involving the greater part of Spain. In 195 the elder Cato had to put down a rising in the country, in which the Celtiberi took the lead, but he offered them favourable terms, and showed himself particularly anxious to conciliate them. His Spanish campaigns were so far a success as to establish the Roman power east of the Ebro, and along with peace and order came better administration and a development of the resources of the district now known as Hither Spain (Hispania Citerior). Cato is said to have disarmed the inhabitants of this part of Spain, and to have even compelled the Spaniards, from the Pyrenees to the Guadalquivir, to pull down their fortifications, but still the smouldering fires of rebellion were not trampled out. Some few years afterwards, in 179 and 178, we find the father of the famous Gracchi governor of Hither Spain, and fighting with the troublesome Celtiberi, winning victories over them, capturing one hundred and three of their towns, and then securing his conquests by showing himself as great in peace as he had been in war. He seems to have anticipated in Spain the work attempted by his sons in Italy, making grants of land on favourable conditions to the poorer natives. Much must have been accomplished by Gracchus towards producing contentment with the Roman rule, but in the west, in the valleys of the Douro and the Tagus, and in the region known as Lusitania, answering to Portugal, there seems to have been almost incessant fighting, and what one general won another general often lost.

Mummius.

Under Mummius, a governor of Further Spain (154),—the Mummius who in 146 took and sacked Corinth,—the Romans suffered a disastrous defeat from the Lusitanians, of which the Celtiberi took prompt advantage, and there was another Roman defeat, with a massacre of Roman citizens in one of the towns of the interior.

Marcellus.

These losses were avenged in 152 by Claudius Marcellus, grandson of Hannibal's illustrious antagonist, during whose command in Spain Corduba is said to have been established as a Roman colony. Marcellus was too humane and considerate to the Spaniards to suit the ideas of the Roman senate, which we may well suppose to have been greatly provoked by the trouble which Spain had given them. The new governors, Lucius Lucullus and Servius Galba, by a combination of perfidy and extortion, drove the country into a most formidable revolt, with which the Romans, whose hands were tied by the Third Punic War, could not for some time effectually deal.

Viriathus.

A guerilla chief of Lusitania (which had been specially ill-treated by the Romans), Viriathus, headed the revolt, and from 147 to 140 army after army of the Romans was cut to pieces; the formidable Celtiberi had joined his standard, and Spain seemed well-nigh lost to Rome. A treaty was even extorted by Viriathus from one of the Roman commanders, declaring the independence of the Lusitanians, and it is said to have been acknowledged and accepted by the senate. The brave man, however, could not hold together his fickle Spanish levies, and he fell at last by native treachery, encouraged by or at least connived at by the Romans. The Celtiberi, however, were still in arms; the strong city of Numantia, the capital of the Arevaci, the most powerful Celtiberian tribe, witnessed more than once the defeat of a Roman consul before its walls (141 to 140). The besieging army became despondent and demoralized, and its commander, supplies failing him, had to retire, leaving his sick and wounded behind him. It was humiliation indeed for Rome to be thus baffled by a half-barbarous country-town of no great size, in the interior of Spain. She now sent her best general, the younger Scipio, into the country, and in 133 the capture and destruction of Numantia gave Rome a hold over the inland district of Spain which she had never before had (see SCIPIO). The province of Hither Spain was rendered safe from Celtiberian incursions. Shortly afterwards Lusitania and its towns, after some obstinate fighting, were reduced to submission by the consul Junius Brutus, and thus Spain, with the exception of its northern coasts, the home of its most barbarous tribes, was nominally Roman territory. There must have been by this time a considerable mixture of Roman blood with the native population; there were several towns—Carteia, Valentia, Tarraco especially among them—with a Latin municipal constitution and with a number of Latin-speaking people. The growth of Roman civilization had fairly begun, and it was promoted by a commission sent out by the senate after Scipio's victories. Piracy in the Mediterranean was checked in the interest of native Spanish commerce, and the Roman administration generally favoured the development of the country's prosperity. The extensive mountain districts were still the shelter of banditti, but, on the whole, order was well maintained, and Spain from this time flourished under Roman rule. It abounded in flocks and herds, and had a number of thriving populous towns, particularly on its Mediterranean shores. It seems, too, that it was never oppressed and impoverished by some of those forms of tribute,—such as the exaction of a tenth of the produce,—under which many of Rome's provincials smarted. Fixed money payments, and military service in the Roman armies, were the chief burdens which the conquered Spaniards had to bear. Rome on the whole, by comparison, dealt tenderly with them. Several of their towns had the privilege of coining the silver money of Rome; and the flourishing cities along the Mediterranean coast, which were so many centres of civilization to the adjacent districts, were treated rather as allies than as subjects. In these parts the Romanizing process went on rapidly and under favourable conditions, while the west and the north and a great portion of the interior remained barbarous, and Roman merely in name. In 105 it seemed possible that the Romans might be utterly swept out of the country; in that year a great wave of invasion passed over the inland regions from the Cimbri, who had destroyed two Roman consular armies on the Rhone. Spain to a great extent was cruelly ravaged, and Rome was too seriously menaced by the barbarians nearer home to be able to protect her. The country was saved by the brave Celtiberi, whose determined resistance forced the Cimbri back upon Gaul.

Sertorius.

Again in 97 and 96 we hear of a rising of these same Celtiberians against Rome, and of campaigns in the interior, in which for the first time we meet the name of the famous Sertorius, a name almost as conspicuous in ancient Spanish history as that of Hamilcar or Hannibal. For the remarkable episode of the eight years' wars of Sertorius in Spain against the generals of Sulla and against the great Pompey, and his almost successful attempt to render the country independent of the home Government at Rome, we must refer the reader to the article SERTORIUS. It was to his skill in winning the hearts of the Spaniards, more even than to his very considerable military ability, that he owed his successes. Rome was financially most grievously embarrassed by this tedious and difficult war, and Spain, with its Roman civilization and its Latinized towns on the Mediterranean, suffered severely. By the year 71 the country had been reconquered by Pompey for Rome, and the two provinces of Hither and Further Spain were reorganized under a somewhat more stringent rule, the tribute in some districts of the latter province being raised, and some of the towns in both losing their municipal independence. In 61 the great Cæsar was governor of Further Spain, and carried the arms of Rome into the

imperfectly conquered regions of the west and north-west, the country of the Lusitanians and of the Gallæci, and with a fleet from Gades is said to have occupied a point in the north-west answering to Coruña. But he was too short a time in Spain to reduce these barbarous regions to permanent subjection, and the work still remained to be accomplished. In the civil war with Pompey in 49 he was in Hither Spain, winning decisive victories over Pompey's generals, Afranius and Petreius. Once more, in 45, he had to enter Further Spain at the head of an army, and to defeat his rival's sons at Munda, somewhere probably in the neighbourhood of Cordova, a victory which made him undisputed master of the Roman world. Spain, however, the northern part at least, was not thoroughly subdued—"pacified," in Roman phrase,—till the reign of Augustus, whose ambition it was to advance the boundaries of empire to the ocean. In the north was a wild and warlike highland population, a collection of tribes known as the Astures in the north-west, and their neighbours the Cantabri to the east, between a mountain range and the coast, "the last," as Gibbon says (*Decline and Fall*, ch. i.), "to submit to the arms of Rome and the first to throw off the yoke of the Arabs." Cæsar's flying visit in 61 had done something to cow these tribes, but ever and again they would assert their independence.

Augustus.

In 27 the emperor Augustus himself penetrated their strongholds, and he passed two years in Spain; decisive victories were won over the northern tribes, and their towns and villages were converted into military posts in the occupation of the legionary veterans. Such was the origin of Saragossa, a modern survival of the name of Cæsar Augusta then given to an old town on the Ebro, henceforth an important Roman centre in Spain. The successes of Augustus were commemorated by the same title bestowed on other ancient Spanish towns, Bracara Augusta (Braga) in the north-west, Asturica Augusta (Astorga) still further north, Emerita[1] Augusta (Merida) on the Guadiana, which became a Roman city of the first class,—"the Rome of Spain," as it has been called,—and Pax Augusta, perhaps the modern Badajoz. The work of consolidating the Roman dominion in Spain was completed in 19 by his friend and minister, Marcus Agrippa, and now at last the "Cantaber non ante domabilis," as Horace has it, acknowledged Rome's supremacy.

Roman conquest complete.

Spain was fairly conquered; the warlike peoples of the north were cowed and broken; the south was thoroughly Romanized, the population having adopted Latin manners and the Latin tongue. Some of the best specimens of Roman architecture, some of the finest Roman coins, have been discovered in the cities of Spain, which from the time of Augustus became rapidly prosperous, and were famous for their schools and their scholars. Spain, in fact, was more completely Roman than any province beyond the limits of Italy. The country which had hitherto harassed Rome with incessant risings and insurrections was at last peaceful and contented, a happy land which for the next 400 years may be said to have had at least no military history.

Under Augustus the old political constitution into two provinces, Further and Hither Spain, of which the Ebro had been the boundary, was set aside, and exchanged for a division into the three provinces of Lusitania, Bætica, and Tarraconensis, sometimes spoken of as the "Three Spains." Of these Bætica, so called from the Bætis (the Guadalquivir), and answering nearly to Andalusia inclusive of Granada, was the smallest; Tarraconensis, which embraced Hither Spain and the interior and all the north, was much the largest. Lusitania corresponds to modern Portugal. The centres of administration were—for Tarraconensis, Tarraco; for Bætica, Corduba; for Lusitania, Emerita Augusta. We may see, in part, on what principles this division of the country was adopted. Lusitania and Bætica had tolerably distinct features, the latter having been from the earliest times the most civilized and the most tractable district of Spain. North of the Tagus came a much wilder region, the home of excitable and warlike tribes; this in great part, so as to include the country of the Celtiberi, was thrown into Tarraconensis, which, and also Lusitania, were under the empire "Cæsaris provinciæ," the governors of them being nominated by the emperor. The smaller and quieter province of Bætica was a "senate's province"; and its finances were under the charge of the old republican official known as a "quæstor." The governor of Tarraconensis seems to have held decidedly the first position in the country; he had as a matter of course the greater part of the army under his command, and he was usually, it may be presumed, an ex-consul. The governorship, indeed, of this province must have been one of the best appointments in the emperors' gift.

Spain under the empire.

Under the empire Spain was divided for the general purposes included under the head of local administration into fourteen "conventus," that is, provincial parliaments or assemblies made up of a union or combination of so many communities or townships. The town or city which was the centre of each "conventus" was the place where justice was administered to the inhabitants of the district, and would, so far, answer to our assize-town. In Tarraconensis there were seven of these "conventus,"—Tarraco, New Carthage, and Cæsar Augusta being the chief; in Bætica, four,—Gades and Corduba being of the number; in Lusitania, the least populous and civilized district, three—Emerita Augusta the principal, Pax Julia, perhaps the modern Beja, and Scalabis not far from the mouth of the Tagus. Pliny (the elder), to whom we are indebted for these details, enumerates 360 cities in Spain in the time of Vespasian. These included every variety of township,—the "colonia" which originated in a camp or a settlement granted to old soldiers, the town whose inhabitants had all been made Roman citizens in the fullest sense ("municipium" in Roman phrase, under the empire), the town that had the inferior franchise ("jus Latii"), the "free town," which might at any time have its freedom taken from it, and the "tributary" town ("civitas stipendiaria"). Spain presented types of all these various communities till Vespasian, it is said, gave them all the "jus Latii," which opened an easy door for the provincials to the full privileges of citizenship. A native-born Spaniard might now rise to the imperial dignity, as Trajan did; and the Spaniards generally must have felt themselves to all intents and purposes Romans.

The provincial constitution of Spain was revised and modified to some extent in the 2d century in the time, it would seem, of the Antonines and Hadrian. The vast and unwieldy province of Tarraconensis was subdivided, and the divisions distinguished as Gallæcia (the north-west), Carthaginiensis with New Carthage for its capital, Tarraconensis (the old name being then still retained for one division) with Cæsar Augusta for its capital, and the Balearic Isles, which had always been regarded as Spanish territory. Constantine accepted this arrangement, including, however, in it a strip of the western coast of Africa, part of the old Mauritania, which, from an ancient Moorish town, Tinge (Tangier), took the name of Tingitana among the later Roman provinces.

Spain in 256 A.D. was invaded and ravaged by the Franks; Tarraco was almost destroyed, and several flourishing towns reduced to mere villages. It was, how-

[1] Emerita, from "emeriti," soldiers whose term of service had expired,—in fact, "veterans from the legions."

ever, but a passing storm,—the only interruption, in fact, to the peace and prosperity of the country during 400 years. With the departure of the Franks Spain soon recovered herself, and when we next hear of her early in the 5th century we find commerce and civilization well established, and cities ranking among the finest and richest in the Roman world. In 409, however, the year of the sack of Rome under Alaric, a tide of barbarism swept over the country; Suevi, Alani, Vandals "ravaged," says a writer of the time, quoted by Gibbon (ch. 31), "with equal fury the cities and the open country." Spain, long so quiet and prosperous, was brought down to the lowest depth of misery. At this point the precise order of events is not quite clearly ascertainable. It seems that in 414 or 415 a Visigothic host entered Spain under their king, Ataulphus, Alaric's successor by election, who had married Placidia, the sister of Honorius, emperor of the West, son of the great Theodosius. Ataulphus was now Rome's ally, and fought as her champion in Spain against Suevi and Vandals. A new era seemed to have opened, and we may see in this alliance a prophecy of the ultimate fusion of Latin and German peoples,—the beginnings, in fact, of the modern world. To Ataulphus, who was murdered at his new capital Barcelona, succeeded after a brief interval in 415 Walia, a warlike and ambitious chief, who may be said to have established the Visigothic or West-Gothic kingdom in Spain on the ruins of the old Roman province. Walia concluded a treaty with the emperor Honorius, and, putting himself at the head of his brave Goths, in a three years' war he destroyed or drove into remote corners the barbarous hordes of Vandals, Alani, and Suevi that had settled down in the country. Spain, thus reconquered, was nominally subject to Rome, but soon became really independent and began to be the seat of a Christian civilization.

Section II.—Spain under the West-Goths.

The West-Gothic or Visigothic kingdom in Spain, founded by Walia, lasted for nearly three centuries, from 418 to 711, when it fell before the Arab or Saracen invasion. Toulouse was its headquarters; here was held the court of the West-Gothic kings, while Toledo became the centre of administration for Spain. The relations of the West-Goths with Rome varied from time to time: sometimes they were her friendly allies, sometimes, nominally at least, her dependants; sometimes they rose in revolt and were her open enemies. Walia, after his victories in Spain, professed to restore the country as once more a Roman province to the rule of the emperor Honorius, and again we hear of the oppressions of imperial officers and functionaries, which seem to have been even more intolerable to the Spaniards than the strifes and wars of Vandals, Alani, and Suevi. Nor were these troubles finally ended; Walia had by no means thoroughly consolidated his conquests; and the West-Gothic kingdom in Spain cannot be said to have been firmly established till the 6th century. In northern Spain, in Galicia more especially, the Vandals and Suevi still had settlements, and were quarrelsome neighbours. In 428 they routed an allied army of Romans and Goths, and overran the southern districts, plundering some of the chief cities on the coast before they quitted the country for Africa under their king, the famous and savage Genseric. The Suevi yet remained, but at the solicitation of the Romanized Spanish provincials of the southern cities, who felt themselves threatened with utter extinction by these barbarians, Rome offered its intervention, which was effectually carried out by the king of the West-Goths, Theodoric II., grandson of Alaric. Crossing the Pyrenees in 456, as Rome's representative and ally, Theodoric crushed the Suevi by a decisive victory in the north-west of Spain, near Astorga. It would seem that from this time the Suevic power was confined within the limits of Galicia, which became in fact a mere dependency of the West-Gothic kingdom. Theodoric's victories, so far from strengthening Rome's hold on Spain, greatly weakened it; and this was what he himself really intended. He did not even make a pretence of restoring the country to the imperial rule. His brother and successor Euric[1] (466–485) persistently defied the empire, completing Theodoric's work, and establishing by further successes in Spain, carried into its remotest western districts, the West-Gothic kingdom in that country in full and avowed independence. Euric was something more than a successful warrior: he aspired to be a legislator, and he had the "customs of the Goths" recorded in writing and embodied in a code. The work was continued by his successor Alaric II. in the beginning of the 6th century, under the superintendence of civil and ecclesiastical lawyers, and it was based mainly on what was known as the Theodosian code (see Breviarium Alaricanum). The result was that a thoroughly Roman character was impressed on the West-Gothic legislation, and that Roman institutions, ideas, and manners long survived in Spain. With the conversion of the West-Goths from Arianism to the orthodox faith in the latter part of the 6th century, under their king Recared (586–589), came in new influences and a great accession of power to the ecclesiastics. Recared was the first Catholic king of Spain. With the zeal of a convert he set himself to root out Arianism, burning Arian books of theology and frightening his Arian bishops into the profession of the Catholic belief. He seems to have been thoroughly successful, and richly endowed churches and monasteries grew up in every part of Spain. Pope Gregory the Great acknowledged the good work of Recared by a gift of sacred relics. Unhappily the seeds of bigotry and religious intolerance had been sown, and with the beginning of the 7th century came a savage persecution of the Jews, multitudes of whom had long been settled in Spain and had thriven, as elsewhere, by trade and industry. The Jew up to this time seems to have found in Spain a particularly safe and comfortable home. Now, at the instance of a West-Gothic king, he was so cruelly[2] oppressed and persecuted that even the Catholic clergy interposed to some extent on his behalf. A decree for the expulsion of the entire Jewish community was promulgated on one occasion with the sanction of the council of Toledo; but the Jew still held his ground in Spain and prospered and grew rich, and his presence in the country contributed to the rapid spread of Arab conquest in the next century.

Theodoric.

Recared.

The Jews in Spain.

Among the most conspicuous features of the West-Gothic kingdom in Spain we may note elective[3] monarchy, the great and indeed overshadowing power of the church, an aristocracy which had in its hands a very large part of the administration, a uniform code of laws for all Spaniards, with both a distinctly Roman and ecclesiastical impress on it. The church on the whole seems to have been the guiding spirit, and the Spanish bishops and clergy were held in high esteem for their learning and virtue. It was they who mainly inspired the legislation of the great national councils of Toledo, which to the West-Goths of Spain were what the Witena gemot was to our Saxon ancestors. The church was the centre round which the whole of society moved. In this fact we see foreshadowed much of the future of Spanish history, the supremacy of ecclesiastics, the extraordinary powers of the Inquisition. It had from the first its evil side in tendencies to bigotry and persecution, but it was at the same time the means of giving Spain laws very far above the average ideas of a barbarous people,—laws indeed which in many respects were rational, humane, enlightened, often combining the wisdom of old Rome with the kindly spirit of Christianity. The West-Gothic code recognized the equality of all men in the eye of the law; such barbarisms as the assessment of a man's value according to his rank and position, or judicial combat or trial by ordeal, find no place in it. It had certainly great merits; its weakness seems to have been in leaving too much scope on one side to the king, on the other to the clergy. Between the royal and the ecclesiastical powers individual freedom was liable to disappear. There was a danger, too, of human thought and speculation being wholly absorbed into theology. In anything like general literature Spain seems to have been decidedly poor during this period, while among her neighbours in the south of Gaul Greek philosophy was a fashionable study, testifying to the presence of considerable intellectual activity. Spain under its West-Gothic kings and its Catholic clergy may have been a fairly well governed country, but long before the end came there must have been languor and decay amongst its people. After the conquest of Africa by Belisarius for the emperor Justinian, it seemed possible that the country might be once again annexed to the empire as a province; and an unsuccessful candidate for the throne,—which, it will be remembered, was elective,—went so far as to conclude a treaty of alliance, and actually to cede to the troops of the empire several towns on the Mediterranean coast. That a Gothic king should condescend to ask support from such a quarter, and allow himself to be spoken of as in any sense the empire's vassal, marks a very decided decline in the old independent spirit of the nation. We may certainly assume that repeated disputes as to the royal succession had undermined its power for resistance, and the numerous and not very well affected Jewish colony in their midst must have been a permanent source of danger. By the end of the 7th century northern Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar had passed wholly under Saracenic dominion. The struggle had been long and hard, and the West-Gothic kings, who had recovered the towns on the southern coasts, and even made some small conquests on the African shores, had done something to prolong it; but in 710 a little band of Saracens landed unopposed at Gibraltar, returned in safety, and urged their brethren at once to cross the straits and take possession of the country. In the following year (711) Ṭárik, at the head of about 5000 Saracen volunteers, entered Spain. A great Gothic army under Roderick, "the last of the Goths," was routed in the neighbourhood of Xeres on the Guadalete, and the Arab or Saracenic conquest of Spain, with the exception of the mountainous districts of the north, was accomplished with amazing ease and rapidity. Anything like a vigorous national resistance seems to have been too much for the Spaniards, enervated as they were by long familiarity with Roman civilization.[1] (W. J. B.)

Features of West-Gothic rule.

Decline and fall of the West-Gothic power.

Section III.—Mediæval History.

The Arab invasion of Spain had been intended by Músá, the governor of Africa, to be merely a plundering raid (compare Mohammedanism, vol. xvi. p. 573). A single unexpected success turned it into a conquest. Ṭárik had already made himself master of Cordova and Toledo when Músá arrived from Africa and rewarded his too successful lieutenant by consigning him to prison. But his military ability was too valuable to be dispensed with, and he was speedily released to aid in completing the conquest. Within four years the whole Peninsula, except the mountainous districts in the north, had submitted to the invaders. It was now Músá's turn to suffer from the jealousy of his superior. Recalled to Damascus by Walíd, he arrived just after the caliph's death, and at once fell under the displeasure of his successor Suleimán. His sons, who had been left to rule in Spain, were involved in his disgrace, and the father died broken-hearted on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Few things in history are more remarkable than the ease with which Spain, a country naturally fitted for defence, was subdued by a mere handful of invaders. The usual causes assigned are the misgovernment of the Visigoths, the excessive influence enjoyed by the clerical caste, internal factions and jealousies, and the discontent of numerous classes, and especially of the Jews. All of these doubtless co-operated to facilitate the conquest and to weaken the power of resistance, but the real cause is to be sought in the fact that the Visigoths had never really amalgamated with the conquered population. The mass of the inhabitants regarded their rulers as aliens, and had no reason to resent a change of masters. This feeling was strengthened by the conduct of their new conquerors. The Arab invasion undoubtedly brought with it considerable bloodshed and destruction of property, but it was merciful when compared with the previous inroads of the German tribes, and in the end it proved a blessing rather than a curse to the country. To all who submitted the Arabs left their laws and customs, and allowed them to be administered by their own officials. The cultivation of the fields was left to the natives, and the overthrow of the privileged classes gave rise to a system of small holdings or properties, which was one of the causes of the flourishing condition of agriculture under Arab rule. The slaves found their lot much improved under a religion which taught that the enfranchisement of a slave was a meritorious action. The Jews, as they had suffered most under the Visigoths, were the chief gainers from a conquest which they had greatly contributed to bring about. But nothing was so influential in securing ready submission to the Arabs as their tolerance in religious matters. Even the most bigoted adherents of Islam found a practical check to their zeal for proselytism in the loss that would accrue to the exchequer. The Christians had to pay a poll-tax, which varied according to the class to which they belonged. All property was subject to the *kharáj*, a tax proportioned to the produce of the soil, but converts to Mohammedanism were excused from the poll-tax. A clerical chronicler of the 8th century, while bewailing the subjection of Spain to an alien race, says nothing against the conquerors as the professors of a hostile religion. His silence is an eloquent testimony to the haughty tolerance of the Arabs.

As time went on, and the Arabs felt more secure in their position, their rule became not unnaturally harsher. Many of the treaties which had secured favourable terms to the conquered were broken, and the Christians were provoked to resistance by persecution. A notable instance of this was the edict making circumcision compulsory for Christians as well as Moslems. Greater hardships still were endured by the "renegades," most of whom had embraced Mohammedanism from a desire for safety or for temporal gain, and who found that return to the old faith was blocked both to themselves and to their children by

[1] Euric is said to have assassinated his brother Theodoric.

[2] Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive baptism (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 37).

[3] Limited, however, to pure Gothic blood.

[1] For the West-Gothic kingdom in Spain, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* should be consulted, chapters 31, 36, 37, 38, 41, 51. In note 122 (ch. 38) he remarks on the obscurity of the subject, Spain having had during this period no chronicler like Bede for the Saxons or Gregory of Tours for the Franks. As to the West-Gothic laws, there is a good deal of easily accessible information in Guizot's *History of Civilization*, lectures 3, 6, 10, 11. Compare Roman Law, vol. xx. p. 712, and Salic Law, vol. xxi. p. 216, section (11).

the law which punished a perverted Mussulman with death. At the same time their social position was intolerable, and they were excluded from all lucrative offices and from all share in the government. Their discontent led to numerous and stubborn rebellions, but they belong to a later period, and in the 8th century the chroniclers record only a single rising, that of the Christians of Beja, and they seem to have been merely the tools of an ambitious Arab chieftain.

It was fortunate for the Arabs that they succeeded at first in conciliating the natives, as otherwise their rule in the Peninsula would have been short-lived. Internal discord offered the Christians an easy opportunity for successful revolt if they had chosen to avail themselves of it. The conquerors were united by religion but not by race. When the task of conquest was achieved, and the need for unity was removed by the submission of the vast majority of the natives, quarrels arose between the various races which had taken part in the invasion. Besides the Arabs proper, who regarded themselves as the true conquering race, there were Berbers or Moors, Egyptians, and Syrians. So difficult was it to prevent their quarrels that it was found necessary to subdivide the conquered territory and to allot separate settlements to the different tribes, a measure which only tended to perpetuate their differences. Matters were made worse by the constant efforts of ambitious chieftains to raise themselves to power or to ruin their more successful equals. The first forty years of Arab rule in Spain are a period of woeful confusion, and it is difficult even to enumerate the names of the emirs who followed each other in rapid succession. The great empire of the Arabs began to fall to pieces as soon as it had reached its greatest extent. A movement whose end was conquest began to fail directly it ceased to conquer. The overthrow of the Omayyad dynasty by the Abbasids was a proof that disorder prevailed at the centre. The extremities inevitably displayed the same symptoms. Each new caliph sent a fresh emir to Spain; the governor of Africa claimed to interfere in the affairs of a province which had been conquered by one of his predecessors; and the native chiefs were often unwilling to submit to a new ruler whose arrival was the result of a revolution in which they had no share and which they would have prevented if they could. A capable and energetic governor, confronted with internal dissension and always dreading the arrival of a successor to supersede him, could only devise one way of solving the problem. The Arabs were unable to live at peace, and the one means of preventing them from warring with each other was to find them new lands to conquer. Hence came the frequent invasions of Gaul, now ruled by the degenerate Merwings, which resulted in the conquest of the provinces of Septimania and Narbonne, and at one time threatened to subject the whole of western Europe to the successor of Mohammed. But the battles of Toulouse (721) and of Tours (732) checked the advance of the Moslems, and by 759 they had been compelled to retire from all possessions beyond the Pyrenees. Thus thrown back upon the peninsula, it seemed probable that their empire in Spain would speedily succumb to the disruptive forces which had no longer any external outlet.

From this fate the Arab power was saved by 'Abd al-Raḥmán (Abderame), the one survivor of the Omayyad dynasty, who succeeded after a long series of romantic adventures in escaping from the general massacre of his family (see vol. xvi. p. 578). His arrival in the Peninsula was welcomed by those Arab chieftains who had ends of their own to gain or who saw how impossible it was for Spain to be ruled from a distant centre like Damascus or Baghdad. The resistance of the Abbasid emirs, Yúsuf and Alí b. Moghíth, was overcome, and 'Abd al-Raḥmán was enabled to found a new Omayyad dynasty at Cordova. He and his immediate successors seem to have contented themselves with the title of emir, but all connexion with the eastern caliphate was cut off, and Spain became independent under its new rulers. The reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmán I. was spent in almost constant warfare. No sooner had he reduced the southern provinces than a revolt broke out in Saragossa under Ḥosein b. Yaḥya. Driven from Spain, where he had raised the black standard of the Abbasid caliph, Ḥosein fled to the court of Charlemagne and implored his assistance. The Frankish army restored Ḥosein to power, but on its return was almost destroyed by the Basque mountaineers in the famous valley of Roncesvalles (778). After a siege of two years Saragossa was taken, Ḥosein was put to death as a rebel, and the whole country up to the Pyrenees was compelled to submit to the Omayyad. A formidable rising of the sons of Yúsuf was put down in 786, and 'Abd al-Raḥmán was enabled to devote the last two years of his life to the arts of peace and to the construction of his famous mosque at Cordova. Before his death he settled the succession on his third son, Hishám, who had been born in Spain, and compelled his followers and his elder sons to swear fealty.

Hishám's reign, which lasted only eight years (788–796), was comparatively uneventful. He was successful in foiling the attempt of his elder brothers to seize the throne, but a projected invasion of Gaul was repulsed by the courage of the count of Toulouse. Hishám was a devotee,—strict in the performance of religious duties and absorbed in works of charity. He completed the mosque which his father had begun, and endeavoured to make Cordova the educational centre of Islam. His son and successor, Al-Ḥakam, was of a very different temperament. With a keen enjoyment of the pleasures of life, Al-Ḥakam disregarded the precepts of the Koran which forbade the use of wine, and his lax practices irritated the *fakíhs*, the "scribes" of Mohammedanism. The inability of the Arabs to adapt themselves to a life of peace found expression in a number of isolated risings, of which the most notable took place in Toledo and Cordova. The inhabitants of Toledo had never forgotten that their city had once been the capital of Spain, and most of them belonged to the class of "renegades," who had no real attachment to the dominant faith. Al-Ḥakam determined to suppress their discontent by a notable act of cruel treachery. Feigning the most complete goodwill, he invited the chief citizens to a banquet in honour of the presence of his son in Toledo. As they entered the door they were conducted to an inner chamber and massacred by a band of assassins. More than seven hundred are said to have perished on this "day of the fosse" (807), and the citizens, deprived of their leaders, submitted with the torpor of despair. The fate of Toledo terrified the Cordovans, and postponed their rising for seven years. But in 814 the murder of a blacksmith by one of Al-Ḥakam's bodyguard provoked a terrible outbreak. Besieged in his palace by the infuriated mob, Al-Ḥakam only escaped death by his own coolness and presence of mind. A detachment of his guard was sent to fire the houses of the citizens; the mob hurried off to save their families and goods; and a sudden charge of the emir and his soldiers threw them into complete disorder. With politic severity Al-Ḥakam destroyed a whole quarter of the city and condemned all the inhabitants to exile. Part of them found a new home in Africa, but others, after a temporary sojourn in Alexandria, conquered Crete, where they founded a dynasty, which lasted till 961, when the island was recovered by the Greeks. The *fakíhs*, the real instigators of the rebellion, were treated with conspicuous leniency, and their leader, Talút, was even admitted to Al-Ḥakam's favour.

Christian States.

By the end of the 8th century it had become evident that the Arabs had committed a great error in not reducing the whole Peninsula, and that the contemptuous indifference with which they had left the northern mountains to a handful of refugees was destined to bring its own punishment. The early history of the Christian states of Spain is wrapped in a mist of fable and legend, but it is not hard to discern the main outlines. A scanty band of warriors, headed by Pelayo, probably a member of the Visigothic royal family, found refuge in the cave of Covadonga, among the inaccessible mountains of Asturias. Their own bravery and the difficulties of the country enabled them to hold their own, and they became the rallying point for all who preferred a life of hardship to slavish submission. The formation of a Christian kingdom was the work of Pelayo's grandson, Alfonso I., who seized the opportunity when the Arabs were occupied in the disputes attending the accession of 'Abd al-Raḥmán I. After driving the Berbers from Galicia, Alfonso advanced with his victorious troops as far as the Douro. But he had not followers enough to colonize the conquered territory, and contented himself with the northern districts, leaving a desert to form a natural boundary between himself and the Moors. Alfonso's son and successor, Fruela I. (765–775), fixed his capital at Oviedo, but the greater part of his reign was occupied with the suppression of internal disorders, and he ultimately fell a victim to assassination. His throne was successfully usurped by his cousin Aurelia and his nephew Silo, both of whom sought security against domestic enemies in an alliance with 'Abd al-Raḥmán. On the death of Silo (784) a party among the nobles elected Fruela's son, Alfonso II., but for six years the western half of the kingdom obeyed a bastard son of Alfonso I. by a Moorish captive, nicknamed from his origin El Maurecato. Under Alfonso the Chaste, whose long reign lasted till 842, the Christian kingdom of Oviedo was firmly established. It is impossible to find any accurate account of his achievements. The monkish chroniclers are hardly trustworthy authorities for military history, and they prefer to confine themselves to the more congenial subject of the founding and endowment of churches. The discovery of the pretended tomb of St James at Compostella is in their eyes the greatest event of the reign, and it undoubtedly aided to give a religious character to the war which was destined to be the great crusade of the west.

Alfonso II.'s reign witnessed the establishment of another Christian state in Spain. Charles the Great had been too much occupied elsewhere to avenge the great disaster at Roncesvalles, but he was only waiting for his opportunity. This was offered in 800 by the treachery of another governor of Saragossa, who had revolted against Al-Ḥakam and sought assistance from the Franks. Charles himself was on his way to Italy to assume the imperial crown, but he sent his son Louis across the Pyrenees. In his first campaign Louis reached the Ebro, but he had to return in 801 to vanquish the obstinate resistance of Barcelona. The administration of the "Spanish mark" was entrusted to Bera, a man of Gothic descent, who proved fully capable of the task imposed upon him. The attacks of the Arabs were repulsed, and their last possessions beyond the Ebro were lost in 811, when Tortosa, after a siege of two years, succumbed to the forces which Louis the Pious had again led over the mountains. Henceforth the province was ruled by the counts of Barcelona, as representatives of the Frankish kings.

To avoid the difficulty of frequent transitions, it will be best to sketch in advance the main outlines of the history of the Christian states down to the formation of the three kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, leaving their relations with the Moors to be narrated in connexion with the caliphate of Cordova. It is impossible to do much more than trace the dynastic and geographical changes, as their mutual quarrels are intricate and wearisome, and of little importance except as prolonging the rule of the Arabs in the Peninsula. The county of Barcelona may be dismissed with a few words. It continued for some time to be subject to Frankish suzerainty, and it suffered from the disorders that followed the break-up of Charles the Great's empire. Bera, its first count, was exiled, and his successor, Bernhard, played a prominent part in the intrigues of that troubled period. At one moment he added Septimania to the Spanish mark, at another he was disgraced and exiled; and finally he was treacherously murdered. In the later part of the 9th century all connexion with Septimania was cut off, and Wilfrid the Hairy (d. 907) was able to make the county hereditary in his family. With its mixed population and its long line of coast the county of Barcelona, or Catalonia as it came to be called, was more involved in the affairs of Gaul than of Spain. Berengar I. annexed the county of Carcassonne and other districts north of the Pyrenees (about 1050–1076), and Berengar III. (1092–1131) obtained Provence by marriage. On the latter's death Catalonia and the transmontane territories were divided between his two sons, and in 1150 Berengar IV., by marriage with Queen Petronilla, obtained the kingdom of Aragon, with which Catalonia was henceforth united.

Kingdom of Oviedo or Leon.

The history of Oviedo is more important and more complicated. Alfonso II.'s successors, Ramiro I. (842–850) and Ordoño I. (850–866), had to contend both with the great nobles, who aimed at independence, and with the Basques, who had never learnt to submit to orderly rule. Alfonso III., in a long reign of nearly fifty years (866–910), won the title of "The Great" from the success which attended his arms. While his plundering raids extended as far as Coimbra and Lisbon, he really advanced his frontiers to the Douro, and in order to defend these more exposed territories he transferred his capital from Oviedo to Leon, on the further side of the mountains. In accordance with the universal custom of the Germans, Alfonso divided his territories among his three sons, Garcia receiving the southern districts with Leon as a capital, Ordoño II. western Galicia, and Fruela II. the original district round Oviedo. In 931, however, the kingdom was again united under Ramiro II., a son of Ordoño II., and henceforth called after the new capital, Leon. Under Ramiro, a great warrior against the Arabs, we first hear of a district that was destined to become the most important in Spain. The border territory, a march to the south-east of Leon, previously Bardulia, was now known as Castile, from the number of castles that had been raised to hold it against the infidels. Its count, Fernan Gonzales, was the most powerful noble in the kingdom of Leon, and sought to make himself independent. Ramiro reduced him to submission and then bound him to his side by marrying his eldest son to the count's daughter. Ordoño III. (950–957) sought to emulate his father's achievements against the Arabs, but was hampered by the revolt of his brother Sancho and his father-in-law Fernan Gonzales. Sancho I. (957–966) found an enemy in his recent ally, who attempted to place a rival king upon the throne, and he could only procure restoration to his kingdom by an alliance with the caliph of Cordova. This alliance lasted during the minority of his son, Ramiro III. (966–982), who was deposed by the malcontent nobles in favour of his uncle, Bermudo II. (982–999). The latter, too mild a ruler for such troubled times, had a hard struggle against domestic