection.

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[1] And by Bull of Paul II., 1464. It was suppressed in 1845.

[2] *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*, vol. i., chap. xviii.

[3] The University of Lerida, like that of Gerona, Barcelona, and all the other universities of Aragon, was extinguished and merged in the new foundation of Cervera by Philip V. in 1714. The ugly buildings, which were abandoned in 1837, when the professors and students migrated or remigrated to Barcelona, are now fast falling into decay, and Cervera is chiefly interesting as being the place where the contract of marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella was signed in March, 1469.

[4] The *Tercias* were two-ninths of the ecclesiastical tithe which were granted to the king.—H.

Nor was it only by the great anti-Pope that Salamanca was protected and encouraged. Henry III. gave substantial proofs of his favour by grants, endowments and privileges, and this royal patronage was continued by John II. It is only indeed from the time of the royal grant of revenues of 1397, that the income and independent existence of Salamanca can be said to have been assured.[2] By the statutes, as reformed by Pope Martin V. in 1422,[3] the chief authority of the university, as regards students and studies, corresponding more nearly to the Master or Provost of an English College, was the *Rector*, elected by the students voting in four "nations" or *Turnos*. The *Primicerio*, whose position was not unlike that of the Chancellor of an English university, was elected by the *Claustra-general* or Senate, over which he presided. The *Bedel* was an officer *de probada hidalguia*, who seems to have had proctorial powers and a general superintendence over the conduct of the students; and the *Maestrescuelas*, who was afterwards called the Chancellor, was the chief teaching authority. Of the faculty of theology only was there a titular *Dean*, and the academic hierarchy was composed of rector, doctors, masters, licentiates, bachelors and students.

After a brief course of attendance at lectures and in chapel, and a certificate of good conduct from the Bedel, the student delivered a set oration, and was admitted a bachelor. After five years' further study and various academic exercises, he became a licentiate. No distinctive academic costume was prescribed at the time of Benedict XIII., but the doctors apparently were accustomed to wear a *Muceta* or cape on their shoulders—which was afterwards distinguished as green for canon lawyers, red for civilians, white for theologians, and yellow for doctors of medicine—and to cover their head with a hood or *capirote*. The students were enjoined only to abstain from garments of silk, or fur, or of bright colours.[1]

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[1] Vicente de Lafuente, *Hist. Univ.*, i., chap. xx.; Chacon, *Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca*, in MS. No less than eight Bulls were directed by Benedict XIII. in favour of the University of Salamanca. V. de Lafuente, *op. cit.*, i., 193.

[2] Vicente de Lafuente, i., 181. See generally *Tabla de los privilegios y confirmaciones que el estudio y Universidad de Salamanca ha tenido de los Reyes de Castilla*. Parchment MS., p. 57; Brit. Mus. Eg., 1933; Press, 523, H.

[3] Given in Lafuente, *Hist. de las Universidades*, Appendix ix., pp. 323-6. Modified by Eugenius IV. in 1431.

Turning again to the kingdom of Aragon, we find that a school was established at Valencia by James I. as early as 1245, and the charter was approved by Innocent IV. The university does not appear to have been founded until 1411; the status of *nobility* was conferred on the doctors of law by Alfonso V. of Aragon in 1426, and confirmed by two Bulls of Alexander VI.—the constant patron of his native Valencia—both dated in 1500, and approved by Ferdinand the Catholic, 16th February, 1502.

A college or university at Gerona was endowed in 1446 by John II. of Aragon, and the more celebrated institution at Barcelona was recognised rather than founded by a royal grant in 1450, and confirmed by Bull of Nicholas V. in the same year. The origin of the teaching school at Barcelona is somewhat obscure, but it is at least certain that an academy, already prosperous long before 1450, was in that year invested by Nicholas V. with the power of conferring degrees, and—as is expressed in the Bull of formal incorporation—with all the privileges of the University of Toulouse.[2] The University of Saragossa stands on a somewhat similar footing, having been recognised as existing in 1474 by a Bull of Sixtus IV.

The establishment of the great triple institution at Sigüenza on the noble plan of a combined hospital, convent and *colegio mayor*, in 1476, is due to the friend of Ximenez de Cisneros, Juan Lopez de Medina. The institution was approved as a university and recognised by Bull of Sixtus IV., in 1483, confirmed by another Bull of Innocent VIII. in 1489. The collegiate students, who must all have been admitted to the tonsure, were clothed, fed and lodged within the walls; and it was only on the removal of the university from the suburbs to the city of Sigüenza that it somewhat lost its monastic character. Yet Sigüenza was the home of the first of the great colleges, or *colegios mayores*, as distinguished from the universities of Christian Spain. The second in importance was that of Santa Cruz, at Valladolid—founded in 1484 by Cardinal Gonzalez de Mendoza, and approved by Bull of Sixtus IV. in 1479—which was designed as a rival to the College of St. Bartholomew at Salamanca, and was opened for study in 1484.

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[1] At the present day the coloured tassel on the cap is the peculiar distinction of doctors and masters. White denotes Divinity; green, Canon law; crimson, Civil law; yellow, Medicine; and blue, Arts or Philosophy. These caps are worn only on public occasions at the universities. Doblado (Blanco White) *Letters from Spain*, p. 115.

[2] Alfonso V. contributed greatly to the establishment of the university of Barcelona in 1430. It was endowed with thirty-two chairs: Six of theology, six of philosophy, six of jurisprudence, five of medicine, four of grammar, one each of rhetoric, Hebrew, Greek and anatomy. Capmany, *Coleccion Diplomatica*, Appendix xvi.

That all these institutions, as well in Aragon as in Castile, were in their origin rather royal than papal, in spite of the Bulls of establishment obtained by the Spanish kings from Rome, is now generally admitted.[1] The endowments in the Castilian establishments, however, were at once limited and uncertain until the time of Henry III. and of John II. King John especially, feeble though he may have been as a monarch, was a student and a friend of study, and a man of some culture and learning.

Upon Salamanca,[2] indeed, the protection of John II., following in the footsteps of his most excellent guardian, the Regent Ferdinand, was most especially extended; and it was only by his somewhat unusual liberality between 1400 and 1430 that were erected the university buildings, of which the remnant, dignified even in decay, may yet be seen on the banks of the Tormes. Thus the influence of the court was paramount in the Spanish universities at the commencement of the fifteenth century, and so remained during the long reign of John II. Henry IV. was not a man to concern himself with seminaries of sound learning and religious education; and it was not strange that the royal power and the royal interest alike began to wane at Salamanca, as they were waning throughout Spain, during his dreary and disastrous reign.[3] But in the succeeding generation, thanks to the enlightened patronage of Isabella, the universities grew and flourished; while under the magnificent rule of

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[1] See V. de Lafuente, *op. cit.*, i., chap. xviii.

[2] By royal charters, 1391, 1401, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1420, 1421, 1432. The early charters were granted by the Regent Ferdinand before his election as King of Aragon.

[3] Chacon, *Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca*, MS. 189, Com. 25, Bib. Nat., Madrid.

Ximenez, the ecclesiastical authority became gradually more and more powerful, until at length it became supreme over public and private instruction throughout the country.

Yet, as regards the privileges enjoyed by residents in the university towns, Ferdinand asserted the power of the Crown without hesitation or hindrance. By the year 1492 numerous abuses had crept into the Spanish universities, and notably into the great establishment at Salamanca. The degrees of doctor and master were given to those who were unworthy of the distinction, and even to those who had never studied at all; while an immense number of the tradesmen and townspeople fraudulently matriculated as students in order that they might find themselves removed from the jurisdiction of the king's court, and subject only to the milder rule of the university tribunals. Ferdinand the Catholic was not a man to endure such assaults upon the supreme power, and a royal ordinance with the euphemistic name of a *Concordia* was promulgated in 1492, confirmed by Bull of Alexander VI. in 1493, and followed up by still more trenchant rescripts of Ferdinand in 1494 (Medino del Campo) and 1497 (Alcala de Henares),[1] by which the jurisdiction of the university courts was grievously curtailed, and the matriculation of any but *bonâ fide* students condemned and prohibited.[2]

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[1] As to the development of Spanish Universities generally, under the Catholic sovereigns, and more especially as to the establishment of Alcala by Ximenez (1498-1508), see *post*, volume ii.

[2] The following notes as to universities or colleges established in Spain before the end of the fifteenth century, but which have now ceased to exist, may be possibly interesting:—

(1) Alcala.—Founded by Ximenez, 1510. Re-formed at Madrid, 1836.
(2) Avila.—Founded by Ferdinand and Isabella, 1482; and endowed out of the proceeds of Jewish confiscations. Suppressed, 1807.
(3) Gerona.—Founded in 1446 by Alfonso IV. of Aragon. Merged in the more modern foundation (1714) of Cervera, which was itself suppressed in 1837.
(4) Huesca.—Founded, 1461; suppressed, 1848.
(5) Lerida.—Founded, 1300; suppressed, 1714.
(6) Palma.—A college was founded here in 1280 by the celebrated Raymond Lull, more especially for the study of Oriental languages. In 1483 an academic status, equal to that possessed by Lerida, was granted to the institution, which thus and then first became a university. But the Papal sanction was not obtained until 1673, when Clement X. was with difficulty induced to issue a Bull approving the charter. In 1830, after having enjoyed a precarious existence from 1816, the university was merged in that of Cervera.
(7) Sahagun.—Established as an *Estudio General* by Alfonso VI., *circ.* 1121, in the monastery of St. Benedict, at Sahagun, which had itself been founded by Alfonso III. in 905. The school was raised to the position of a university by Clement VII. in 1534, and suppressed in 1807. See Morales, *Viaje*, 34; Josefe Perez, *Hist. de Sahagun*, ed. Fr. Romualdo Escalona, Madrid, 1782.
(8) Sigüenza.—Founded in 1472; reduced in 1770; suppressed in 1807.

Of the truly magnificent foundation in the reign of the Catholic kings, which perpetuated the munificence, not of Ferdinand nor of Isabella, but of Ximenez de Cisneros, it will be more appropriate to speak when we are considering the life and the works of the great Cardinal of Spain.

The universities now existing in Spain are as follows :—

(1)	Barcelona,	said to have been	founded in	1430 or 1459.
(2)	Granada,	,,	,,	1526 or 1537.
(3)	Madrid,	,,	,,	1836.
(4)	Oviedo,	,,	,,	1557 or 1604.
(5)	Salamanca,	,,	,,	1179.
(6)	Santiago,	,,	,,	1501.
(7)	Saragossa,	,,	,,	1474.
(8)	Seville,	,,	,,	1256 or 1502.
(9)	Valencia,	,,	,,	1245.
(10)	Valladolid	,,	,,	1260.

"The universities of Spain are now ten—Madrid, with 6672 students; Barcelona, with 2459; Valencia, 2118; Seville, 1382; Granada, 1225; Valladolid, 880; Santiago de Compostella, 779; Saragossa, 771; Salamanca, 372; and Oviedo, with 216; making a total of 16,874 university students. The number of regular professors is 415, with 240 supernumeraries and assistants, making a total of 655—that is, one professor to every twenty-six students." Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, p. 182.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FOREIGN POLICY OF ARAGON.

(1276-1327.)

I.—*Peter the Great.*

PETER THE THIRD OF ARAGON, the eldest son of James the Conqueror, succeeded to the crown of his father in 1276. Yet he prudently refused to assume the style and title of King of Aragon until he was acknowledged by the States-General, and solemnly crowned at Saragossa; and when the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Tarragona he gave further proof of his prudence by a formal and public protest to the effect that he received the crown from the hands of the archbishop in nowise as the gift of the Romish Church, and that he neither directly nor indirectly accepted the shameful submission that had been made by his namesake and ancestor, Peter II., to Pope Innocent at Rome.[1] He would reign, he said, as the independent king of an independent people. Yet, in spite of all his prudence, the Catalans were found to complain that he did not, after his coronation as King of Aragon at Saragossa, immediately proceed to Barcelona to confirm the laws and customs of Catalonia, and they actually rose in rebellion against their acknowledged sovereign on account of this constitutional slight. But this local petulance was of no long duration, and the Catalans were soon numbered among the most loyal subjects, as they were ever the boldest soldiers, of the King of Aragon.

The difference between the political condition of Castile and

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[1] The order for the coronation and consecration of a king of Aragon, as laid down and prescribed by Peter III., is exceedingly interesting. It is reprinted in the *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xiv., p. 555 *et seq.* The king was to put the crown upon his own head: *Y que no le ayude niuguna persona, ni el arzobispo ni ninguna persona de cualquiera condicion que sea, ni adobar, ni tocar la pont. Ibid.*, p. 563.

Aragon at the close of the thirteenth century is very remarkable, and must never be lost sight of by the student of Spanish history; for in Aragon and Valencia from the death of King James I. there were no more Moors to conquer, and the fighting men of Aragon were compelled to turn their eyes and their arms abroad—to Sicily, Naples, Rome and even Constantinople—while the ecclesiastics sought to combat rather the heretic than the infidel, and the lawyers of every degree had leisure to criticise the constitutional shortcomings of their kings. Thus, throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, while Castile was the land of civil war and domestic intrigue, Aragon was the country of foreign adventure and constitutional purism. The kings of Castile had the virtues and the vices of the warrior; the kings of Aragon those of the politician. It was not until these complementary characteristics were fairly united by Ferdinand and Isabella that the true greatness of Spain became apparent.

The troubles and the glories of the life of Peter III. came alike from across the sea.

One of the most romantic and complicated chapters in the history of mediæval Italy—when popes strove with emperors, and Frenchmen with Italians, and Guelphs with Ghibellines; when crowns were flung about like tennis balls, and excommunications flew as thick as javelins—was the great struggle of the thirteenth century for the possession of the ancient and famous island of Sicily.[1] Of the origin of the historic dispute; of the excommunication of the Emperor Frederick II., of his elder son, Conrad, Duke of Suabia, and of the younger, Manfred, King of Sicily; of the donation of Sicily by the French

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[1] Naples and Sicily were conquered by the Normans (1058), under Roger, son of Tancred, who took the title of Count of Sicily. His son, Roger, took the title of King of the United and Independent Monarchy of the two Sicilies, 1129-31.

Roger, styled Roger II., was succeeded by:—

William I., the Bad	1154-1166.
William II., the Good	1166-1189.
Constance	1189-1189.
Tancred	1189-1194.
William III., dethroned by the Emperor Henry VI., who was succeeded by his son	1194-1197.
Frederick II. (Emperor, 1215-1246)	1197-1250.
Conrad, Emperor and King	1250-1254.
Conradin, King, executed in 1268	1254-1258.
Manfred, King, killed in 1266 by Charles of Anjou, who succeeded him as king	1258-1266.

Note.—For the continuation of the succession, from the division of Naples and Sicily in 1282, see *post*, vol. ii.

Pope Urban IV., to the French Prince Charles of Anjou; of the escape of John of Procida, and the sudden turn of the wheel of politics by the election of the Italian, Nicolas III., to the primacy of the Christian world; of the confederation of Rome and Constantinople against Anjou and France, it is impossible to speak here in any detail. It must suffice to recall that Peter of Aragon had married, in 1260, the Princess Constance, daughter of Manfred, King of Sicily, and grand-daughter of the great Emperor Frederick II. of Germany. If a German marriage had led Alfonso X. to seek an Imperial crown at the hands of popes and electors far away beyond the frontiers of Castile, Peter III. found himself, on his accession to the throne of Aragon, a claimant to the crown of an island kingdom within easy reach of his coasts.

Manfred, King of Sicily, had fallen in battle at Benevento, maintaining his rights against the papal pretender, Charles of Anjou, in 1266; and Charles of Anjou had taken possession of Sicily. Conradin, the last titular Duke of Suabia, a grandson of the Emperor Frederick II., and nephew of the fallen Manfred—a youth of sixteen years of age—had himself perished by the hands of the executioner in 1268, a victim to the tyranny of the French usurper. As he stood on the scaffold, in the great square at Naples, the young prince had taken off his right hand glove[1] and flung it down among the crowd below, a royal gage or token, crying to the world for vengeance. The precious relic was picked up, and carefully preserved by an Aragonese knight, who found means to convey it across the sea to the court of his sovereign, where it was delivered to the lady Constance, the wife of Peter of Aragon, the daughter of Manfred, the aunt of Conradin, and the rightful Queen of Sicily. But Charles of Anjou, supported by the Pope and Philip of France, remained in possession of that fair island, and vexed the inhabitants with unheard of extortions and cruelty for sixteen long and dreadful years (1266-1282).

Ever since the execution of Conradin, Peter had naturally turned his eyes towards Sicily, but neither he nor his father had made any attempt to interfere in the affairs of that kingdom. Yet on his accession to the crown of Aragon his first care had been the unobtrusive preparation of a fleet, which was constructed in the ports of Valencia and Barcelona, not only with astonishing despatch, but with no less admirable secrecy. The affairs of Sicily gradually engrossed the attention of

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[1] Quintana says it was a ring.

Europe; and even the Emperor of the East, Michael Palæologus, ranged himself amongst the enemies of Anjou. After the death of Nicholas III. in 1280, a Frenchman once more ruled the Christian world as Martin IV.; and Peter of Aragon was excommunicated. But the signal for combat at closer quarters was not any change of policy by popes or by kings, but that uprising of the people of Sicily, exasperated beyond the limits of human endurance by their foreign oppressors—that wild and sudden massacre of the hated French throughout the island—that is known and spoken of in history as the Sicilian Vespers (1282).[1]

Charles of Anjou, as might have been expected, was enraged at this popular revolt; and his not unreasonable indignation was intensified by his natural ferocity. Deeply wounded, at once by the loss of his companions, the loss of his kingdom, and the loss of his credit, he hastened to collect a fleet and an army, and with threats of terrible vengeance against his Sicilian subjects, he proceeded to blockade Messina. The citizens prepared for a gallant defence. The time for intervention had at length arrived, and Peter of Aragon set sail with his newly-constructed fleet from Barcelona.

Prudent as ever, and uncertain how he might be received, even as a deliverer of the Sicilian people, the king steered, not for Messina, but for the coast of Barbary; and it was only after a pretended campaign against the Moors in North Africa that he suffered himself to be persuaded by successive Sicilian envoys to carry out his own well-considered plans, and to advance to the relief of Messina. He arrived off the coast of Sicily in September, 1282, and was immediately proclaimed king amid the acclamations of the inhabitants.

His appearance before Messina, with his Aragonese soldiers and sailors, and some irregular troops from Mauretania, the famous *Almogavares*,[2] was the signal for the immediate raising of the siege, and the relief of the blockaded city. Charles of Anjou fled into Calabria. The Sicilians, relieved from the hourly approaching danger of famine or massacre, accorded a hearty and grateful welcome to their new king. The destruction of the French fleet by a small squadron of Catalonian ships, under the command of the gallant Roger de Lauria,[1] completed the triumph of Aragon; and the generosity of Peter, who refused to kill a single prisoner of the 4000 that fell into his hands, but enlisted the greater part of them in his own army, and dismissed the malcontents with an abundant *viaticum* to their own homes, deservedly raised his reputation as a soldier, a king, and a man.

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[1] Eight-and-twenty thousand Frenchmen are said to have been killed. The story of the Sicilian Vespers and of the revolution that followed in Sicily is fully told by Muratori. As to the influence of John of Procida in the national rising, see *Un periodo delle Istoria Siciliane*, by Michaele Amasi (1842).

[2] "These *Almogavares*, of whom mention has so frequently been made, lived only for fighting," says Zurita, "and never inhabited either cities or populous communities, but were, like wild beasts, ready to be let loose on their prey. Their arms were—spear, sword, dagger, and mace, but they had no defensive armour. They fought generally on foot, but if they killed a horseman and captured the horse, they could use it in battle. Their way of fighting, when assailed by the cavalry, was to place the handle of the lance against their feet, to hold out the sharp point against the horse, to spit the animal, and then, with the rapidity of lightning, fall on the encumbered horseman and despatch him." Dunham, iv., pp. 63, 64.

Charles, when he was at length driven out of Reggio, and forced to abandon Calabria, defied his successful rival to knightly combat or wager of battle for the possession of Sicily; and proposed that 100 knights of France should meet as many Sicilian and Aragonese champions in the lists, in a solemn tourney at Bordeaux, in the summer of the following year, when Edward I. of England would keep the lists and decide upon the issue of the combat. This strange challenge, favourable as it was to the vanquished Angevins, was accepted by the victorious Aragonese; and the 1st of June, 1283, was fixed for the combat. Peter at once summoned his queen and her sons to Sicily, and having provided for the administration of the island during his absence,[2] set sail on his gallant errand for France by way of Spain, and arrived, after an adventurous journey, true to his tryst, on the 31st of May, at Bordeaux. King Edward, the judge, was not present. The combat had been forbidden by the Pope; but every preparation had been made for the surprise and slaughter of the Aragonese. The tourney had been turned into a trap. Peter, happily forewarned, escaped in the disguise of a travelling merchant into Spain; and Charles was baulked of his prey. But if treachery had failed to remove an obnoxious rival, the Church was ready to lend a helping hand to the French claimant. The Papal excommunication of Peter of Aragon[1] was renewed in language more vigorous and more precise than before. The king was formally deposed. Every one who obeyed him was *ipso facto* excommunicated. His subjects in Spain and Sicily were alike released from their allegiance, and all Christian princes were urged to dispossess him of his kingdoms, in the name of Cæsar at Rome.

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[1] Roger de Lauria was of Italian blood, but Aragonese by adoption. The name is spelt Loria and del Oria. He wrote it himself Luria as a Catalan, but the modern Castilian spelling adopted by French and English writers is *de Lauria*.

The command of the fleet had been entrusted, in the first instance, to En Jacme Perez, a natural son of the king. But he had proved unequal to his charge, even though he was seconded by the gallant Catalan, Pedro de Queralt, who continued to hold a subordinate command under Roger de Lauria.

[2] The administration included the Queen Constance, heiress of Sicily; the Infante, James of Aragon; Alaymo di Lantini, the Justiciary; Roger de Lauria, the Admiral, and the celebrated John of Procida.

But the Papal thunders were little heeded by the sturdy and independent Aragonese, and least of all by Roger de Lauria, who then commanded the king's fleet in the Sicilian waters. This gallant admiral, so justly celebrated in the naval annals of Aragon and of the western Mediterranean, was born at Scala, in Calabria, about the year 1250. His father had fallen by the side of Manfred, King of Sicily, at the battle of Benevento. Adopted and brought to Spain by Queen Constance, the youth gave early proofs of his aptitude for naval warfare, and after many feats of valour in the Sicilian campaign, he was appointed admiral of Aragon in 1283. In June of that year he possessed himself of the island of Malta, after a battle celebrated in the history of the two Sicilies, when he destroyed the Papal fleet, and cut down Guillaume Cornut, the Angevin commander, with his own hand. Another fleet, fitted out with much pains and many Papal blessings and cursings, was totally destroyed the next year, in the Bay of Naples (1284), by the same gallant sailor; and Prince Charles, the eldest son of the usurper of Sicily, was taken prisoner and brought to Messina. The Sicilians would have slain the young prince in return for the murder of Conradin by his father; but Queen Constance, at the risk of her personal popularity, saved her hereditary enemy from the fury of her subjects.

Meanwhile, Pope Martin, finding that his spiritual thunder had been attended with such very poor results, took upon himself to make a definite donation of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia to Charles of Valois, younger son of Philip the Bold of France, and to proclaim a crusade against the Aragonese, with plenary indulgence to every one who should assist in any way in the *Holy War*, together with all the spiritual privileges that were earned by those who did battle against the infidel in Palestine. The Aragonese were filled with alarm. They were already excommunicated; and they were now delivered over to the savage secular arms of the military scum of Europe. But they turned in their indignation, not against the tyrant at the Vatican, but against their lawful sovereign in Spain; and they urged the king to abandon Sicily, and to make his peace with Rome. Over a year before, in 1283, the Cortes of Tarragona had remonstrated against the king's wars, made without the consent of his nobles; the Cortes of Saragossa had demanded the renewal of an immense number of ancient *fueros* or popular customary laws, and they had been gratified by the grant of the celebrated *General Privilege*, the Magna Charta of Aragon, at the hands of their ever-prudent sovereign. Nor were the merchants of Barcelona behindhand in their constitutional remonstrances and demands.

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[1] The Bull of 21st March, 1283, launched against Peter of Aragon, was followed by a much more tremendous denunciation and dispossession on the 5th of May, 1284. It was exactly one month after this last spiritual demonstration that Roger de Lauria, boldly sailing northwards from Messina, entirely destroyed the Papal and Angevin fleet in the Bay of Naples.

But the struggle of Peter of Aragon was not merely against constitutional assemblies and mercantile guilds; it was not so much domestic politics, however acute, or foreign wars, however unequal, that vexed his noble soul; it was that well-nigh alone, and without the sympathy of his most loyal subjects, he was wrestling, not only against principalities and powers, but against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Harassed as he was at home and abroad, he had yet found occasion to betroth his eldest son Alfonso to the Princess Eleanor, a daughter of Edward I. of England—an honourable and important alliance. But the Pope forbade the marriage (July, 1283). It was hard in the fourteenth century to kick against the pricks. The king's own brother, James of Majorca; his justiciary, Alaymo di Lantini, from Sicily; the wretched Sancho, miscalled the Brave, of Castile; all were counted amongst his enemies. Edward of England remained neutral. The emperor sent no help. Many of the Spanish nobles refused to fight against Rome. Yet the gallant Peter, with a handful of followers, not only kept the passes of the Eastern Pyrenees, but made two successful forays across the frontier.

At length, in May, 1285, the crusading army, under orders from Rome, marched into Spanish Roussillon. This mixed multitude of over a hundred thousand soldiers of the faith was under the spiritual charge of a cardinal legate, entrusted with the banner of St. Peter, and was commanded by Philip the Bold and two princes of France, bearing the sacred oriflamme of St. Denis. Perpignan was surprised, and ruthlessly sacked. Elne was carried by assault, and the entire population, men, women and children, were massacred by the Papal troops. Not even at Beziers was the destruction more complete. The spiritual sword had ever a sharp edge. Papal legates were commanders who gave no quarter. Moving on southwards, and having surprised an unfrequented path by the treachery of a Catalonian monk, the invaders crossed the Pyrenees and sat down before the strong fortresses of Gerona. Meanwhile the noble spirit of Peter had awakened the patriotism of many of his subjects. The *Union* declared in his favour. Gerona held out against the French; and the courage of the Aragonese troops revived with the appearance of the gallant Roger de Lauria from Sicily, in command of a small squadron, with which he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the French fleet in that historic bay[1] of Rosas where the Rhodians had first moored their ships 2000 years before. Gerona nevertheless capitulated on the 13th September, 1285; but the besiegers were so completely demoralised, that within a week they turned their steps once more to the northward, and abandoned any further project of a holy war in Aragon. King Philip, sick unto death, borne in his uneasy litter, with his two sons, titular Kings of Aragon and of Navarre, the cardinal legate with the banner of St. Peter's from Rome, and the French priests with the oriflamme of St. Denis from Paris, were glad to make their way across the eastern Pyrenees with all that was left of the 100,000 ruffians that had entered Elne not four months before.[2]

Gerona, after a three weeks' occupation, was retaken by the Spaniards; and the son of St. Louis died, where so many better men had been done to death by his orders, in the blood-stained city of Perpignan. Nor did the heroic Peter long survive him. Stricken down by fever in the moment of victory, he lived at least to see the last of the invaders driven beyond the frontier. He died when his work was done, a patriot king, a faithful knight, a man brave and merciful, constant and true, one of the few mediæval sovereigns whom we can honestly admire, and who is not undeserving of the surname of the Great.[3]

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[1] All the ships that were not sunk or captured by De Lauria were burned by the French admiral, who was compelled to escape *by land* into his own country, almost within sight of the harbour of Rosas. Quintana, *Vida di Roger de Lauria.*

[2] 25th May to 25th September.

[3] *Pedro III., el rey mas grande y mas glorioso de toda nuestra historia.* Castelar, *Estudios Historicos sobre la edad media*, p. 32.

The year 1285 proved fatal to some of the leading personages of those stirring times. Charles of Anjou died in January; Martin IV. in March; Philip the Fair in October; and Peter of Aragon in November.

II.—*Alfonso III. of Aragon.*

Alfonso, the heir to the crown of Aragon, was, at the time of his father's death, on his way with Admiral Roger de Lauria to reduce the Majorcans to subjection; nor did he return to the Continent until he had accomplished the object of the expedition, and was free to despatch De Lauria to Sicily to maintain the rights of his brother James, to whom that kingdom had been assigned by their father.

The use of the regal title in the letter in which Alfonso III. informed his subjects of the conquest of the Balearic Islands, offended the constitutional purists, as being an improper assumption of regal authority before the usual oath had been administered by the justiciary. The king apologised. But the commons became more bold. And their increasing demands led to the grant by Alfonso, in December, 1288, of that extraordinary *Privilege of Union*, or recognition of the right of the subjects to combine and make war on the sovereign, which was perhaps the greatest concession that was ever made by a reigning sovereign to his own subjects in the history of constitutional development.

The reign of Alfonso was spent almost entirely in negotiations respecting the disposal of the crown of Sicily, in which Edward I. of England, one of the few men who was trusted by all parties concerned, played the part of a patient and indefatigable mediator. And it was only in 1291, at the Congress of Tarragona, that a compact or treaty was formulated and agreed to, in which, among other less important articles, it was provided that Alfonso, making his submission to the Pope, was to be recognised as King of Aragon and Majorca, and should marry his betrothed bride, Princess Eleanor of England, and that his brother James should abandon all his claims to the crown of Sicily to the young Charles of Anjou. But the compact was rendered void, and everything was once more thrown into confusion by the death of Alfonso within a few weeks of the signature of the treaty, when his brother James, the dispossessed King of Sicily, succeeded him as the lawful sovereign of Aragon.

III.—*James III.*

The negotiations of the last five years were now promptly renewed. But the conditions of the political contest were entirely changed. There was but one Spanish claimant to the crowns of Aragon and of Sicily. There was no Pope at Rome. For two years and three months after the death of Nicholas IV.[1] the Christian world was without a head. The quarrels and intrigues of the cardinals at length permitted the election of the humble devotee, Peter of Murrone, as Celestine V. But in August, 1294, that truly honest, pious and honourable man, unable to rule over Church and State in such evil and turbulent days, resigned his office, after a pontificate of but four months' duration, into the hands of the cardinal electors. His successor was more promptly chosen, and he was a man of a very different stamp. For he was that Cardinal Cayetani who, under the title of Boniface VIII., ruled the Roman world with the vigour, though not with the success, of Hildebrand and of Innocent. His first act was sufficiently characteristic of the man: it was to cast Celestine, his gentle predecessor, into prison, lest under any possible combination of circumstances he should prove an awkward rival. Celestine died after a confinement of only ten months; and twenty years later, the prisoner of Pope Boniface VIII. was made a saint by Pope Clement V.

The next care of Boniface was to settle the affairs of Sicily; and a treaty or arrangement was signed at Anarqui, in 1295, by which the King of Aragon abandoned all his rights over Sicily to the Pope, broke off his marriage with Isabella of Castile, and was betrothed to Blanche, daughter of Charles of Naples and Anjou. On these conditions Aragon was granted by the Pope to King James; all excommunications and interdicts were withdrawn, and by two secret articles, the King of Aragon was invested with the sovereignty of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia; while the Catalans were to furnish the French King with forty ships of war for service against the common ally, Edward of England. The arrangement was confirmed by the Cortes of Barcelona, with many murmurs; and the marriage of King James with Blanche of Anjou was celebrated at Villa Beltran on 1st November, 1295. But the day after the arrival of the French princess, strange visitors were seen on the coast of Aragon. The Sicilian ambassadors, imperfectly informed as to the provisions of the Papal treaty, arrived to ask the assistance of the king against their common enemies. When they were admitted to audience, and were at length informed of the royal renunciation, "they took it," says the old chronicler,

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[1] In May, 1292.

"like a sentence of death".[1] One of the ambassadors, Cataldo Ruffo, indeed, delivered a passionate harangue, and reproached the king before his court and his bride with his base desertion of his faithful Sicilians. "Oft times have we heard, Sir King," said the bold envoy, "of vassals who have deserted their lord, but never have we heard of a lord who has abandoned his vassals". These were the marriage greetings of James and Blanche of Aragon. And then the ambassadors rent their clothes before the whole court, and returned to Sicily, where the Parliament of Palermo at once proclaimed Fadrique of Aragon, younger brother of the deserter, as constitutional King of Sicily (15th January, 1296).

Fadrique was not unworthy of his descent from James I. and Peter III.; and while his brother was doing homage at Rome for Corsica and Sardinia, which he had no right to govern, and for Aragon, which Boniface had no right to grant, Fadrique of Sicily was putting his kingdom into a state of defence against all comers; and he actually defeated an expedition despatched against him by his brother of Aragon, near Messina. Yet might not one little island resist the temporal and spiritual arms of all Europe. A second fleet, headed by the invincible Roger de Lauria, completely destroyed the Sicilian navy at Cape Orlando in July, 1299. But Don Fadrique did not surrender. The French had no mind to take possession of so very thorny a gift; and Boniface was forced to reproach his vassal, the King of Aragon, for the incompleteness of his victory over his own subjects, and his own brother in Sicily. But his reproaches were of no avail. The Catalans had had enough of Papal service, and James found some pretext for remaining in Aragon. It fell to Charles of Valois, a brother of Philip of France, invested by Boniface with the old Roman title of *Vicar* of the Empire, to undertake the reduction of Sicily. At the head of a large army of French and Neapolitans and Romans, raised by His Holiness, and embarked on board a numerous fleet, Charles set out for Messina in the spring of the year 1302.

The expedition completely failed; and the adventurers were glad to agree to a treaty, by which, in spite of the continued opposition of the Pope, Sicily was secured to the brave Fadrique and his sturdy Sicilian subjects.[2] On his death, indeed, the kingdom was to revert to Charles or his heirs, a very poor exchange for an immediate crown, granted, guaranteed and supported by Rome itself. But Rome was no longer the Rome of Gregory or of Innocent. The masterful Boniface was to die but a year later, flouted by the King of France, and insulted by Sciarra Colonna. His immediate successor Benedict XI. was poisoned at Rome, and within two years a French bishop, the servant and vassal of the King of France, had abandoned the ancient seat of empire.[1]

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[1] The speech will be found in full in Quintana, *Vida de Roger de Lauria.*

[2] The ever-victorious Roger de Lauria, who had contributed so largely to the ultimate success of the by no means grateful Fadrique, retired into Aragon after the peace of 1302, and died at Valencia in 1305.

King Fadrique being now in no further need of defenders, and King James III. undisturbed in Aragon, the Catalan adventurers and allies in Sicily, deprived of their occupation by the peace of 1302, set out from Messina to conquer the Levant. Their successes and reverses in Asia Minor aud Roumelia, their victories over Greek emperors and Turkish pashas, the conquest of Greece and the acquisition of the title of Duke of Athens for the King of Sicily, these things form rather a part of the history of the Eastern Empire than of eastern Spain. Yet the expedition was made by Spanish adventurers, and the glory and romance of their many victories (1302-1313) is a part of the rich heritage of Spain.

James of Aragon, after much hesitation, determined at length in 1323 to possess himself of his new territories of Corsica and Sardinia, which the Genoese and Pisans, who had borne rule in those inhospitable islands for over three hundred years, were forced to surrender to Aragon. Sardinia, after a struggle of eight months, was abandoned in February 1324. Corsica was handed over to the king only in 1326—not at the bidding of a Pope, but at the summons of a powerful fleet. Nor was it until after the *Stamento* or Estates of Sardinia had been called together at Cagliari in 1421 by Alfonso V., that the island can be said to have been wholly and incontestably Aragonese.[2] Following the fortunes of that king, Sardinia became a part of united Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards under Charles V., and so remained until 1708, when, during the war of succession, it fell into the hands of Austria. For ten years its fate was uncertain, and at length by the Treaty of London (9th August, 1720) it was formally ceded by Spain to Victor Amadeo II., Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia.

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[1] Clement V. retired to Avignon, 5th July, 1309.

[2] "The Spanish rule in the fourteenth century was not a tyranny; and it was an enormous improvement on the government of the Pisans, the Genoese and the Papal rulers." Edwards, *Sardinia and the Sards* (1889), pp. 85, 86.

IV.—*Raymond Lull.*

One of the most remarkable men of the thirteenth century, not only in Spain but in Europe, was an Aragonese friar who may challenge comparison with Peter III. in honesty and courage, with Alfonso X. in erudition and science. Raymond Lull, by courtesy a saint, by accusation a rationalist, the critic at once of Averroës and of Dominic, was the most learned theologian and the most voluminous writer in Spain from the death of Isidore. Born of a noble family at Palma in the island of Majorca in January, 1235, the early years of Raymond Lull were passed at the gay court of James I. of Aragon. About the year 1260, disgusted with the pleasures of life, he forsook the world, that he might devote himself to the conversion of Moslems and Jews, and more especially to the *rational* demonstration of the truth of Christianity, and the destruction of the growing influence of Averroism. Unlike his Aragonese namesake and contemporary, Saint Raymond of Peñafort, the Dominican lawyer who sought to combat heresy by the inquisition and the stake, the Majorcan student is perhaps the first and not the least distinguished of those Christian doctors who preferred argument to persecution, and held that knowledge and reason should support, and not destroy, true religion. In his first retirement near Palma, Raymond studied Latin and Arabic, and wrote his *Ars universalis;* and at length, having assumed the habit of a tertiary of the Franciscan order, he sallied forth into the world, and spent some forty years in Spain, in France, in Italy, in Africa, and even on the far eastern shores of the Mediterranean, teaching rather than preaching, disputing rather than compelling, arguing rather than persecuting, concerning himself rather with the errors of Averroism than with minor dogmatic divergencies. He lectured at Montpellier, at Paris and at Padua. He proposed to the Council of Vienne in 1311, not the burning of templars, but the foundation of schools of Oriental languages; and he actually succeeded in introducing the study of Hebrew, of Arabic and of Chaldee, at the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca. His self-imposed mission to the Moors in Africa cost him his life; for after many warnings and much indulgence on the part of the Moslems at Bugia, from 1313 to 1315, he was stoned without the city, and carried away in a dying condition by some pious Genoese sailors to his old home in Majorca.

Of the works[1] of Raymond Lull, no less than 300 separate books and treatises have actually come down to our times. As many as 3000 have been by some writers ascribed to him, and Juan Llobet, who taught Lullism in the University of Palma in the middle of the fifteenth century, boasted that he had actually *read* 500.

But of all these, the *Ars Brevis* and the more developed *Ars Magna* need alone claim our passing attention, for it is in them that the Lullian tradition is found and preserved—the art or system of proving by rational and logical process of thought, the propositions of Christian theology. These works of Lull, moreover, were prescribed from the earliest time as a text-book for the use of the students of the universities of Aragon. A royal privilege for the teaching of Lullism in that kingdom was granted by Peter IV. in 1369, and an *Estudio Lulliano*, which became in time the *Universidad Lulliano*, was founded soon after his death at his native Palma, where his works were studied down to comparatively modern times.

But the memory of this martyr controversialist was not allowed to remain unassailed by the Holy Office. Nicolas Eymerick, Grand Inquisitor of Aragon, jealous of the influence of an ecclesiastic whose art was so destructive of his own, was able in 1371 to obtain from Gregory XI., himself a Dominican, at Avignon, an order for an examination of the writings of Raymond Lull. Peter IV. forbade the publication of the Papal mandate; but after five years' pertinacity, the Inquisition, in spite of the continued hostility of the King of Aragon, procured a Bull (1376) condemning the writings of Lull as erroneous in no less than 500 particulars.[2] Two years later (1378) Eymerick was banished on a charge of forging the Bull of condemnation, and although he returned not long afterwards, he was again banished by John I.[3] in 1393, at the earnest entreaty of the citizens of Barcelona and Valencia, "on account of his enormous crimes".

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[1] The best—indeed the only good edition of his works—is *Beati Raymundi Lulli Doctoris illuminati et Martyris Opera* (Moguntiæ, 1721-1737) folio, six vols. It is a work of extreme rarity. Vols. vii. and viii. were proposed, but never published. Of this noble edition, vol. i. contains the *Ars Magna Seu ars Compendiosa inveniendi veritatem, clavis et clausula omnium artium et scientiarum*. Also the *Revelatio secretorum artis*. *A Catalogue raisonné* of his works is also given, comprising: Of speculative works, 205; of practical works, 77; and *Librorum Desideratorum*, 16; in all 298.

[2] Among these, such *dicta* as "That it is wrong to put men to death for their religious opinions, and that the mass of mankind will be saved, even Jews and Saracens," were obviously unpalatable to a Grand Inquisitor.

[3] H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 585-6.

The orthodoxy of Lull's writings was not so easily settled. Royal letters in favour of Lullism were issued by Alfonso V. in 1415, and again by Charles V. in 1549. Ten years later, in 1559, Pope Paul IV. placed his works in the first Papal *Index Expurgatorius.* The Spanish *Consejo de la suprema* expunged the entry in 1560. Three years later, the Council of Trent condemned the fraud of Eymerick; and expurgated the Index of Paul. In 1578 the controversy was revived, and, after fruitless searches for the forged Bull, and many inclusions and exclusions of the works of Lull from the Papal Index, his name was added to the list of authors of heretical works, that was published by the Sorbonne under Gabriel du Préau in 1608. Three years later, in 1611, Philip III. applied to the Pope for the canonisation of Raymond, a request which led only to further controversy and further condemnation. Nor can it be said that the controversy is even yet concluded. For although Pius IX., as lately as the year 1858, granted permission to the Franciscans to celebrate his feast on 27th November; and although the *Doctor Illuminatus* bears at least a courtesy title as *Saint,* and is included by the Count de Mas La Trie in his last catalogue in 1890; and although his life is narrated in 100 pages folio[1] of the great *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, it is even yet uncertain whether Raymond is a true Catholic Saint, or a condemned and condemnable heretic.

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[1] Tom. v., s. d. 30th June, pp. 633-736.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DOMESTIC DISCORD IN CASTILE.

(1284—1350.)

I.—*The Bravos.*

After the enormous moral and material change that came over Christian Spain under Berengaria, St. Ferdinand and Alfonso X.—a change not merely in degree but in kind—it is mournful to find a recrudescence of barbarism under their immediate successors. The honourable conquest and occupation of Cordova, so long the glory of the Caliphs, and of Seville, the fairest city in Andalusia, the wisdom of Berengaria, the learning of Alfonso; alliances with faithful Moors, aspirations after Imperial dominion, the pursuits of science, the respect for law—all this came to an end at the death of Alfonso X., in 1284, with the accession of his son Sancho, surnamed, in contemptuous comparison with his gentle father, the Brave, or, rather, the *Bravo.*[1]

And under this bravo and his successors, for close on a century, Castile reverted to the civil wars and assassinations, and the ever-changing and ever-faithless alliances that disgraced the annals of the tenth century. There was plenty of war, but there was no accession of territory; plenty of judgment, but no justice; plenty of negotiation, but no peace; plenty of bravery, but no honour.[2] According to a modern

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[1] *La brava domada* is the classic Castilian translation of "The Taming of the Shrew". *Bravo* would thus stand for a male shrew or *bully.* I have not ventured to use so homely a word. But Señor Vicente de Lafuente, in his *Historia de las Sociedades secretas en España*, p. 42, says that the word *Bravo* in this connection is itself only a copyist's error adopted and perpetuated by excessive loyalty, for *Pravo*, the depraved, Latin *Pravus.* Pravo is not a word used in modern Spain, but it is given in the *Dict.* of the Academy.

[2] The brutality, the rapacity, the violence of this age, are even exceeded by the falseness, the trickery, the treason and the perfidy, which at this time are the distinguishing characteristics of Castile. P. Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, etc., p. 39; Lafuente, vii., p. 19.

Spanish writer, every man lived at the mercy of the highway robber and the private assassin. Bold depredators possessed the land, which was abandoned by the peaceful and honest owners. The bravo was abroad in Castile. Robbery and rapine were publicly professed by gentle and simple. The corpses of murdered men lay unburied on every highway. Travelling was impossible save in armed caravans. There was no security for life or property outside the walls of the fortified towns; and not only the isolated farm-houses, but the hamlets and even the villages remained absolutely deserted throughout the country. Was it for this that Berengaria had created a great kingdom, and that Alfonso had endowed it with wise laws? Had it not been for the popular institution of the *Hermandad,* towards the close of the thirteenth century, there would hardly have been an honest man left alive in Castile.[1]

For eleven years (1284-1295) after the death of Alfonso the Learned did Sancho, the fourth of his name, reign over Castile; and from the day of his accession to the day of his death, there was nothing but trouble in the kingdom. Alfonso of Aragon refused to give up to him the persons of his nephews, the Infantes *de Cerda.*[2] The Pope refused to sanction his marriage with his cousin, Doña Maria of Leon; Lope Diaz de Haro, Lord of Biscay, one of his rebel companions, whom he had raised to great honour, turned against him, after the good old fashion of his kind, and was only disposed of by assassination at the Council of Alfaro in 1288. Wars and treaties between Castile and Aragon; Don Juan, the elder Infante, in arms in Gallicia; the constant revolts of the Laras; the abandonment of Murcia at the instance of Philip of France;[3] the continued hostility of Peter of Aragon, all these things characterise the disturbed and disastrous reign of Sancho IV. The one great deed of arms, in ten years of wretched strife, was the taking of Tarifa in 1292. But the conquest of that celebrated town and the maintenance within its walls of the Castilian supremacy, is a glorious incident, not in the life of Sancho the Bravo, but of Guzman, more happily styled the Good.

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[1] *Cronica de Don Alfonso XI.*, c. lxxviii.

[2] So called from their father, the Infante Ferdinand, the eldest son of Alfonso the Learned, who gained his nickname of *La Cerda* from the *bristles* which grew from a mole on his face—H.

[3] It should be explained that most of these troubles really arose out of the urgent need in Castile, as elsewhere in Europe, for the limitation of the abusive power of the feudal nobles. James the Conqueror had after years of struggle only partially succeeded in this in Aragon, and King John had failed in England. The complaint of the Castilian nobles of the king's favour to Haro was a mere excuse, and, as is here pointed out, Haro's sons promptly joined the other members of their order to proclaim as king the rightful heir under the Roman law. Murcia was ceded to the King of France on his promise not to aid Alfonso de la Cerda, and to use his influence with the Pope to obtain a dispensation for Sancho's marriage with his cousin Maria de Molina.—H.

Alonzo Perez de Guzman, an illegitimate son of the Adelantado Mayor of Andalusia, was born in Leon in 1255. Distinguished in war and tourney, a brave and honourable knight, he quitted the court to escape the insults of his legitimate brother, and took service, after the fashion of the day, with Yusuf, the king or emperor of Morocco, and fought under the Moorish standard with much distinction in Africa. It was by his influence at the court of Fez that, in 1280, the emperor was induced to send a subsidy and an army to Alfonso X., and this Berber contingent was commanded by Guzman in person. In course of time (1290) Yusuf of Morocco died; and the Christians finding no favour at the court of his bigoted son and successor Yacub, Guzman passed over to Seville in 1291, bringing back with him a rich treasure acquired during his foreign service. Finding King Sancho meditating an expedition against the Moors of Granada, he promptly offered his assistance. The royal treasury was empty; Guzman provided the necessary funds. A fleet was equipped, an army was raised, and Tarifa was invested by sea and land. For six months the siege was prosecuted with the greatest vigour—Guzman was the most indefatigable of commanders—and at length the city was taken, and garrisoned by the Christian forces.

Among the many bad men of a bad age was the Infante John, a brother of Sancho the king, and it seemed good to him about this time, after one of his many unsuccessful attempts at rebellion, to pass over to Tangiers, and to enter into an alliance with Yacub, the hostile sovereign of Morocco. The first care of these new allies was the recovery of Tarifa from the Christians. Guzman, who had been appointed governor of the fortress, upon its incorporation into the Castilian territories, held the city for Castile; and he refused the bribes and despised the attacks of the invaders (1294). But in the hands of the Christian commander of the allied forces was unhappily found the only son of the gallant defender; and Prince John led the young Guzman forward under the walls of Tarifa, threatening to murder the boy under the eyes of his father, if the father remained true to his trust, and refused to give up the city to the besiegers. But love proved less powerful than honour in the heart of the Castilian *Alcaide*. Guzman not only defied the cowardly assailants without the battlements, but he flung down his own knife at the feet of the tempter. Prince John, with a barbarity unsurpassed even in those barbarous days, slew the youth on the spot. But Tarifa remained untaken. The Moors returned to Africa. Guzman, heirless, but full of glory, was gratified with the admiration of his country, and the strange title, granted under the sign manual of the king, of *El bueno*—the Good.[1]

Sancho IV. died at Toledo on the 25th of April, 1295, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand, a boy of nine years of age: and confusion became worse confounded in Castile. The king's uncle—the ever odious Don John—his great uncle, Don Henry, who arrived from Italy, his neighbours Dionysius of Portugal and Mohammed of Granada, and his vassal Don Diego Lopez de Haro, all rose against Ferdinand IV. James II. of Aragon took possession of Murcia, and Don Juan de Lara, entrusted by the bold but over-confiding queen-regent with a large sum of money for the defence of his sovereign and her dominions, appropriated the supplies to his own use, and joined the ranks of the enemy. Yet was his treachery of no avail. For Doña Maria, mainly by the assistance of the good Guzman, and partly by her own virtue and vigour, was able to prevail over invaders and rebels in Castile. The loyalty of this noble Castilian and the heroic conduct of the queen-regent, worthy at least of comparison with the great Berengaria, are almost the only bright features of this dreary period of treachery and disorder. The patience of Doña Maria, her vigour, her discretion, her maternal devotion, are all admirable.[2] She was not only a diplomatist but a politician. The *Hermandad*, or association of free citizens who had bound themselves together in this historic brotherhood, in 1295, to defend themselves from the depredations of the nobles, was protected by her prudent policy;[1] nor was a single year of her regency suffered to pass without a regular session of the Cortes. Thus she prevailed over the enemies of Castile abroad, and withstood traitors within the realm, not by assassination and tyranny, but by encouraging the party of order, and promoting good government at home.

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[1] Of the family of this Guzman the Good was Leonora, the mistress of Alfonso XI., and mother of Henry II. So too was that incapable or unfortunate Duke of Medina Sidonia, who assumed so unwillingly the chief command of the great *Empresa de Inglaterra* in 1588. See Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, etc., 1876, p. 273.

The *Cronica de los Duques de Medina Sidonia*, compiled in the sixteenth century by Pedro de Medina is printed in vol. xxxix. of the *Documentos ineditos*, pp. 1-397, and will be found the best authority for the rise and progress of the most noble family of the Guzmans.

[2] This queen is the heroine of one of Tirso de Molina's dramas, *La prudencia de la mujer*, and of a play by a more modern author, Roca de Togores, Marques de Molins, entitled *Doña Maria de Molina*. Her noble ally, Guzman the Good, was unhappily killed in a skirmish in the mountains of Granada in 1309.

II.—*The Hermandad.*

The early *Hermandades* or brotherhoods must not be confounded with the royal police that was established by Isabella—under the name of the *Santa Hermandad*, or holy brotherhood—nearly a century later. The earlier institution had nothing royal either in its origin or in its character. The brotherhoods were simply associations or *Unions* of cities or citizens to protect themselves against the attacks of knights and nobles who, unchecked by any semblance of royal or national authority, plundered and burned, robbed and ravished throughout the length and breadth of Castile.

By the end of the reign of Sancho IV. the condition of the kingdom had become so inconceivably disastrous that the ordinary law and the ordinary executive proved completely powerless to cope with the general disorganisation; and under his youthful successor it became apparent that if society was to be saved, it was to be saved, not by the court, but by the commons. No privilege of union was asked of the infant king. A confederacy of classes would hardly have been possible at the end of the thirteenth century. A confederacy of burgesses, united among themselves, and of their own free will, had in it nothing inconsistent with the royal supremacy. And these free Spaniards spoke of their unwonted union as a brotherhood: the *Hermandad* or Brotherhood of Castile. The formal act of incorporation—for if the *Hermandad* possessed no royal charter, it was far from being a secret society[2]—is one of the most remarkable protests in history. It recites in due legal form the hurts and harms, the deaths and dishonours, *e otras cosas sin*

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[1] Sancho IV. in his struggle with feudalism had not had the wit to make use of the middle and trading classes, as James of Aragon and the later Plantagenet kings in England did. Instead of strengthening the towns, he set them against him by a wholesale abolition of their privileges. It was not until his death that the middle classes on their own account entered actively into the struggle, and the foundation of the *Hermandad* is the first strong manifestation of this.—H.

[2] Yet see Don V. de Lafuente, *Sociedades Secretas en España*, cap. i.

guisa, suffered by the people of Castile since the last year of Alfonso X.; and it goes on to say that *por mayor asosiego de la tierra,* and for the greater protection of the king's authority *facemos hermandad,* we hereby constitute ourselves a brotherhood.

This strange document was sealed and executed, if not by authority of the king, at least with the approbation of the queen-regent, herself struggling with a thousand enemies to maintain her son's authority in the distracted enemy realm that he had inherited. Thirty-four cities or towns were parties to this first act of brotherhood. Its affairs were conducted by deputies, who transacted their business—like the Unionists of Aragon—under a common seal, and who not only maintained the rights and liberties of the members of the brotherhood, but who actually promulgated laws, which they transmitted to the king himself. An armed force made their decrees respected. Disobedience was visited with death. If a noble deprived an *Hermano* of his property, his house was razed to the ground, and his movables confiscated to the *Hermandad.* If the king's tax-gatherer demanded an unlawful impost, he was slain. But the brotherhoods, though vigorous, were never tyrannical. They were obviously unconstitutional; but they were necessary, and they were universally respected; and their deliberative assemblies were even known by the singular name of the *Cortes extraordinary.*[1]

However successful Queen Maria may have been, and was, in her administration of the kingdom, she was certainly less skilful or less fortunate than her greater predecessor Berengaria, in her education of her royal son. For unlike his sainted namesake, Ferdinand IV. of Castile, on arriving at man's estate, not only proved utterly unfit to govern his country, but he showed his base and contemptible nature by treating the prudent preserver of his crown and of his kingdom, not only with ingratitude, but even with insult. Under such circumstances, his reign was not likely to be prosperous or honourable. And the period of twelve years (1300-1312), from the attainment of his legal majority, to his death, which took place suddenly, after a startling act of treachery, is one of the most disgraceful in the annals of Castile. *Summoned,* so runs the legend, to his account, as he lay sleeping on a September afternoon, in 1312, his death would have been a source of unmixed satisfaction to his subjects, had not the throne been once more occupied by a child.[1]

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[1] As long as they were needed they grew and prospered. In the *Hermandad* of 1315 thrice as many towns and cities were associated as had been parties to that of 1295—one hundred instead of thirty-four. *Florez, Esp. Sagrada,* xxxvi., 162. The number of associated cities constantly varied.

III.—*Alfonso XI.*

This royal infant, who had received the name of Alfonso, in memory of his ever-famous ancestor, succeeded to the crown of his father, Ferdinand IV., when he was but a few months old, and reigned and ruled over Castile for nigh on forty years as Alfonso XI. On the death of Ferdinand IV. a Cortes was promptly summoned. The estates, assembled at Palencia in January, 1313, were at once called upon to decide the all-important question of a regency; but the rival claims of Queen Constance of Portugal, the king's mother, Don Petro and Don John, the king's uncles, and Doña Maria, his more illustrious grandmother, proved so entirely irreconcilable, that the novel expedient was finally adopted of a division of the kingdom, or rather of the regency, among the contending candidates (1315). So strange a solution did not, as may be supposed, tend to strengthen the administration; but the fall of both the Infantes in battle near Granada in 1319, and the death of both the queens soon afterwards, tended to union and peace; and Don John Manuel, by far the most distinguished of the king's relations, took upon himself the regency of Castile—a position in which he was confirmed by the Cortes of Burgos, in 1320.

The new regent was capable and vigorous. Yet the kingdom was vexed with continual strife. His cousin, Don Juan el Tuerto, or John the One-eyed,[2] harassed both prince and people. Ferdinand, one of the Infantes de la Cerda, opposed both rebel and regent. The *Hermandad* alone preserved a semblance of order. Alfonso at length attained his majority at fourteeen years of age, and he determined to reign and rule alone. Don John the One-eyed was assassinated in the king's palace, and Don John Manuel was only preserved from a similar fate by retirement to the hospitable court of Muley Ismail, the Moslem King of Granada. Yet not even then was there peace in Castile.

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[1] This Ferdinand bears the strange surname of *El Emplazado*, or the Summoned, in consequence of his having been summoned to appear before the judgment seat of heaven by the brothers *Carbazal*, unjustly condemned to death. This call is said to have been followed by his sudden death within thirty days. A somewhat similar tale is told of King Philip the Fair of France and his henchman Pope Clement V., who were *summoned* by Jacques de Molay, grand master of the plundered Knights' Templars, as he was chained to the stake, and who both followed their victim within the year to another world. (It should be mentioned that the story of the summoning of Don Ferdinand is not told by any contemporary writer. It is first mentioned fifty years after the king's death by Ben al Hatib who was probably influenced as others were at the time by the famous citation mentioned in the latter lines of this note.—H.)

[2] The number of *Tuertos* or one-eyed heroes in Spanish history is remarkable, including Hannibal, Viriatus, Taric, Abdur Rahman I., and many others. A modern English writer speaks of this John as "Juan the Crooked," a signification which may possibly be suggested by the etymology of *Tuerto*, but which is practically misleading. *Tuerto* is used, not only by Cervantes and the older writers, but by the Spaniards of to-day to signify *one-eyed*, a nickname, unhappily, not uncommon in the south of the Peninsula.

Nor is there much in what may be called the political side of the long reign of the eleventh Alfonso that is of special interest to posterity, within or without the Peninsula. It is at least creditable to Alfonso as a ruler that, succeeding as he did to the throne, in times exceedingly turbulent even for Castile, he skilfully availed himself of the assistance of the various factions to subdue one by one the leading disturbers of the peace of the kingdom. Surnamed as he was *el Justiciero*, or the doer of justice, the king was not, perhaps, very much juster than his neighbours, but he undoubtedly bore not the sword in vain, and rebels and enemies were at least satisfactorily executed, whatever may have been the imperfections of their trial.

In spite of many shortcomings, in spite of much tyranny on the part of the king, and much turbulence on the part of the nobles, the development of free institutions was in theory very great in the reign of Alfonso, and even in practice it was not inconsiderable. The Cortes was summoned not only with regularity, but with increasing pomp and ceremony. The great code of Alfonso X. was promulgated by the *Ordenamiento de Alcala;* and the mere adoption by the king of the surname of the *Justiciero,*[1] instead of that of the *Batallador*, or the *Bravo,* is in itself a sign of the times. As a general Alfonso was no less vigorous than as a judge; and at the great battle of Salado, near Tarifa, in October, 1340, two hundred thousand Moslems of Granada are said to have been put to the sword with a loss of but twenty Christian soldiers! By what accident this unhappy score of Castilian worthies met their death, we are not told; but that the Moslems were defeated is at least certain.

Four years later the neighbouring town of Algeciras was taken by Alfonso, after a vigorous siege of twenty months, in which knights and lords from almost every part of Europe were found among the Christian armies.[2] The order for an attack upon Gibraltar had actually been given, when, on Good Friday of the year 1350, the king fell a victim to the black death that had broken out in the besieged city, and all further operations were abruptly discontinued. These military glories cast a certain lustre upon the concluding years of Alfonso's life, and are among the few glorious episodes in the history of Castile from the conquest of Tarifa, at the end of the thirteenth century, to the taking of Antequera by the good Regent Ferdinand at the beginning of the fifteenth.

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[1] Alfonso's most celebrated collection of special laws was known as the *Becerro de las Behetrias*, or *parchment* register of tenures. See *post*, chap. xxxiii.

[2] Chaucer's perfect knight had been at the siege of *Algesir*. See *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, ver. 57.

IV.—*Literature.*

But it was not so much as a warrior, nor yet as a lawgiver, but rather as a patron of letters that Alfonso has a claim to honourable distinction among the kings of the fourteenth century. That Sancho the Bravo and Ferdinand IV. should have taken no care to perpetuate the memory of their own very unworthy lives is not surprising; but Alfonso XI. was fully justified in the orders that he gave that the *Cronica* of his illustrious namesake should be continued down to his own time.[1] In any case, the post of royal chronicler was founded in his reign; and successive holders of the office have left to posterity those abundant records, which give such a peculiar interest to the study of Spanish history.

Letters indeed had decayed, and science had died in Christian Spain with Alfonso X.; but his royal and most turbulent nephew, Don John Manuel, maintained the honour of the family with the pen, while he vexed Castile with his ever restless lance. Born in 1282, the son of Don Peter Manuel, a brother of Alfonso X., Don John Manuel had already done service against the Moors in 1294, before he was full twelve years of age. In 1320, as we have seen, he became Regent of Castile, gained the great victory of Guadalahorra in 1327, and then, disgusted with the treachery of the palace and the faithlessness of the king, he retired to his estates, until, in 1335, he once more offered his sword to Castile; and after doing good service to his country, with certain intervals of what might now be called rebellion, but what in the fourteenth century was merely the usual form of political opposition, he died in harness in 1347. In the intervals of constant war and tumult, of deeds of blood and violence, he found time to compose a number of works,[1] of which one at least will ever form a part of the national literature of Spain.

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[1] The name of the chronicler of Alfonso X. is unknown, though one Fernan Sanchez de Tovar is supposed by some to be the author. See *Mem. Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi., 451; *Memorias de Alfonso el Sabio*, por el Marques de Mondejar, pp. 559-635. (The chronicle of Alfonso XI. is attributed to Juan Nuñez de Villasan, justicia mayor to Henry II., son of Alfonso. My own copy (Toledo, 1595) bears his name as author on the title-page.—H.)

El Conde Lucanor is a collection of forty-nine tales, of somewhat Oriental character. The count who gives his name to the collection—*Count* was a title of supreme dignity in Spain in the fourteenth century—was wont to propound to his councillor, Patronius, questions of the most varied character; and the answers of the wise Patronius, who has a certain resemblance both to Sherazadeh and to Mr. Barlow, took the form of fables, apologues and anecdotes, more or less appropriate to the occasion. Tales of the Castilian hero Fernan Gonzalez, of Roderic *el Franco*, and of Richard Cœur de Lion of England, the fables of the Crow and the Fox, the Old Man and his Ass, and others, both Greek and Oriental, are to be found in this collection. But the most curious is, perhaps, the *Casamiento Morisco* (No. xlv. of the collection), which is the earliest version in European literature of the old Oriental tale[2] that was given to England by Shakespeare in the "Taming of the Shrew". The language of Don John Manuel is certainly not more highly developed than that of the *Partidas*. At times it is even more antiquated.[3] But the tone of his writings is far in advance of his age. Essentially liberal in his notions of men and of things, gay, sarcastic and lively, his tales are pleasantly told, in a style ever clear and graceful, and his passing comments are those of a keen and fearless man of the world, whose pen was assuredly never blunted by his lance. His cousin, Alfonso XI., was not actually a literary rival; but a *Libro de Monteria*,[4] or Treatise on the Chase, that has come down to our days, was written under the direction and by the order of the king.

But the most remarkable Castilian writer of the fourteenth century is Juan Ruiz, arch-priest of Hita, a little town not far from Guadalaxara, who flourished in the reign of Alfonso XI. His poems consist of an immense variety of tales, fables and apologues, chiefly amatory and satirical, in some 7000 verses of which about 1700 remain with prose introductions and additions. The verses, as a rule, are the rhymed couplets of Berceo; but no less than seventeen different metres are used in the course of the work, which is as free and original in matter as in manner. The whole is interspersed with indecent episodes and very immoral reflections, in which the Lady *Trotaconventos* figures with the Lady *Cuaresma* and the Lady *Venus*. Don *Amor,* Don *Carnal,* and Don *Tocino* are found, not unnaturally, in the company of the Ladies *Cocina* and *Merienda,* nor are more sacred personages absent from the party. The variety of the style is no less remarkable than the diversity of the subjects; at one time, grave, tender and dignified; at another, sarcastic, jocular, didactic, devout and indecent, but ever fresh, lively and natural. Ruiz has been called the Spanish Chaucer, and his poems have much in common with the *Canterbury Tales,* which were written about the same time.[1] The *Libro del Rabbi Sem Job*, a poem addressed to Peter the Cruel on his accession by a learned and liberal Jew, is worthy of notice among the writings of the period; as is a dance of death, *la Danza General de la Muerte,* probably adapted from the French of the same period; and perhaps the *Poema de Jose,* the story of Joseph or Yusuf, derived, strange to say, from Moslem and not from Christian sources, and written more probably in Aragon than in Castile.

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[1] The best of them will be found in Señor Gayangos' translation of Ticknor's *Spanish Literature*, vol. i., pp. 68-75. His chronicle, *Chronicon Dni Joannis Emmanuelis*, 1274 to 1329, is printed in *España Sagrada*, tom. ii., pp. 215-222.

[2] See Sir John Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia* (1827), ii., 54.

[3] See Ticknor, trans. Gayangos, i., pp. 79, 80. *Fallar*, for instance, always stands for *hallar*, and *fijo* for *hijo*, *fazer* for *hacer*, and *fablar* for *hablar*. *Amos* stands for *ambos*, *cras* is used instead of *mañana*, and such words as *ca*, *ge* and *ende* are of frequent occurrence.

[4] It was published by Argote de Molina, Seville, 1582, folio, with notes by the editor, and wood engravings relating to bull-fighting and other sports.

But if Alfonso was a patron of letters, a lover of law, and a professed scourge of evil-doers, he was not in his own domestic life either as virtuous or as prudent as became a reformer and a judge. The court of Castile was ruled by rival ladies. Within and without the palace the kingdom was divided. The king's mistress, the beautiful Leonora de Guzman, had her court and her courtiers, and not only vied with the legitimate queen in her influence over her royal lover, but for nigh on twenty years she claimed a large share in the administration of his kingdom. The wife, as so frequently happens in such cases, was not only less powerful but less wise, less fit for command, less favoured by fortune than her rival the mistress. The only legitimate child that Queen Maria of Portugal bore to her husband combined in his own person the worst qualities of his father, Alfonso XI., his grandfather, Ferdinand IV., and his great-grandfather, Sancho the Bravo; and at a time when cruelty was the fashion among kings, earned a widespread and long-enduring notoriety as *Peter the Cruel.*

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[1] An enthusiastic admirer of the arch-priest, and no mean critic, has even compared him with Cervantes. Ferdinand Wolf, *Jabrbuch der Literatur* (Vienna, 1832), vol. lviii., pp. 220-225, art. b. For a fair comparison between Chaucer and Ruiz, see Ticknor, vol. i., chap. v.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PETER THE CRUEL.

(1350—1369.)

I.—*A Royal Assassin.*

Of the nine children whom Leonora de Guzman had borne to Alfonso XI., Henry, the eldest, was endowed with the magnificent domain and title of Trastamara.[1] His twin brother, Fadrique, was elected, at ten years of age, to the more than princely position of Grand Master of Santiago. His cousin, Perez Ponce, already enjoyed the scarcely inferior honour of the Grand Mastership of Alcantara. It was but natural, upon the sudden death of Alfonso XI., that his illegitimate family should seek to maintain their exceptional position, in spite of the queen's son, Peter, who had lived up to this time neglected and almost forgotten at Seville.

But the Guzmans were too prosperous to be popular; and the young king found a powerful protector in his father's palace. Don Juan de Albuquerque, a scion of the royal house of Portugal, who had accepted the friendship of the mistress during the life-time of King Alfonso XI., and had thus risen to the highest position in the State, at once turned upon the Guzmans, imprisoned Doña Leonora—provided with a safe conduct under his own hand—in the Alcazar at Seville, drove her many sons into exile, and constituted himself the guide, if not the master, of the legitimate sovereign, who had but just attained the year of his legal majority.[2]

One of the first political incidents of his reign was the assassination of his step-mother (1351), in which it is possible that he took no personal part.[1] But if the murder was, as is suggested, entirely the work of Albuquerque, the minister had an apt pupil, who at least approved of the act that was done under his royal authority. And it was not long before he was able to walk alone. Within the year (1351) Garcilaso de la Vega, *Adelantado* of Castile, the highest dignitary of the kingdom,[2] had his brains beaten out in the presence chamber by order of his royal master, and his body was thrown out of the window into the great square of Burgos, among the combatants and spectators of the bull-fight that was being celebrated in honour of the royal visit.

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[1] The name is spelt by contemporary writers indifferently as Trestamera, Trastameira, Trastamena. The modern conventional Spanish is Trastamara.

[2] He was born at Burgos, 30th August, 1333.

But none of the king's early crimes was more characteristic of his dark and dastardly nature than his treatment of the young and innocent princess, Blanche de Bourbon,[3] whose hand was, at his earnest solicitation, bestowed upon him by the King of France. Engaged, after his betrothal to that gentle lady, in an intrigue with the notorious Maria de Padilla, he refused even to receive the French princess—a bride, a stranger and a royal guest—on her arrival in his dominions.

Degraded at length to the wretched position of Queen of Castile (3rd June, 1353) treated for two days as a wife, and for ten years as a prisoner, poisoned at last by her royal gaoler, while yet in the bloom of her innocent beauty, the fate of this gentle and unfortunate [4] lady excited but the feeble sympathy of the gallant men of two nations; and her husband's behaviour, which amounted not only to a domestic outrage, but to almost a national affront, did not rouse the spiritless Valois who lost his kingdom at Poictiers to strike one blow for the protection of a princess of France.

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[1] Mérimée is very positive upon this point, and as to Peter's early subordination to Albuquerque. Mariana says that the odium of the murder fell upon the queen, and the place where Leonora was murdered thus acquired the addition of Talavera *de la Reina*, by which it is known to this day. Mariana, lib. xvi., cap. xvi. ; Ayala, *Cron.*, 36. (Peter the Cruel has much cause to complain of the verdict that has been handed down to posterity upon him. Lopez de Ayala, who wrote in the days when Peter's name was anathema, was conspicuously unjust to him, and he has been followed by all subsequent historians. The king, who was not sixteen when he succeeded, did not assume the reins of government until 1354 when he was nineteen, and most of the principal acts which have gained for him his murderous reputation were committed before then, when Albuquerque was practically regent. Peter had to deal with a powerful revolt, which drove him into exile, and in his suppression of it he was no whit more severe than his predecessors had been under similar circumstances. I am indebted to my friend the Duke of Wellington for an interesting manuscript vindication of Peter, copied in the sixteenth century from the testimony of contemporaries of the king.—H.)

[2] The powers of the office are fully set forth in the laws of the Partidas. The Adelantado of Castile ranked next in dignity to the king, and was commander-in-chief of the troops in time of war, and chief justice in time of peace.

[3] She was the daughter of Pierre, Duke of Bourbon, who fell at Poictiers, and younger sister of Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles V. of France.

[4] Prosper Mérimée. *Histoire de Don Pèdre I., Roi de Castile* (Paris, 1848), pp. 348, 351. *Pèdre* is rather an ingenious compromise between Pedro and Pierre. The King of Aragon is always spoken of by the author as Pierre.

The record of the first fifteen years of the reign of Peter of Castile is not only odious, but it is also supremely uninteresting. One of the most brilliant of modern French historians has essayed with moderate success to invest the story with something of his own romance; but the fact remains that if Peter was not absolutely the most cruel of men, he was assuredly one of the greatest blackguards that ever sat upon a throne.

The one agreeable feature of his character is that he was affable with his humbler subjects, that he took an interest in their everyday life, and that he was wont, after the manner of the Caliph Harun Al Rashid, whose legendary exploits were no doubt familiar to him, to spend many of his nights in some humble disguise, seeking adventures and information in the streets of Seville.[1] This was at least human. But such displays of his humanity were rare. His sham reconciliation with his brother, in order to rid himself of his own too powerful friend Albuquerque, who had unhappily raised him to power, is only surpassed in atrocity by his sham marriage with Juana de Castro, whom he dishonoured and abandoned after the gratification of a passing whim, under cover of a most astounding sacrilege.

Peter indeed was married to no less than three wives, all alive at the same time, before he was twenty-one. According to the solemn pronouncement of the Archbishop of Toledo, he was lawfully married in 1352 to the lady who passed during her entire life as his mistress, Juana de Padilla; he was certainly married to Blanche of Bourbon in 1353; and his seduction, or rather his violation of Juana de Castro was accomplished by a third profanation of the sacrament, when the Bishops of Salamanca and Avila, both accessories to the king's scandalous bigamy, pronounced the blessing of the Church upon his brutal dishonour of a noble lady.

Whether Peter's marriage with Maria de Padilla,[2] which was never spoken of until after the lady's death,[1] was itself a royal and archiepiscopal figment, suggested as M. Mérimée would have it, by the famous rehabilitation of Iñez de Castro in Portugal about the same time, is obviously uncertain. But if it is true, it only renders the king's treatment of Blanche de Bourbon the more odious and the more flagitious.

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[1] As to the legendary origin of the name of the Calle del Candilejo at Seville, and the king's interrupted duel—the tale is too long to be told here—see Mérimée, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136, and Zuñiga, *Ann. Eccles. de Seville*, tom. ii., p. 136.

[2] Ayala, 350. Zuñiga, *Ann. Eccles. Sev.*, ii., 162.

Of the league of outraged nobles, including the brother of Juana de Castro and the supporters of Queen Blanche; of the king's imprisonment, and subsequent escape from the city of Toro by the skill and the ducats of his Hebrew treasurer, Don Samuel Levi, who was afterwards strangled by the king's order (1362); of the massacre of Jewish merchants on the taking of Toledo in 1355, and the still more dreadful massacre of Christian nobles on the taking of Toro in 1356, when the queen-mother, with her trembling ladies, stood up to their ankles in the blood of her knights and nobles, as they were butchered in cold blood in the presence of the king; of the constant schemes for the murder of his relations, the tale is but a wearisome and odious iteration of treachery and bloodshed.[2] Nor have we by any means filled up the cup of horrors. For the next event in the life of Peter that compels our unwilling attention is the assassination in his own presence, if not with his own hand, of his brother Fadrique, Grand Master of Santiago, a guest under his own royal safe conduct in his palace at Seville. Don Fadrique was knocked down by the king's attendants, but the *coup de grace* was given with the royal dagger,[3] and the royal assassin insisted on dining in the room in which the bloody corpse of his brother yet lay: while he poignarded with his own hand one of his brother's followers who had fled for protection into the presence of his own daughter.

After the murder of Don Fadrique, couriers were dispatched in every direction bearing orders for the killing of all his friends and partisans throughout Spain; and in due time[4] these terrible messengers returned, each one bringing, suspended from his saddle-bow, the heads of the men who had been obnoxious to the king.[1] This savage treachery is characteristically accentuated by the fact that some few weeks before (29th May, 1358) the king had administered to his kinsman, Don John of Aragon, an oath upon the Gospels and in the presence of the crucifix, that he would assassinate his brother, receiving as his reward the lordship of the province of Biscay. To such uses were devoted the emblems of religion. The king's sanguinary promptitude, however, rendered superfluous the services of this princely agent; and six weeks after the murder of Don Fadrique, the royal principal anticipated any awkward claims upon Biscay by the murder of Don John.

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[1] Maria de Padilla being found *enceinte* in 1354, and no longer pleasing to her royal lover, was appointed superior of a convent, specially founded in her honour by Innocent VI. under the protection of St. Clare. Rainaldi, *Ann. Eccl. ann.*, 1354. On the birth of the child Constance, who was afterwards married to John of Gaunt, the vows were forgotten. Thus arose the English Lancastrian claims to the throne of Spain.

[2] Ayala, 200-212.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 237-243. M. Prosper Mérimée can find nothing better to say in extenuation of this dinner *devant son ennemi mort*, but that *ses repas ne resemblaient pas à ceux de Vitellius!*

[4] Mérimée, 259 *et seq.*

Queen Leonora, Isabella de Lara, the widow of the murdered Don John of Aragon, and the wife of Don Tello, the king's brother, honourable hostages in his hands, were the next victims; and their taking off, in 1358, was followed by the murder of the king's youngest brother, a boy of but fourteen years of age,[2] in 1359.

The betrayal of the Portuguese knights, who had sought and found an asylum in Castile, to his savage namesake, at Lisbon, and the hideous tortures inflicted by him at Seville, in 1361, on the Castilian nobles delivered over to him as the price of this base surrender; the murder of Gutier Fernandez, his ambassador to Rome,[3] of Gomez Carrillo, the governor of Algeciras, and of his faithful Hebrew treasurer, the saviour of his own life at Toro;[4] the murder by his own hand, almost at his own table, of his friend and ally, Abu Said, the King of Granada; all these things, and many of similar character may be found set forth in great detail in the chronicles of Castile.[5] But they form but sad and profitless reading. Nor is the history of the constant warfare with Aragon—warfare without fruit and without honour[1]—more interesting or more profitable as a study. And it is only in so far as these wars encouraged the pretensions of Henry of Trastamara to the throne of his brother that they had any lasting influence upon the fortunes of Spain.

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[1] Ayala, 247. (It must be repeated that Ayala is not a fair witness against Peter without confirmation.—H.)

[2] *Ibid.*, 292. By the year 1360 Peter had taken to boiling his enemies in huge earthen pots, as well as burning them alive. See Ayala, pp. 303-4, and note (4) in ed. of Llaguno, Amirola (1780). As to the pots themselves, M. Mérimée says, Leur forme est tout antique. On sait que le tonneau de Diogène etait un vase de terre. Mérimée, 299.

[3] *Ibid.*, 313-315.

[4] He died in 1368, upon the rack, after having been despoiled of all his riches by the king. *Ibid.*, 322.

[5] Not content with the treacherous slaughter of his royal guest, the King of Castile set him on an ass and made his body the mark for his javelins (cañas) and those of his companions. *Ibid.*, 339; Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, part. iv., chap. xxv.

It was to the north of the Pyrenees that the alliances were formed which changed the succession in Castile. The French and English soldiers on the Continent, set free by the peace of Bretigny in 1360, had formed themselves into bands of military marauders, which, under the name of the Free Companies,[2] ravaged and desolated France: and to the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin, the new king, Charles V., entrusted the delicate enterprise of enlisting these unruly soldiers in a regular army, and marching them into Spain, nominally in quest of plunder and military glory, but really as the only means of ridding himself of their presence. Du Guesclin accepted the charge; and the best lance and the most popular soldier of fortune in Europe had no difficulty in enrolling, under his free banner every military adventurer in the kingdom. The Count de la Marche, a prince of the blood royal, and the Sire de Beaujeu, both relations of the unfortunate Blanche de Bourbon, took service in du Guesclin's army; and, eager to avenge the murder of their queen, they proposed to chastise or dethrone her odious husband in Castile. The million of gold pieces that the avarice of her royal executioner was supposed to have accumulated at Toledo was a sufficient *casus belli* for the general body of adventurers. Nor did the alliance between Peter and Edward of England,[3] unhappily entered into at Bordeaux in the early part of 1363, prohibit, according to the custom of the times, Sir Hugh Calverley from taking the command of the English companions, whose avowed destination was the island of Cyprus,[1] and whose nominal enemies were the Saracens.

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[1] Cette guerre de siège et de pillage qui semblait n'avoir d'autre but que la ruine complète du pays. Mérimée, 415. That Peter devoted his entire attention to the *plunder* of the towns, and that he was conspicuously cowardly in the field, is more than once admitted by his French apologist, *op. cit.*, 411-419.

[2] Or *Compagnies blanches:* for what reason is now uncertain. In Spain they are known as the *Grandes Compañías.* Lafuente, vii., 264-5. The French name may refer to the plate armour of white steel which was worn by the men-at-arms of the companies, in contradistinction to the chain armour or coats of mail, which were going out of fashion. The adventurers were the best-armed men in Europe. Ayala, 399. Mr. Conan Doyle's spirited romance entitled *The White Company* has been published since this note was first written.

Du Guesclin had been taken prisoner by John of Chandos at the battle of Auray, and released on payment of 100,000 marcs, paid jointly by the King of France, the Pope, and Henry of Trastamara. Longman, *Edward III.*, vol. ii., p. 109.

[3] This treaty was first signed in London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 22nd of June, 1362, by William Lord Latimer, and John Stretleye, plenipotentiaries of

In the early autumn of the year 1365 the army set out by way of Avignon, where temporal and spiritual favours were somewhat rudely demanded of the Pope[2] by the adventurers, who continued their march over the eastern Pyrenees, and arrived in due time at Barcelona.

Meanwhile Peter IV. of Aragon had welcomed to his court Henry of Trastamara, the eldest son of Alfonso XI. and Leonora de Guzman, and the eldest step-brother of Peter of Castile. A large number of knights and nobles espoused the cause of the elder brother, bastard though he was, against that of the more legitimate monster who disgraced the throne of Castile. With these men du Guesclin and his adventurers had gladly consented to act, and by them he was anxiously awaited to the south of the Pyrenees.

On his arrival in Aragon, du Guesclin was received by Peter of Aragon and Henry of Trastamara with almost royal honours. His free companions were treated not only with consideration but with liberality. Gold pieces were the form of welcome most heartily appreciated by every soldier in the invading army. Persuaded that the safety of his kingdom depended upon the destruction of his rival in Castile, Peter IV. of Aragon shrank from no sacrifice to take advantage of this great opportunity. His treasury was exhausted, but he pledged his private property to provide for the entertainment of the 12,000 mercenaries at his gates.[3] But du Guesclin was not in truth so much the ally of Peter of Aragon as of Henry of Trastamara, pretender to the crown of Castile. And after a preliminary victory of Sir Hugh Calverley at Borja, in March, 1366, had opened the road to fortune, "the Count,"[4] as Trastamara was

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the King of England, on the one part, and Diego Sanchez Terraza, Cavallero, and Alvaro Sanchez de Cuellar, bachelor of laws, ambassadors of the King of Castile, on the other; and was confirmed at the Palace of Westminster on the 3rd of September following. Rymer, iii., part ii., p. 73; Ayala, p. 364.

[1] See Rymer, sub. 6th December, 1365; and *Cron. de du Guesclin*, v., 7549.

[2] The behaviour of the new crusaders to Pope Urban V. at Avignon is told at length in the *Chronique de du Guesclin*, and is worth reading.

[3] *Arch. Gen. de Aragon*, Reg. 1213, p. 42; Carbonell, p. 196.

[4] Don Enrique, Conde de Trastamara, is generally thus designated. He subscribes himself as "El Conde". He was then, in fact, the only count in Castile; the *Ricos Hombres* did not yet bear titles. They, however, greatly coveted them;

familiarly called, was escorted in triumph to Calahorra, where he was solemnly proclaimed King of Castile.

Peter the Cruel had assembled a considerable force at Burgos; but his craven heart did not suffer him to await the approach of the invader. He found time, indeed, to put to death Juan de Tovar, whose brother had been vanquished at Calahorra, and then he stole out of Burgos without notice or instructions to his supporters; and accompanied only by a few Moslem horsemen, he turned and fled to Toledo, leaving the faithful citizens at the mercy of the invader. Within a few days Henry was in the palace, and having sworn to maintain the liberties of Burgos and of Castile, he was crowned with great pomp in the church at Las Huelgas.

The accession of Henry II. was accompanied by no murders nor executions, but only by honours and rewards. Du Guesclin was gratified with the rich lordships of Molina and Trastamara; to Sir Hugh Calverley was given the title and rich appanage of Count of Carrion. Every relation, every friend, every man who had assisted Henry of Trastamara was gratefully and substantially rewarded. For himself the victor reserved not a maravedi, not an acre of land, not a castle. He was content, he said, to be King of Castile.

II.—*Edward the Black Prince.*

Peter, flying from Toledo, and thence, on rumours of pursuit, to Santiago in Gallicia, gratified himself by the murder of the archbishop, Suero de Toledo, in the Cathedral[1] of Compostella, and the plunder of his private and ecclesiastical property; and making his way from the sacred city to the port of Corunna, he set sail for Bayonne, to seek the assistance of his English ally, Edward the Black Prince, who held his court at Bordeaux. Unhappily both for England and for Spain, the royal refugee

and the first act of Don Enrique after his coronation at Burgos, was to create a large number of dukes, marquises and counts. His father, Alfonso XI., had refused the ducal title to Don Juan Manuel, the grandson of Ferdinand III., and the most powerful noble in the kingdom.

The old Gothic ceremonial customary on such occasions was then revived. Three sops were put into a cup of wine and set before the king and his favourite, and the king said: "*Comed Conde*, eat, count"; and the count said: "*Comed Rey*, eat, king". This having been said three times by both, they ate of those sops; whereupon the bystanders exclaimed: "Evad el Conde! Evad el Conde!" . . . *Cronica del Rey Don Alfonso XI.*, p. 117.

[1] Ayala, *Abr.*, 418.

was hospitably received;[1] his wickedness was ignored or forgotten; and his misfortunes excited the ready sympathy of his generous but imprudent host. A parliament was held at Bordeaux. The Grand Master of Alcantara was sent to London to implore the favour and support of Edward III. The king's answer was favourable. The parliament was not unwilling. The Black Prince was eager to appear as a supporter of a distressed and legitimate monarch; and it was decided to send an expedition into Spain to restore Peter to his sovereign rights.

The gallant Sir John Chandos, one of the original knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, did his best to dissuade the prince from engaging in so disgraceful an alliance, but his remonstrances proving of no effect, he accepted an important command in the army.

By the Treaty of Libourne (23rd September, 1366) between Edward, Peter and Charles the Bad of Navarre, the Black Prince advanced to the King of Castile 600,000 golden florins, repayable in one year, and undertook to restore him to his throne by force of arms, receiving as his reward the lordship of Biscay, or of certain seaports on the coast, of great value to Edward as Lord of Guyenne and Gascony; while Charles of Navarre, who had already received 60,000 florins from Henry of Trastamara as the price of his oath to close the pass of Roncesvalles[2] against the Prince of Wales, accepted 56,000 florins from his new allies as ths price of his oath to give them free passage.[3] Charles of Navarre observed all his oaths by stationing troops at the entrance to Roncesvalles, and giving private orders to their commander to run away at the approach of the enemy; and by procuring that he himself should be taken prisoner by a friendly knight, and kept in confinement until the issue of the invasion was decided![4]

The Black Prince, the most loyal and perfect knight in Europe, unable to raise the promised subsidy with sufficient despatch, melted down his plate to provide funds for the expedition. Peter of Castile was no less prodigal of promises ; but of more current coin not a maravedi was forthcoming.[1] Meanwhile, Henry, who had been received with enthusiasm both at Toledo and at Seville, made such preparations as were possible to him, with the resources at his command, to defend his kingdom against the invaders.

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[1] Don Pedro had been affianced when very young to a daughter of Edward III. The young princess, however, died at Bayonne on her way from England to Castile. The treaty for a matrimonial alliance between Alfonso XI.'s son and Edward III.'s daughter may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii., part 2.

[2] The only route across the western Pyrenees from Guyenne to Castile. Yanguas, t. ii., p. 203; Ayala, *Abr.*, p. 435.

[3] For all that concerns Navarre, and Charles the Bad of that kingdom, at this time, the best modern authority is Secousse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II. (le Mauvais) de Navarre* (Paris, 1758), one vol.; and the *Receuil des Pièces*, supplementary to the same, though published previously, Paris, 1755.

[4] Ayala, 436-464; Froissart, i., part ii., cap. ccxxiv.

Summoned by the Black Prince to return to their allegiance, Sir Hugh Calverley of Carrion and his English adventurers[2] were constrained to abandon the cause of Henry of Trastamara and to range themselves in the ranks of their countrymen ; while the French companions were content to remain in the service of the bastard, not only to fight against an English prince, but against the assassin of a French princess. Nor is it entirely impertinent to recall the fact that 450 years later, a descendant of the Calverleys drew sword against the French in Castile, in defence of the liberties of the Spanish people, when Sir Stapleton Cotton won for himself a new title[3] of honour on the glorious field of Salamanca.

The English army at length marched through Roncesvalles[4] without opposition from either Castile or Navarre. Henry awaited the invaders at Salvatierra, on the road from Alava to Burgos; and the first encounter, if it was honourable to English valour, was disastrous to the English arms. For at Ariñez, some five miles from Vittoria—where 450 years later the defeat was nobly avenged—the advanced guard of less than 500 horse and foot, under the command of Sir Thomas Fuller, was surprised and entirely cut to pieces, after a long and heroic struggle, by a body of over 3000 troops under the experienced leadership of the French Marshal d'Audeneham.[5] The Black Prince was too prudent a general to give battle on ground that had been chosen by his enemy. He retreated as far as Viana in Navarre, and then once more advancing, sought to turn the enemy's position by a march upon Logroño. At length, on the 3rd of April, 1367, the two armies met in a level plain between Najera and Navarrete, where Henry had imprudently or chivalrously descended to give formal battle. The issue was never doubtful. The army that was led by Henry consisted of not more than 5000 men-at-arms and some 20,000 light troops, for the most part untrained to serious warfare, and armed only with slings and javelins.[1] The Black Prince commanded 10,000 English and foreign knights, as many archers, and a large force of the best infantry in Europe. The Duke of Lancaster, brother of Edward the Black Prince, John Chandos, and Jacme, titular king of Majorca, all had commands in the invading army. The victory of the English was complete. Don Sancho, the king's brother, Bertrand du Guesclin, Bègue de Vilaines, the Marshal d'Audeneham, the Grand Masters of Santiago and Calatrava were among the prisoners of war. "England," says Dunham, "fruitful as she has been in heroes, can boast of few such glorious fields." To my thinking, the victory is one of which every decent Englishman should be heartily ashamed.[2] If the glory of war consists not in the cause in which valour is displayed, but in the mere amount of the slaughter, then the battles of Tamerlane and Genghis, the massacres of Perpignan and Beziers, are nobler than Thermopylæ or Albuera.

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[1] See John Talbot Dillon, *Peter the Cruel* (1788), vol. ii., pp. 21, 22.

[2] Mérimée, 484.

[3] Not of Carrion, but of Combermere. The name of Calverley is still maintained in the family of Cotton. Sir Hugh, Lord of Carrion, is mentioned in *Camden* and in *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i., p. 274. Sir Stapleton Cotton was not a descendant of this Sir Hugh, as he died without issue, but probably of some member of his family. See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ii., 263, and 766-9.

[4] During the preparations for this expedition, Richard, eldest son of the Black Prince, and afterwards Richard II. of England, was born at Bordeaux.

[5] Mérimée, 487. The fault would seem to have lain with that ever unskilful general, John of Gaunt.

Henry of Trastamara, no longer king in Spain, made good his escape into Aragon, where he was sheltered by that Cardinal Pedro de Luna, afterwards so celebrated as Benedict XIII.; and his rival returned to his old courses as Peter the Cruel. Invested with the honour of knighthood at the hands of the Black Prince, Peter had sworn to do no violence to any of his prisoners. He had distinguished himself at Navarrete, not in the heat of the battle, but in pursuit of the fugitives. Mounted on a black charger, when the day was won, he had galloped about the field, crying out for the death of his brother; and returning unsuccessful to the quarters of the victorious Plantagenet[3] he slew with his own hand a Castilian prisoner who had taken refuge under the standard of the Black Prince.

This violation, not only of the laws of battle, but of his knightly oath, called for a severe rebuke from his English patron; but Peter, unabashed, demanded the persons of all his captured subjects, that he might deal with them according to his evil pleasure. Having succeeded, moreover, on some pretext in securing three Castilian nobles of specially exalted position, he caused them immediately to be killed in his own tent.[1]

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[1] Ayala, 443.

[2] It must not be forgotten, however, that Peter was the legitimate sovereign of Castile, and that Henry was a bastard and a usurper.—H.

[3] Froissart, chap. ccxxvi.; *ibid.*, 238; Ayala, 471.

The victory at Navarrete and the presence of the English army opened the way to Burgos; and Peter, as soon as he was safe within its walls, had no other thought but to defraud his English defenders, and to wreak his vengeance upon his Castilian subjects. In both respects he was completely successful. Fraudulent conveyances took the place of the money that was due. False charters took the place of the territory that had been promised. The streets of Burgos were red with the noblest blood of Castile.

Having sworn before the high altar in the Cathedral of Burgos to hand over the city of Soria to John Chandos, and to invest the Black Prince with the lordship of Biscay, the king delivered charters or letters patent in fulfilment of his vow, but, at the same time, he sent word to the Biscayans and to the Sorians forbidding them to suffer their new masters to take possession of their territories, or to admit any of their representatives within their boundaries.

The arrival of Peter at his capital was the signal for an immense number of executions or murders; among others, the burning alive of Doña Urraca de Osorio, a noble lady, guilty of absolutely no crime, real or imaginary, beyond her relationship to another victim.

At length the royal miscreant ran away to Seville, leaving the Black Prince and his army, not only without money, but absolutely without food, on the burning plains of Castile.[2] The greater part of the English troops died of famine and disease. An attempt was made to poison the prince, from the effects of which he never recovered.[3] And the gallant defender of royal rights was fain to leave Spain (September, 1367), with the loss of his soldiers, of his money, and of his health, befooled and cheated in one of the worst causes in which English blood and English treasure have ever been squandered on the continent of Europe.

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[1] D. Gomez Carillo, D. Sancho Moscoso, grand master of Santiago; D. Garcia Tenorio, son of the admiral of Castile. M. Mérimée speaks with admiration of the conduct of the Prince of Wales, not only during, but after the battle.

[2] Knighton, c. 2629; Walsingham, t. 305; Ayala, 500.

[3] Edward retired invalided to England in 1368, though he did not actually die till 1374.

The French, moreover, emboldened by the discomfiture of the Black Prince—not by his enemies but by his *ally* in Spain —determined to drive the English out of Aquitaine. And thus Edward's interference in the affairs of Spain directly led to the declaration of war against England by Charles V. in April, 1369, and to all the disasters that followed. Nor did the English intervention secure the wretched object of the expedition. Peter, relieved of the presence of his benefactor, entered upon a new career of bloodshed; and within a year after the retirement of the Black Prince from the deadly camp on the plains of Valladolid, Henry of Trastamara once more took the field in Castile.

Crossing the Pyrenees from his asylum in Languedoc, and passing through Aragon and Navarre at the head of a little body of 400 knights, the count was joyfully received by his old friends at Calahorra and Burgos in August, 1369. Madrid and other cities as far south as Cordova declared for the deliverer. Toledo alone held out for Peter, who, after a fruitless alliance with Mohammed V. of Granada, found himself closely invested by his rival in the castle of Montiel in La Mancha. Seeking, as usual, to extricate himself from his difficulties by some skilful treaty, he entered into negotiations with Bertrand du Guesclin,[1] who once more commanded the French contingent in the service of Henry of Trastamara. A bribe of 200,000 doubloons, or rather, a promise of that sum, was offered to du Guesclin as the price of his dishonour. The Breton knight affected to be convinced. Henry was to be delivered into the hands of his brother. Thus extricated, as he hoped, from a position that had become untenable, Peter, on the night of the 23rd March, 1369, stole from his famine-stricken retreat. Guided by a trusty hand to the tent of du Guesclin, he found no confederate, but Henry of Trastamara himself—not his victim, but his executioner. He died unregretted by man or woman in Castile, and his death brought relief and prosperity to Spain.[2]

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[1] The story of his ransom, fixed by *himself* at the enormous sum of 100,000 gold florins, and faithfully paid to Edward the Black Prince, is told by both Froissart and Ayala, and is a delightful contrast to the sordid and faithless barbarism of the contemporary court of Spain. Froissart, chap. ccxlvii.; Ayala, 466-470.

[2] In the hour of his supreme danger the only men found to strike a blow in defence of Peter the Cruel were two Englishmen, Sir Ralph Holmes and Jame Rowland, faithful to their commander, odious though he was, as became true knights and soldiers. But that any Englishman should have been in his service after his treatment of Edward the Black Prince, is certainly strange. See Froissart, i., 242.

Peter the Cruel, according to all authentic history, was a man so completely detestable that it would be strange if he had not attracted the attention of apologists. At the despotic court of Ferdinand and Isabella, it was a species of *lèse majesté* to speak of any King of Castile as unworthy. There was something in Peter's destruction of his powerful nobles not entirely displeasing to the autocratic Ferdinand; and it was ordained that he was no longer to be known as the Cruel, but as *El Justiciero*, the doer of justice—the title more worthily borne by his father.

In the time of Philip II. a courtly author and royal herald, *Pedro de Gratia Dei*—rather a strange surname, once adopted by a celebrated Jew on his conversion—published another vindication of the character of Peter the Cruel, under the title of a *Life of the Worthy King*.[1]

Prosper Mérimée's Life of the King is a brilliant work,[2]

Peter was not struck down by his brother's dagger without a struggle, and the brothers fighting hand to hand in the midst of a ring of French men-at-arms, who called for fair play (Franc jeu), rolled over in a deadly embrace. Don Henry, according to the most celebrated of the many legends, fell undermost, when Rocaberti, an Aragonese knight, caught hold of Don Peter and allowed his assailant to get the upper hand, saying:—

Ni quito Rey, ni pongo Rey,
Pero ayudo á mi Señor.

According to Argote de Molina and the *Romances del Rey Don Pedro*, the name of the knight was Fernando Perez de Andrada, and it is du Guesclin himself who is sometimes said to have intervened at the critical moment. Froissart, ch. ccliv. Carbonell, p. 197. Mérimée, chap. xxiii. According to another account, Peter escaped from Montiel, but was captured outside the walls by a French knight, Bègue de Vilaine, by whom he was delivered into the hands of his brother. The man must have been more or less than human who could have suffered Peter to escape from his clutches.

(The struggle in which Peter was engaged during the whole of his reign was that initiated by his father; namely the power of the crown against that of the nobles. That he was savage and cruel in a savage age and a cruel contest is certain; but his failure finally to conquer the nobles and their puppet Henry threw Spain back, and prevented for at least a century the humbling of the feudal lords. James the Conqueror of Aragon was of course a far greater man than Peter, and he partially effected what the latter tried to do. But it was a contest in which neither of them was over scrupulous; only, in one case the history of it was written by the principal figure himself, and in the other by an enemy.—H.)

[1] It was printed (in 1790) in the *Semanario Erudito* of *Valladares*, tit. 27, 28.

Philip II. says Zuñiga (*Anales de Sevilla, año* 1369) dió precepto de clamarle *Justiciero;* mas nunca se le borrava el titulo de *Cruel.*

More modern apologists are the Count de la Roca, *El Rey don Pedro defendido* (1648) and the licentiate Lerdo del Pozo, *Apologia*, etc. (1780).

A catalogue of the writers who have attempted *desacreditar la Cronica del Rey Don Pedro escrita por D. P. Lopez de Ayala* will be found in vol. xx. of the *Documentos ineditos*, p. 28 *et seq.*

[2] There is a very good note in which all the biographers of Peter are passed in review in Lafuente tom. ix., pp. 308-315. There is also a *Defensa de la veracidad*

impartial in profession, apologetic in tone, but full of damning facts. The chronicles of Froissart and of Ayala are the chief contemporary authorities.

No one has succeeded in making him an attractive character; and his long reign of nearly twenty years, which began in his boyhood, at the age of sixteen, and came to a close ere he had passed the prime of early manhood, does not include one single good deed in either his private or his public life, to relieve the general gloom of his wickedness.

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de Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala en la cronica del Rey don Pedro, by Rafael de Floranes, in vol. xix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 513-575.

Old Froissart, the Italian Matteo Villani, and Pedro Gomez de Albornoz give no uncertain confirmation of the records of Ayala, whose temperate language when chronicling the greatest villainies of his master is worthy of all respect.

CHAPTER XXX.

ARAGON IN SPAIN.

(1327—1416).

James II. of Aragon died in 1327, and was succeeded by his second son Alfonso, who reigned from 1327 to 1336 as Alfonso IV. His eldest son, in order the more freely to indulge his licentious appetities, had renounced his rights of succession, and embraced what is called a religious life. That a cloister should be preferred to a palace by a debauched youth as affording greater opportunities of self-indulgence, is sufficiently characteristic of the manners and morals of the times. It is at least creditable to the prince himself, and to the Order in which he sought his retirement, that he was content to abide by his renunciation, and that he gave no trouble to his younger brother during the whole course of his reign. He may possibly have killed himself with riotous living. At all events we hear no more of him in the history of his country. Alfonso IV. was crowned with great pomp at Saragossa, but his reign is neither glorious nor interesting. Constant warfare with the Genoese maintaining their ancient rights over the unhappy island of Sardinia, domestic quarrels between the king's eldest son and his children by a second marriage,[1] these were the principal features of his short reign. Alfonso died at Barcelona in 1336, and his son Peter inherited not only his kingdom, but his quarrels.

Peter, the fourth of that name in Aragon, is conventionally known to the Spanish historians as *El Ceremonioso*,[2] or the

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[1] The first wife of Alfonso IV. was Teresa of Enteza, a niece of the Count de Urgel; his second was Eleanor of Castile.

[2] A study of the *Ordenanzas de la casa Real* of Peter IV. demonstrates the luxury and refinement of his court, not perhaps unnatural, seeing that Aragon had been in constant communication for so many generations with Italy, with Provence and with the further and greater East.

Formalist, from his excessive attention to matters of courtly etiquette and ceremonial, and his formalism[1] in affairs of legal and political procedure. But this excessive formalism did not prevent him from plundering[2] his neighbours, nor even from poisoning his friends. Nor was he prevented by his proverbial ceremoniousness, from placing, at his coronation in the cathedral at Saragossa,[3] his own crown on his own royal head, lest he should be supposed to accept or ratify in any way the unhappy surrender of Peter II. He was not content, like the prudent Peter III., with a protest or declaration of his royal independence of Rome; and the archbishop who presided at the august ceremony, was compelled like Pope Pius VII. in the presence of the first Napoleon, to remain an unwilling spectator of the act which his sacred hands were ready and willing to perform.

The long reign of Peter IV., thus rudely initiated, was distracted, rather after the fashion of Castile—by civil wars and troubles at home, or at least within the limits of the Peninsula, than after the fashion of Aragon—by interference in the wars and politics of foreign countries. The king's persecution of his stepmother, as soon as he was invested with the power of persecution, provoked the first war with Castile, and the dishonourable peace which brought that war to a close,[4] was followed by the unceasing disaffection of a great part of the nobility of Aragon.

In 1343, after some seven years of troubled rule in Aragon, the king took upon himself, in defiance of all existing treaties, both general and special, to drive his faithful vassal and kinsman, James of Majorca, out of the Balearic Islands, and to unite that little kingdom for ever to the crown of Aragon.[5] Yet was this impudent robbery justified or excused by the ceremonious Peter under a false pretence of legality. The most celebrated hypocrites of fiction could never have conveyed their neighbours' property into their own possession with more punctilious formality, or expelled the rightful owner with a more meticulous regard for forms and procedure, than was displayed on this memorable occasion by Peter of Aragon.

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[1] Lafuente, vii., 144-147.

[2] "No queria dar un paso fuera de la ley, y interpretandola a su antojo, cohenestaba en ella las mayores inquidades." Castelar, *Estudios Historicos*, p. 46.

[3] The opposition against Peter IV. on the part of the nobles, especially in Catalonia and Valencia, arose before his coronation, out of the claim of the Catalans that he should take the oath to observe the constitution of *Catalonia* before he was crowned King of *Aragon*. This was an innovation that the "Ceremonious" refused to accept; and the Catalans stayed away from the coronation at Saragossa. Pedro was subsequently crowned as Prince of Catalonia and King of Valencia, and duly took the respective oaths as such, but this failed to appease the nobles and Cortes.—H.

[4] The quarrel was submitted to arbitration, and Peter was adjudged to allow his half-brothers to enjoy their inheritance unmolested.—H.

[5] Jayme, or James, of Majorca was the husband of the king's sister.

An attempt to settle the crown on his daughter Constance rather than on his brother James, led to a popular outbreak, the last exercise in the kingdom of Aragon of the extraordinary *Privilege of Union.* The constitutional rebels assembled at Saragossa, and actually caused a seal to be engraved for their use, representing themselves kneeling respectfully at the feet of their king, with a background of tents and spears, denoting their readiness to assert their power,[1] in case they should be driven to extremities. Gentle and simple united under the banner of the Union, and under the leadership of the king's brother, James of Aragon, Count of Urgel. The prince was poisoned by royal command. But his brother Ferdinand took his place; the king was subjected to restraint, if not actually to imprisonment, at Murviedro; and Ferdinand, with a band of Castilian allies, was received with acclamation at Valencia.

But greater forces than those of the King of Aragon were found to fight against the Union. In May, 1348, the plague broke out in Valencia. The rebels were dismayed; their forces were decimated; their organisation was broken up; and Ferdinand retired to the north, where a *King's Party* had been formed among the more prudent spirits of Aragon. League was confronted with counter league; Union with anti-union. The opposing forces at length met in battle array at Epila near Saragossa in 1348, when Ferdinand and the authorised rebels were defeated with great slaughter. The dangerous Privilege of Union was immediately abrogated; the parchment on which it was engrossed was cut in pieces by the king with his own hand;[2] and the very words of the charter were blotted out of the records of Aragon.[3]

Yet were many excellent laws for the protection of the liberties of his subjects soon afterwards promulgated by Peter;

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[1] *Sigillum Unionis Aragonum* in the legend.

[2] With his dagger; hence his surname of *del Puñal*—of the Poniard.

[3] According to Señor Castelar, it was the aristocracy of Aragon that perished at Epila; and, as may be supposed, the brilliant Republican writer expresses no regret. (*Estudios Historicos*, 142-4.) But popular liberties, he thinks, did not suffer. *La voluntad del pueblo . . . que aterroriza al Rey . . . era . . . mas grande que la victora*, etc., etc., etc.

and the pre-eminent and undisputed authority of the Grand Justiciary[1] of the kingdom may be dated from this period. But the king's laws were better than his manners. Nearly as cruel and quite as perverse as his more notorious namesake of Castile; restless, faithless, absolutely without scruples, he persecuted his nobility, harassed his neighbours, stirred up strife among the members of his own family, and kept faith with no man. Civil war; family intrigue; domestic dissension; broken treaties; these were the features of his reign. Prince James had been poisoned at Barcelona, Queen Leonora was murdered in Castile, Prince Ferdinand was cut down at the very table of the king his brother, in pursuance of a secret treaty made between Peter of Aragon and Peter of Castile, and promoted by the Papal legate[2]

The long struggle with Castile; the war against Peter the Cruel by land and by sea; the alliance of Henry of Trastamara; the support of France; the intrigues with Navarre, and the three invasions of Spain by the bold-spirited pretender, who at length reigned as Henry II. of Castile, all these things would take long to tell, and have been already referred to in the chapter on Peter the Cruel. An attempt that was made by the Aragonese in 1349 to reduce Sardinia was in every way unfortunate; and after negotiations and revolutions extending over the greater part of forty years, after much fighting and little glory, Peter of Aragon was fain to content himself, in 1386, with a divided empire with the Pisans and Genoese in that island. His still more rash interference in the affairs of Sicily brought him neither honour nor profit. An expedition to Greece secured him the recognition of his barren title of Duke of Athens; and the unholy appropriation of Tarragona, the sovereignty of which had long rested with the archbishop of that see, preceded by but a few months his death, in January, 1387, after a reign of fifty-one years.[3]

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[1] From this time the office of justiciary was held for life. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 53.

[2] One condition of this treaty was the murder of Henry of Trastamara. But Peter of Aragon evaded this clause, suspecting bad faith, and wishing to preserve a friend in Castile, in case of the cruel king's treachery.

[3] Señor Castelar, who is certainly an admirer of Peter IV., and who has devoted four eloquent chapters to the story of his victory over the Union (*Estudios Historicos* (ed. 1875, pp. 22-115), is compelled to admit that he never spoke the truth, and never *abrigaba recta intencion*.

During the reign of Peter IV. the Spanish Era was abolished in Aragon, and the Christian Era adopted in the national chronology, as from 1350.

Small of stature, weak of frame, and with a delicate constitution, Peter was compact of political ambition, devoured by lust of power. False by nature, and a dissembler by system, his cruelty never led him to rash deeds of violence, nor did any gentler feelings deter him from the most atrocious crimes. The most Machiavelian prince in Europe before Machiavel, if Peter IV. was not the first of Spanish diplomatists, he was one of the greatest of Spanish intriguers.

The first act of John I., who succeeded his father Peter IV., in 1387, is sufficiently characteristic of the times. It was to order his step-mother, Queen Sybilla of France, Peter IV's fourth wife, with whom he was on bad terms, to be accused of witchcraft, and to be immediately put to the torture with a view to her condemnation and execution. The intervention of a humane legate, and the abandonment by the queen of all her possessions, saved her from a shameful death; but twenty-nine of her companions were executed on the charge of aiding and abetting her in the enchantment of the late king.

Yet John I. was far from being either a fool or a savage. A lover of pleasure rather than of war or of faction, and known alike by the title of *The Sportsman* and *The Indolent,* he was especially devoted to music, an art in which his Queen Violante equally excelled; and the court at Saragossa became the resort of all that was most excellent among the singers and musicians of the day.[1] Poets and troubadours and lovers of the gay science vied with each other in the floral games, and at the courts of love, which constituted the more serious occupation of the palace; while concerts of vocal and instrumental music were often thrice repeated in the course of a single day.

It was a gay and graceful life, but it was not appreciated by the graver subjects of King John. It was more moral than murder, and less costly than foreign wars. But it did not please the commons of Aragon. The Cortes of Monzon called the king to order in 1388; and if the musicians were not all summarily dismissed, a limit was placed upon the expenses of the court.

In the ruder pastime of the chase, His Majesty was still permitted to take his pleasure unrestrained; and when hunting the wolf near Saragossa in May, 1395, he was thrown from his horse and killed, after the manner of his namesake and brother King John of Castile.

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[1] Zurita, *Anales*, x., 43

Not the least important event of this short and uninteresting reign was the election of Pedro de Luna, the great scholar, and Cardinal of Aragon, to the Popedom, under the title of Benedict XIII., to the intense satisfaction of both Aragon and Castile. Yet the doubtful honour was productive only of ecclesiastical and political confusion in the Peninsula. After many disputes and discussions, the validity of the Papal election was recognised only in Spain, and in far away Scotland; and the intractable Benedict was forced to live shut up at Avignon, a prisoner, not in form, but in fact—with his palace-fortress defended by a gallant band of Aragonese soldiers, under the command of sundry militant cardinals, bishops and priests.[1]

John of Aragon was succeeded by his brother Martin, surnamed *El Humano*, or the humane; and in spite of the feeble opposition of Count Matthew de Foix, who had married the eldest daughter of the late king, he was generally acknowledged as King of Aragon, in 1395.

A more serious rival was found at the Vatican, where Boniface IX. stirred up civil war in ever-turbulent Sardinia, in order to punish the Aragonese for their support of his rival, Pope Benedict XIII. Nor was Boniface content with merely promoting strife in the king's dominions. He made a formal grant not only of Sardinia but of Sicily to an Italian favourite, and treated the king as degraded, dispossessed and discrowned. But the Sicilians were loyal to Aragon; and Prince Martin, the king's eldest son, had no difficulty in maintaining his power in the island. He was even enabled to undertake an expedition to Sardinia at the head of a large army of his faithful subjects, to defend his father's rights. But though victorious in battle over Brancaleone Doria, the chief of the rebels, Prince Martin fell a victim to the ever-deadly Sardinian fever on the 24th of July, 1409. His father, King Martin, died in the next year; and Aragon was once more distracted by rival pretenders to the throne.

Six of these royal claimants were justified in different degrees in asserting their rights of succession. Jacme of Urgel; the Duke of Calabria; the Count of Luna; the Count of Prades; the Duke of Gandia; and Ferdinand, Regent of Castile.[1]

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[1] The progress of the *Great Schism:* the proceedings of the Council of Pisa in 1409, and the various intrigues and incidents of the struggle are dwelt on at length by the Spanish historians, as they certainly were not without influence on the history of Spain. Yet is the connection somewhat too indirect to be insisted upon in a brief sketch like the present.

Further and rival pretenders sought to acquire the sovereignty of Sicily, of Corsica and of Sardinia. The affairs of the Papacy were still unsettled. Alexander V., who had succeeded Boniface IX., had just been poisoned at Rome; and Benedict XIII. had passed over into Aragon to make his Papal influence felt in the selection of a king. His unruly cousin, Antonio de Luna, supported the pretensions of the Count of Urgel to the crown of Aragon; and these worthies, having invited their ecclesiastical adversary, the Archbishop of Saragossa, to a solemn conference upon the affairs of the kingdom, waylaid him in a secluded spot as he rode by upon his mule to the appointed place of meeting, and murdered him on the highroad in open day. Such were the incidents that accompanied a change of government in the fifteenth century.

And yet in Aragon, if there was civil war, there was no administrative anarchy. The Parliament[2] of Catalonia continued to sit after the death of the king; and the Justiciary of Aragon, whose administrative authority was even greater than that of the king himself, carried on the civil government much as usual. In Valencia, indeed, there was actual warfare; nor could the States General be brought together to deliberate upon the critical condition of the commonwealth. But on the whole, the absence of a king like Peter IV., or even like John I., was perhaps not very prejudicial to good government.

The character of the rebellion or disaffection in the northwest was widely different from what it was in the south-east. In Aragon it was purely aristocratic. In Valencia it was purely democratic. The Catalans for once were undisturbed, and it was their pacific patriotism that saved the kingdom. An Aragonese Parliament had assembled, indeed, in 1411, at Calatayud. But they had separated without having come to any decision upon the merits of the rival candidates; and the helm of the state was held by the commons of Catalonia.

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[1] (1) Jacme or James, Count of Urgel, lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the time of the late king, great-grandson of Alfonso IV.

(2) Louis, Duke of Calabria, great-grandson of Peter III.

(3) Fadrique, Count of Luna, grandson of Martin, the late King of Aragon.

(4) John, Count of Prades, grandson of King James II.

(5) Alfonso, Duke of Gandia, great-grandson of James II.

(6) Prince Ferdinand, Regent of Castile, nephew of the late king, and brother of Henry of Castile.

[2] When the estates were assembled under the presidency of the king, the assembly was called the *Cortes;* when the king was dead—perhaps even when he was merely absent—the august body was known by the name of Parliament.

At length, in spite of the hostile forces that were everywhere present throughout the country, the Aragonese and even the Valencians were persuaded to send delegates to a Parliament at Alcañiz, where they were met by the Catalans; and a court or council of nine judges, three from each of the great provinces, was constituted,[1] and invested with full powers to elect a sovereign from among the various claimants to the throne, who should be acknowledged by the nobles and commons as King of Aragon.

Five of these novel functionaries were ecclesiastics, chief and most noteworthy of whom was Vincent Ferrer, Archbishop of Valencia—who was afterwards canonised by his friend Calixtus III.—and four lawyers, all honourable and respectable personages.

This august college of electors met on the 29th of March, 1412, at Caspe, a quiet town on the banks of the Ebro, removed by some sixty miles from the capital at Saragossa. The first thirty days were devoted to a patient hearing of the contentions of the rival princes, represented by counsel before the assembly. Two months more elapsed before the examination of the claims and the deliberation upon the various legal arguments were brought to a conclusion. At length, on the 24th of June, the conclave proceeded to the actual selection or election of a king. Six voices out of nine were given in favour of Ferdinand of Castile, but no immediate announcement was made of the result; and we are told that the secret was kept for the greater part of four days.

On the 28th of June these grave and memorable deliberations were brought to a fitting conclusion. On rising ground between the church and the castle of Caspe a lofty dais was erected, with a canopy of scarlet and gold, worthy of the candidates and their judges, and flanked on either side by less imposing stages or platforms for the accommodation of the advocates and representatives of the high contending parties. And under the early morning sun of the 28th of June, the judges and councillors, with a guard of knights and men-at-arms, marshalled by the Alcaldes of the three great provinces, filed in solemn procession before an immense concourse of spectators. They made their way first into the church, where mass was sung, and then to the judgment seat, where the future saint[1] read aloud the finding of the court. The royal standard was displayed once more over the walls of the castle, and the vast assembly shouted aloud, "Long live Lord Ferdinand, King of Aragon!"

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[1] These delegates, though *approved* by, and representative of, the three estates of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, were *nominated* by the justiciary of the realm.

Ferdinand was at Cuenca when he received the news of his election; and it was at Cuenca not many days afterwards that the commissioners of Catalonia waited upon him, with dutiful demands that he would respect their liberties, their usages and their *Fueros,* as they had been respected in days gone by. Ferdinand was ready to promise, and he was no less ready to perform. His first act was to summon the States General of the Aragonese nation to meet at Saragossa on the 25th of August, 1412, when he took the accustomed oath of fidelity to the constitution, and received the homage, not only of his new subjects, but of two of the competitors for the crown which he had won.[2]

The king's oath was repeated within the year, at the Cortes of Lerida, for the kingdom of Valencia, and Barcelona, where the most powerful of his late rivals, the Count of Urgel, offered the hand of his daughter to the Infante Henry, grand master of Santiago, and second son of King Ferdinand—an offer which was courteously refused.

Yet En Jacme of Urgel was far from being reconciled to Ferdinand's elevation to the throne of Aragon; and counting upon foreign alliances and foreign aid, he sought once more to plunge the kingdom into bloodshed and confusion. Encouraged, at least in the first instance, by the Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV. of England, and supported once more by the abandoned Antonio de Luna, James of Urgel marched on Lerida at the head of a small army, composed of Gascons and English, and renegades from every part of France and Spain. But after sustaining a severe defeat at Alcolea (July 10th, 1413) the pretender's forces were scattered, and he himself was forced to take refuge in the fortified town of Balaguer on the Segre. The Duke of Clarence was in England, and sent no help to the rebel. His cousin, the Duke of York, offered his friendship and his alliance to Ferdinand. Balaguer surrendered on the 31st of October, 1413; and Ferdinand, displaying a noble clemency to the rebel, and disregarding even the formal sentence of death that was passed by the tribunal before whom the Count of Urgel was arraigned on a charge of high treason, contented himself with the mitigated punishment or precaution of imprisonment in the fortress of Xativa.

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[1] Saint Vincent (*San Vicente Ferrer*).

[2] The Duke of Gandia did homage for the County of Ribagorza; and Don Fadrique of Aragon for the County of Luna. The Count of Urgel did not dispute the choice of the electors, but excused his attendance at the king's court on the plea of illness. Nothing can show more clearly than these entire proceedings the respect for law and tribunals that so remarkably characterised the people of Aragon. (This is the more conspicuous in this case, because from motives of policy the candidate chosen, Ferdinand of Castile, was certainly less entitled than Jacme to succeed; the custom of Aragon having been generally opposed to the recognition of the rights of the female line to the crown.—H.)

Relieved thus honourably from all rivals or rivalry, Ferdinand was crowned, together with his good Queen Leonora, with unaccustomed pomp at Saragossa in January, 1414. His eldest son Alfonso was invested at the same time with the new title of *Prince of Gerona.*[1] His second son John, created Duke of Peñafiel, was appointed governor of the kingdom of Sicily; and a marriage treaty by which the young prince was engaged to marry Queen Joan of Naples—providing for the union of the crowns of Naples and Sicily in the line of Aragon—was signed in the course of the same year. This union, however, was not destined to take place. Queen Joan suddenly changed her mind, and married the Count de la Marche (Feb., 1415), as her affianced husband was actually on his voyage from Barcelona to Naples. Prince John made the best of his disappointment, and married Blanche, daughter of Charles the Noble, through whom he ultimately succeeded to the throne of Navarre. The eldest son of King Ferdinand, Alfonso Prince of Gerona, married in the June of the same year (1415) the Infanta Maria, sister of King John II. of Castile.

Sardinia was pacified about the same time by the purchase of the rights of the Viscount of Narbonne to a large part of the island; and the only great national or international difficulty that baffled all the efforts of Ferdinand successfully to solve, was that of the *Great Schism* perpetuated by the obstinacy and longevity of the gallant Spaniard, Pedro de Luna—the anti-Pope Benedict XIII.[2]

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[1] Intended to be the hereditary title of the eldest son of the King of Aragon, in imitation of the newly-created principality of *Asturias* in the royal house of Castile, and that of *Wales* in the royal family of England.

[2] The Council of Constance in 1417, the formal deposition of Benedict XIII. and the election of Martin V. in the same year, had no influence upon the determined Pedro de Luna, who lived shut up in his castle at Peñiscola, maintaining to

Unhappily for Spain and for Europe, Ferdinand fell ill at Perpignan in the course of these negotiations[1] and died soon after (2nd April, 1416) at Igualada, at the early age of thirty-seven. A just man, a kind father, a loyal regent, an honest suitor, a devoted king, a gallant soldier, a true knight; Ferdinand of Castile, after his brief reign of only four years in Aragon, has left behind him a reputation which is gloriously perpetuated in the unaccustomed titles of *The Honest* and *The Just.*

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the day of his death, in 1423, his infallibility as the only legitimate Pope of Rome. This memorable Spaniard was no less than ninety years of age when he died, in the thirteenth year of his Pontificate. And with his death was practically concluded the *Great Schism* that had vexed Christendom for nearly forty years.

[1] Shortly before his death he signed an act by which he withdrew his own allegiance and that of all his states from Benedict XIII.; whom he had fruitlessly urged to abdicate his assumed Papacy. This important defection from the anti-Pope practically settled the question, although Benedict personally continued obstinate.—H.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CASTILE BEYOND THE SEA.

(1369-1407.)

I.—*The Lancastrian Claims to Castile.*

The cheerful recognition of Henry the Bastard as King of Castile was due less to his own merits than to the enormous satisfaction that every one must have felt at the death of his legitimate brother. If the cause of the Cid's popularity was his opposition to a despotic king, then Henry of Trastamara should have been the darling of Castile. If steadfast perseverance in spite of adverse fortune, if bravery in the field, if a generous heart and a liberal hand are ever appreciated in a leader and a king, then Henry II. scarcely needs the dark foil of his brother's wickedness to display his own royal and knightly graces.

Yet it was but natural that his assumption of the reins of power should not be entirely without opposition. The legitimate heir to his brother's throne was Ferdinand, King of Portugal, a grandson of Beatrix, the daughter of Sancho the *Bravo* of Castile. John of Lancaster was at least a powerful claimant. Logroño, Vittoria and other cities on the northern frontier were in the power of Charles the Bad of Navarre. Molina Requena placed itself under the protection of Aragon; and Carmona—fortified and victualled as his last stronghold by Peter the Cruel—refused to open its gates to his successor. But within a year Henry had defeated a Portuguese fleet at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and had possessed himself not only of Carmona (10th May, 1371) but of almost every other city that had at first hesitated to acknowledge his title to the crown.

One of his first acts was to summon a Cortes at Toro (1369), where, among many excellent laws for the protection of the community, it was ordained that punishments of special severity should be inflicted upon assassins, whether gentle or simple. And at the Cortes that met at Toro in 1371, a very complete system of criminal procedure, known as the *Ordenamiento sobre la administracion de justicia*, was added to the already excellent laws of Spain.

A projected alliance between one of Henry's daughters—the Infanta Leonora—with Ferdinand, King of Portugal, might have not only removed a dangerous rival, but in the event of surviving issue, would have united the crowns of Portugal and Castile. Ferdinand, however, preferred chicanery to honourable alliance, and having broken off the match, and declared war against Henry, was handsomely beaten by the Castilians both on land and at sea. And the king, thus relieved from all anxiety on the side of Portugal, flew at higher game beyond his northern frontier.

John of Lancaster, and Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York,[1] two sons of Edward III. of England, had married, as we have already seen, the ladies Constance and Isabella, the daughters of Peter the Cruel and Maria de Padilla; and Lancaster, on the death of his worthy father-in-law, laid claim, in right of his wife, to the crown of Spain. Had Peter been really married to his acknowledged mistress, Constance was undoubtedly Queen of Castile; but the oath of a trebly-perjured king, supported by the declaration of a servile archbishop, were not of much account as evidence; and, bastard for bastard, the claims of Henry, king in possession, were surely greater than those of his niece, the wife of a foreign duke.

Whatever may have been their results in Castile, the pretensions of John of Lancaster were attended with nothing but evil fortune for himself and for England. The first reply that was given by Henry to the Lancastrian claims upon Spain, which were formulated in June, 1372, was the despatch of a fleet under his admiral, Ambrosio Bocanegra, who fell in with an English squadron under the Earl of Pembroke off La Rochelle, and totally defeated it. Charles V. of France on his side took advantage of the victory, and overran the whole of Guienne; and Lancaster, as captain-general of the English forces, engaged in many by no means successful campaigns in various parts of

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[1] The marriages took place at Roquefort, near Bordeaux, at the end of 1371; the brothers and sisters went to England in the spring of 1372; and on 25th June John of Gaunt first styled himself King of Castile. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub tit. John of Gaunt.

France, forgot, for the time being, his own claims to a more distant throne.[1]

Henry of Trastamara thus reigned in peace until his death on 30th May, 1379, at the early age of forty-six, when his eldest son was proclaimed king in his room; and was soon afterwards crowned at Las Huelgas, near Burgos, as John I. of Castile. His first care, following his father's example, was to summon a Cortes; and the Ordinances of Burgos, in 1379, contained many new and interesting provisions, including a prohibition of the bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices upon strangers, and many remarkable sumptuary laws.[2]

But the greatest glory of King John's reign was his successful expedition against the coasts of England, to punish the presumption of the Duke of Lancaster, who had taken advantage of the death of Henry II. to reassert his rights to the throne of Castile. Once more the maintenance of the Lancastrian claims was the signal for the destruction of a British fleet. Not content with threatening the ports, the Castilians, emboldened by former successes, sailed up the Thames, and took or burned the shipping in the river almost within sight of London (1380).[3]

But the English claims were not thereby defeated. At the invitation of the most unlikely of all allies, Ferdinand of Portugal, himself the legitimate heir to the crown of Castile, Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, was despatched to the Peninsula in 1381, to maintain his brother's cause against John. But after some desultory fighting, he returned to England without honour or profit, upon the signature of the peace between Ferdinand of Portugal and John of Castile in 1382.

An interrupted treaty of marriage (March, 1383), was the signal for a fresh outbreak of the war between the Peninsular kingdoms; and by the death of Ferdinand in the same year, the Portuguese were involved in domestic discord, which was only abated by the election of John of Avis[4] to the vacant throne of Portugal (6th April, 1385).

The accession of this ambitious and capable soldier was for the time disastrous to the Castilian army; and on the memorable field of Aljubarrota, John of Castile was defeated by John of Portugal with great and long-remembered slaughter (14th August, 1383). The king was ill before the battle, and was carried to and from the field in a litter, while his entire army was suffering from some epidemic sickness. The slain amounted, it is said, to 10,000 of the bravest soldiers of Castile. The king hardly escaped with his life; and among the prisoners was Pedro Lopez de Ayala, the chronicler, to whose work we have so often referred.

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[1] In the autumn of 1378 another English fleet was defeated near Plymouth by the Castilians. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *ubi supra*.

[2] Sempere y Guarinos, *Hist. del Luxo* (1788), p. 165; Mariana, lib. xviii., cap. iii.; Lafuente, vii., 350-352; Essay, "A fight against Finery," in the year after the Armada, etc., by Martin A. S. Hume.

[3] As Ayala has it *el rio artamisa*.

[4] John, grand master of the Order of Avis, was the bastard son of King Peter of Portugal, who died in 1367, the contemporary of Peter the Cruel of Castile. As to the Order of Avis, see *ante*, chap. xxiii.

But the most immediate result of the victory was the reappearance of an English claimant in Castile.[1] In John of Avis, at least, John of Gaunt had no possible rival. The duke, moreover, had become obnoxious to the court of London; and his nephew, Richard II., glad of any pretext to remove him from England, prevailed upon him to assert his claims in the Peninsula. The opportunity was eagerly embraced at once by the duke and by his English opponents. An expedition was fitted out in England at the beginning of 1386, and the *King and Queen of Castile,* after a solemn coronation at the hands of Richard II., set sail from Plymouth on the 7th of July, accompanied by a numerous fleet, and an army of no less than 20,000 men. Landing at Corunna on the 9th of August, Lancaster occupied Gallicia, and joined his forces with those of John of Portugal, who married the duke's daughter,[2] Philippa, in pledge of closer alliance and support (1387). As a military enterprise this magnificent expedition was a complete failure. John of Gaunt was ever unfortunate in the field. He was indeed able to occupy the sacred city of Compostella; and many of the Gallician knights acknowledged him as their sovereign.[3] But Castile remained faithful to John of Trastamara.

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[1] It was the English who assisted John of Avis, and confirmed at once his regal title and the independence of Portugal, at Aljubarrota; and from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century this English protection was ever a potent factor in the destinies of Portugal. (In the previous treaty with Portugal it was arranged that the bastard son of Henry II. of Castile, Fadrique, should marry Beatrix, the daughter of Fernando of Portugal. At the instance of her father she was, however, subsequently betrothed to the legitimate son of Juan I. of Castile, Don Fernando. The latter, however, dying soon afterwards, the bride was married to his father, John I., and on the death of Fernando of Portugal the King of Castile claimed the Portuguese crown for his wife.—H.)

[2] Not a daughter of his by Constance of Castile, but by his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. It was this marriage which was the foundation of Philip II.'s claim to the crown of England.

[3] The claim of John of Gaunt was supported by a Bull of Urban VI. proclaiming him "King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster". Lafuente, vii.,

The war was concluded, however, not by a victory on either side, but by a happy marriage which, if it did not place a crown on the head of the Duke of Lancaster, and if it failed to please the King of Portugal, who was not even consulted by his faithful ally, put an end, at least, to the campaign, and brought peace to two countries. By a treaty, which was signed at Troncoso in Portugal in the winter of 1387, the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster gave up all their rights or claims to the crown of Castile to their only daughter Katherine, and that splendid heiress was betrothed and shortly afterwards married to Henry, the eldest son of John I., who, in emulation of the happy precedent so lately set by Edward of England, received the title of *Prince of Asturias*, a title which has ever since been borne by the eldest son of the reigning king of Castile.[1]

The death of Charles the Bad of Navarre on New Year's Day, 1387, and the accession of his son Charles the Noble, who was a good friend to John of Castile, was of considerable advantage to Spain. Peter IV. of Aragon died only five days later, the last of the three Peters—Peter of Aragon, Peter of Portugal, and Peter of Castile, who had reigned at the same time in the Peninsula. But in the year 1387 we have no less than four royal Johns—John of Avis, John of Aragon, John of Castile, and John of Gaunt.

The constitutional history of the reign of John I. is not unimportant. The Cortes of Briviesca (December, 1387) is celebrated in the history of Spanish jurisprudence. In the Cortes of Guadalajara (1390) the power of the third estate is usually considered to have reached the summit of its power in Castile. The *Ordenamiento de lanzas* revolutionised the military system. The *Ordenamiento de Perlados* recognised and affirmed certain clerical exemptions, and showed the rising power of the clergy; while the *Ordenamiento de Sacas* forbade, according to the economic theories of the day, the export of the precious metals from the kingdom.

The reign of John I. is also noteworthy as being that in which the *Spanish Era* or *Era of Cæsar* was abolished; and the Castilian chronologists were content to compute their dates

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377. The anti-Pope, Clement VII., naturally supported John, the son of Henry. Rymer, vii., 507.

[1] The marriage of the Prince of Asturias, then only nine years of age, took place with the utmost pomp and splendour at Palencia, 1388; his bride, Katharine, was fourteen. Constance, Duchess of Lancaster, died in June, 1394; and her husband in February, 1399.

from the nativity of our Saviour Christ, on and after the 25th of December, 1384.

John did not long survive the peaceful settlement of the affairs of his kingdom. He fell from his horse at some Moorish sports at Alcala de Henares, on the 9th of October, 1390, and, like his contemporary, John of Aragon, was killed on the spot, leaving his crown to his son, a delicate boy of only eleven years of age.

II.—*The Embassy to Tamerlane.*

Henry, Prince of Asturias, was but eleven years old at the time of his father's death, and the question of a regency vexed the palace, without injuring the nation, for some time after his accession as Henry III. A Junta of nine regents—each one jealous of all the others in general, and of the Archbishop of Toledo in particular—was at length accepted as a necessary and temporary evil. This august council was dismissed, to the general satisfaction of the nation, by the young king, on his attaining his legal majority, at fourteen years of age, in August, 1393. The son-in-law of Lancaster, and the grandson of Henry of Trastamara, he reigned over a contented people, and enjoyed the respect both of his subjects and of his neighbours. The commons were independent but loyal, respecting and respected by the king. The universities increased in power and in importance, and found protection and abundant endowments at the hand of Henry III. A feeble attempt by the Portuguese, which was promptly defeated, in 1398, both on land and at sea, and some intrigues of Eleanor of Navarre,[1] scarcely troubled the general tranquillity.

Yusuf Ibn Abdullah, who had succeeded Mohammed of Granada in 1391, Charles VI. of France, Pope Clement VII., Charles the Noble of Navarre, John I. of Aragon, and the Duke of Lancaster, all sent envoys with offers and assurances of friendship and goodwill. Castile, thus respected, was tranquil, prosperous and contented; and Henry, at peace with all his neighbours, sought to establish friendly relations, not only with the sovereigns of Europe, but with the rulers of distant countries. He sent an embassy to the emperor at Constantinople, and, turning his eyes still further to the East, despatched a diplomatic mission to seek out Bajazet and Tamerlane, in the unknown region of Central Asia.[1] Pelayo Gomez de Sotomayor, and Hernan Sanchez de Palazuelos, the Castilian envoys, arrived in Asia Minor at a critical moment; and they were actually present on that tremendous battle-field when the two great Asiatic conquerors, brought at length face to face, fought for the supremacy of the East.

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[1] Queen Eleanor was a daughter of Henry of Trastamara, and was thus the aunt of Henry of Castile. She had married Charles the Noble of Navarre, and was the cause of strife between her husband and her nephew, two excellent princes.

The defeat of Bajazet at *Angora* is one of the landmarks of history. The ambassadors of Castile were prompt to offer their congratulations to the victorious Tamerlane, who received the strangers with great favour, and sent them back to their sovereign with rich presents and complimentary messages, accompanied by a special envoy, Mohammed el Cadi, to the court of Toledo.

The greatest of Asiatic conquerors gratified the Castilian spectators of his triumph, not only with some of the rich spoils of battle, with jewels and costly stuffs, but he handed over to them two beauteous Christian captives, the Lady Angelina and the Lady Maria, to be conducted to the farthest west of Europe. One of these adventurous ladies, Doña Angelina, who is said to have been a niece of the King of Hungary, returning to Spain with the envoy, married Don Diego Gonzalez de Contreras, *Regidor* of the city of Segovia. The other, Doña Maria de Pelayo, gained the affections of the envoy, Gomez, who was afterwards compelled by John II. to make her his wife.[2]

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[1] He is said even to have sent a mission to seek the fabled Prester John in Abyssinia, or further Hindostan. Argote de Molina, *Itinerario*, etc. (Madrid, 1782).

[2] Maria was a Greek, Angelina a Hungarian, both probably taken prisoners after the fatal battle of Nicopolis, fought between Turks and Hungarians in 1386. They were both taken by Tamerlane at Angora from the vanquished Bajazet.

No mistake can be greater than to confound the ambitious dreams of universal sovereignty, of the destruction of bad governments, and of the spread of Islam, that characterised Timour the Lame, with the rude and cruel barbarism of Genghis Khan, or the more modern savagery of Nadir Shah. The character of Timour, the patron of Hafiz, the summoner of councils, the founder of empires, has suffered greatly from the animosity of his biographer, the Syrian Ahmed Ibn Arabshah, whose work, composed in 1440 under the title of *Ajaib al Makdur* (Wonders of Destiny), was edited by Golius in 1636, and translated into Latin by Manger in 1772. This history is a coarse satire, little worthy of credit, devoted to blackening the character of Timour. A just appreciation of his greatness and an admirable sketch of his life will be found in Gibbon, chap. lxv. Sir John Malcolm in his *History of Persia*, sums up his character as "one of the greatest of warriors, and one of the worst of monarchs. Able, brave, generous, but ambitious, cruel and oppressive." But with the exception of Mohammed he was the most remarkable man that Asia has produced from the death of Christ to the present day.

King Henry was not ungrateful for these gifts and favours, and he despatched a second embassy to the court of Tamerlane, under the guidance of the returning Mohammed el Cadi, consisting of a Doctor of Divinity, Don Alfonso de Santa Maria, a Chamberlain, and an officer of the Royal Guards, who set out from Madrid on 21st May, 1403.

These *Ambassadors extraordinary*, after traversing well nigh the entire breadth of the known world, reached Timour at Samarcand; and Gonzalez de Clavijo, who alone returned in safety to Spain, has left us an account of the embassy, and of his adventures from May, 1403, to March, 1406, which forms by no means the least interesting of the early books of travel of mediæval Europe.

Setting sail in their carack from port St. Mary, the adventurous envoys touched at Malaga, Naples, Messina, Rhodes, Mitylene and Constantinople, of which a very full account is given by Clavijo—after various perils of the sea. From the Bosphorus they set sail in a new ship to Sinopoli or Sinope, and Trebizonde, where they landed; and whence they marched by way of Arsinga (Ersingan), on the Euphrates, Calmarin (possibly Etchmiazin) which was said to be the first city in the world built after the Deluge, to Teheran; and they continued their strange journey across mountains and deserts by way of Meshed and Merv, over the Murgab and the Oxus, which they crossed by a bridge of boats a league in length constructed by Timour himself, until at length they came up with the conqueror at Samarcand. They were received by the Lord of Asia with the greatest distinction, and welcomed with the most magnificent hospitality; and, after a brief sojourn, they set out on their return by the way they had come—through manifold perils by land and by water—to their home in western Spain.

Clavijo's story is simple and graphic,[1] and bears upon it the impress of truth and reality. It is not only of the utmost interest as a record of early and romantic travel, but it is of solid historic value. For Clavijo is far from content, like so many later travellers, with a mere record of his own troubles, or the relation of idle tales that he has heard from others. Constantinople, Trebizonde, Teheran and far away Samarcand are minutely and intelligently described, together with many curious details of the court life of the greatest of Asiatic sovereigns.

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[1] Clavijo's works were not printed until 1582, when the indefatigable Argote de Molina produced them under the delusive title of *Vida del Gran Tamerlan.* The work was subsequently published in 1782 at Madrid. I have consulted both editions. See also Mariana, xix., 11.

If Señor Clavijo did not travel as far, nor remain absent as long, as Marco Polo, who preceded him by over a hundred years (1272-1294), he greatly outstripped our own Sir John Mandeville (1322-1355) in the extent as well as in the interest of his travels.[1]

III.—*The Canary Islands.*

The glories of the reign of Henry III., whether in the farthest east or nearer home, were entirely diplomatic. He added, indeed, to the territory of Castile; but the new possessions came not by war, but by negotiations, which led to the ultimate incorporation of the *Canary Islands* into the great empire of Spain.

Some eighty years before the Christian era, Sertorius, flying from his persecutors in Italy, and before he had established his dominion in Spain, was minded to pass on beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and to seek an asylum and a home in the islands of the blest which were fabled to exist in the far western sea. But his ambition prevailed over his dream of African repose. He accepted the flattering invitation of the Spaniards, and turned aside to earn undying honour and fame in Europe. And for nigh on fourteen centuries nothing was heard of the Fortunate Isles—lying as they did within a few days' sail of Cadiz or Lisbon—by any of the princes or people of the civilised world. Then at length a banished Spaniard turned his attention to the happy land that had so long before attracted a banished Roman.[2]

Alfonso, *Infante de la Cerda*, the grandson of Alfonso X., retiring, disinherited, as has been already related, to the court of his uncle, Philip the Fair, married a French lady, who bore him a son well-known in contemporary history as Don Luis de la Cerda, Admiral of France. Moved by the accounts of a new and beautiful country within easy reach of the south of Spain, the exile obtained a grant, dated 15th June, 1343, from Clement VI. at Avignon, of the lordship of the Canary Islands, with the title of Prince of Fortune.

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[1] It was strange indeed that their first visit saw the defeat of Bajazet, who died soon after the battle of Angora, and that their second visit, but three years later, should have been brought to a close by the death of his victorious rival, Tamerlane.

Anything like a detailed account of the travels and adventures of the Castilian envoys would be out of place here; but the story may be read *in English*, and very entertaining reading it is, in one of the volumes of the Hakluyt Society, published in 1859 by Mr. Clements Markham, with an excellent map.

[2] Pliny the elder (*Nat. Hist.*, vi., 37), refers to them by name, and more especially tells us that *Canaria* (Grand Canary) was so called from the number and size of the dogs (*vocari a multitudine canium ingentis magnitudinis*).

Nivaria (Teneriffe) was so called from the snow with which its great mountain is covered.

But Luis de la Cerda was unworthy either of his fortune or of his title. The King of Portugal objected to the grant, on the ground of prior discovery in 1341; and neither the Spanish prince nor the Portuguese king did anything further in the matter. It was reserved for a Norman adventurer, one Jean de Bethencourt, after the lapse of over half a century, to undertake the conquest of the islands, in the first place, no doubt, for himself, but ultimately for the King of Spain.

De Bethencourt, after some preliminary negotiations, set sail from La Rochelle in May, 1402, and after touching at Corunna and Cadiz, and having received supplies and reinforcements from Henry III., took possession of some, if not all the islands, without serious opposition; and having induced the native king to accept not only the dominion but the religion of Spain, he caused him to be baptised a Christian, under the name, strangely enough, of Luis, in 1404.[1] The adventurous Norman was accompanied by a monk or priest, who not only assisted in the conversion of the inhabitants, but was ready, no doubt, like the other adventurous ecclesiastics of the day, to lend a hand with a spear in time of need, and who wrote an account of the expeditions—a story, in many respects, of great value and interest. De Bethencourt, after some negotiations in Spain, obtained for himself the lordship of the Canary Islands, under the crown of Castile, with the right to impose taxes, to coin money, and generally to exercise such very independent powers that he is frequently spoken of as king. But he never, apparently, claimed any formal or titular sovereignty. The lordship passed at his death to one Diego Herrera, and was afterwards granted to three Spanish adventurers of no importance or capacity. But after much trouble and misery, arising from the uncertain and unstable conquests of the private administrators and invaders, the Catholic kings took the matter into their own hands,[2] and on the 20th of February, 1487, at Salamanca, the islands were, with great solemnity, incorporated into the dominions of Castile, with the title of kingdom, while the inhabitants were declared free from all *pechos* and *alcavalas*, and other taxes paid in Spain. In the same year, Pope Innocent VIII. gave the patronage of the bishopric of Canaria, with its benefices, to the King of Spain and his successors for ever.

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[1] See *Le Canarien, livre de la conqueste et conversion faicte des Canariens . . . en l'an*, 1402, par Messire Jehan de Bethencourt . . . by Pierre Bontier, Moyne, et Jean le Verrier, prestre, serviteurs du dit de Bethencourt. Translated by R. H. Major, for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1872.

[2] From 1476 to 1495. An account of the final conquest of the islands will be found in George Glas, *Hist. of the Canary Islands*, etc., etc. Lond., 1764, pp. 82-125.

It is supposed that the islands, previous to de Bethencourt's conquest and occupation, were peopled by a race akin to the aborigines of the nearest part of northern Africa; and it is sufficiently curious that, as we learn from all the early adventurers and settlers, entirely different manners, customs and laws were observed in each one of the seven islands,[1] Palma, Hierro, Gomera, Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Feurteventura and Lanzarote. It is even more strange that the Spanish Arabs and the Spanish Moors, constant and intimate as were their relations with the African coast, should have apparently known nothing, and should certainly have cared nothing, about the Fortunate Islands in the possession of their fellows.[2]

The single misfortune of the honourable and prosperous reign of Henry III. of Castile was its sudden and unhappy termination. For within less than two years after the nation had been gratified by the appearance of a Prince of Asturias (March, 1405) the king sickened and died at Toledo on Christmas Day, 1406, leaving the crown once more on the head of an infant, who reigned over Castile for nearly fifty years as John II.

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[1] The names are given in order, as the islands lie from west to east.

The modern administrative capital of the group is Las Palmas in Grand Canary. Santa Cruz in Teneriffe is also an important town.

See Major, Trans. of *Bontier and Le Verrier*, Introd., xxxix.-li.

[2] There is a very complete account of the conquest of Grand Canary, with a less detailed record of that of Teneriffe and the other islands in *La Conquista y antiguedades de las islas de Gran Canaria* (written by the licentiate Juan de la Peña, 1676), being the first volume of a work published at Santa Cruz de Teneriffe in 1847. There is a copy in the British Museum Library. [12,231-e.]

The topography and an historical description of all the islands by D. Pedro de Castillo (1848) constitutes the second volume, and there is a most interesting treatise on the local ethnography, with notes on the various dialects spoken in the islands, and a comparison between their vocabularies and that of the language of the mainland of Africa, as a third volume, by Malibran and Berthelot. The entire series is called the *Biblioteca Isleña*, and should be studied by all who take any interest in the islands. See also José de Viera y Clavijo, *Noticia de la historia de las islas de Canaria;* Bontier et Leverrier, Trad. Ramirez, *Historia del primer descubrimiento*, etc. (Santa Cruz, 1847). Don J. M. Bremont y Cabello, *Bosquejo historico de las islas Canarias* (Madrid, 1847), and Pulgar, *Cron.*, iii., xviii. See also Webb and Berthelot, *Histoire naturelle des Iles Canaris* (Paris, 1835); Chil y Naranyo, *Estudios historicos climatologicos y patologicos de las islas Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1876), with maps and plans; and Augustin Millares, *Historia general de las islas Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1881).

IV.—*Pedro Lopez de Ayala.*

Within a few months after the death of Henry, died the old courtier and chronicler to whose powers of observation and fidelity of narrative we owe the greater part of our knowledge of the affairs and the life of Peter the Cruel, and of his immediate successor on the throne of Castile.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala was the son of Fernan Perez de Ayala, Adelantado of Murcia in the time of Peter the Cruel. He was attached at a very early age to the Duke of Albuquerque, and remaining at court after that minister's murder, he served his dangerous sovereign until 1366, accompanying him even in his retreat to Burgos. But on the appeal to foreign intervention, Ayala held for Castile, and transferred his services to "the Count". He fought at Navarrete against the invaders, was taken prisoner, and ransomed by Henry of Trastamara. Restored to Spain, he remained at court until the death of Henry II., and afterwards under John I., as Chancellor of Castile. He served as *Alferez mayor,* or major-general at the disastrous battle of Albujarrota, where he was once more taken prisoner by the enemy. But he once more regained his liberty, and lived to serve a fourth king of Castile, Henry III., and to die in the reign of a fifth sovereign, John II., in 1407, at the ripe age of seventy-nine.

His Chronicle[1] is of peculiar interest and value, not only as that of an eye-witness, but of an actor in many of the scenes which he records. His style is simple and dignified, and the worst horrors of the king his master are related with a candour that is never malevolent, and with a sobriety that compels belief. Nor in spite of much hostile criticism in modern times has the accuracy of his history ever been seriously impeached.

Ayala was a writer of verse as well as of prose. A courtier at all times, his poem, entitled the *Rimado de Palacio*, treats of the duties of kings and grandees, and is illustrated with many interesting allusions, presenting on the whole a most vivid picture of court life in Castile in the fourteenth century, abundantly worthy of study by every reader of the author's more serious Chronicles. The *Rimado,* moreover, marks an epoch in the progress of Castilian letters ; and the chancellor is frequently spoken of as the *restorer* of Castilian poetry.[2]

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[1] *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla D. Pedro, D. Enrique II., D. Juan I., D. Enrique III.*, por D. Pedro Lopez de Ayala. The best edition is that with the notes of Zurita and Llaguno Amirola ; Madrid, 1779.

[2] See *Documentos ineditos*, vol. xix., pp. 184 *et seq.* Ticknor, ed. Gayangos, i., 105-107.

The Rimado at times recalls the freedom and variety of treatment of the arch-priest of Hita, though the Muse of Ayala is essentially more serious than that of Ruiz. Nor was Don Pedro content only with his verses and his Chronicle. He was also the author of a practical treatise on falconry, and the care and management of hawks; and his work, one of the most complete that has ever been published on the subject, was annotated by no less distinguished a successor than Beltran de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque.[1]

A statesman and a chronicler, a poet and a sportsman, a soldier and a politician, Pedro Lopez de Ayala is very far from being a mere court scribe; and, if he is best known to posterity by his admirable history of his own times, it must not be forgotten that he was one of the most admired and one of the most admirable among the Castilian gentlemen of his day.[2]

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[1] The best edition of *El Libro de los Aves de Caça del Canciller*, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, is that published in Madrid, 1869, with an introduction by Don Pascual de Gayangos. See also Casiri, *Biblioteca Arab. Hist. Escurial.*, i., 231.

The noble and knightly pastime of falconry was introduced into Spain by the Arabs, having been in all probability adopted by their ancestors from their neighbours the Persians. Falconry is constantly referred to in the Shah Namah of Firdusi. The number of Arabic MSS. treating of falconry in the Escurial would abundantly suffice to prove the oriental origin of Spanish falconry, even if it were not that the vocabulary or technical language of the sport is so largely Arabic that any doubt upon the question is impossible. *Cetreria*, indeed, is from the Latin *accipiter;* but most of the special or technical words connected with Spanish falconry speak plainly of their Arab origin, such as: *Azor*, a hawk; *Alcahaz*, bird-cage; *Alcaravan*, a buzzard or marsh harrier; *Alcotan*, sparrow hawk; *Alfaneque*, Tunis hawk, white with brown spots; *Bahari*, gentle falcon; *Sacre*, lanner or hen harrier; *Alcandara*, perch for hawks; *Alcatraz*, water fowl; *Alcadera*, water fowl; *Alcasubor*, a kind of drum to startle water fowl. Many other similar words are given by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his edition (1869) of Ayala's work, above referred to.

[2] The whole of vol. xix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, 575 pp., is taken up with a biographical memoir and essay, concluded only in vol. xx., of Ayala, by Rafael de Floranes, to which the student is referred, not only for all that can be said or written about the old chronicler, but for a very interesting treatise upon the rise or *restoration* of polite letters in Christian Spain, a restoration in which Ayala no doubt played a very important part.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.[1]

THE Feudal System, which has left so deep and lasting an impression upon social and political life in a great part of Europe, can hardly be said even to have existed in mediæval Spain. The magnates of Castile and Leon, ever warring against their Moslem rivals as a constant duty, and against their Christian neighbours as a no less constant pleasure, did not and could not remain in dignified seclusion in their baronial halls, ruling over their vassals, and administering their estates by undisputed law and custom, after the manner of the great lords of France and England. Engaged in a perpetual crusade against the Infidel on the frontier, the Spanish nobles lived rather in the field than in the castle, ever pushing forward the Christian possessions to the south. Soldiers rather than *seigneurs* for over five hundred years (711-1252), they had neither taste nor leisure for the development of their territorial, as distinguished from their military power. The castle was rather an opportune fortress than a permanent home. The plantation of forests, the great pride of a landed aristocracy, was almost unknown. The Spanish nobles learned all too little from their Arab neighbours. Yet as regards forestry, there was but little to be learned. Tree-planting is not an oriental virtue. It was a feudal aristocracy alone that in western Europe preserved the forests from the ravages of woodmen and waste, of wandering shepherds and fitful cultivation. It was a feudal aristocracy alone that cared for existing timber, and planted trees in every direction, with a view to sport, to profit, and to personal dignity. A manor-house would be but a grange without its surrounding woods; a park would be but a field without its stately trees. And many a mere field in England possesses finer timber than is to be found in tens of leagues of the plain country of Castile. The Arab and the Moor in their best days were gallant warriors and honourable foes. But their social system admitted of nothing resembling a Christian landed aristocracy, nor a society of hereditary classes and orders of men. Under the Commander of the Faithful all good Moslems were socially equal. Official position, indeed, conferred temporary rank, but the Grand Vizier was as liable to the bowstring as the door-keeper of the palace, and a still humbler official might find himself Prime Minister or Commander-in-Chief. Hereditary rank was unknown. Family succession, as it is understood in the West, was rendered impossible, alike by the manners and customs of the people, and by the operation of the Mohammedan law; at this very day there is no such thing as a surname in the whole of Islam.

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[1] A very interesting account of the Cortes of Madrid (1390) is to be found in Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. i. (See also Danvila y Collado's *Poder Civil en España*, *Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, *Sampère.* and *Historia de la Legislatura española*, *Antiquera.* Cardenas *Ensayo sobre la Historia de la propriedad territorial en España* should also be consulted.—H.)

One hundred and twenty-four members or deputies attended, as the representatives of forty-eight cities or burghs. Two members seem to have been usually returned by each town, while Burgos and Salamanca each sent no less than eight, Leon five, Toledo and Soria each four, and some few cities only one. The lord sometimes possessed rights of independent jurisdiction, not only as under the feudal system, as incident to his own territorial authority, but by special grant from the crown, as in the case of municipal towns. Viardot, *Essei*, ii., 112.

When Moor and Christian stood face to face, and strove for mastery in the south-west of Europe, it was not merely a contest between two religions, but between two social systems. The Moslem was a dweller in towns—a builder of palaces, a layer-out of gardens, a director of water-courses. The trees he planted were the olive and the pomegranate, the fig and the almond; orchards rather than forests grew round his dwelling-places. His castles were designed only for war, as impregnable fortresses, and not as noble residences. And the Christian lords, if they did not embellish their cities, established their *casas solariegas* or family mansions by preference within the walls of a town, and disregarded the comfort and material beauty of their country seats, which for long years were never safe from attack, and even from occupation by the Infidel.

For nearly four centuries after the victorious march of Taric and Musa there was a constant ebb and flow in the tide of conquest in mediæval Spain. What was Moorish territory to-day became Christian to-morrow; and when a knight from Leon or Castile had fixed his banner on the battlements of a conquered castle, some new wave from Andalusia or from Africa would sweep over the country and leave him without sod or stone.

In the middle of the tenth century the Christian frontiers had been pushed forward as far south as Simancas. Before the opening of the eleventh century the Moorish arms were carried northward to the Atlantic and the mountains of Biscay. But the tide of victory set strongly towards the south ; and the territory conquered, or recovered as it was called, from year to year from the Arabs, was treated as waste land, and became the property, not of the king, but of the conquerors.

The power of the common soldier who himself acquired the land of the Infidel, and of the municipality who early enjoyed independent government, were also much greater than in any other part of Europe. The Moslems were either slaughtered, or found safety in flight. But the number of the exiles was not usually excessive. The Mozarabic or Christian population, who formed a large share of the commonalty of the Moslem empire, were ready no doubt to welcome their new and Christian masters ; and while religious bitterness as yet lay dormant in Spain, not a few renegades were easily permitted to return to their ancient fold. Towns sprang up or increased in importance in the newly acquired territories, as they were colonised by Christians both *old* and *new*,[1] and endowed with charters by successive kings, long before municipal privileges were known in England or France.[2] The earliest instance is said to be in 1020, when Alfonso V., in the Cortes of Leon, established the privileges of that city.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the only hope for the future, whether as regards art or science or religion, or even humanity itself, lay in the steady growth of the towns.[3] And it was in the number and growing importance of free municipalities that Spain was then, and had ever been, pre-eminently distinguished. Municipal institutions of what may be called the modern type, are of greater antiquity in Spain than in any other country in Europe—Italy, perhaps, excepted ;

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[1] An old Christian was one who had no tinge nor taint of Moslem or Jewish blood in his ancestry. Such a lineage was rare and highly prized. "*Yo Christiano viejo soy*," says Sancho Panza in *Don Quixote* . . . "and that is as good as if I were a count". This was in 1610. In 1210 the line of demarcation between the Moslem, the Mozarab and the Christian was very uncertain in any of the districts south of the Tagus. The Moslem and the Mozarab conversed in a kind of patois, known as Aljamia, a word said by Engelmann in his *Glossaire* to be derived from the Arabic *a'jam* = barbarous.

[2] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., 6 ; Marina, *Ensayo*, i., 180-182 ; Castelar, *Estudios Historicos*, 183.

[3] Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars*, v.

and charters of privilege were common from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Communities were of four classes: *Realengo*, holding of the king; *Abadengo*, holding of some religious magnate; *Solariego*, holding of some nobleman; and *Behetria*, a tenure peculiar to Castile, by which the community, holding under some noble and ancient family, was entitled to choose the individual lord to whom, for the time being, the community should be subject; or, in some cases, to select an administrator or chief at their own absolute pleasure, without regard to family or foundation. Thus the Behetrias were little semi-independent republics within the kingdom, changing their lord-president, within defined limits, at their good pleasure. Yet such changes depended also largely upon the good pleasure of the lord, and were, in practice, not infrequently, accompanied by armed resistance and armed intervention. The superior nobility, moreover, were jealous of these Behetrias, and constantly sought to have them suppressed, that their territories might be added to the possessions of the nearest local magnate.[1]

Rich and influential, bound to a limited and honourable service, but ever ready to harry the Moslem, and to extend their individual or corporate property, the burgesses of Spain were free men, inferior only in rank, but not in personal dignity, to the nobles and knights with whom they stood shoulder to shoulder in the field of battle: and as such it was but natural that they should be independent, bold and haughty to an extent undreamed of by the timid shopkeepers of less favoured lands. Instead of a population of villeins, of artizans, and of tradesmen, the division of classes in town or country was not into noble and base-born, but into *Cavalleros*, or citizens who owned a war horse, and *Pecheros*, or those who fought on foot[2]: and the difference at first was rather one of fortune than of birth. The towns as a rule were fortified. The townsmen were in all cases well trained in the use of arms for its defence. A large tract of country in the immediate neighbourhood belonged to them.

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[1] The celebrated *Becerro de las Behetrias*, a collection of the rights and privileges of every Castilian town that enjoyed the benefits of Behetria, was commenced by order of Alfonso XI. There is an interesting treatise on the Behetrias of Castile in vol. xx. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 406-475, with a number of lists of all the Behetrias, with other catalogues, and full extracts from various ordinances and decrees of councils. Amongst other curious facts, it seems that the Behetrias had their capital or political centre in the town of *Santa Maria del Campo* near Burgos, where the *Juntas* were held, with a chapter house and chancery where the archives were deposited, p. 407. The treatise is by D. Rafael Floranes and was written about 1790, and published in 1852.

[2] Or literally those who offered their *breasts* to the foe.—H.

They appointed their own magistrates, whose jurisdiction excluded that of the king's judges, and whose decrees were executed by their own local authority.[1] Appeals from the municipal *alcaldes* or judges lay to the *alcaldes* of the chief towns of the district, and from them only as a last resort to the royal judges or governors.

In the Cortes of Ocaña, in 1422, the Commons presented a petition that every town and commune should be entrusted with the entire civil and criminal jurisdiction within the limits of the municipality, and that the king should not send a corregidor without the positive request of the inhabitants or local authority. Their petition was granted as of right: but as it was repeated in 1442, we may suppose that the king's judges were already beginning to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the local courts, although the local rights were acknowledged both by king and council.[2] From the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the kings began to appoint *corregidores*—not corregidor, but corregidores, officers with a jurisdiction concurrent with that of the regidores or municipal magistrates. It is uncertain whether Saint Ferdinand or Alfonso X. first appointed these judges. But in all cases an appeal lay first to the Adelantado or governor of the province, and from him *en dernier ressort* to the tribunal or Supreme Court of Royal Alcaldes.[3]

Besides the ordinary and provincial courts, there were many others in the district of each *Adelantado,* presided over by a class of magistrates whose functions are not clearly defined. They were called *Merinos,* and the territory over which their jurisdiction extended, a *Merindad.* Sometimes it was confined to a single village or town; sometimes it extended over many. The *Merinos* were entrusted with twofold powers—with the execution of the sentences pronounced by the provincial tribunals, and with the cognisance of certain offences, such as rape, highway robbery, insurrection, notorious violence, or high treason. The *Merino mayor* was a highly distinguished personage, who sometimes presided over a province, with the same judicial authority as the *Adelantado,* but, unlike that personage, who was both civil and military chief, he had no soldiers at his call.[4]

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[1] As to the Cortes of Zamora, 1274, see Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[2] As to the theoretical and practical independence of the ordinary judges, see Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[3] Lafuente, ix., p. 11.

[4] See Dunham, *Spain and Portugal* iv., p. 70, 1832. As to the *Merinos* in Navarre, and their provincial districts or *Merindades*, see *post*, chapter xxxviii.

The germ of all this remarkable independence of the royal authority is, no doubt, to be found in the policy of Imperial Rome; but in no country in Europe was the principle more fully developed than in Castile.[1] The Spanish citizen is the descendant at once of the unconquerable Cantabrians of the Asturias, and of the unconquered Romans of the Empire. After centuries of oppression and misgovernment,[2] he is at the present day at once the poorest and the proudest man in Europe—the most courtly, the most conservative, and the most silent of the champions of equality and the rights of man. The Spanish people, take it for all in all, is perhaps the best in the world. Idleness is entirely a modern vice in the Peninsula. Too much gold, unwise fiscal policy, and too little liberty in the sixteenth century demoralised the race; but throughout the Middle Ages the Spanish handicrafts-men were recognised as pecularily skilful, especially in cloth weaving and working in metals. They were associated in all the cities and towns in guilds,[3] and usually inhabited separate quarters according to their trade or craft.

But if municipal institutions sprang from Roman seed, representative government was a plant of later growth, introduced from more northern regions by the ruder hands of the Visigoth. However imperfectly the representative principle was found in the early councils under the Gothic kings of Spain, however unfortunate may have been their actual influence upon the fortunes of the sovereign and of the people, it is at least certain that the ancient Councils were *Cortes* for civil as well as for ecclesiastical business; and the preponderating number of Churchmen, which is said by Marina to have been due only to the desire of the kings to have the most enlightened citizens for their councillors,[4] was in any case only the assumption of power in a deliberative assembly by those who are most qualified to exercise it, that is to be seen in every ancient and modern Parliament. Yet the mediæval Cortes is the child of free Cantabria. Ramiro II. in 930, and Ramiro III. in 974, are said to have assembled the magnates of the kingdom to consult upon affairs of State, but the first Council or Cortes of which the acts have been preserved was that held at Leon by Alfonso

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[1] Lafuente, ii., 259-261.

[2] Domiciliary visits were expressly forbidden to the royal officers as being "contrary to the law and custom of Castile," by Ferdinand IV. as early as 1300. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[3] Zuñiga, *Ann. Eccl. de Sevilla*, pp. 74-78; Sempere, *Hist. del Luxo*, i., 80.

[4] Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

V. in 1020. The Council of Coyanza, in 1050, was more distinctly a legislative assembly, but the elective principle had not even then asserted itself in its composition.

These early councils may have, no doubt, fairly reflected the feelings of the nation. But by the end of the twelfth century representation was more direct; and deputies from the towns were included, who asserted the importance, and vindicated the independence of the municipal system. The earliest recorded instance of direct popular representation in Castile is at the Cortes of Burgos, in 1169, when, nearly a century before the more celebrated English Parliament of Leicester, the cities of Castile were represented by burgesses elected by the free votes of the citizens.[1]

In the first instance, these early members of Parliament were elected by the householders of their cities; in later times, the elective franchise was restricted to the municipalities; and from that day the corrupt influence of the crown became paramount.[2] Within a few years, certainly by 1188, the presence of the burgesses or their "deputies chosen by lot,"[3] had become quite a matter of course. Every corporation would seem to have been, at least theoretically, entitled to send a deputy to the great Council of the nation, but the practice was by no means uniform. To the Cortes of Burgos, in 1315, ninety towns sent 192 representatives; to that of Madrid, in 1391, 126 deputies represented fifty towns. And in the important Council of 1348, when the *Siete Partidas* was first published, no single deputy was present from the whole of the province or kingdom of Leon.[4] In the reign of Ferdinand IV. (1295-1312) great progress was made in the power and influence of the Cortes. Not a year passed without a session. Not a maravedi was paid without popular sanction. A standing Privy Council, composed of members of the assembly, accompanied the king when Parliament was not actually sitting.[5] The Commons were ever on the alert.[6]

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[1] Marina, lib. xi., cap. ii.

[2] Capmany, *Practica y Estilo de Celebrar Cortes*, p. 230.

[3] Dunham, iv., 154.

[4] See generally F. Martinez Marina, *Ensayo*.

[5] This was more in the sense of a permanent Recess Committee, whose duty it was to watch over the expenditure and the rights of Parliament generally. In cases of emergency it had the power of calling special meetings to receive reports, or for the purpose of deliberation. In later years this Recess Committee was greatly abused by the sovereigns, who made use of it to confirm customary supply from year to year for long periods, without any formal meetings of Parliament.—H.

[6] In the Cortes of Valladolid, 1295, and Cuellar, 1297, a permanent Council of State (Supreme Council) was imposed upon the king, Ferdinand IV., by the

A still more important Council, that met at the same city[1] in 1351, formulated important laws against the sturdy beggars, who were dealt with in England some 200 years later; fixed the wages of labourers; reformed the abuses of the Behetrias or Free Communities, and confirmed and amended the *Ordenamiento de Alcala*. Throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, until the time of John I. of Castile (1379-1391), when the power of the Cortes is usually considered to have reached the culminating point of its power and influence, the progress was constant, although it was by no means uniform. An immense number of important laws were enacted under John during his short reign of eleven years; and even more significant than the laws, are the debates upon Treaties and Alliances, on Peace and War, on Policies and Principalities, that regularly took place in the Council Chamber. Absolute monarchy was introduced into Spain only by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The absence of a Senate or Second Chamber was a distinguishing feature of the political system of Castile. The privileged orders, the *Ricos*[2] *hombres* or statesmen, the *Hidalgos* or lesser nobility, the *Caballeros* or knights, and the clergy, were all exempt from taxation. Whatever may have been the right of the nobility in earlier days to attend the meetings of the Cortes, it is clear that their sanction was not deemed essential to the validity of any legislative act, inasmuch as their presence was not required in many of the most important assemblies of the nation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3] That the Commons, who alone contributed to the national exchequer, should alone be called upon to collect the national revenue and to supervise the national expenditure, may not have appeared unreasonable. Yet the absence of the hereditary and landed aristocracy from the early Council Chambers was productive of that unhappy want of

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Cortes, tired of the favourites chosen by his father Sancho. This was confirmed and developed by John I. at Bibiesca, 1387, and Segovia, 1390; by Henry III. in 1406, and John II. in 1443. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[1] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-90.

[2] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.*, i., 28. Not *Ricos* = rich; but *Reichs* (Gothic) = of the realm.

[3] It must be remembered that in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Cortes was composed only of deputies from the towns and the members of the King's Council. The bishops and the grandees always sat in the Councils as public functionaries, not as bishops or territorial lords. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, *ubi supra*. (It must be understood that the author here is only referring to the Cortes of Castile. His remarks with regard to the attendance of the nobles and Churchmen in Cortes do not apply to Aragon, Catalonia or Valencia, where the "*three arms*" were always recognised.—H.)

union between noble and simple that proved ultimately so fatal to the liberties of Spain.[1]

But from the death of John I. the powers of the Commons in Cortes assembled began to decline in Castile. In the reign of John II. the number of enfranchised cities came to be limited, not by precedent, but by arbitrary power. Alvaro de Luna was not a man to encourage popular representation; and his submissive sovereign fixed the number of privileged cities at seventeen—Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Granada, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, Zamora, Toro, Soria, Valladolid, Salamanca, Segovia, Avila, Madrid, Guadalajara and Cuenca. This was the beginning of dissolution. But paradoxical as it may appear, the final cause of the ultimate destruction of the power of the burgesses was not that they had become too weak, but that they had become too strong. They perished from excess of independence. In the day of their power they despised the territorial aristocracy. They stood by while the nobles were decimated by the king, and rejoiced at their exclusion from the Cortes. Nor did they even enjoy the political sympathy of the clergy. The priest indeed had little popular influence in Spain before the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.[2] Thus to the Commons of mediæval Castile, as to their ancestors in the days of Strabo, friendship and union were less dear than independence. And their independence was selfishly enjoyed.[3]

The parliamentary powers and political importance of the nobles, and the older legislative power of the ecclesiastics thus became gradually less and less, until by the time of Charles V. neither nobles nor clerics were even summoned to attend the meetings of the Cortes of Castile.[4]

But even before the end of the fifteenth century the power and the independence of the Commons had alike declined. Already in the reign of Henry IV., the king was able to send instructions to Seville that the citizens should elect certain persons named by him to be their representatives in the Cortes. In the last year of the reign of Henry III. the Cortes authorised the king, who so well deserved the confidence of the people, to levy such a subsidy as he might require in the future; a bad precedent, which paved the way for the gradual loss of power and authority by the Commons, under kings less virtuous than the third Henry of Castile. By such encroachments and by such surrenders, and above all by such selfishness, the king's authority became paramount. And the Commons, without allies or sympathisers among the other orders in the nation, the burgesses who had looked on with jealous satisfaction at the destruction of the nobility by Peter and by Ferdinand, were in their turn reduced to insignificance and to impotence by Charles and Philip II. The Cortes became a byword for all that was powerless and contemptible. Nor did the boasted freedom of Castile survive the wreck of its most cherished institution.[1]

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[1] Nothing is said about the Commons at the Council of Toledo, 1135, when Alfonso VII. was recognised as emperor. Where affairs of great magnitude were to be treated, says an *Edinburgh Reviewer*, in 1813 (vol. xxii., p. 607), it is probable that every one was summoned to the Cortes whose concurrence could add weight to their deliberations or give effect to the laws and decisions which they adopted. To obtain additional authority for his government was the object of the king in calling for the advice of his subjects, and it was, therefore, his interest to make his Cortes numerous and respectable. The National Assemblies were always convoked at the spot where the king was at the time holding his court, and not at any fixed capital.

[2] Lafuente, tom. ix., pp. 22-24.

[3] See *ante*, chap. iii., pp. 29, 30.

[4] *None* of the prelates were summoned to the Cortes of 1299 and 1301; neither prelates nor nobles to those of 1370 and 1373, of 1480 and 1505. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 23. As to the powerlessness of the king to legislate without consent of the Cortes, *Id.*, 23, 26, 28.

But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Commons were free and powerful. No tax could be imposed without their consent in the Cortes, and they watched, not only over the granting, and the collection, but over the expenditure of the revenue that was raised by their authority. The judges and officers of the realm, and even the private affairs of the king himself, were subjected to their scrutiny and their interference, and that to an extent which would not be endured even in modern democratic England.[2]

In the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1258, for example, the Commons went so far as to take upon themselves the control of the expenditure of the king's household, and limited the expenses of the royal table to 150 maravedis a day.[3]

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[1] The process of the decadence of parliamentary institutions in Castile followed the usual course. The constituent Town Councils were packed with nominated and hereditary members, and the members of Cortes were bribed enormously by direct grants and by the gift of offices. The rule of payment of members by the towns and the delegation of resident townsmen to the Cortes, fell into desuetude until, by the end of the reign of Philip II., the Cortes of Castile had lost all vigour and independence. So much was this the case that Philip II. insisted upon the *regular* supply being considered as a tribute which Cortes was bound to vote without conditions.—H.

[2] The Cortes of Valladolid, in 1351, fixed the price of a day's labour and the wages of husbandmen and artisans (*Ordenamiento de Menestrales*). The sixth article of the *Ordenamiento de Prelados* has been interpreted as a prohibition to the labourer to change his master. Mérimée, *Don Pèdre*, i., p. 32.

[3] As to the supervision exercised by the Cortes over the persons and morals of the kings as well as their marriages, treaties, etc., from the time of Ramiro III. of

Nor were the affairs of the humbler classes disregarded by these parliamentary administrators. No law could be made or repealed save in the great Council of the nation.[1] Nor was any serious attempt made to evade these constitutional principles until the reign of John II., whose royal proclamation, dictated by Alvaro de Luna, sought to over-ride the authority of the Cortes.

The deputies were elected by the Municipal Councils or *Concejos*,[2] and were not permitted to receive any "favour or gratification" from the king or his ministers during the period of their deputation. The Municipal Councils furnished their deputy with instructions not only verbal, but in writing; and he was thus the mandatory or representative, not of the nation, but of his own municipality.

The members of the Cortes were summoned by writ, almost exactly coincident in expression with that in use in England.[3] The persons of the deputies were inviolable. By the beginning of the fifteenth century a smaller or Privy Council obtained some of the authority which resided in the Cortes. But sitting in permanence, and at the king's court, the members were exposed to powerful influences unfavourable to freedom; and when soon afterwards they came to be chosen by the king himself, they can have exercised but a very slender check upon any arbitrary acts of royal power.

In the reign of Henry III. four delegates of the Cortes, selected by that body, were added to the Privy Council, and their presence was judged to be of the utmost value to the commonwealth.

This royal or administrative Council was reorganised by Ferdinand and Isabella, and although the nominal right of the great nobles and ecclesiastics to a seat was still recognised, the professional jurists or *Law Lords* were practically invested with both the judicial and the consultative functions of the whole Privy Council.[4]

The constitution of Aragon was at once less popular and more liberal than that of Castile. The institutions of the

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Leon (967), see Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, ii., 4. (See also in this respect the essay "A fight against finery" in *The year after the Armada*, by the present editor.—H.)

[1] See protest of Cortes of 1506. *apud* Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 30.

[2] Marina, *Teoria*, ii., 1.

[3] Marina, *Teoria*, ii., 3; Hallam, ii., 28.

[4] *Ordenanzas Reales de Castilla* (Burgos, 1528).

former was rather aristocratic; those of the latter tended to absolute monarchy. The arbitrary power of the king was more effectually checked by the nobles of Aragon than by the Commons of Castile. For in Aragon, gentle and simple, the classes and the masses, stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of their common liberties. And even the great royal victory at Epila in 1348, which crippled the power of the aristocracy, and abolished the formal privilege of union, did not sever the bonds that held together the knight and the burgess, the priest and the landed proprietor, who still maintained their liberties against Peter IV. "The aristocracy of Aragon,"[1] says Señor Castelar, who is certainly no friend to aristocracies, "fought at all times, not for power, but for popular liberty."

In Castile it was far otherwise. For there the Commons and the king were ever united against the nobility; and the nobles fought, not for liberty, but for personal aggrandisement. Thus, on the whole, political life was freer and larger; the people of all conditions were far more united in Aragon than in Castile.

Neither state enjoyed the priceless boon of trial by jury; but in Castile there was no Justiciary, as in Aragon, no *Habeas Corpus*,[2] no writ of *Certiorari*.[3] To the Castilians was given no *General Privilege*, such as was accorded to their neighbours by Peter III. Yet the *Privilege of Union*, the most tremendous power ever conceded by a king to his subjects, had its milder, and indeed its far more practical counterpart in Castile,[4] in the *Hermandades*, or brotherhoods of citizens, which have already been spoken of in treating of the turbulent reign of Ferdinand IV.[5]

Throughout the long and distracted reigns of John II. and Henry IV. the Hermandad was a necessity. With the return of good government and civil order it became superfluous; until at length the orderly and autocratic Isabella reduced turbulent Spain to complete submission, and replaced the old popular brotherhoods of a harassed and distracted country by the "Holy Brotherhood," the well-organised constabulary of a united kingdom.

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[1] Castelar, *Estudios Historicos*, 49, 50.

[2] *Manifestacion*.

[3] *Jurisfirma* or *Firma del derecho*.

[4] The Cortes of Castile became a Congress of Deputies from a few cities, too limited in number and too unconnected with the territorial aristocracy to maintain a just balance against the crown. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 38.

[5] The Hermandad is considered by Señor Vicente de Lafuente as among the *secret societies* of Spain, partaking of the nature of freemasonry. *Hist. de las Sociedades Secretas* (Lugo, 1870), p. 44.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ALFONSO OF ARAGON AND NAPLES.

(1416—1453.)

The early death of Ferdinand I., after his brief but worthy reign of only four years, was in every way disastrous to Aragon. For Ferdinand, who had been one of the best regents of Castile, and one of the best kings of Aragon, was not a man to be easily replaced. And his son and successor, partly from his adventurous disposition, and partly from the force of circumstances, was led to embark once more upon the stormy sea of Italian politics, and to waste the blood and treasure of Aragon and Catalonia in enterprises without interest or advantage to Spain. The record of the reign of Alfonso V. is Italian rather than Spanish; and Aragon, ably administered by Queen Maria during the king's absence beyond the sea, prospered as a country that has no history.

King Alfonso's surname of The Magnanimous is said to have been earned by a refusal to investigate an alleged conspiracy against his succession, when he found himself firmly seated upon the throne; but the first act of his reign was unworthy of so noble a title. Jealous of the influence and popularity of his brother John in Sicily, where he resided as viceroy of the kingdom, Alfonso recalled him to Spain. And the prince, deprived of his honourable occupation in the peaceable administration of an important province, was led, most unhappily, to engage in intrigues and armed interference, in company with his brothers Henry and Peter, in the troubled affairs of neighbouring Castile. It was in Italy, in his maturer years, that Alfonso was at once more magnanimous and more successful in his dealings with his fellow-men; and well deserved the proud title by which he is known in the history of two countries. The years of his personal rule in Aragon were neither many nor glorious; and if it could be asserted, with any show of truth, that he was "the most excellent prince that had been seen in Italy from the time of Charlemagne," [1] the best that may be said of his rule in Aragon is that it was superior to that of his cousin in Castile. In 1420 he turned his attention to his eastern possessions, and undertook an expedition against Corsica and Sardinia, whence he retired the next year without having materially advanced the interests of Aragon. A dispute with the justiciary of the kingdom in the same year was less honourable to the king than to the judge. And it is chiefly interesting in that the Cortes of Alcañiz took advantage of the opportunity to formulate a decree that the justiciary should in future hold his office independent of the king's pleasure.[2] But it was in 1421 that Alfonso undertook the expedition which determined the course of his future life, and had a far-reaching influence on the future history of United Spain.

Joanna of Naples, sometime the affianced bride of John of Sicily—the self-willed queen who had so hastily married his rival, the French Count de la Marche—had soon grown tired of her chosen husband, and had relieved herself of his distasteful presence by throwing him into prison; and then turning her eyes once more to Aragon, she proposed to Alfonso, who had so narrowly escaped being her brother-in-law, that he should become her adopted son, with a right of succession to the crown of Naples. Alfonso accepted the tempting offer, which was confirmed by a formal treaty, sanctioned by a Bull of Martin V.; and despite the expected opposition of the Angevin, he proceeded to establish himself at Naples. His adopted mother, as a matter of course, soon changed her mind; and disinheriting Alfonso as formally as she had previously accepted him as her chosen successor, she adopted as her son and heir his rival and hereditary enemy, Louis of Anjou. Alfonso had already taken possession of Naples (June, 1423), but his position was uncertain and embarrassing; new intrigues were set on foot in Italy; and after war and siege with varying fortune, the king of Aragon was glad to return to Spain. Sailing near Marseilles with his well-equipped fleet, he took advantage of the opportunity to attack and plunder the city. The town was burned. The inhabitants were massacred. But we are told that the relics of St. Louis of Toulouse were piously rescued by the assailants from the general destruction, and were welcomed on board the king's ship with the utmost consideration and reverence. (November, 1423).[1]

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[1] Zurita, lib. xvi., cap. 42.

[2] Like our own judges, *quamdiu se bene gesserint.*

The Infante Peter, left by his brother to maintain the authority of Aragon at Naples, found himself soon reduced to the possession of the two notable forts—the Castel Nuovo and the Castel D'Uovo—so celebrated in the subsequent history of Central Italy; and for twelve years the war was continued with varying fortunes and ever changing policies, leagues and counter-leagues, excommunications, disappointments, lies and intrigues of every kind, Papal, royal, noble, Italian, Spanish and French.

At length, in November, 1434, Louis of Anjou died; and his adoptive mother, who had been faithful to him for nearly twelve years, did not long survive him.[2] René of Anjou, the brother and legitimate successor of Louis, was a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy; and Alfonso was free to assert his claim to the vacant throne. But the Pope was hostile, and the Duke of Milan was chosen to oppose the Aragonese, who had invested Gaeta by land and by sea.[3] The king was an unskilful admiral; the Italian leaguers were favoured by fortune; and the Spaniards were defeated off the coast near Terracina[4] with the loss of their entire fleet. The king and his two brothers, with the flower of the nobility of Aragon, were taken prisoners on that fatal day (August, 1435), and the generous treatment[5] accorded to the captives by the Duke of Milan, is one of the pleasantest features in the story of the long and ignoble struggle for the supreme power in Italy.

As soon as the news of the defeat at Terracina reached Spain, Queen Maria, who was acting as regent of Aragon during the absence of her husband, summoned a Cortes at Monzon, and prepared an army and a fleet to restore the fortunes of her country. But, after a few months captivity, Alfonso and his brother were set at liberty; and the king was able once more to take the field in person. For so rapid were the changes in Italian politics that the Duke of Milan, his captor, had already changed sides on the question of the sovereignty of Naples, and was soon (1439) an ardent supporter of his opponent of two years before. Gaeta was given up to the king of Aragon. René of Anjou, who had been ransomed in 1438 from the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, was now to be opposed at all hazards. Alfonso threw himself heart and soul into the struggle. He purchased the support of the new Pope by a promise of his assistance in the recovery of certain territory, and by a money payment of 200,000 ducats; he conciliated many of the Italian princes by diplomatic concessions; and, if ill fortune at first attended his arms, he was in the end completely successful. On the 2nd of June, 1442, Naples was taken and sacked, and René of Anjou driven into the accustomed refuge of the Castel Nuovo. Escaping thence, he made his way to Florence, where Pope Eugenius was bold enough to embrace the opportunity of formally investing him with the sovereignty of Naples, while his rival of Aragon made his triumphant entry into the city in February, 1443. A Parliament was summoned after the good old Aragonese fashion. The victor granted an amnesty to all his vanquished enemies, a fashion no less good, and by no means so old, in either Aragon or Italy; and he reigned over Naples, in spite of Popes and leaguers, to the day of his death in 1458, as Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and of the Two SICILIES.

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[1] El rey ordenô que con toda reverencia fuese llevada y depositada en su galera tan preciosa joya. Lafuente, viii., 291.

[2] Queen Joanna died in November, 1435.

[3] Some accounts and papers, with lists of ships and names of officers and nobles, with the number of men-at-arms provided by each, for Alfonso's second Neapolitan expedition in 1432, will be found in vol xiii. of *Documentos Ineditos* (1848), p. 477. *Libre ordinari de dates, Fetes per en Bernat Sirvent, tesorer general, desde maig de* 1432 *fins le derrer die de Decembre apres seguent.*

[4] The Isla de Ponza. This battle is the subject of the celebrated dramatic poem of the Marquis de Santillana.

[5] They were treated *no como prisioneros sino como principes.*

Within six months of the conquest, Pope Eugenius had invested him (July, 1443), with the sovereign rights that he had already acquired, and had recognised his bastard son, Ferdinand, as his legitimate child and successor on the throne of Naples. Alfonso, in return for these favours, assisted the Pope in his struggles against his old allies the Sforzas; and he was at once so discreet and so successful that he was soon recognised as the "pacificator-general of Italy" (1446). Every State and every signor sought his alliance or his protection. The Duke of Milan, dying in August, 1447, bequeathed to him the whole of his dominions; and Alfonso's noble and prudent conduct with regard to his succession, raised his reputation still higher in the eyes of all his contemporaries. He not only abandoned the Duchy to Franciso Sforza and his wife, the daughter of the late duke, but he actually assisted them by force of arms against the attacks of the Florentines and the Venetians. Occupied thus worthily in the affairs of Italy, Alfonso turned his back, unhappily, upon Spain. His rule over Aragon was the rule of the absentee; and far from seeking, even after his renunciation of Milan, to turn his steps to the west, he was actually projecting an expedition to succour the Christians in the extreme east of Europe,[1] when the taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II. (29th May, 1453), put an end to all further schemes of protection.

For 1100 years no Spaniard had ruled the world from Rome. Pope Damasus, celebrated for his share in the persecution of Priscillian, had died in 367. An obscure scholar known as Peter of Lisbon, Bishop of Braga, who took the title of John XXI. in 1276, may possibly have been a native of the Peninsula. But his tenure of office did not extend beyond a few months, and his identity is supremely uncertain. Pedro de Luna (Benedict XIII.) himself never entered the Vatican, and was never recognised as Pope by more than a portion of Christendom. But on the death of Nicholas V., Alfonso de Borja, a poor priest of Xativa, who had been consecrated Bishop of Valencia, was elevated to the Papal throne, and assumed the title of Calixtus III. His name, in the Italian form of *Borgia*, descended to his nephew, who had been created a cardinal within a year of the elevation of his uncle Calixtus to the Papacy; and Roderic Borgia, succeeding after a lapse of some thirty years to his uncle's tiara, earned for himself and his family an imperishable notoriety under the name of Alexander VI. The earlier Borgia has no such title to fame. But he took good care of all nephews,[2] Borgias and Valencians at Rome. Nor were the interests of his native province forgotten in his canonisation of the last but one of the titular Saints Vincent—Saint Vincent Ferrer, the most worthy of the nine arbitrators of 1412.

One of the twenty-seven saints of the Romish Church who bear the name of Vincent, of whom nine are natives of Spain, Vincent Ferrer is one of the last of his countrymen who has

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[1] Alfonso, in 1456, proposed to Calixtus III., the Spaniard, Alfonso Borgia, that he should be intrusted with the command of a crusade against the Turks. But Calixtus viewed the scheme with little favour.

[2] The following list of the members of the family of Calixtus, invested with the scarlet hat in half a century, is interesting and instructive :—

1.	Cardinal	Alfonso	Borgia	1444
2.	,,	Roderic	,,	1456
3.	,,	Juan	,,	1492
4.	,,	Cæsar	,,	1493
5.	,,	Juan	,,	1496
6.	,,	Luis	,,	1500
7.	,,	Francisco	,,	1550

attained the honour of canonisation.[1] He was born at Valencia in 1357, and assumed the habit of a Dominican in 1374. At the age of twenty-four he proceeded to the University of Barcelona, and afterwards to Lerida, where he studied with uncommon diligence and success. Invested by Pedro de Luna with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he continued the friend of that distinguished ecclesiastic for many years. On the death of Clement VII., in 1394, and the election of his patron to the anti-Papacy, Vincent repaired to Avignon, and was appointed master of the Sacred Palace by Benedict XIII. He refused a Cardinal's hat, however, at the hands of the anti-Pope; and in 1398 he returned to his native Valencia. Thence he travelled through a considerable portion of Europe, and accepting an invitation from Henry IV. to go over to England, he visited many of the principal towns in Great Britain, and even, it is said, in Ireland, preaching and working miracles, everywhere distinguished by his sanctity, his simplicity and his zeal. In 1406 he endeavoured, though without success, to induce Benedict XIII. to lay aside the Papal tiara, and so to put an end to the great schism in the Church; and travelling all over southern Europe until 1412, he returned to Aragon in time to be appointed, with general approbation, to act as one of the arbitrators, or electors of the kingdom; and the admirable choice of Ferdinand of Castile to fill the vacant throne, is said to be mainly due to his personal influence with his colleagues.[2] After this good work at home, though appointed by King Ferdinand to be his confessor and chaplain, Vincent continued his travels abroad, preaching to the poor, corresponding with popes and kings, and working innumerable well-authenticated miracles of healing the sick. He died at Vannes in Brittany in April, 1419; and his claims to titular sanctity, although rejected by the Italian Popes, Martin V., Eugenius IV., and Nicholas V., were admitted by his fellow-countryman Calixtus.[3]

But although the first of the Papal or Roman Borgias canonised a Spanish saint, he did not favour the Spanish sovereign. He refused to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. An offer made by Alfonso to lead a crusade against the Turks was treated with scant courtesy. Nor did a proposal that Calixtus should assist him in his peaceful negotiations with Navarre and Castile find any favour at Rome. The King and the Pope—the Spaniard at Naples, and the Spaniard at Rome—died in the same year (1458), and a great change came over the affairs of Rome, of Naples, and above all of Aragon. Calixtus was succeeded by the learned Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; and Alfonso by his astute brother John, King of Navarre, who is known in history as John II. of Aragon, the father of Ferdinand the Catholic.

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[1] The most celebrated of the various Saints Vincent was a Frenchman, Bishop of the Islands of the Lerins, opposite the little fishing village so well known to the modern frequenter of the French Riviera as Cannes. For a further account of Spanish saints, see *post*, vol. ii., chap. xlii., and *Appendix* on THE SPANISH POPES AND CARDINALS, and M. le Comte de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie* (Paris, 1889), pp. 893-4.

[2] Zurita, t. iii., f. 71.

[3] The last of the Saints Vincent, moreover, is said to have foretold the elevation of the first of the Borgias to the Papal throne.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

JOHN II. OF CASTILE.

(1407—1454.)

I.—*The Good Regent Ferdinand.*

JOHN II. of Castile was but two years of age at the time of his father's death. Castile was once more in the hands of a Council of Regency. Yet, among the regents of Spain, few, if any, may be compared in excellence with Ferdinand, the brother of the late king, who was associated with the widowed queen in the administration of the affairs of the realm. There was but one fault in his government of the king and of the kingdom—it was all too brief in its duration. Many were the counsellors, and they were not necessarily traitors to Castile, who urged the popular and capable uncle to mount the throne of the infant nephew. Could they but have foretold that the infant would live for fifty years without attaining the wisdom of a man, their demands might have been more strongly insisted upon. But Ferdinand refused to hear them. He acted with the most perfect loyalty to his brother's son, until the day when, unhappily for his own country, he was called to wear the crown, not of Castile, but of Aragon—the fruit of no intrigue,[1] the spoil of no civil war, but the free gift of a free people.

To find another Prince Regent with the conduct and qualities of Ferdinand of Castile, says Señor Modesto Lafuente,[2] we must go back over five centuries, and find him in the distinguished stock of the Ommeyades of Cordova, in the noble and generous Prince Almudafar, the uncle and the protector of the child who lived to reign so gloriously as Abdurahman the Great.

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[1] In July, 1412. See *ante*, chapter xxxii. The administration of the kingdom of Castile was divided between the queen and her brother-in-law; the northern provinces being the share of the former, and the southern that of the latter. The war with Granada (1407-1410), ending with the conquest of Antequera, will be more particularly noticed in the chapter on the wars of Granada. See also Marina, xix., 22.

[2] Lafuente, ix., p. 16. It is agreeable to note and quote such liberal and just appreciation of the hereditary enemy. Señor Lafuente has now been my constant companion in study during nine volumes of his monumental work, and if I have

The Council of Regency that was nominated in Castile on the departure of Ferdinand was not much more harmonious nor much more efficient than such associations usually were in mediæval Spain. But Castile continued at peace for four years under the effective if distant protection of Ferdinand of Aragon. That most worthy prince unhappily died in 1416. Queen Katherine, who, though far from being a second Berengaria, was at least an honest and affectionate guardian, died two years afterwards, in 1418; and a foolish boy of twelve years old was left to the society of dissolute favourites and the control of jealous regents. At the end of 1418 he was married to a daughter of the lamented Ferdinand. In 1419 he took into his feeble hands the reins of government, on attaining his fourteenth year. But from the death of Ferdinand, the real sovereign of Castile was the celebrated Alvaro de Luna, a relation of the indomitable anti-Pope Benedict XIII., and, like that stubborn ecclesiastic, a bold and masterful Spaniard.

II.—*Alvaro de Luna.*

The boldest knight, the ablest intriguer, the most fascinating companion at the king's court was Alvaro de Luna, by common consent the strongest head and the bravest heart in Castile. More skilful in the use of arms, more dexterous in every game and sport than any of his compeers, he was the best horseman, the most graceful dancer, the most accomplished troubadour, eloquent, magnificent, courageous, refined, the most brilliant cavalier in all Spain.[1] And the Castilian historians, partly, no doubt, to palliate the contemptible submissiveness of King John II., are never weary of insisting upon his almost supernatural vigour, both of mind and body. But a man far less bold, whether in the field or in the closet, than the far-famed Constable of

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not always been able to agree with him, I have consulted his pages with much sympathy, and with unvarying respect.

[1] *Alvaro de Luna era el hombre mas politico, disimulado, y astuto de su tiempo.* Quintana, *Vida de Españoles celebres*, supplementary vol. (Madrid, 1833), pp. 1-253; and Lafuente, ix., 24-30. Yet he was short of stature, the victim of premature baldness, and disfigured by small eyes and bad teeth.

Castile, would have had little difficulty in mastering the weak and docile John.

Magnificent in an age of magnificence, Don Alvaro de Luna made display at once his pleasure and his business. The mere enumeration of his titles, as he grew in power and dignity, would fill a page of this history. As Constable of the Kingdom and Grand Master of Santiago, he would already have been the first man in Spain, yet he did not disdain the minor honours of the Dukedom of Truxillo, the Counties of Gormaz, San Esteban and Ledesma, and the lordships of no less than seventy towns or castles.

His brother was made Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of all Spain. His daughter was married to Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, second Duke of Infantado, of the bluest blood in Castile. His retinue was more magnificent than that of the king. His revenues exceeded those of the kingdom. Yet if he was permitted for well-nigh forty years to rule the king and the kingdom of Castile, it does not follow that John II. who obeyed so masterful a favourite, was either a fool or a simpleton. The king, indeed, was at once unwarlike and weak. And these were just the qualities which contemporary Castilians neither understood nor endured in their sovereigns.

Alfonso X., who was one of the greatest intellects of the thirteenth century, was despised by his subjects for his peaceful policy ; and it was not likely that John, who lived in still more troubled times, under the shadow of a masterful regent, and who showed his intelligence chiefly by dabbling in poetry and patronising university professors, should have commanded the respect of his subjects, or even of their patriotic posterity. John, indeed, never had what may be called a fair chance as king. The ocean of political intrigue was deep and stormy from the very day when the loss of his uncle left the ship of State, already labouring in the growing tempest, to his feeble and uncertain command. For ere he had enjoyed his nominal independence for twelve months, his cousin and brother-in-law, Henry, Infante of Aragon, surprised him (July, 1420), at Tordesillas, possessed himself, apparently without let or hindrance, of his royal person, and kept him a close prisoner in his own palace until he had been brought to consent to the marriage of this princely adventurer with his sister, the Infanta Katharine of Castile.

The insolence of the successful adventurer, the pusillanimity of the king, the indifference of Alvaro de Luna, are equally strange and equally contemptible. Henry was rewarded not only with a royal wife but with honours and estates. The king was released from captivity. Alvaro de Luna was restored to favour, and appointed Constable of Castile (1425).

The tale of the long reign of John II. is scarcely worth telling in any detail. Castile, in spite of aristocratic intrigues and unmeaning civil war, grew gradually richer and stronger, and more civilised—in spite of king or constable, rather than on account of any political intelligence on the part of any leader in Castile. Literature, indeed, was encouraged, and men of letters were protected by the court. The life of no man is entirely contemptible. The king, who could not go to bed without the permission of his favourite, extended a generous and not unintelligent patronage to literature and the arts. A student, if not a scholar, and a respecter not only of Alvaro de Luna but of men of learning and science, an appreciative musician, a mild poet, a man fond of good manners and graceful diction, it must ever be remembered to the honour of John II. that he encouraged the Universities of Castile as they had not been encouraged since the days of Alfonso the Learned, and that he endowed them as they had never been endowed before.[1]

But politically the king's life was contemptible in the extreme. Such an episode as that known as the *Seguro de Tordesillas*, more particularly referred to in a subsequent chapter upon contemporary literature, would seem to mark the nadir of royal influence and national honour in Castile. Plots for the destruction of the over-powerful favourite were ever encouraged by the king's weakness, and brought to nought by his timidity. The rebellion of Henry, Prince of Asturias, and the attack on the king at Medina del Campo in 1441; the long civil war which culminated on the battle-field of Olmedo in May, 1445, and the defeat and banishment of Henry of Aragon and John of Navarre; the lamentable death of the constable; the constant vacillation of the king—all these things are neither interesting nor profitable to recall.

Amid all the unimportant and inglorious disputes with Navarre and Aragon, troubles and disturbances in every part of Castile, and the leagues and counter-leagues that characterise this long and dreary reign, one single feat of arms which Spanish historians recall with satisfaction was the victory over the Moors at Sierra Elvira, or Higueruela, in July, 1431. Yet the Christian action or intervention had been suggested only by civil war in Granada; and for many years after the bootless victory, the Moslems ravaged the Castilian frontiers with an impunity unknown for over 200 years.

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[1] *Cronica de D. Juan II.* (*año* 1454), cap. 2; *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, cap. 33. There is a chapter in vol. xix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 435-454, on the *Erudicion del Rey Juan II.*, which is worth looking at.

John II. of Castile, indeed, did one thing, and one thing only for posterity, and that was to leave behind him a daughter who in no way resembled her father. By his first wife, Mary of Aragon, the king had but one son, born in 1425, who succeeded him as Henry IV. The queen died in 1445, and John, it is said, desired to take for a second wife a princess of the royal house of France. His master,[1] however, willed otherwise; and by order of Alvaro de Luna, the submissive monarch espoused Isabella of Portugal, a grand-daughter of King John I. The marriage took place in 1450, and a son, Alfonso, Prince of Asturias, was born in 1453. But two years previously, in 1451, a daughter had been given to the royal pair, who was destined to change the fortunes of Spain, and who received in honour of her high-spirited mother the ever famous name of ISABELLA.

If this Portuguese marriage thus brought everlasting honour to Spain, it sealed the fate of Alvaro de Luna. For the queen of his choice, far from becoming either his agent or his ally, emboldened the king, her lord, to assert his independence of his favourite; and Alvaro de Luna, like many greater and better men, fell by the hand of a woman.

If the great *Hajib* at Cordova was too strong for Sobeyra the queen-mother, the Constable was no match for the superior attractions of Isabella the wife. And at length, delivered by the king, in a fit of momentary vigour, into the hands of the executioner, the favourite died, before his ever-vacillating sovereign could summon up resolution to remit the sentence, on the 2nd of June, 1453. One year only did the king survive the Constable; and on the 21st of July, 1454, was John II. gathered to his fathers.

The one person who stands out in bold relief among his restless contemporaries is, of course, Alvaro de Luna. Yet, superior as he no doubt was to his contemporaries, and to his inevitable successor, to the ungrateful Villena and to the scandalous Beltran de la Cueva, his renown is due rather to his domination of the feeble monarch who abandoned to him for forty years the absolute government of Castile, than to any enormous merits of his own. In spite of much historical glorification, Alvaro de Luna must be considered as a somewhat commonplace favourite, of the more magnificent order; a strong and unscrupulous minister, who ruled a weak and submissive king by the accustomed methods, and who perished in the accustomed manner. His success, great as it was, was purely personal. With almost unlimited power, his administration of Castile was to the last degree disastrous: and his strength of character was never for forty years displayed in the good government of Spain. Magnificent he certainly was, a commanding and an attractive figure in Spanish history, admired by his contemporaries, celebrated in a fascinating *Chronicle*, and ennobled by a tragic and dignified death, he may rank higher among the rulers of his country than Lerma or Godoy, but he is unworthy of a moment's comparison with Almanzor.[1]

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[1] The subjection of the king to the favourite was so complete that it extended to the most personal and private acts of his daily life. *Aun en los autos naturales se dió asi à la ordenanza del condestable, que seyendo él mozo y bien complexionado, y teniendo à la reyna su mujer moza y fermosa, si el condestable se lo contradixiese, no iria à dormir à su cama della.* Perez de Guzman, *Cronica de D. Juan*, ii. (Ed. 1779), p. 602, col. 1. (A similar control over the marital conduct of young Philip on his first marriage was established by his father Charles V. in favour of the prince's governor, Don Juan de Zuñiga, though Philip, unlike John II., soon evaded it.—H.)

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[1] I have derived much information from the *Cronica de D. Alvaro de Luna*, etc., etc., etc., ed. *con varios apendices* by D. Josef Miguel de Flores, *Secretario de la Real Academia de Historia* (Madrid, 1784). Among the *apendices*, printed at pp. 1-112, is The SEGURO DE TORDESILLAS, by Don Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, Conde de Haro, referred to in the text, and also the *Libro del Passo Honroso defendido por el Excelente Caballero Suero de Quiñones*, compiled by Pero Rodriguez Velena and edited by Juan de Pineda, pp. 1-68. The whole is preceded by a good *Prologo*, and makes a most interesting volume. (The archives of the present Count de Haro (the Duke of Frias) contain a great quantity of documents referring to the curious affair of the "Seguro de Tordesillas" by which the "good" Count de Haro guaranteed the safety of all parties to the conference. I am indebted to the Duke of Frias for the abstracts of these documents, of which also a full catalogue has just (1899) been printed in Madrid.—H.)

TABLES AND APPENDICES.

TABLES.

TABLE I.

VISIGOTHIC KINGS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALARIC.

NAME.	Date of Death.	Seat of. Government.
*ATAWULF	415	*Barcelona.*
*SIGERIC	415	,,
WALLIA	420	*Toulouse.*
*THEODORIC (THEODORED)	451	,,
*THORISMUND	452	,,
*THEODORIC	466	,,
EURIC	483	,,
*ALARIC II.	507	,,
GESALIC	511	*Narbonne.*
*AMALARIC	531	,,
*THEUDIS	548	,,
*THEUDISEL	550	,,
*AGILA	554	*Merida ?*
ATHANAGILD	567	*Toledo.*
LIUVA	572	*Narbonne.*
LEOVGILD	586	*Toledo.*
RECCARED	601	,,
*LIUVA II.	603	,,
*WITERIC	610	,,
GUNDEMAR	612	,,
SISEBUT (SISEBERT)	620	,,
RECCARED II.	621	,,
SWINTHILA	631	,,
SISENAND	636	,,
CHINDILA (KINTILA)	640	,,
TULGA	642	,,
CHINDASWIND (KINDASVINTH)	653	,,
RECCESWIND	672	,,
WAMBA	680	,,
ERWIG (ERVIGIUS)	687	,,
EGICA	701	,,
WITIZA (WITICA)	710 ?	,,
*RODERIC	711 ?	,,
THEODEMIR	743	*Tadmir ?*
ATHANAGILD II.	755	,,

*Those kings whose names are marked * died a violent death. Tulga, Wamba and Erwig died in confinement.*

TABLE II.

KINGS OF THE ASTURIAS AND LEON.

NAME.	Date of Accession.
PELAYO	718 ?
FAVILA	737
ALFONSO I.	739
FRUELA I.	757
AURELIO	768
MAUREGATO	774
BERMUDO I.	788
ALFONSO II.	791
RAMIRO I.	842
ORDOÑO I.	850
ALFONSO III.	866
GARCIA	910
ORDOÑO II.	914
FRUELA II.	923
ALFONSO IV.	925
RAMIRO II.	930
ORDOÑO III.	950
SANCHO	955
RAMIRO III.	967
BERMUDO II.	982
ALFONSO V.	999
BERMUDO III.	1027

On the death of Bermudo III. in 1037, the kingdom of Leon fell to Ferdinand I. of Castile, who had married Sancha, a daughter of Sancho the Great.

Their second son Alfonso succeeded, in 1065, to the crown of *Leon*, and in 1072 to that of *Castile*, as ALFONSO VI.

TABLE III.

THE HOUSES OF ARAGON AND BARCELONA.

ARAGON.		BARCELONA.	
Sancho the Great *of Navarre.*	*ob.* 1035.	Bera (first Count)	801-820.
Ramiro I.	1035-1063.	?	
Sancho Ramirez	1063-1094.	Wilfrid, *the Hairy* (first Hereditary Count)	898-906.
Peter I.	1094-1104.	?	
Alfonso I., *el Batallador*......	1104-1134.	Ramon	992-1017.
Ramiro II., *the Monk*	1134-1137.	Berenguer Ramon I.	1017-1035.
		Ramon Berenguer I.	1035-1076.
		Ramon Berenguer II., *Cap d'Estopa*	1076-1082.
		Berenguer Ramon II.	1076-1096.
		Ramon Berenguer III.	1096-1131.
Petronilla	1137-1162. =	Ramon Berenguer IV.	1131-1162.

Alfonso II.,
1162-1196.

Peter II.,
1196-1213.

TABLE IV.

THE UNIONS AND SEPARATIONS OF THE CROWNS OF LEON AND CASTILE IN THE XI., XII. AND XIII. CENTURIES.

	Leon.	Castile.	United Kingdom.
Bermudo III., *ob. s. p.*	1027-1037	......	......
Ferdinand I.	......	1033-1037	......
,, ...	......	......	1037-1065
Sancho II.......	......	1065-1072	......
Alfonso VI.	1065-1072	......	......
,, ...	......	......	1072-1109
Urraca	......	......	1109-1126
Alfonso, *el Emperador*	......	......	1126-1157
Sancho III.	......	1157-1158	......
Ferdinand II.	1157-1188	......	......
Alfonso III. (VIII.)	......	1158-1214	......
Alfonso IX.	1188-1230	......	......
Henry I.	......	1214-1217	......
Berengaria	......	1217	......
Saint Ferdinand	......	1217	......
,, ,, ...	......	......	1230

TABLE V.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROYAL HOUSES OF CASTILE AND ENGLAND.

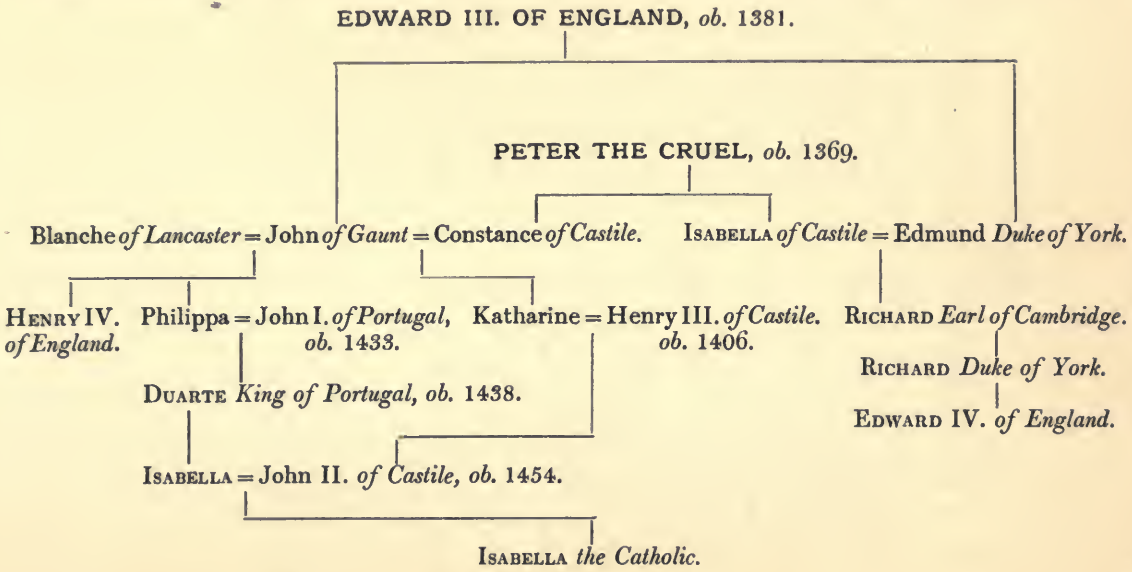
EDWARD III. OF ENGLAND, *ob.* 1381.
PETER THE CRUEL, *ob.* 1369.
Blanche *of Lancaster* = John *of Gaunt* = Constance *of Castile.*
ISABELLA *of Castile* = Edmund *Duke of York.*
HENRY IV. *of England.*
Philippa = John I. *of Portugal*, *ob.* 1433.
Katharine = Henry III. *of Castile.* *ob.* 1406.
RICHARD *Earl of Cambridge.*
RICHARD *Duke of York.*
EDWARD IV. *of England.*
DUARTE *King of Portugal, ob.* 1438.
ISABELLA = John II. *of Castile, ob.* 1454.
ISABELLA *the Catholic.*

TABLE VI.

THE KINGS OF CASTILE AND ARAGON.

FROM THE UNION OF LEON AND CASTILE.

Saint Ferdinand III. 1230-1252.		James I., *the Conqueror*, 1213-1270.
Alfonso X., *the Learned*, 1252-1284.		Peter III., *the Great*, 1270-1285.
Sancho IV., *the Bravo*, 1284-1295.		Alfonso III., 1285-1291.
Ferdinand IV., *the Summoned*, 1295-1312.		James II., 1291-1327.
Alfonso XI., *the Judge*, 1312-1350.		Alfonso IV., 1327-1336.
Peter, *the Cruel*, 1350-1369.		Peter IV., *the Ceremonious*, 1336-1387.
Henry II., *of Trastamara*, 1369-1379.		John I., *the Hunter*, 1387-1395.
John I., 1379-1391.		Martin, *the Humane*, 1395-1412.
Henry III., *the Invalid*, 1391-1407.		Ferdinand I., *the Honest*, 1412-1416.
John II., 1407-1454.		Alfonso V., *the Magnanimous*, 1416-1458.
Henry IV., *the Impotent*, 1454-1474.		John II., 1458-1479.
Isabella, *the Catholic*, 1474-1504.	=	Ferdinand II., *the Catholic*, 1479-1516.

Joanna, *the Crazy*,

Queen of Spain.

TABLE VII.

THE AMIRS AND CALIPHS OF CORDOVA.

Abdur Rahman I.	755-787
Hisham	787-796
Hakam	796-821
Abdur Rahman II.	821-852
Mohammed	852-886
Al Mondhir	886-888
Abdullah	888-912
Abdur Rahman III. *an Nasir*	912-961
Hakam II.	961-976
Hisham II.	976-1012
Anarchy	1012-1094

Seventy-nine Moslem Sovereigns are given in M. de Mas la Trie's "Trésor de Chronologie," as having reigned in Spain between 1012 *and* 1094.

THE ALMORAVIDES.

Yusuf ibn Tashfin	1094-1107
Ali ibn Yusuf	1107-1144
Tashfin ibn Ali	1144-1147
Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Yusuf	1147-1149

THE ALMOHADES.

Abdul Mumin	1149-1163
Yusuf ibn Yacub	1163-1199
Mohammed an Nasir	1199-1214
Yusuf	1214-1224
Abdul Wahid	1224-1225
Al Mamun	1225-1232
Abdul Wahid II.	1232-1238

TABLE VIII.

THE MOSLEM KINGS OF GRANADA.

Mohammed I., *al Ahmar*	1238
Mohammed II., *al Amir*	1273
Mohammed III.	1302
An Nasir	1309
Ismail I.	1314
Mohammed IV.	1325
Yusuf I.	1333
Mohammed V.	1354
Ismail II.	1359
Abu Saïd	1360
Mohammed V. (*second time*)	1362
Yusuf II.	1391
Mohammed VI.	1396
Yusuf III.	1408
Mohammed VII.	1423
Mohammed VIII.	1427
Mohammed VII. (*second time*)	1429
Yusuf IV.	1431
Mohammed VII. (*third time*)	1432
Mohammed IX.	1445
Ismail III.	1454
Ali, *Muley abul Hasan*	1466
Mohammed X., *abu Abdullah* (Boabdil)	1482
Mohammed XI. } together	1484
Abdullah *el Zagal*	1487
Mohammed X. (Boadbil) alone	1491

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE BASQUES.

THE modern Basques, who call themselves *Escualdunac*, a word which is usually taken to signify either "eaters of acorns" (cf. *Don Quixote*, part i., chap. xi.), or "dwellers in oak forests," number at the present day, in the French and Spanish *Basque Provinces*, some 630,000 souls; in Guipizcoa, 180,000; in Biscaya, 150,000; in Alava, 10,000; in Navarre, 150,000; and in various parts of south-western France nearly 150,000. In addition to these, no less than 200,000 Basques are said to have emigrated during the last fifty years to South America, more especially to the Argentine Republic, where, from their great bodily strength, good conduct and industry, they are ever highly appreciated as colonists.

Among the many curious books that have been published about the Basques may be mentioned *L'Histoire des Cantabres, par l'Abbé d'Iharce de Bidassouet* (Paris, 1825). The Abbé, whose sense of humour is on a par with his critical faculty, proves, quite to his own satisfaction, that the Basque was the language of Noah, if not of Adam; that Europe was entirely colonised by Basques, whose language—"*la première langue de toute l'Europe*"—has influenced the geographical nomenclature of every European country; but whose descendants are now only to be found in the Basque Provinces of France and Spain. "*Je sarais tenté de croire*," says the Abbé "*que les Phéniciens seraient une Colonie basque.*" After such temptations, it is impossible to attach very much importance to the Abbé's etymologies, though he is evidently a good Basque scholar, and appends an elaborate Escualdunac grammar to his work.

"*Escualdunac*" signifies, according to him, not "acorn-eating," but "ambi-dextrous". The word "Celts," says this author, is but a curruption of the Basque *Zelaites*, the people of the plain. "Iberians," is from *Ibayens*, the people of the rivers (as to which see Lafuente, i., Introduction, p. 15); and the Celtiberians, as M. d'Iharce would have it, have nothing to do with either the Celts or the Iberians, but are the *Zaldiberians*, "the people of the fine horses". At one time I thought that the entire book was an elaborate *jeu d'esprit*, a satire upon the extravagance of etymologists, as for instance, when *Noah* is said to be the Basque for *wine*, and is connected with the patriarch's unhappy inebriety; but the dedication to the king of France renders such a theory untenable.

Yet, among, the vast number of books about the Basques which have come into my hands, some, it must be admitted, are very nearly as absurd as that of M. de Bidassouet.

A work of a very different character is *L'Histoire des Basques*, par A. Baudrimont (Paris, 1867)—a methodical treatise, dealing chiefly with matters linguistic. But even M. Baudrimont is not free from extravagance. *La langue Basque,* says he, *est, à n'en plus douter, la langue la plus ancienne qui soit parlée sur le globe,* p. 179; and he further maintains that the Basques are the common stock whence the Semitic and Indo-European families of language have their origin (p. 157)—and finds distinct traces of Basque influence in the language of the Polar regions! (164), and in the ancient languages of South America (pp. 154 and 176).

As to the etymology and signification of the word *Basque* = belonging to the forest? and *Escualdunac,* see a very learned disquisition in Marrast's edition of W. von Humboldt's *Recherches sur les habitants primitifs de l'Espagne* (51-55). In the same work (pp. 148-155) may be read an examination of the near relationship of the Basque language with the languages of America, a subject of much interest, but obviously beyond the limits of this work. Humboldt and Marrast may, however, be taken to have established the following propositions: (1) The ancient Iberian names of places are derived from the Basque; (2) the Basque was the language spoken by the primitive inhabitants of the entire Peninsula of Spain; (3) the Iberians, a great people, spoke Basque, or some language akin to it.

There is no such thing as a (special) Basque alphabet. Basque is written in ordinary Roman characters. The special Iberian or Keltiberian alphabet is akin to the Phœnician and other Levant alphabets; it is evidently derived from them, but still awaits an interpreter. See Professor E. Hübner's *Monu-*

menta Linguæ Ibericæ (Berolini, 1893). For a short notice see *The Classical Review*, Oct., 1894, p. 357; and *ante*, p. 3.

The word *Escualdun*, says Mr. Wentworth Webster, is evidently connected with the name of the language, *Escuara*, *Euscara*, which *may* mean "way of speaking," so that *Escualdun* would mean something like "men of the *Escuara*, men who use the *Escuara*"; other peoples would be to them like the "Barbaria" to Greeks or Romans. The oak and acorn-eating etymologies are absurd.

There are very few Celtic roots surviving, according to Humboldt, in Spanish names of places. What is far more remarkable is that no certain traces of Celtic are to be found in *Basque*.[1] But the word Gallicia is Celtic; and so are the two rivers *Deva* on the north coast with the same root as the English *Dee;* and the *Tambre* on the north-west akin to our English *Tamar;* and Brigantium, or Finisterre, embodies the Celtic *Briga*, so common in Gaul. But the equally common Celtic forms *Dunum, Magus, Vices* are not found in Spain. As to Ebro and its possible derivation from some such Celtic root as *Aber*, see *ante*, p. 2 note 4.

The following purely Iberian or Basque roots in Spanish local names are given by Humboldt:—

(1) *Uria* a town; *e.g.*, *Beturia*, Vittoria; *Graccuris*, town of Gracchus.

(2) *Ili*, a town, seen in composition with *berri*, new, in *Iliberis* or Elvira; also in *Bilbilis*, the town at the foot of the mountain, and *Bilbao?*

(3) *Mendi*, a mountain; in Monda, Mendiculeia and Mendigorri.

(4) *Navarra*, Navarre; *Nava*—plain near a mountain (as *las*

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[1] It must be observed that this point is involved in considerable obscurity. I have identified a large number of words in Basque which are clearly traceable in the Irish form of Celtic; and the language also positively abounds with words of evidently direct Sanscrit origin. The latter set of words usually express primitive ideas, the former set more often indicating some amount of civilisation. It is possible, therefore, that the words that have reached Basque from a Sanscrit root through Celtic were grafted upon the language by their Celtic neighbours; or in some cases even by the Romans who had incorporated similar words in Latin. The words, however, reaching Basque apparently direct from Sanscrit may more probably have been introduced by the Iberians, who were conceivably a people speaking a Sanscrit tongue. I account for the rarity of Celtic place-names and the frequency, all over Spain, of Basque place-names, by the presumption that the Basques, being the primitive inhabitants of the Peninsula—perhaps from the stone age, had given names to the localities before the arrival of the Celtic-speaking races. Although there are many Celtic and Sanscrit *words* in Basque the *construction* of the latter language is quite distinct.—H.

navas de Tolosa); *Arra* is a very common Basque termination; *Nav-arra* is thus, the plain near the mountains. Humboldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 27, 29, 41, 47, and W. Webster, *Spain*, p. 72.

As to the area inhabited now or in historic times by a Basque-speaking people, and the difference between French and Spanish Basques, see *Revue d'Anthropologie*, iv. 29 (Paris, 1875), where there is also a valuable map by M. Broca. See also the excellent map of Prince L. L. Bonaparte; and A. Hovelacque, *La Linguistique* (Paris, 1876), pp. 87-89. Some very interesting notes on the origin of the Basques and their language will be found in *La Navarre Française*, par M. Bascle de la Grèze (Paris, 1881), vol. i., chaps. ii. and iii.

It may be mentioned in passing that many great Spaniards have been undoubted Basques, as for instance, Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier; and among the moderns, Señor Sarasate.

On the Basques, their country, their language, and their origin, an immense number of books have been published. In addition to those already cited the following may be consulted with advantage :—

Historia de las Naciones Bascas, J. A. Zamacola, 3 vols., 8vo (Auch, 1818); Humboldt, *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über dié Urbewohner Hispaniens* (Berlin, 1821), and the French translation, which notes by A. Marrast (Paris, 1866); *Le pays Basque, sa population, sa langue,* pas M. Francisque Michel (Paris, 1857); *Dissertation sur les Chants Heroiques des Basques,* J. F. Bladé (1866); *The Alphabet, Antiquity and Civilisation of the Basques,* by Erro y Aspiroz, translated by E. Erving (Boston, 1829); *Basque Legends*, by Rev. W. Webster (London, 1877); *Chants Populaires du pays Basque,* Salaberry (Bayonne, 1870); Cénac-Moncaut, *Histoire des peuples Pyrenéens* (Paris, 1874); *La Langue Ibérienne et la Langue Basque,* W. J. Van Eys, in the *Revue de Linguistique* (vii., 1874); José Manterola, *Cancionero Vasco* (3 vols., San Sebastian, 1877-80); Vinson, *Les Basques et le pays Basque* (Paris, 1882); and Campion, *Grammatica*, etc., 1886.

Larramendi, *El Imposible Vencido* (1729); *De la Antiguedad y Universalidad del Bazcuence en España* (1728), and *Diccionario trilingue del Castellano, Bazcuence y Latin* (1745).

A very interesting chapter on Basque proverbs, referring to various collections, will be found in Francisque Michel's *Pays Basque* (Paris, 1857); M. Michel being himself the editor of the most ancient and most remarkable collection, that of Oihenart (1657). See also *Notice sur les Proverbes Basques receuillis par*

Arnauld d'Oihenart, et sur quelques autres travaux rélatifs dans la langue euskarienne, par M. G. Brunet (Paris, 1859).

See in fine, the excellent articles *sub tit.* Basque, in *Chambers' Encyclopædia,* and in the *Grande Encyclopédie* recently published in Paris by L'Amirault.

My best thanks are due to the Rev. Wentworth Webster for most kindly looking over the proofs of this little *Appendix,* and thus giving to it a value which it would not otherwise have possessed.

APPENDIX II.

ON CUSTOMARY CONCUBINAGE, OR BARRAGANERIA.

THE absence of any social stigma attaching to illegitimate birth in Spain is a remarkable feature in the domestic life throughout the Middle Ages, and has left an impress upon the national laws, which may be seen at the present day.

As the increase of the Christian population was a matter of prime necessity in the kingdom of northern Spain, and as the destruction of able-bodied men in battle was constant and excessive, it is not surprising that the marriage laws or customs should have been favourable to a modified form of polygamy, under the name of *Barraganeria*, by which every man, whether married or single, might entertain a *barragana*,[1] or lawful concubine, without scandal or reproach.

The children of the *barragana* shared in the division of the family estate with those of the more formally wedded wife; and, in the absence of more legitimate children, they succeeded to their father's inheritance in preference to any of his collateral heirs. And thus it came to pass that birth out of wedlock was for long accounted no disgrace in Castile; and even the children of *celibate* priests, by the customary *barragana*, succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers as a matter of right.

See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxii., p. 66.

The legal recognition of the concubine is, no doubt, of Moslem suggestion. Four wives were lawfully maintained by the Moor. It would have been hard if the Christian should have been less favoured, in this or any other respect, than his hated rival in Spain.

Even in the last edition of the Civil Code of Spain (as amended by the law of 1889, tit. v., arts. 108, 141) the question of legitimacy and illegitimacy is treated in a spirit very different from that to be found in the laws of most other European countries at the present day.

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[1] The Barragana was defined in the early Spanish law as "*Uxor inferioris conditionis et sine jure dotali*".—H

Thus (1) a child is presumed to be legitimate whose father has expressly or tacitly recognised him as such, as soon as the parents are actually married. (2) The children of unmarried parents are divided into two classes: First, *natural* children, and, second, *illegitimate* children, of which the former, being the offspring of persons who, at the time of the conception of the child, were free to marry, may at any time be recognised and declared legitimate by either father or mother, even by will, and take their place by the side of their brothers and sisters actually born in wedlock, (3) The marriage of father and mother, moreover, of itself legitimises all their natural children, recognised at the time as such.

A most interesting treatise on the meaning, origin, nature and legality of *Barraganeria* in Spain and in Navarre will be found in La Grèze, *Hist. de Navarre,* vol. ii., chap. iii. The author gives the following definition (pp. 189, 190) of the institution: "*Union sans solemnité, mais licite, autorisée, réglementée par ce droit du moyen age*". The *barragana*, according to him, was not a concubine, but a wife *infra dignitate uxoris.*

As to clerical *barraganeria*, see H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (1867), more especially pp. 204, 299, 324.

"Illegitimacy," says Richard Ford—*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxi., pp. 119, 120—"was no bar to the throne of Spain." . . . John of Gaunt claimed the crown of Castile, *jure optimo*, as was inscribed on his epitaph in Old St. Paul's—see Dugdale, *St. Paul's,* 91—in right of his wife Constance, the natural daughter of Peter the Cruel—nor was that plea ever demurred to. The same system ran through private families. To cite the two most powerful and celebrated of Andalusia; the dukedom of Medina Sidonia was first conferred on the descendant of *Guzman el Bueno,* himself a bastard, and extended by Henry IV. in 1460 to the illegitimate branches in default of legitimate.

Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, first Marquis of Cadiz and rival of the Guzman, was in the same predicament.

Natural children indeed were considered no loss to a family —rather a gain, hence the old Spanish term *hijos de ganarcia.*

See in fine, *Las Siete Partidas, Partida* iv., *Titulos* xiii., xiv., xv.

APPENDIX III.

THE LAWS OF THE VISIGOTHS.

I have already spoken in the text (pp. 90, 94) of the introduction and promulgation of the Visigothic Law in Spain, and referred in a note on p. 94 to some of the authorities from which I have derived my information. I would now add to them the *Ensayo* of D. Francisco Martinez Marina (Madrid, 1834), and Masdeu, *Hist.*, etc., tom. xi., pp. 78-142. There are a few words upon the subject in Guizot's *History of Civilisation*, in lectures 3, 6, 10 and 11 ; and *Ed. Review*, lxviii., 382.

Upon the question of slavery under the Visigoths, a good deal that is valuable will be found in Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vols i. and ii. ; and in Ponthier, *de Stat. Servorum*.

I have also, in speaking of the *Siete Partidas* and the legislation of Alfonso X. (p. 270) referred to the *Fuero Juzgo*, the name by which the laws of the Visigothic code had come to be spoken of in mediæval Spain.

Alone of modern nations (says Mr. H. C. Lea in *Historical Review*, ii., 567) Spain can trace her laws back to Rome in almost unbroken descent. The Visigoths established their domination at a time when Roman civilisation was still an object of reverence; they adopted to a great extent its legal formulas, and their code in its comparative completeness and orderliness, offers the strongest contrast to the contemporary and subsequent Leges Barbarorum with which it is commonly classed. Elsewhere, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and the other founders of the European Commonwealths treated the Roman institutions with contempt, and regarded their own crude and barbarous customs as alone worthy of obedience by free-born warriors. Even in Italy the Lombards imposed their legislation on their subjects to the virtual extinction of the Imperial jurisprudence.

In Spain, even the Arab conquest did not overthrow the Visigothic code. Preserved by the Christian refugees in the mountains of Asturias, when its language grew obsolete, it was translated into romance, and as the *Fuero Juzgo* it continued to be the law of the reconquered Peninsula. The code of the Visigoths was the first collection of laws published in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire; and as such, if not for its own intrinsic merits, it is worthy of the study at once of the jurist and the historian. The reader who would most fully and fruitfully study its provisions is referred to the works of Dahn and Daroud Oghlou, described on p. 94. But a few notes upon the character of the early Visigothic laws may be allowed in this place.

The social conditions revealed by the *Leges Visigothorum* are in the highest degree remarkable.

The Goths alone were classed as *Nobiles*, divided into *primates* and *seniores*, or lords and gentlemen; the entire native or Hispano-Roman community were *Viliores*, who were further divided into *Ingenui* or free men, *Liberi* or freed men, and *slaves*, the depth of whose degradation was differentiated by the titles of *boni* and *viles*.

The condition of these last, as I have already pointed out on p. 116, was supremely wretched. Even manumission was not irrevocable; death alone released the slave of the Visigoths from the hard hands of his oppressors.

The slave of any degree who presumed to marry a free woman was burnt alive, and his accomplice shared his doom. For seduction or even for rape, no more dreadful punishment could be found.

The great twofold division into *Nobiles* and *Viliores*, easy enough, however impolitic, for some time after the Gothic invasion, became, of course, increasingly difficult to maintain. Yet it was not until the time of Recceswindth, less than fifty years before the route of the Guadalete, that marriage between Roman and Goth was made lawful in Spain.

But long before that time, no doubt, the social divisions had become, not by any means effaced, but very greatly confused; and there would seem to have been low class as well as high class Goths, and high class Hispano-Romans, all valued, so to speak, according to different scales, for the purpose of paying or receiving pecuniary compensation for crime. For among free men of every degree, Goths or *Viliores*, the punishment for every crime was graduated, not by the importance of the offence, but by the importance of the criminal. An injury committed by an *honestior* upon an *honestior* was atoned for by a payment of ten gold pieces; for a similar injury to an inferior he would pay four. For a common assault upon a freeman a slave received 200 stripes; a freeman paid five sous.

From her birth to the age of fifteen a woman was, for the purpose of compensation, valued at only one-half the price of a man; from fifteen to twenty at the same as a man; from twenty to forty at one-sixth less than a man; and after forty at even less than half. Yet the rights of women were by no means disregarded. A lady could not marry without a dower, but it was paid not by, but to her parents, and by her future husband.

The Visigothic code contains various provisions of a sanitary character of the highest interest, and what is called in France the *Police de mœurs* existed in a modified form in seventh century Spain.

But the doctors were apparently the most hardly treated of any class of the community. It is not surprising that medical studies were, as we have remarked, by no means popular in Christian Spain.

Not only were the fees for special and general services of the most modest proportions—the specified reward for the successful couching a cataract would astonish Mr. Nettleship or even Dr. Pagenstecker—but the doctor who failed to cure his patient was entitled to no remuneration whatever, and was liable to an action at law by the next-of-kin if the case terminated fatally. In case of blood-letting, especially, if the early Sangrado withdrew so much that the patient died, he became the slave of the heir-at-law of the patient!

As regards the judiciary and officials of the law, the Spanish Visigoths are said to have been more influenced by the Roman system than any of the other German peoples.

The supreme jurisdiction in matters civil and criminal resided in the *dux* or *comes*, who was at once Commander-in-Chief and Chief Justice within his district. The regular judges were considered to be his deputies; but there were also royal judges invested with a special jurisdiction, with the title of *pacis assertores*.

The administration of justice was at once free and public. False testimony was severely punished. Torture was freely administered to servile witnesses, but its abuse was condemned. The unjust judge was both whipped and compelled to make restitution. Inferior to the death penalty, *Decalvation*, or judicial scalping, and *exoculation* were regularly prescribed.

Imprisonment was rare, and was usually in a monastery or religious house. But the rod was the universal remedy, the prescription and the cure for all evil-doing.

No hay tal razon, says the Spanish proverb, *que la del baston,* a rule of life or of law, as Sancho Panza has it, "as old as King Wamba". Yet even stripes could be avoided by a money payment, and the law prescribed with the utmost nicety the pecuniary importance of every blow, according to the rank of the condemned person, and that of the injured party. The *honestior* or the Goth paid for his peccadilloes in cash, the *vilior persona* offended only at the expense of his back.

One law for the rich and another for the poor is taken at the present day as the greatest possible denial of justice, but in Visigothic Spain there was not only a different law for every purse, but almost for every person.

APPENDIX IV.

ETYMOLOGY OF ANDALUSIA.

The word *Andalusia* has been derived from *Vandalusia*, or country of the Vandals, by Danville, *Etat de l'Europe*, etc., pp. 146-7. But Casiri's derivation from *Handalusia*, which signifies in Arabic: The region of the evening or of the West, the *Hesperia* of the Greeks, enjoys the honour of the approval of Gibbon (cap. li). Cf. *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii., 327.

The etymology of Andalusia, says my friend Mr. John Ormsby, is no doubt somewhat of a *crux*, but it seems that on the whole, the balance of evidence is on the *Vandal* side. The name is now unquestionably Arabic. The question is how and whence it got into that language. There is no doubt that the Vandals under Gaiseric crossed over from southern Spain into Barbary; and Spain would therefore be for many generations the "*Land of the Vandals*" to the Berbers of North Africa, and would be spoken of by them as such to the next conquerors, the Arabs. We cannot tell into what shape *Wandal* or *Vandal* may have been twisted by six or seven generations of Berbers; but it was from them that the Arabs, in all probability, got the name, and, having got it, fixed it in their literature.

Conde in his translation of Sharif al Edrisi's *Geography of Spain*, is distinctly in favour of *Vandal;* though, with his usual candour, he admits that it is quite open to any one who prefers it to adopt Casiri's views.

But, according to Conde, "*Andalus*" does not mean "region of the evening" but "*pais obscuro y tenebroso*". Conde, however, was not a very profound scholar.

Ibn Hayyán, Ibn Khaldún, and others derive Andalusia from Andalosh, a nation of barbarians—*i.e.*, the Vandals—who settled there, a derivation adopted by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, i., 1.

Ibn Sàid, however, derives the word from *Andalus*, son of Tubal, son of Yafeth, son of Núh, who settled in Spain, and gave his name to the country, in like manner as his brother Sebt, son of Yafeth, peopled the opposite land, and gave his name to the city of Sebtah (Ceuta). Ibn Ghâlib is of the same opinion, but makes Andalus to be the son of Yafeth.

Don Pascual's note (44), vol. i., p. 322, is the last authority I shall permit myself to quote on this etymological question: "The Arabs, more than any other nation, corrupted proper names by accommodating them to the genius of their language; whenever a letter was of difficult pronunciation they suppressed it, especially if commencing the word. The V of Vandalucia was, therefore, omitted as well as the last two letters, which made the word too long. Furthermore, as a proof that the word *Andalus* is only a corruption of Vandalucia, it is not uncommon to find in Spanish MSS., even of the fifteenth century, the word Vandalucia employed to designate that portion of Spain which was still in the hands of the Moors," and see Abulfeda, ed. Paris, 1848, ii., 236.

Andres Bernaldez, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and who wrote a chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella, long inedited (MS. Bib. Eg. in Brit. Mus., No. 306, fol. 784), but printed at Granada, 1850, and again at Madrid, 1870, says: "Y el adelantado de Vandalucia, con gran caballeria salió à recibir à los Reyes à la peña de los enamorados".

As to the name of *Al Jezirah*—the island—by which Andalusia was frequently spoken of by the Arabs, see Gayangos, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 19, 20. The modern town of *Algeciras*, opposite Gibraltar on the mainland of Spain contains a similar etymology, as to which see Gayangos, vol. i., p. 317.

APPENDIX V.

SAINT GEORGE.

The development of George of Cappadocia into a Christian martyr and champion, and the patron of England, is one of the enigmas of history. An infamous and an extortionate tax-collector, a fraudulent food contractor, a fugitive from justice, he amused his exile by the accumulation of a library, and "embracing, with a real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism," he was raised by a faction to the episcopal throne of Athanasius (A.D. 356). His cruelty, his avarice, his insolence were no less remarkable in the Arian Primate of Egypt than in the peculating bacon contractor of Syria; and George met his death by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the outraged population of Alexandria, a few days after the death of Constantine.

See Gibbon, chapter xxiii. Dr. Peter Heylin, *History of St. George* (1633), a most interesting book in many ways, and well worth reading; and the Rev. J. Milner's *Critical Enquiry into the Existence and Character of St. George* (1792), a thin tract of fifty-nine pages, is also worth consulting.

The rival of Athanasius, says Gibbon, was dear and sacred to the Arians; and the seeming conversion of these sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic Church; while the ignorant Crusaders no doubt brought back his name and his fame to England. See Ammianus, xxii., 11; Gregory Nazianzen, orat. xxi., 382-390; Epiphanius, *Hæres*, lxxvi., 912; Tillemont, *Mem. Ecclésiastiques*, vi., 713.

Yet even this hardly explains the fame and sanctity of St. George. The story, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, of another St. George, a soldier and a good Catholic, is only stranger than that of the Arian Archbishop, in that the George who is said to have been put to death by order of Decius in 303, at Nicomedia, is a personage absolutely unknown to history. For a full account of the legend, see Rohrbacher, *Eglise Catholique*, v., 643, and Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, liii., 2-4.

The dragon is first heard of in connection with the legend of St. George in Voragines' *Legenda Aurea.* See Dr. Peter Heylin, *op. cit.*, cap. ii. See also S. Baring Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (1869), where, in the course of a long disquisition, pp. 266-316, the learned author speaks of George as a Christianised Tammuz = the Sun = the Phœnician Adonis. Cf. Ezekiel viii. 14.

No less an authority than Dr. Döllinger (Von Kobel, *Conversations of Dr. Döllinger, trans. Gould*, ed. 1892, pp. 130-132), considers the accepted legend or history of St. George as *purely fanciful.*

It was in 1222 that the Parliament of Oxford prescribed the commemoration day of St. George as a national holiday for all England, in recognition of the services rendered by the saint to the English Crusaders in Palestine.

But long before St. George was chosen as the patron saint of the Order of the Garter, long even before the institution of the Order sacred to his military prowess and his Christian martyrdom in Aragon, an Imperial Order of St. George is traditionally said to have been founded by no less ancient and no less distinguished a personage than Constantine the Great, in 313, and the Emperor himself is counted as the first grand master!

However little Constantine may have understood of the Orders of chivalry, and however fanciful may be his institution of this military confraternity, it is at least certain that this *Imperial Order of St. George* existed until the death in 1699 of Guy Comnenus, Duke of Durazzo, the last survivor of the House of Comnenus, and titular Prince of Macedon, when the Order was reformed by Innocent XII., and practically ceased to exist.

See *Histoire des ordres militaires, ou des Chevaliers,* par Basnage, vol. i., 66-72 (Amsterdam, 1721), vol. ii., 61-70.

The knights of this Order of St. George are also known as *Angéliques* or *Dorés;* and the grand mastership is, since 1699, hereditary in the family of the Farnese Dukes of Parma.

See Giustiniani, *Istoria* (Venice, 1692); and Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques,* etc., vii., 13-23.

Thus the uncertain saint has at all times and in all countries been a most popular patron for orders of chivalry. A Burgundian Order of St. George was founded as early as 1390 (Helyot, *Ordres Monastiques,* tom. vii., p. 154).

The Emperor Frederick III. founded the military religious Order of St. George in 1468, and obtained from Paul II. a Bull of incorporation; and Alexander VI. approved and confirmed the foundation in 1494 at the instance of Maximilian: Julius II. and Leo X. also patronised this Order, which was raised to the highest pitch of honour and dignity in the sixteenth century; but it decayed and perished among the religious wars of Germany. This Order was known as that of St. George of Carinthia.

Paul III. established a military religious Order of St. George of Ravenna, which was abolished by Gregory XIII. As to the supposed Order of St. George of Genoa, see Helyot, *Ordres Monastiques*. The Russian Order of St. George was founded by Catherine II., 1769, as a purely military Order.

There is also a Bavarian Order of St. George, referred to by Helyot in his *Ordres Monastiques*, vii., 358.

APPENDIX VI.

The curious confusion arising from a two-fold or three-fold system of numeration of the Alfonsos of Castile and Leon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see *ante*, pp. 232, 233) seems to me to call for some special notice.

Dunham, Romey, and other foreign historians and chronologists, among whom the Comte de Mas La Trie must ever be spoken of with the greatest respect, calls Alfonso *el Batallador*, of Aragon, Alfonso VII. of Leon and Castile, as in right of his wife Urraca; and thus numbers Alfonso *el Emperador* as VIII. as his successor; and keeps Alfonso III. of Castile out of the Leonese or *Junto* numeration altogether.

Thus and in other ways confusion has been introduced, and by imperfect explanation still worse confounded.

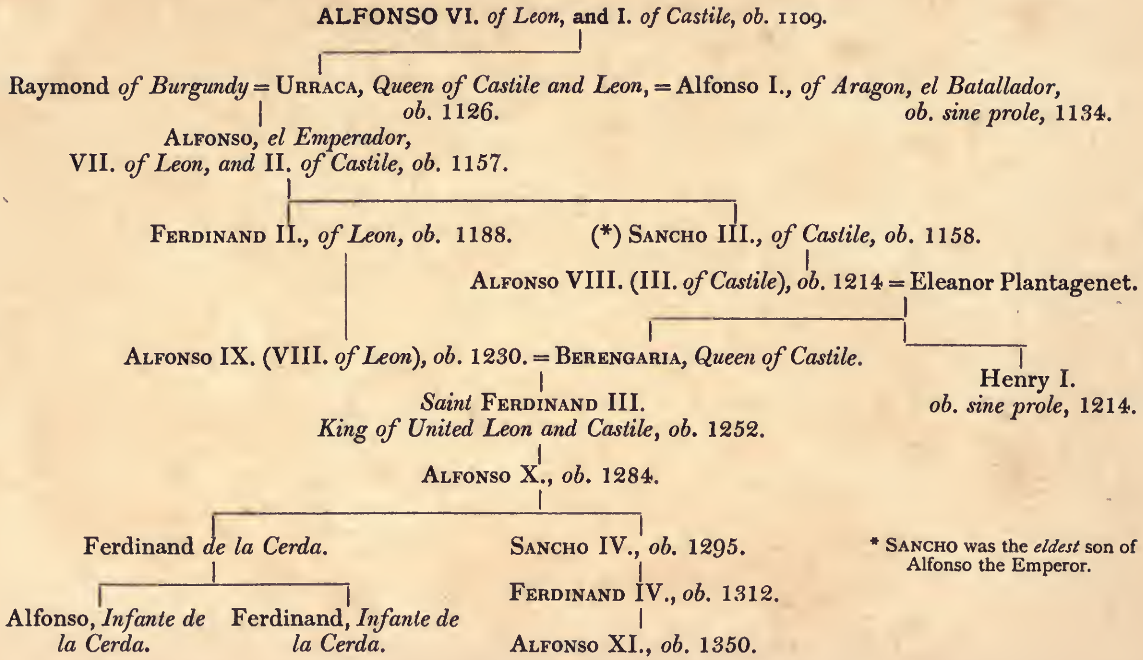
The following, it is to be hoped, is plain:—

Alfonso VI. of Leon was the *first* of the name to reign in Castile; and, as in the course of the next 150 years, the two kingdoms were sometimes under the same king, though not formally *united*, and sometimes each with a king of its own, the plan has been generally adopted by modern Spanish writers of numbering the Alfonsos of Leon and of Castile consecutively, without regard to the kingdoms over which they reigned, taking no account of the Alfonsos of Aragon. Thus Alfonso *el Sabio*, was Alfonso IV. of Castile, and Alfonso IX. of Leon, but Alfonso X. of the consecutive Alfonsos, by which title he is always known.

And it is by this numeration that the late King of Spain was Alfonso XII., and his present Majesty *q. D. g.* is Alfonso XIII.

The *Genealogical Table* on the next page will, I trust, make everything clear.

THE ALFONSOS OF LEON AND CASTILE


ALFONSO VI. *of Leon*, and I. *of Castile, ob.* 1109.
Raymond *of Burgundy* = URRACA, *Queen of Castile and Leon*, *ob.* 1126. = Alfonso I., *of Aragon, el Batallador*, *ob. sine prole*, 1134.
ALFONSO, *el Emperador*, VII. *of Leon, and* II. *of Castile, ob.* 1157.
FERDINAND II., *of Leon, ob.* 1188.
(*) SANCHO III., *of Castile, ob.* 1158.
ALFONSO VIII. (III. *of Castile*), *ob.* 1214 = Eleanor Plantagenet.
ALFONSO IX. (VIII. *of Leon*), *ob.* 1230. = BERENGARIA, *Queen of Castile.*
Henry I. *ob. sine prole*, 1214.
Saint FERDINAND III. *King of United Leon and Castile, ob.* 1252.
ALFONSO X., *ob.* 1284.
Ferdinand *de la Cerda.*
SANCHO IV., *ob.* 1295.
FERDINAND IV., *ob.* 1312.
ALFONSO XI., *ob.* 1350.
Alfonso, *Infante de la Cerda.*
Ferdinand, *Infante de la Cerda.*

* SANCHO was the *eldest* son of Alfonso the Emperor.

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