

treachery and foreign enemies, and left a desolate kingdom to his son Alfonso V. Alfonso succeeded in restoring order, and to his reign are attributed the most important of the *fueros*, on which were based the local institutions of his kingdom.

Meanwhile a new kingdom had sprung up to the east of Leon, which for a time seemed likely to become the chief state of Christian Spain. The district in the western Pyrenees bordering on the Bay of Biscay was the most defensible position in the Peninsula. It was there that the Basques had held out against the German invaders, and that the Suevi had found a refuge from the Visigoths. The sovereignty of the Moslems and of the Franks had been in turn acknowledged, but had never been more than nominal. About the beginning of the 10th century Sancho founded here the kingdom of Navarre, and he succeeded in extending his rule as far as the lower Ebro. His means of defence were primitive but efficient. When attacked by the infidels in overwhelming numbers he retired to the inaccessible mountains, and recovered the lost ground as soon as the enemy had turned his back. His grandson, Sancho the Great (970-1035), profited by the disasters which befel Leon. He married the sister of Garcia, count of Castile, and when his brother-in-law fell a victim to a conspiracy he seized the opportunity to avenge his death by annexing the northern portion of his country. In 1034 he picked a quarrel with Bermudo III. (1028-1037), the son and successor of Alfonso V., and conquered eastern Leon as far as the river Cea. More important still were his acquisitions in the south-east of Navarre. Partly by marriage connexions, and partly by the sword, he obtained possession of the counties of Aragon, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorça, which had for years been struggling to maintain their independence against the Mussulman governor of Saragossa. These considerable territories Sancho divided on his death (1035) among his four sons, and the division is an important event in the history of Spain. Garcia, the eldest, received Navarre, with a small district on the right bank of the Ebro; Ferdinand, the second son, obtained Castile, with the addition of the district of Palencia, which had been wrested from Leon; the counties of Ribagorça and Sobrarbe passed to Gonzalo, and that of Aragon to Ramiro, a bastard.

The death of Sancho the Great seemed to offer Bermudo III. an opportunity for recovering his lost territories, and he at once collected his forces to attack Ferdinand. In a pitched battle near the river Carrion, Bermudo was defeated and killed, and the conqueror at once annexed Leon with its dependencies—Galicia and Asturias—to his new kingdom of Castile (1037). The eldest brother, Garcia, resented a change which threatened to deprive Navarre of the pre-eminence which it had enjoyed under his father. To gratify his jealousy he did not scruple to ally himself with the emirs of Saragossa and Tudela. But in the battle of Atapuerca (1054) the unnatural coalition was defeated, Garcia lost his life on the field, and Ferdinand added to Castile the district on the right of the Ebro, leaving the rest of Navarre to his nephew, Sancho IV. Meanwhile Ramiro, equally ambitious and successful, got rid of his brother Gonzales, and seized upon Sobrarbe and Ribagorça to form, with his own inheritance, the kingdom of Aragon. Henceforth the history of Christian Spain centres round the two great states of Castile and Aragon. Leon, much to the disgust of its inhabitants, becomes a province of the former, and Navarre is soon afterwards deprived of independence by its more powerful neighbour.

We must now return to the history of the Arabs. Under 'Abd al-Rahmán II. (822-852), one of the mildest

and most cultivated of the Omayyad dynasty, began a period of disorder and anarchy which might have ruined his power if the northern states had been prepared to take advantage of it. Toledo, which had recovered its independence soon after the "day of the fosse," was not reduced until after a desperate struggle of eight years, and then its fall was mainly due to internal quarrels. More serious was the growing spirit of insubordination among the Christian population of the south. In spite of the tolerance with which they were treated, the priests persisted in preaching against the rule of the infidel. Under the leadership of Eulogius and his friend Alvaro, a fanatical sect was formed which sought to emulate the glory of the early martyrs. So averse was the Government to resort to persecution that it was only by publicly blaspheming Mohammed that they could bring themselves under the penalties of the law. Eleven persons were put to death for such conduct, who are celebrated in Spanish history as the "martyrs of Cordova." It was in vain that the moderate party denounced their conduct as wanton suicide; the enthusiasts persisted in their defiant conduct. Mohammed (852-866), sterner and more narrow-minded than his predecessor, was not unwilling to take repressive measures, and the execution of Eulogius, who had been chosen archbishop of Toledo, seems to have checked for a time the thirst for martyrdom. But the movement had succeeded in provoking a feeling of distrust between the two religions, and it was difficult to return to the old attitude of easy tolerance. The "renegades" found their position altered for the worse, and under Mohammed they were jealously excluded from all the higher offices of state.

A series of revolts showed how prevalent was the feeling of discontent. The Gothic family of Bení-Casí, which had embraced Mohammedanism in order to advance itself, had become extremely powerful in Aragon. Músá, the head of this family, made himself master of Saragossa, Tudela, and Huesca, concluded a close alliance with Toledo, which had again recovered its independence, and claimed to be the "third king in Spain." Músá's death in 862, in a war with Ordoño I. of Oviedo, enabled Mohammed to regain Tudela and Saragossa, but his troops were soon expelled by Músá's sons, and the Bení-Casí, with the help of Alfonso III., were for a long time able to bid defiance to the authority of the emir. About the same time an independent state was formed in the west by Ibn-Merwán, a renegade of Merida. But by far the most formidable of these risings was that of 'Omar b. Hafsun, who began as a brigand in the mountains of Andalusia, but whose castle at Bobastro became the centre of all the dissatisfied Christians and renegades of the south. Neither Mohammed nor his son and successor Mondhir (886-888) could reduce this impregnable fortress, and for years 'Omar was the real ruler of Andalusia. His authority was far greater than that of the emirs had ever been; his administration of justice was rude but efficient; and the Arab historians maintain that a girl laden with treasure could in his time cross the mountains in safety.

The premature death of Mondhir, a brave and chivalrous prince, gave the succession to his brother 'Abdallah (888-902), who ascended the throne at a very critical moment. Not only had the rising of the Christians and renegades assumed an almost national character, but the Arab nobles had taken advantage of the general disorder to assume the independence that was so congenial to them. 'Abdallah, considering the latter danger the more formidable, sought to gain over the Spaniards, and even offered Ibn Hafsun the government of Regio, on condition that he would acknowledge himself as sovereign. But the negotiation came to nothing, and the only result was to

provoke the indignation of his own race against the emir. Luckily for him the Spaniards had an old debt to pay off against the Arabs, who had long treated them with insufferable contempt. In various districts a desperate civil war broke out, which was destructive of all law and order, but was not directly aimed against the central Government. The most violent struggle was in the province of Elvira, where for a time the natives got the upper hand, and it was only after a desperate conflict that the Arab domination was maintained by the heroism of two successive leaders, Sauwár and Sa'íd. In Seville a similar contest arose, and 'Abdallah, after attempting in vain to hold the balance between the two parties, was at last compelled to espouse the cause of the Arabs. An insurrection, in which the life of Mohammed, the emir's eldest son, was in imminent danger, was punished with ruthless severity; but it was the Arab nobles who profited by the success to make themselves absolute masters of the province. The central authority was almost powerless. Most of the provincial governors had thrown off all connexion with Cordova, and the others, only rendered obedience when it was convenient to themselves. But at the moment when matters seemed at their worst the tide turned. In 890 'Abdallah won his first victory over Ibn-Hafsun, and during the remainder of his reign he gradually recovered power in the revolted provinces. The work was continued by his son and successor, 'Abd al-Rahmán (or Abderame) III. (912-961), the greatest of the rulers of Cordova. Under this prince, who at last assumed the title of caliph, the unity of Mussulman Spain was for the time restored.

No sooner had 'Abd al-Rahmán completed the first part of his task by the reduction of the family of Ibn-Hafsun than he found himself confronted by two dangers. In Africa the Fatimites were establishing a great empire, and it was almost certain that they would turn their attention to Spain as soon as their power was secure in the southern continent. In the north the Christian states had profited by the long anarchy among their old foes and were assuming a very threatening attitude. Alfonso III. had moved his capital across the mountains to Leon, and Sancho had recently created the kingdom of Navarre. As regards Africa, 'Abd al-Rahmán contented himself with encouraging and subsidizing the princes that still held out against the Fatimites, and with obtaining possession of Ceuta, so as to have complete command of the straits. The northern danger was the more pressing. In 914 Ordoño II. made a successful raid into the territory of Merida, and two years later he defeated the army which had been sent to avenge the insult. Although Merida had not yet returned to submission, 'Abd al-Rahmán was determined to conciliate his subjects by proving his ability to defend them. He spared no pains to collect a magnificent army, and his efforts were rewarded in 918 by a great victory over the combined forces of Leon and Navarre. This was the first of a series of successful campaigns, in the course of which he penetrated as far as Sancho's capital, Pamplona. But his victories brought him little beyond glory and revenge. As soon as his troops were withdrawn, the enemy showed himself to be really unconquered. In 921 Ordoño is said to have advanced within a day's journey of Cordova, and in 923 Sancho excited a panic in Mussulman Spain by the capture of Viguera. But the disorders in Leon that followed Ordoño II.'s death were a great blow to the Christians, and enabled 'Abd al-Rahmán to complete his work of internal reorganization and to turn his attention to resisting the Fatimite conquest of Mauretania. On the death of Sancho, his widow Tota recognized the caliph as suzerain of Navarre.

In his later years 'Abd al-Rahmán was less uniformly successful. The Arabs were disgusted by his policy of excluding the nobles from all share in the government and of filling the chief offices with "Slavs," the generic title for all foreign servants of the court. Ramiro II. had succeeded in restoring unity to Leon, and resumed the warlike policy of his predecessors. In 939 he inflicted a serious defeat upon the army of the caliph at Alhandega, and was only prevented from following up his victory by a quarrel with the famous count of Castile, Fernán Gonzales. The divisions which followed Ramiro's death were an additional advantage to 'Abd al-Rahmán; and in 960 he gained the most conspicuous success of his reign when his troops restored the deposed Sancho I. to the throne of Leon. This was almost his last act, as he died in October 961.

"Among the Omayyad princes of Spain 'Abd al-Rahmán III. incontestably holds the first place. His achievements bordered on the fabulous. He had found the empire in a state of anarchy and civil war, divided amongst a crowd of chiefs of different race, exposed to constant raids from the Christians of the north, and on the verge of being absorbed either by Leon or by the Fatimites. In spite of innumerable obstacles he had saved Andalusia both from itself and from foreign rule. He had given to it internal order and prosperity and the consideration and respect of foreigners. He found the treasury in disorder; he left it in the most flourishing condition. A third of the annual revenues, which amounted to 6,245,000 pieces of gold, sufficed for the ordinary expenditure; another third was kept as a reserve; the rest was devoted to buildings. The condition of the country was equally prosperous. Agriculture, industry, commerce, the arts and sciences, flourished together. The foreigner was lost in wonder at the scientific system of irrigation, which gave fertility to lands that appeared most unpromising. He was struck by the perfect order which, thanks to a vigilant police, reigned in the most inaccessible districts. Commerce had developed to such an extent that, according to the report of the superintendent of the customs, the duties on imports and exports constituted the most considerable part of the revenue. A superb navy enabled 'Abd al-Rahmán to dispute with the Fatimites the empire of the Mediterranean, and secured him in the possession of Ceuta, the key of Mauretania. A numerous and well-disciplined army, perhaps the best in the world, gave him a preponderance over the Christians of the north. The most haughty sovereigns were eager for his alliance. Ambassadors were sent to him by the emperor of Constantinople and by the sovereigns of Germany, Italy, and France."—Dozy, iii. 90.

The new caliph, Al-Hakam II. (961-976), was distinguished as a patron of literature and a collector of books. The number of volumes in his library was reckoned at 400,000, and he is said to have read and annotated them all. For politics he had comparatively little taste. Naturally averse to war, he was only forced into hostilities by the obstinate refusal of Sancho I. to fulfil the treaty which he had signed on his restoration, and he hastened to conclude peace on an empty renewal of the treaty. The disorders which arose during the minority of Ramiro III. put an end to all danger on the side of Leon, and the death of Fernán Gonzales in 970 removed a ruler who had always been a thorn in the side of the infidel. The most notable event of Al-Hakam's reign is the rise to influence of a man who was destined to play a more prominent part in the history of Spain than any of the caliphs, not excluding 'Abd al-Rahmán III. Mohammed Ibn-abí-'Ámir was the descendant of a family which had long been distinguished in the civil administration, but had never been admitted to the higher nobility of the sword. From his

earliest youth he was inspired with the thought that he was destined to rule. His ability and the favour of Al-Hakam's favourite wife, Šobh, combined to bring about his speedy advance, and by the time of the caliph's death he held a high office in the court. Al-Hakam had done all in his power to secure the succession of his son by Šobh, Hishám, a boy of ten years of age. But the chief eunuchs, dreading the influence which a minority would give to Mošhafi, the *hájib* or chief minister, sought to give the crown to Moghíra, a brother of Al-Hakam. With the help of Ibn-abí-Ámir, Mošhafi defeated the plot; Moghíra was put to death, and Hishám succeeded to his father's throne. But he never really ruled. Ibn-abí-Ámir, still aided by Šobh, whose lover he was popularly supposed to be, gradually rose to absolute power. Mošhafi, a man of little real ability, was charged with peculation and deposed, and his younger rival was appointed *hájib* in his place. To free himself from all danger from the mob at Cordova, the all-powerful minister transferred the government and the court to Zahrá, which he built for the purpose. There the young caliph was immured in a magnificent palace, and was carefully secluded from all contact with public affairs. His education was purposely neglected, and he never made the slightest effort to free himself from his gilded imprisonment. To remove all obstacles to his authority, Ibn-abí-Ámir reorganized the army. He filled the ranks with Moors from Africa and with Spaniards from Leon, Castile, and Navarre, whom he bound to his cause by lavish generosity. The old tribal distinctions among the Arabs, so long the source of jealousy and quarrels, he completely disregarded in the forming of regiments, and thus completed the work of assimilation which Abd al-Rahmán III. had commenced. Though trained to the study of the law and experienced only in civil affairs, he speedily mastered the art of war and conciliated the popular favour by victories such as no caliph had ever won. In 981 he defeated Ramiro III. and his allies in a pitched battle, took Zamora and Simancas, and was only prevented by a storm from capturing Leon. On his return he assumed the name of Almansór (victorious by the help of God), by which he is usually known in history. Bermudo II., whom the nobles of Leon raised to the throne in place of the defeated Ramiro, could only secure himself by paying tribute to the ruler of Cordova. In 985 Almansór invaded Catalonia, which had hitherto been respected as a Frankish fief, drove the count Borrel into exile, and took and sacked Barcelona. When Bermudo II. sought to free himself from the harsh conditions that had been imposed upon him and drove the Moslem troops from his kingdom, Almansór took a terrible revenge. In 987 he stormed Coimbra and razed it to the ground. In the next year he advanced into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving Zamora, where Bermudo awaited him, on one side, he marched against the city of Leon, and took it after an obstinate resistance. The fortifications were utterly destroyed, with the exception of one gate, which was left to commemorate the victor's triumph. Zamora was then attacked, and Bermudo fled to his northern territories, which were all that were left to him.

In spite of these successes Almansór had to face more than one conspiracy on the part of those who were jealous of his pre-eminence. The most formidable of these was fomented by his former patroness, Šobh, who found herself more and more thrust into the background. She succeeded in gaining over her son, but Almansór soon recovered his ascendancy over the feeble caliph, from whom he extorted a document transferring all powers to himself. A refusal of Bermudo II. to continue the payment of tribute led to the last and most famous of his campaigns,

in which he took Compostella and carried off the gates and bells from the shrine of St James, the patron saint of the Christians. At the same time his generals were gaining victories in Mauretania, and his power was almost equally dreaded on both sides of the straits. His death in 1002 deprived the Spanish Moslems of the greatest ruler and warrior, considering his origin, that their race had produced. His campaigns against the Christians, which are reckoned by the Arab historians as more than fifty, were almost uniformly successful. Three capitals—Leon, Pamplona, and Barcelona—had been conquered by him. His home administration was as successful as his generalship, and much of his attention was devoted to the construction of roads and bridges, so as to facilitate communication between all parts of Spain. He was a zealous, if not an intelligent, patron of literature, but his real interests were always practical. Finding that he was suspected by the people of a laxness in religious belief, he did not hesitate to prove his orthodoxy by an act of politic vandalism. Taking the chief *ulemá* into the library of Al-Hakam II., he begged them to collect all the books on philosophy, astronomy, and other prohibited sciences; and when they had completed their task he ordered the condemned books to be burnt on a vast pile.

Almansór had been absolute in everything but name. He had desired at one time to take the final step and to supersede the incapable Hishám II. in the caliphate, but he dreaded the inveterate attachment of the people to the Omayyad dynasty. He had, however, taken steps to secure the continuance of his family in power. His son, 'Abd al-Melik Mozaffar succeeded to the office of *hájib*, and ruled with the same authority and success as his father. But the position was really untenable. An hereditary monarchy is intelligible, but an hereditary line of chief ministers is not. The early death of 'Abd al-Melik (1008) gave the government to the weaker hands of his brother 'Abd al-Rahmán. The latter was hated by the Mohammedan clergy, partly because he indulged in the use of wine, and partly because his mother had been born a Christian. She was the daughter of a Sancho, either the king of Navarre or the count of Castile, and her son was nicknamed Sanchol, or the little Sancho. The Amirids were not popular. Their exaltation irritated, not only the families that claimed a higher rank by birth, but also those who thought themselves their equals. Without having any actual grievance to complain of, the people vaguely desired a change of rulers. It was easy under the circumstances to effect a revolution. When Sanchol returned from a campaign against Leon in 1009 he found that his power had been completely overthrown. Mohammed, a great-grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmán III., had headed an insurrection in the capital and had gained possession of the caliph's person. Sanchol was put to death, and the magnificent palace which his father had erected at Zahrá was razed to the ground. The Amirids fell, and with them ended the grand period in the history of Moslem Spain.

Mohammed was not long content with the office of *hájib*. Scrupling to kill the unfortunate Hishám, who had never made any opposition to the acts that had been committed in his name, he closely imprisoned him, and buried the corpse of a Christian who bore a strong personal resemblance to the caliph. Mohammed was now raised to the caliphate, and assumed the title of Al-Mahdí (guided by God). But his reign was not destined to be long or untroubled. He had been raised to power by a combination of orthodox Moslems, of the so-called "Slavs" (foreign slaves serving in the royal harem and in the army of the caliph) and of Berbers, and he alienated each in turn. The Berbers, who formed an important part of the army, were the first to revolt. Raising the standard of Solei-

man, a member of the Omayyad family, they obtained assistance from Count Sancho of Castile, marched upon Cordova, and inflicted a serious defeat upon the troops which Mohammed imprudently led out to meet them. Mohammed endeavoured to strengthen his position by producing Hishám II., whom he had given out as dead. But the Berbers refused to be turned from their purpose, and occupied Cordova in November 1009. The wretched Hishám was compelled to abdicate in favour of Soleimán, and returned to his prison. Mohammed, who had escaped to Toledo, now turned for assistance to the Christians, who, by a sudden change of circumstances, had become the arbiters of Mohammedan affairs. With the help of troops from Catalonia he recovered Cordova, which had to pay in constant sieges a terrible penalty for the levity with which it had welcomed the fall of the Amirids. In pursuing the Berbers, however, Mohammed was again defeated. The Slavs, who had hitherto supported him for their own ends, determined to desert the unsuccessful caliph. Hishám II. was again dragged from prison to assume the throne, and Mohammed was murdered in his presence. Wádhí, the leader of the Slavs, was now *hájib*, and aspired to play the part of Almansór. But his resources were at an end. An attempt to increase the taxes roused general indignation, and he was put to death by his own followers (1011). Two years later the nominal reign of Hishám II. came to an end. Cordova was taken by Soleimán and the Berbers, and the caliph disappeared (1013). His fate remains one of the unsolved secrets of history.

Soleimán was now formally proclaimed caliph, but his power was more nominal than real. The provincial governors had taken advantage of the civil war to make themselves independent, and Soleimán's authority was only recognized by five towns—Cordova, Seville, Niebla, Oksonoba, and Beja. Even within this district he soon found an opponent. The Slavs were unwilling to submit to the domination of the Berbers, whose excesses the caliph was unable to check. Their most powerful leader, Khairán, had been badly wounded in the late struggle, but on his recovery he determined to avenge his defeat. He found a capable ally in 'Alí b. Hammíd, a descendant of the famous son-in-law of the Prophet, but whose family had almost ceased to be Arab in their long residence in Africa. 'Alí relied not only upon the Slavs but also upon the Berbers, who regarded Soleimán with contempt, and looked upon 'Alí as a fellow-countryman. Soleimán's government was easily overthrown (1016), but Khairán's attempt to discover Hishám II. was unsuccessful, and he had to acknowledge 'Alí as caliph and to content himself with the office of *hájib*. The Hammídite dynasty, thus established in Cordova, was not destined to enjoy a long tenure of power. Khairán revolted against a sovereign who was too able and spirited for the part of a Hishám II., and set up an anti-caliph in the person of another Omayyad, 'Abd al-Rahmán IV., a great-grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmán III., who took the name of Mortadá. 'Alí was murdered in his bath (1017), but his supporters rallied round his brother Kásim. For five years a confused civil war raged which was complicated by the hostility to Kásim of 'Alí's son, Yahyá. In 1023 Mortadá was slain in battle, and the Omayyad party gave the crown to another 'Abd al-Rahmán, a brother of the detestable Mahdí. Two months later the young prince was murdered, but his successful rival, Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Rahmán was driven from Cordova in 1025. The Hammídite caliph, Yahyá, now occupied the capital, but was slain in attempting to reduce the rebellious *wáli* of Seville to obedience. Hishám III., a brother of 'Abd al-Rahmán Mortadá, was now raised to the throne. But all central government

was by this time at an end; no revenues could be drawn from the rebellious provinces; and in 1031 Hishám abdicated a title which had ceased to have any meaning, and sought peace and retirement in the neighbourhood of Saragossa. His death five years later was almost unnoticed even in Cordova. With him ended the Omayyad dynasty, which had ruled in Spain for nearly three centuries, and which had produced princes worthy to be ranked with the greatest of their contemporaries. Its decline dates from the time when it allowed power to slip from its hands and to be wielded by ambitious ministers.

Ever since the death of Almansór Moslem Spain had been gradually splitting up into a number of independent principalities. With the extinction of the Omayyads the last semblance of unity disappeared. "The Berber generals shared the south; the Slavs ruled in the east; the rest was divided either among successful adventurers or among the small number of noble families who had been fortunate enough to escape the blows which 'Abd al-Rahmán and Almansór had struck at the aristocracy. Finally, the two most considerable towns, Cordova and Seville, were organized as republics" (Dozy). Into the history of the numerous dynasties which were established during this period it is impossible to enter here, but the reader will find the subject not only fully but attractively treated in the fourth volume of Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*. See also Plate VII.

It was of additional moment that this disruption of the Mussulman power was contemporary with the formation of the great Christian states of Aragon and Castile. They were not slow to profit by the opportunity held out to them. It was in this century that the Christian cause found a champion in the famous Ruy Diaz Campeador, who under the name of "The Cid" became the traditional hero of Spanish mediæval history. Ferdinand I. of Castile (1037-1067) captured the strong places of Viséu, Lamego, and Coimbra, and was only diverted from the conquest of Toledo by the humble submission of the emir, who undertook to pay tribute to the Christian king. The unfortunate division of his territories between his three sons gave occasion to civil wars, which were only terminated in 1072 by the reunion of the whole kingdom under Alfonso VI. Following up his father's successes, Alfonso made himself master of Toledo, which once more became the capital of a Christian state. Meanwhile Ramiro I. of Aragon (1035-1063) drove the Moors from their last possessions in the counties of Aragon and Sobrarbe. His son, Sancho Ramirez (1063-1094), joined Alfonso VI. in an attack on Navarre which resulted in the partition of that state between the two kings, and commenced a war against the emir of Saragossa which ended, under his successors Pedro (1094-1104) and Alfonso I. (1104-1136), in the conquest of Huesca and Saragossa. The latter town became henceforth the recognized capital of Aragon.

This period is also important in another aspect. Hitherto the Christian kingdoms of Spain had been naturally isolated from the rest of Europe. But the papacy, under the guiding hand of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), was now making its ecclesiastical supremacy a reality, and was not likely to tolerate independence even in the most distant members of the church. Aragon, which lay nearest to the other states of Western Christendom, made little difficulty about complying with the papal demands. Ramiro not only agreed to adopt the Roman ritual in his kingdom, but even sent tribute to Alexander II. Castile, lying farther distant, was more inclined to resent dictation. At a council at Burgos (1077) it was formally decided to retain the Gothic ritual. But Alfonso VI. realized the danger of isolating his state from the rest

States of  
Castile  
and  
Aragon  
formed.

of Europe, and of his own accord conceded the demands of Gregory VII. From this time Christian Spain was directly connected with Rome, and became the most faithful, if not the most servile, of Roman Catholic countries.

The Christian victories of the 11th century seemed likely at one time to annihilate the Mohammedan power in Spain. From this fate, however, it was saved, not by any internal strength, but by the arrival of assistance from Africa. The emir of Seville, Al-Mo'tamid, the most powerful of the Moslem princes, watched with profound misgiving the progress of the Castilian arms. When Toledo fell before Alfonso VI. he determined to appeal to Yúfuf b. Táshufín, the king of the Almoravids,—a confederation of Berber sectaries that had recently established a vast empire reaching from the Senegal to Algiers. Yúfuf, who had established his capital at Morocco in 1069, was at this time eighty years of age, but he did not hesitate to accept the prospect of a new field of conquest and adventure. In 1086 he sailed from Ceuta to Algesiras, the cession of which he had demanded as the price of his aid, and was at once joined by the forces of the emirs of Andalusia. Alfonso VI. hastened to obtain assistance from the king of Aragon and the count of Barcelona, and with a larger force than had ever before been assembled in the Christian cause he met the Moors in the battle of Zalláka (Sacralias), a few miles from Badajoz (October 1086). After an obstinate struggle victory declared for the infidels, and Alfonso had great difficulty in escaping with his life. Luckily for the Castilians, Yúfuf was recalled to Africa by the death of his eldest son, whom he had left at Ceuta, and his victory, which might have been as decisive as that of Tárik, was not followed up. Alfonso even ventured to resume his aggressions, and laid siege to the important towns of Murcia and Almeria. Mo'tamid, seeing that the danger was as great as ever, proceeded to Africa in person in order to urge the return of Yúfuf. The Almoravid prince, on whom the attractions of Andalusia had made a profound impression, crossed again to Algesiras (1090), and this time the predictions of the princes who had foreseen the risk of calling in so powerful an ally were fully verified. Postponing the task of resisting Alfonso, Yúfuf set to work to make himself master of Andalusia. Mo'tamid himself had to fly from his territories, after a futile appeal for aid to the king of Castile. Captured by the Africans, the emir of Seville was condemned to end his life in close imprisonment. In the course of a few years the whole of Moslem Spain was reunited under the king of Morocco, and the death of the Cid in 1099 enabled the Moors to recover Valencia, which he had taken in 1094. This was the last event of the reign of Yúfuf, who in 1103 handed over the government to his son 'Alí and returned to Africa, where he died three years later at the ripe age of a hundred years.

Alfonso VI. of Castile had raised his kingdom to such pre-eminence in the Peninsula that he had assumed the title of "emperor of Spain." But a great disaster clouded his later years. In 1108 his only son Sancho perished with the flower of the Castilian chivalry on the fatal field of Ucles, and most of Alfonso's conquests passed into the hands of the victorious 'Alí. In 1109 the emperor died, leaving the succession to his daughter Urraca, the widow of Count Raymond of Burgundy. In order to secure the unity of the Christian kingdoms, Urraca was married to Alfonso I. of Aragon (1104-1134), who imitated his father-in-law in assuming the imperial title. But the marriage failed to produce the desired result. Urraca induced the Castilian nobles to revolt against the Aragonese rule and to set up Alfonso VII., her son by her first marriage. A civil war ensued, which was only ended

in 1127 by the separation of the kingdoms. Alfonso I. retained Aragon and Navarre, while Castile, with Leon and Galicia, passed to Alfonso VII. Alfonso of Aragon renewed the war against the Moors which he had so gloriously begun by the capture of Tudela and Saragossa, but in 1134 he was completely defeated in the battle of Fraga, a disaster which hastened his death. As he had no children, he bequeathed his territories to the great crusading order of the Templars. The Aragonese, however, refused to recognize this testament, and gave the crown to his brother, Ramiro II. (1134-1137), who was brought out of a monastery to continue the dynasty. Ramiro fulfilled his duties by marrying a sister of the duke of Aquitaine, who bore him a daughter, Petronilla. At the age of two the child was betrothed to Raymond Berengar IV. of Barcelona, and Ramiro, leaving the administration of the kingdom to his son-in-law, hastened to return to his cloister. Thus a permanent union was effected between Aragon and Catalonia, both of which passed in 1162 to Petronilla's son, Alfonso II. But, if Catalonia was gained, another province, Navarre, was lost. The Navarrese had long desired to recover their independence, and on the death of Alfonso I. they refused to acknowledge Ramiro, and chose a ruler of their own, Garcia Ramirez. Ramiro, who needed Garcia's generalship against a threatened attack from Castile, recognized him, first as a vassal of Aragon and afterwards as an independent king. Thus Navarre regained its place among the kingdoms of Spain, though it never enjoyed its old importance.

The main interest of Spanish history in the 13th century centres round the war against the Moors, which was beginning to attract the interest and assistance of the other European states. It was the age of the great crusades, and Christendom was absorbed in the struggle against the infidel, both in the East and West. Spain, like Palestine, had its crusading orders, which vied with the Templars and Hospitallers both in wealth and military distinction. The order of Calatrava was founded in 1158, that of St James of Compostella in 1175, and the order of Alcantara in 1176. The kingdom of Portugal, which had risen with great rapidity in the 12th century, had a no less distinguished order, that of Evora. These military priests, debarred by their profession from the ordinary interests of humanity, gave a firmness and consistency to the Christian cause which had too often been sacrificed to the dynastic quarrels of the temporal princes.

The empire of the Almoravids, like so many of its predecessors, had soon begun to fall to pieces. It was too large and unwieldy for permanence. Its real centre was at Morocco, and the attention of the caliphs was absorbed in the affairs of Africa, while the extortion and misgovernment of their viceroys excited discontent among the Mohammedans of Spain. This state of things gave a great advantage to Alfonso VII. of Castile, who revived the title of emperor of Spain, allied himself with Raymond Berengar of Barcelona and Aragon, and sought to emulate the achievements of his grandfather. For the second time the Moorish power in Spain was only saved from dissolution by the arrival of reinforcements from Africa. As happened so often in Mussulman history, a movement which began with religious reform ended with the formation of an empire. Mohammed b. 'Abdallah, an Arab from Mount Atlas, gave himself out as the expected Mahdí, and formed a sect known as the Almohades (Unitarians). His disciple, 'Abd al-Mu'mín, was chosen as his successor, and soon overthrew the power of the Almoravids. Táshufín, 'Alí's son, made a vigorous but ineffectual resistance, and the conqueror crossed the sea to complete his work by the reduction of Spain (1146). The success of 'Abd al-Mu'mín, if less rapid than that of Yúfuf,

was quite as complete. The Almoravids appealed to the Christians, and both Castile and Aragon came to their aid. Alfonso VII., with the help of the Genoese and Pisan fleets, besieged and took Almeria, while Raymond Berengar captured Tortosa. But these successes were only temporary. In ten years the Almoravids had been driven from the mainland, and only a small remnant found refuge in the Balearic Islands. Almeria was again wrested from the Castilians, and in 1157 Alfonso VII. died, the last of the series of "emperors of Spain." His territories were divided between his two sons, the elder, Sancho, succeeding to Castile, while Leon went to his brother Ferdinand. The quarrels which resulted from this partition would probably have been fatal to the Christian cause but for the exertions of the great knightly orders. The successors of 'Abd al-Mu'mín (d. 1163), Yúfuf and Ya'kúb Almansór, continued to advance the power of the Almohades, and the latter inflicted a crushing defeat at Alarcos (1195) upon Alfonso VIII. of Castile, who had succeeded his father Sancho in 1158. Castile was at this time distracted by the feuds of the great families of Lara and Castro, and the count of Castro, who had been worsted by his rival, rendered conspicuous service to the infidels in the battle. Even Sancho of Navarre, out of jealousy of the rival kings, concluded an alliance with the Almohades.

Luckily for the Christians Ya'kúb, the most formidable opponent they had had to face since the great Almansór, died in 1199, and his death was followed by a rising of the Almoravids which took five years to suppress. Meanwhile successful efforts had been made by the pope and clergy to arrange the differences among the Christian states, and a confederation was formed between the five kings of Castile, Aragon, Leon, Navarre, and Portugal. When Ya'kúb's successor, Mohammed al-Násir, had succeeded in restoring order in Andalusia and prepared to march against the Christians, he was confronted by the allies in the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in the Sierra Morena (July 16, 1212). After an obstinate struggle the Christians gained a decisive victory, and their success decided the fate of Spain. The religious impulse which had constituted the original strength of the Almohades had come to an end; they were regarded as infidels by the orthodox Moslems, and the first failure necessarily led to their downfall. The cruelties with which they sought to repress the rising discontent only excited popular feeling against them, and when Al-Motawakkil, a descendant of the family of Ibn Húf which had once ruled in Saragossa, raised the standard of revolt in Andalusia, the bulk of the population joined him, and Al-Ma'mún, the last of the Almohades who held any power in Spain, fled to Africa in 1232. The chief result of their rule was to depress the Arab element in the Mussulman population of Spain. Hitherto the Arabs, though numerically in a minority, had retained the preponderance due to their original prestige. Henceforth the infidels of Spain can only be considered and spoken of as Moors.

After the fall of the Almohades the triumphs of the Christian arms were rapid and decisive. The separation of Castile and Leon, which had been productive of so much disaster, was finally terminated in 1230 by the accession of Ferdinand III., the son of Alfonso IX. of Leon and Berengaria of Castile. The province of Estremadura had been annexed to Leon by Alfonso IX., and now formed part of the united kingdom which under Ferdinand III. rapidly extended itself southwards. In 1233 the Castilian army won a great victory over the Moors under Al-Motawakkil, and three years later Ferdinand himself captured Cordova, so long the capital of the Mohammedan rulers and one of the most wealthy and

beautiful cities of Europe. In 1237 Al-Motawakkil was assassinated, and with him perished the last semblance of Moorish unity. The numerous emirs became independent rulers, and the most powerful of them, Mohammed Ibn al-Ahmar of Granada, became a tributary of Castile and ceded the strong town of Jaen (1246). In 1248 Seville, the second of the Mohammedan cities, submitted to Ferdinand, who within a few years annexed Xerez de la Frontera, Medina Sidonia, and Cadiz. By these acquisitions the frontier of Castile was extended to the southern coast before Ferdinand III.'s death in 1252. A considerable number of Moors submitted to the rule of Castile, but the Christians had become intolerant during the long war, and most of the conquered population sought a new home either in Granada or in Africa.

Meanwhile Aragon had taken a no less important part in the struggle. Pedro I. (1196-1213), the successor of Alfonso II., had excited the discontent of his subjects, partly by seeking coronation from Pope Innocent III., and partly by his excessive taxation. The "union" of nobles and towns compelled the king to diminish his exactions. Pedro took part in the battle of Navas de Tolosa, but his attention was diverted from Spanish affairs by his relationship with Raymond of Toulouse, which involved him in the Albigensian crusade, where he met his death. His son James I. (1213-1276), however, resumed the war against the infidels, and won in it the title of "The Conqueror." With the help of his Catalonian subjects, at that time perhaps the most accomplished sailors in the world, he conquered the Balearic Islands (1229-1233), which had long been a stronghold of the Moslem and a centre for piratical attacks upon the Christian states. Still more important was his reduction of Valencia (1238), which had once before been conquered by Ruy Diaz. The last achievement of the great king was the conquest of the province of Murcia (1266), the last of the Moorish territories in Spain except Granada. Murcia, though reduced by Aragon, was handed over to Castile. By the acquisition of Algarve Portugal had already acquired frontiers which correspond roughly to those which it has at the present day.

From the latter half of the 13th century the crusading energy of the Spaniards came to a sudden standstill, and the Moors were allowed to retain possession of Granada for more than two centuries. The causes of this abrupt termination of the war before it had reached what seemed to be its natural and legitimate end have often been discussed. In the first place Castile was henceforth the only state which was directly interested in the war. By the acquisition of Seville and Murcia it had separated Granada both from Portugal and Aragon, neither of which states had henceforth any conterminous frontier with the Moors. The state of Granada, though small when compared with Castile, was by nature easily defensible, as was made amply apparent in the last campaigns under Ferdinand and Isabella. The attention of Castile was often distracted by foreign interests or by internal dissensions. Again, the Moors were more concentrated and homogeneous in Granada than they had been when their rule was more extensive. The large subject population, many of whom were Christians or renegades, had been a great source of weakness, and this no longer existed. They, like their opponents, had given up the tolerance that had once distinguished them, and hardly any but true Mohammedans can have remained in Granada. Something, too, must be attributed to the wily policy and well-timed submission of Mohammed Ibn al-Ahmar, who even gave assistance to Ferdinand III. against the other Moorish emirs.

With the termination of the crusade Spanish history loses what little unity it had possessed for the last two