sarily produce, without communicating to all the separate dependencies some share of its convulsions. Most of the governors renounced their allegiance, and declaring themselves independent, proceeded to the election of kings or magistrates. Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Valencia, Huesca, Lisbon; and many others, had their respective sovereigns, whose histories for a space of two centuries exhibit only successive scenes of conspiracies, massacres, devastations, and all the other consequent horrors of civil or family dissentions.

Nor does Christian Spain, during the same period, present more pleasing scenes to contemplation. Sancho the Great, king of Navarre, who died at the commencement of this century, had divided his estates among his four sons. Navarre, with his possessions in Cantabria, was given to the eldest son, Don Garcia, as also the part of Najarre in which his father had resided, the entire Buzeva, which had been detached from Castile, and some smaller districts bordering upon other states. Castile was bequeathed to Don Ferdinand. The smaller states of Ripargocé to Don Gonsalvo, and Aragon to his natural son Don Ramirez. By one of the latter clauses of his will, each of the three last mentioned Princes were to assume the title of King; and each hold his respective state in full sovereignty and totally independent of the other.

By this participation, Christian Spain was divided into six
monarchies, which, in extent, did not amount altogether to near a fourth part of the present kingdom, viz. the four which Sancho had ordained, and the kingdom of Leon and county of Barcelona. The southern part of Leon was occupied by the Moors, and Veremond, son of Alphonso the fifth, had given that part which lies towards mount Ocha, as a marriage portion with his sister. Galicia had been an appendage of Leon, but this crown, after the loss of Coimbra, could not much calculate on its possessions on the side of Portugal.

The Christian sovereigns, always of kin, sometimes even brothers, in point of barbarity did not yield even to their Moorish neighbours. Nor did difference of religion operate as a greater preventative than the ties of blood to their alliances with Musulmans for their mutual destruction; it being by no means an uncommon thing to see an army of Moors invited by Christians on one side, to combat with an army of Christians invited by Moors on the other. Thus we find, at the battle of Alcantara, a count D’urgal and three bishops, Arnold bishop of Vie, Accio of Barcelona, and Otho of Gironne,* among the slain on the part of the Moors; thus Alphonso the fifth, a Christian sovereign, gave his daughter in marriage to Abdallah king of Toledo, to secure his alliance against Castile.

* Note (A).
It may naturally be supposed, that, during the period we are treating of, crimes of all kinds were as prevalent among Christians as among Moors; and that the excesses of the former at least kept pace with those perpetrated by the latter. At one period we read of a Sancho Garcia of Castile, who compelled his mother to swallow a poison which the unnatural parent had prepared for himself. At another, we find the children of Ferdinand, another king of Castile, stript of the best part of their inheritance by their uncle Sancho king of Leon. Again, we hear of another Sancho, who assassinated his own brother. All Spain, in short, was assailed at one, and the same instant, by civil wars and foreign, by internal cruelties and external, while the unhappy people, upon whom the penalties of wicked or erroneous policy almost invariably alight, were made to answer with their lives and fortunes for the malversations of their rulers!

The first aggression among the Christian princes after the death of Sancho the Great, was committed by Garcia of Navarre against his natural brother Ramirez of Arragon. The aggressor in this instance was the sufferer; being compelled by his brother not only to abandon the territories he had invaded, but even his own, and to seek an asylum in the court of his brother Gonsalvo of Sobrarbe. By his precipitate retreat, the kingdom of Navarre was annexed for the moment to Arragon!
Scarcely had Ramirez secured this acquisition than his assistance was required by Ferdinand of Castile against his brother-in-law the king of Leon, who had possessed himself forcibly of the part of Castile bordering upon Mount Ocha, which Sancho, as we have already noticed, bequeathed to Ferdinand.

With the assistance of Ramirez, the Castilian monarch defeated his enemy in a pitched battle, in which the aggressor was killed. After his death the kingdom was annexed to Castile by the conqueror, who caused himself to be crowned in it, much against the wishes of his own subjects, the more thinking part of whom apprehended that Leon would thenceforward be absorbed into a province of Castile. In the person of Veremond ended the race of the Gothic kings, the immediate descendants of Pelagio, Alphonso and Ricardo.

It is foreign to my purpose in this concise History to trace minutely the progress of the Christian princes. My great object in bringing them thus forward, is merely to shew that their conduct was neither more pure nor exemplary than that of their Musulman neighbours. We find the same jealousy pervading both religions, the same injustice and violence, the same animosities, and the same want of union and principle.

But through the gloom diffused over Spain by these dark
and oppressive clouds, the mind is occasionally cheered by some flashes of magnanimity and benevolence. Such are the examples of Bennabad, king of Seville, and Almamon of Toledo, in whose courts two unfortunate monarchs, Alphonso of Leon, and Garcia of Galicia, had withdrawn, both dispossessed of their kingdoms by their brother Sancho. The Christian Sancho persecuted these brothers as his inveterate enemies, and the Moors, the approved inveterate enemies of the Christians, treated them as brothers.

Almamon in particular shewed the greatest sympathy for his royal guest. He assigned him not only a handsome establishment and a liberal pension, but continued to treat him on all occasions like a favoured son, till by the death of his unprincipled brother, the great impediment in the way of his birthright was removed, and the passage to his throne again opened to him.

Alphonso was at first not a little embarrassed how to conduct himself when the happy revolution in his fortunes took place. He saw that before he could well assert his rights to Castile, it was necessary he should be safely delivered from Toledo, and how far could he be sure that the laws of hospitality and friendship would prevail over maxims of state policy? Or that Almamon might not detain his person, the more securely to extend his dominions on the side of Castile?
The Moor had certainly the most formidable of the Christian monarchs at this time in his possession, and might no doubt have exacted his own terms as the price of his ransom. But his high respect to the laws of hospitality raised him above such sordid considerations; and he scorned to treat him as an enemy, whom he had once recognized as a guest. On the contrary, he loaded him with presents and honoured him with the highest marks of favour and distinction; accompanying him himself as far on his route as Zamora, and offering unqualifiedly both his troops and treasures to facilitate his restoration.

Alphonso testified his sense of these obligations, by one of the first acts of his reign. He aided his benefactor against his enemy, the King of Cordova, and did this so effectually as completely to disable that monarch from renewing his aggressions.

After the death of Almammon, the grateful Castilian continued the same predilection and friendship for his son and successor Haccham. But the reign of this prince, unfortunately for his people, was of no duration, and at his death the crown of Toledo devolved to his brother Jabiah, or as others call him Haya, a prince in all respects his very counterpart. He is said, in short, not to have possessed one amiable quality; and from the very commencement of his reign, made himself equally obnoxious to all orders of his subjects, who were a mixture.
of Moors and Christians. At length the hatred against him became so general, that two different monarchs were invited by his subjects to dispossess him of the crown, the Christians having recourse to Alphonso, and the Moors to the King of Badajos.

It was with much reluctance Alphonso brought himself to accede to the splendid proposal. The former bounties of his deceased benefactor, his hospitality, his presents, his resentment of his wrongs, his sympathy under his sufferings, and above all the joy he had manifested at his happy restoration: all these considerations pleaded most powerfully against the measure, and the sordid workings of ambition were for a while restrained by the silent admonitions of gratitude. At length it was suggested to him, that, what he hesitated to accept, had been offered to another, and that other not a Christian; and that, as the people were determined upon a change, in case of his refusal they would throw themselves upon his rival for protection, and thus the cause of Christianity be injured without being productive of any advantage to the son of his benefactor.

The latter consideration at length prevailed, and Alphonso accordingly obtained possession of Toledo without the smallest resistance. But in making the acquisition he still remembered the bounties of the good Almamon so far as to qualify
an injustice which he could not in sound policy avoid. He suffered his son to reign at Valencia, and bound himself by oath to protect the Moorish mosque at Toledo; an oath which he could not afterwards prevent the Christians from violating.

The Moors had held this kingdom three hundred and sixty years, from the year seven hundred and fourteen, to the year one thousand and eighty. After its surrender Alphonso assumed the title of Emperor of Toledo, and hence this city has been always distinguished by the epithets of imperial and royal.

The city of Toledo was said to have contained, about two centuries ago, upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants. The number now does not exceed thirty thousand. The whole country is mountainous or hilly, and these hills are the very images of sterility; yet, under this forbidding and barren appearance, we find among the mountains many rich and beautiful meadows all well watered, in which the vines are seen attaching themselves to the trees in such a manner as if designedly to present so many natural bowers, to protect the traveller from the scorching heats of the sun. These spots are called Cignaroles. The roads to them are tedious; but those who surmount them are so amply compensated for their
patience, that it is not without great regret they bring themselves to quit these charming retreats.

After the death of Alphonso the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were again separated. But, though under different sovereigns, they furnished full employment to the Moors in the South of Spain, while in the North they were harrassed incessantly, and dispossessed of many of their strong cities, by the kings of Arragon and Navarre and the counts of Barcelona.

We cannot avoid noticing that it was about this period, that the celebrated Cid principally achieved his great conquests, and distinguished himself in the fields of glory.

Roderic Dias de Bivac or Bivar, surnamed the Cid, whose love for the fair Chimene, and unhappy quarrel with her father, the count de Gomez, has furnished matter for one of Corneille’s best tragedies, was by birth a simple Castilian knight, equally destitute of consideration as of fortune. But such were his talents, so transcendent his virtues, both moral and political, that they quickly surmounted these adventitious defects, and exalted him suddenly in the political hemisphere as a star of the very first magnitude.

The Cid first attracted notice in the reign of Ferdinand
First, king of Castile, about the middle of the eleventh century. On the death of Ferdinand, when Sancho the Second, who succeeded him, wished to deprive his sister Uraque of the city of Zamora, the Cid with a noble intrepidity pointed out the injustice of the act, demonstrating how far such an aggression must violate both the laws of honour and the ties of blood; for which offence he was banished by the impetuous Sancho. But Sancho could not long dispense with the talents of such a servant, and kings, like ordinary men, must sometimes forget affronts. He was therefore recalled from this first banishment very shortly after it had taken place.

When this Sancho, by whom he had been thus ungenerously treated, was afterwards murdered before the walls of Zamora, and the Castilians wished that Alphonso, his successor, who was suspected of being accessory to the murder, should purge himself of the charge upon oath, the Cid was the only person who had the courage to demand this formality from the new sovereign. He not only proposed the oath, but proposed it at the very altar where he was crowned, insisting that it should be pronounced audibly, and accompanying his demand with strong imprecations upon him in case of perjury. We must naturally suppose that this insult could not easily be overlooked. He was shortly after banished a second time, though, as was given out, not for this offence.
Whatever may have been the motive for this harsh sentence, it only tended to advance his character the higher, and present it with additional luster to the admiration of his country. It was in exile his career of glory commenced. It was then he exhibited prodigies of valour and generosity; that he soared above the most celebrated of his cotemporaries, and eclipsed them far by the splendour and rapidity of his conquests. By these exploits he triumphed even over his master, who, either from envy of his prowess, or because he required his services elsewhere, found it necessary to recall and even affected to reinstate him in favour.

But this occasional leniency was neither sincere nor lasting, the Cid from his texture being but ill qualified to thrive in the hot-bed of a court. He was, therefore, scarcely recalled when he was banished the third time, and his loyalty again brought to the test by further insults and disgraces. But, like the purest of the metals, it remained proof against all assays, and, though twisted and tortured in a thousand different shapes, preserved its intrinsic characteristic value to the last. When he was recalled from exile, he abandoned his conquests with the same celerity he made them, to fly to the presence of his ungenerous persecutor. In disgrace he readily forgot all wrongs for the service of his master. When in favour he was equally ready to offend him by wholesome counsels, and the avowal of honest though unpalatable truths.
It was during his third exile that the Cid conquered Valencia, and made many other valuable acquisitions, over the whole of which he might with safety, and in right of conquest, have usurped to himself the full sovereignty. But his high sense of duty scorned to stoop to such sordid considerations, and he faithfully retained all his conquests in the name of his sovereign. Oh! proud pre-eminence of heroic virtue! In the faithful groupings of history, the character of the miscreant monarch is thrown into a kind of background. It is cast into the shade, and almost wholly eclipsed by the exalted and splendid virtues of the injured unalienated subject.

This hero died at Valencia, as full of years as glory, leaving three children; a son, who was killed in battle when young, and two daughters, Donna Elvira and Donna Sol, who married two princes of the House of Navarre; from one of whom, by a long train of alliances, are descended the Bourbons, who lately occupied the French and Spanish thrones.

While they were assisted by the Cid, the Christian princes were always successful against the common enemy. But within a few years after his death, which happened in 1099, the Moors of Andalusia, having changed masters, became for the moment as formidable as ever.

By the fall of Toledo, Seville had risen into great power, and
the kings of this country, the ancient sovereigns of Cordova, still held Estremadura and a considerable portion of Portugal. Bennabad, one of the best men of his day, was the then reigning monarch, and as he was the only enemy capable of disturbing the tranquility of Castile, Alphonso the Sixth, the then king, to secure his alliance, had obtained his daughter Zaïde, in marriage, and with her several considerable places in dower. This union was productive of consequences directly the reverse of those intended by it. It produced a bloody war, which terminated in Bennabad's ruin. Events which are partly to be attributed to the jealousy of the neighbouring states, but more to some important changes which had recently taken place in Africa.
CHAPTER THE SECOND.

FALL OF BENNABAD.—CONFEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES.

AFRICA, after being dismembered by the Fatimite Caliphs from the empire of the East, had devolved to conquerors far more ferocious than the lions of its deserts.* Under these monsters it had groaned for nearly three centuries, when they were at length supplanted by the Almoravides, a family originally of Egyptian descent. Of these Joseph ben Tannasin, the second of the dynasty, founded the city and empire of Morocco. Joseph, being a prince of considerable military talents, and equal ambition, had scarcely established himself upon the throne, when he began to cast an invidious eye upon the possessions of his brethren in Spain, and to covet a participation of their spoils. If this was his wish, the alliance between Bennabab and Alphonso soon furnished a pretext for realizing it.

* Note (B).
Some writers pretend that Bennabad had formed a plan for annexing all Muslim Spain to the crown of Seville; but that as Alphonso, his son-in-law, could not, as a Christian, openly countenance this project, it was agreed between them, that Bennabad should solicit assistance from the Almoravide. Others pretend, that Joseph’s assistance was required by the lesser states in the neighbourhood of Seville, who were justly alarmed at the close alliance between Bennabad and a Christian sovereign.

Perhaps the Almoravide was swayed by neither of these motives. At all events we have no occasion to resort to them, when we recollect, that, to a conqueror flushed with success, and not overburdened with scruples, the wealth of Spain, and its contiguity to his own dominions, were of themselves inducements sufficiently powerful.

Whatever the inducement may have been, we know that Joseph landed a considerable army on the coast of Andalusia, with which he surprised Ferdinand, and easily became master of Cordova. After this first success he proceeded to Seville, and was preparing to carry the city by assault, when the unfortunate Bennabad delivered himself and his one hundred children to the mercy of the Almoravide; hoping to screen his subjects from pillage by this voluntary surrender of his crown and liberty. But no sacrifice could soften the natural ferocity of his African conqueror. The barbarian loaded
the royal captive with irons, and fearing the many virtues which justly endeared him to his people, sentenced him to drag on the remnant of his miserable life in the gloom of an African prison, where his daughters, who had associated themselves to his misfortunes, were forced to depend on their own hard exertions, to obtain a scanty and precarious subsistence for their unhappy parent. In this miserable prison, the good Bennabad languished six years, no otherwise regretting his reverses than as his subjects were affected by them; and with no wish for life except as it continued him in the society and enjoyment of his family.

In his hours of painful solitude he composed some verses, which are still extant and in estimation. In these he endeavours to console his children, for the hard measure his benevolence had entailed upon them. Or, contemplating his past grandeur with true philosophic magnanimity, holds up his example, as a cautionary mirror, to such of his brother monarchs, as plume themselves too highly on the stability of their fortunes, and think, because they are kings, they are necessarily exempted from the ordinary casualties of humanity.

Joseph having thus mastered Cordova and Seville, was tempted to carry his arms against the other neighbouring states: and, so rapid was his progress, that the Moors began to cherish the hopes of retrieving their former glories, and ex-
tending once more their empire over the greater part of Spain. His successes, however, were too rapid, and his views too obvious, to escape the vigilance of the Christian Princes, and they very wisely suspended their own contests to unite with Alphonso against the common enemy. In this great undertaking they were seconded by many gallant warriors from motives of zeal and piety. Raymond of Burgundy and his kinsman Henry, both princes of the blood of France, accompanied by Raymond de St. Giles, count of Tholouse, and a crowd of other illustrious knights, crossed the Pyrenees to range themselves under the Castilian banners.

This powerful confederacy completely damped the ardor of the African prince. He withdrew his armies precipitately, abandoning all his conquests, and fled for safety to his native country. Alphonso gave his daughters in marriage to the Princes who had assisted him, in requital of their late services. Uraque, his eldest daughter, was bestowed upon Raymond of Burgundy, to whom she bore a son who afterwards ascended the throne of Castile. Theresa became the wife of Henry, bringing as her portion, the districts that had been or might be recovered in Portugal. This marriage laid the foundation of the Portuguese monarchy! Elvira was betrothed to the count of Tholouse, whom she accompanied to the holy wars, and who became afterwards the founder of some other states.
The encouragements dealt out by Alphonso to the knights and princes who had thus critically assisted him, drew crowds of other heroes to his standard, with whose assistance he possessed himself of Saragossa, and made other equally valuable acquisitions. Not long after this period, Alphonso, the son of Henry, who became afterwards the first king of Portugal, availed himself of a fleet of English, Germans and Flemings, on their way to the Holy Land, to lay siege to Lisbon, and this city being carried by assault, became, what we hope it will be once more, the capital of a rich and independent kingdom.
CHAPTER THE THIRD.

DISTRACTIONS IN AFRICA.—OF ABENZOAR AND AVERROES.

While the Christian arms were thus extending in Portugal, the kings of Castile and Navarre were equally successful in Andalousia. The Moors, indeed, were harassed on all sides without being able to obtain any effectual assistance from the Almoravide in Africa. Joseph was sufficiently employed at home, having to defend himself against a chief of the name of Tomru, who, while he affected to restore the true doctrines of Mahomet, was employing them in fact only as a kind of stalking-horse to his ambition. Tomru dethroned the Almoravide without much difficulty, and having murdered as usual all his family, commenced in his person the new dynasty of the Almohades.

The arts still continued to flourish at Cordova, notwithstanding all the wars and revolutions, to which that unfortunate city was exposed. They were not, it must be owned, as flou-
rishing as they had been under the fostering hand of Abdelzamin. But they still were patronized; and produced, in the twelfth century, many illustrious characters; among whom the skilful Abenzoar and the scientific Averroes have been justly distinguished.

Abenzoar* is said to have lived a complete century. He practised as a physician with much success, and left behind him many excellent treatises in pharmacy and medicine, which are still extant and still in estimation.

Averroes† did not yield to his contemporary in either of these branches of science, but was certainly superior to him in all others. He was not only an expert physician, but a lawyer, a commentator, a poet and philosopher, in all which various branches he acquired a reputation which succeeding ages have not hesitated to confirm. From the infinite variety of his studies and pursuits, his mind might be called a rich storehouse of knowledge, in which every article was so methodically arranged, as to be always at command and forthcoming on the shortest notice.

In his youth, though addicted to pleasure, he was always passionately fond of poetry. In his maturer age, he de-

* Note (B).   † Note (C).
stroved most of the productions of his youthful muse, and applied himself to the law with so much assiduity as to be promoted to the station of a judge. This station he also quitted, at a more advanced period, for the study of physic, which he practised many years with the greatest success. Finally, towards the close, and to the end of his very useful life, he devoted himself wholly to philosophic studies. It was his genius that first inspired the Moors with a relish for Greek literature. He translated Aristotle from the original into Arabic with comments, and left behind him many valuable works both in philosophy and medicine. Thus he stands doubly recommended to his countrymen, since he was not only attentive to the preservation of life, but to the preservation of morals also, upon which every thing estimable in life unquestionably hinges.

But to return from this digression. Africa being rent and torn by the conflicts between her different tribes, was not now in a state to assist the Musulmans in Spain; of whose weakness the Christian princes did not fail to profit, so far as to extend their conquests on the side of Cordova. But though they gained some advantages daily, they were too much occupied by their own jealousies and divisions to effect any thing decisive. They wanted nothing but union. The game was in their hands, but they were deterred from playing it successfully by the want of this requisite principle. In fact they were
often divided without being sensible they were so, and though on emergencies, or in times of danger, they united, yet the immediate object of their union was no sooner attained, than they separated and became as jarring and discordant as ever.

The new kingdom of Portugal, founded principally by the valour of Alphonso, declared war against Leon. Arragon and Castile, after many fruitless conflicts among themselves, united against Navarre, which forced Sancho, the king of that petty state, to solicit aid from Africa. But the Almohade prince, to whom he applied, was too much occupied himself to afford him any effectual assistance. He sent him, however, the shadow of a succour under two brothers, the two Jacobs, which had no influence upon his fortunes. One of the brothers was defeated by the Portuguese almost on the instant of his arrival, and did not long survive his disaster. The other, who was destined to act against the Castilians, had better success, but, as some new factions had sprung up in Africa, he was forced not only to withdraw his army, but to abandon all his conquests to make sure of his retreat.

So many little contests were productive of no benefits either to the Moors or the Christians. Treaties were renewed repeatedly; but they were no sooner renewed than violated, each nation being always on the watch to recover by sur-
prize what one or the other but a few weeks preceding had formally renounced.

The Kings of Africa still continued to be regarded as the sovereigns of Andalousia. But their sovereignty was merely nominal, being only admitted when they themselves were at hand, or when their assistance was required, but despised when these principles no longer predominated.
CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

MAHOMET AL NAZIR.—CONFEDERACY OF THE CHRISTIAN POWERS.—BATTLE OF TOLOSA.—MOORISH TACTICS.

Such was the state of affairs in Spain, when Mahomet Al Nazir, fourth Prince of the Almohade dynasty, ascended the throne in Africa. The distractions in that country had been quieted antecedent to his accession, either by the death or secession of the Almoravides. Mahomet therefore having nothing at home to occupy his attention, turned, like his predecessors, his thoughts towards Spain, projecting the recovery of those provinces, which Tarik and Moussar by their valour had originally acquired. He determined therefore upon what he politically called a holy war against the Christians; and his intentions were no sooner avowed, than warriors resorted to him in such multitudes, that he was enabled in the course of a very few weeks to cross the Streights at the head of a most formidable army. This force on its arrival in Spain was further augmented by the resort of the Spanish Moors, who rushed.
from all parts to join the invaders, partly from resentment of recent injuries; but more from rooted hereditary antipathy to the Christians. Being thus encouraged, Mahomet began his march for Castile, at the head, as we are told, of six hundred thousand Moors, all eager for action and confident of victory.

These formidable preparations could not escape the vigilance of the king of Castile. Having seen the storm gathering, he had taken the requisite precautions to guard against its fury, and had accordingly solicited and obtained succours from most of the European potentates. In aid of his exertions the sovereign Pontiff had been applied to by Roderic Archbishop of Toledo; and the holy Father was not sparing of his indulgences. The zealous Archbishop however did not choose to trust wholly to the efficacy of these weapons, and had therefore recourse to arms of a more active nature. On his return through France from the Holy See, he had preached to the people in the different cities through which he passed, and, by his sacred eloquence, acquired many strenuous champions for the defence of the Cross. More than fifty thousand crusaders sallied out of France and Italy to enrol themselves under the Castilian banners. Peter the Second of Arragon and Sancho of Navarre put themselves at the head of their respective forces. All Christian Spain, in short, was animated with one common sentiment and feeling, and embarked in the glorious struggle with
a degree of zeal and unanimity which had never before been witnessed. Indeed if we advert to the danger to which Christianity was then exposed, a danger unknown to it since the days of the Cid, it must be admitted, that both enthusiasm and unanimity were never so requisite as at the present crisis.

This may be considered as the æra of religious frenzy or enthusiasm, under whose impulsive ardour the Christian warriors of Europe, alike abandoned kindred, country, friends, in short all the most endearing ties, to unite in one compact confederacy, to make one grand, decisive effort, for the subversion of infidelity.

The Christian army came up with the enemy at a place called the las Navas de Tolossa, a very strong position at the foot of the Sierra Morena; so they call that chain of mountains which separates New Castile from Andalousia. Mahomet had seized all the defiles through which he thought it possible for the Christians to attempt a passage, hoping thus either to compel them to fall back by cutting off their supplies, or to crush them in the passage if they ventured to advance. A project, which, if it had succeeded, must certainly have reduced the Christians to very great straits, if it had not occasioned their total ruin.

But the Spaniards were providentially relieved from this
dilemma, when they least expected it, by the seasonable intervention of a shepherd, who, being perfectly acquainted with all the turns and windings of the mountains, pointed out a defile which had escaped the notice of either army, and thus enabled them to advance. Though this defile was extremely intricate, and indeed hardly practicable, they had no alternative but to attempt it; and after scrambling over rocks almost inaccessible, through many circuitous, out-of-the-way tracts, and torrents greatly tremendous and discouraging, they attained at length the summit of the mountain. The Christian army passed two days on this eminence in preparing for battle by prayer, confession and the sacrament, and at the expiration of this term presented themselves, as if by enchantment, to the view of the astonished Musulmans. Of these pious preparations the princes furnished the example, and the priests who swarmed in the camp, having in corroboration of these examples fortified the army by general absolution, prepared with their wonted zeal to accompany their leaders into the hottest of the action.

The Christian army was formed in three divisions, each division being commanded by one of the kings. Alphonso placed himself in the center, having under him the knights of the newly instituted orders of Calatrava and St. James.

* Note (D).
Roderic, Archbishop of Toledo, the ocular witness and historian of this great event, stood at the side of the king preceded by the Great Cross, the chief standard of the army. Sancho with his Navarrese commanded the right wing, and Peter at the head of the Aragomans the left. The French croisés, which had been considerably thinned by the desertion of many of their body to whom the intense heat of the sun was insupportable, were led on by Arnold, bishop of Narbonne, and Theobald Blazon, count of Poitevin. Thus formed, the Christians descended into the valley which separated the two armies.

The Moors on the other hand covered the country as usual with their innumerable legions, but as usual they were formed without either skill or order. Their principal dependence was on their cavalry, amounting to one hundred thousand. This cavalry was certainly excellent; but their infantry was totally the reverse. It was unaccustomed to war, and, being assembled in haste, both badly armed and badly disciplined. Mahomet placed himself on an eminence, near the centre of his army, from whence he commanded a view of the whole field. He was guarded by a strong palisade of iron chains and a select body of dismounted cavalry, and in the middle of this inclosure he waited the issue of the battle, with the Alcoran in one hand and his sword in the other, the hill on
which he stood, being further surrounded by all his bravest squadrons.

It was against this eminence the Christians directed their first assault, which was made with such impetuosity that the Moors began to give way. But they were quickly rallied, and returned so furiously to the charge, that their assailants were, in their turn, thrown into some disorder, and retired rather precipitately. Alphonso, who signalized himself greatly in this battle, became seriously alarmed at this unexpected change in the appearance of the field, and turning to the archbishop, who had attended him everywhere with the cross, exclaimed, "It is here we must die." "No, Sir," replied the reverend warrior, "it is here we must live and triumph." These words were no sooner heard by the brave ecclesiastic who carried the cross, than he precipitated himself with his sacred standard into the midst of the enemy, where he was bravely supported by the archbishop and the king.

The battle now became desperate and decisive. Roused by the examples of their gallant leaders, the Castilians rush forward to protect their standard and their sovereign. At the same instant the kings of Navarre and Arragon, already victorious in their divisions, unite against the hill. The Moors are assailed on all sides by Castilians, Arragonians and
Navarrese. At length, after a most obstinate and desperate resistance, the brave King of Navarre cuts his way through the enemies squadrons, arrives at the inclosure, and forces the iron chains.* This gallant manœuvre decided the fate of the battle. Mahomet perceiving his principal defence give way, quits the field precipitately, and the Moors, no longer animated by his presence, disperse in every direction. Nothing could now withstand the enthusiastic valour of the Spaniards. Thousands of Musulmans were sacrificed to their fury, and at the end of the immense carnage, the Archbishop of Toledo, assisted by the other bishops militant, chaunted a Te Deum on the field of battle, in the presence of the triumphant sovereigns.

Such is a summary of the much celebrated battle of Tolozá; a battle worthy to be recorded, not only from its importance to the cause of Christianity, but because it gives us some idea of Moorish tactics; which, in fact, consisted in little more than joining battle with an enemy with all possible impetuosity, each man fighting for himself, and committing his success to his own personal strength and resolution.

It must be confessed that the Spaniards in this age were not much greater adepts than their adversaries in the art of

* Note (E).
war. Yet they had certainly one material advantage; their infantry was even then accustomed to resist a charge in a body, a practice which they brought afterwards to the greatest perfection; while the infantry of the Moors, being strangers to this practice, could scarcely ever act to such effect as to recommend itself to even ordinary estimation.

But if the Moorish infantry was of no account, its defects were amply compensated by the cavalry, which was, beyond all doubt, extremely formidable. The men were selected from the best families; they were mounted on the fleetest and most beautiful chargers, which, being trained from infancy to the horse exercise, they managed with uncommon dexterity, darting upon those that opposed them with the velocity of lightning. They managed both the sabre and lance with skill and activity. When pressed in action they would fly, or affect to fly, with the greatest swiftness; but they would rally again as swiftly, and often restore a battle when it seemed on the point of being irretrievably lost.

Yet over this cavalry, excellent as it certainly was, the Christians had one signal advantage. They were cased completely in steel, while their opponents, comparatively, were almost unarmed, their heads being only protected by steel, and their stomachs by ordinary breastplates. With respect to their infantry, it may be said to have been almost naked,
having no defensive armour but their breastplates, and no offensive but their pikes. Hence it is reasonable to infer that in battle, but, above all, in flight, they must always have suffered considerably. A conclusion which may lessen in some degree that appearance of exaggeration which the details of this battle carry with them. Yet, with all the allowances that can be made, these details are certainly incredible, notwithstanding the authorities by which they have been transmitted.

Historians assure us, that the Christians in the battle of Toloza, destroyed upwards of two hundred thousand Moors, with the loss to themselves of only one hundred and fifteen men. That the loss on their side was excessive, there can be no doubt, since this memorable battle seems to have crippled the powers of the Kings of Morocco so completely as to have forced them from that time to moderate their views, so far as to renounce all hopes of the future reduction of the Spaniards. These latter, at all events, have always regarded this victory as of the last importance, since the battle of Toloza has not only formed the subject of many of their choicest songs and legendary tales, but is, even at this day, commemo-rated at Toledo with the utmost parade of pomp, triumph and exultation.
CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

DEATH OF MAHOMET.—EMPIRE OF MOROCCO DIVIDED.—
STATE OF THE MOORISH POWER IN SPAIN, AFTER
THE BATTLE OF TOLOZA.—JAMES THE FIRST OF AR-
AGON AND FERDINAND OF CASTILE.

The battle of Toloza proved more immediately fatal to
Mahomet than to the Moors of Andalonsia. These retired
into their principal cities, and being strengthened by the rem-
nants of the African army which had betaken themselves to
the same shelter, they were secured for the present against
all assaults. Indeed, the Christian princes seem to have been
too well satisfied with their late transcendent good fortune to
wish to molest them. Instead of following up the blow, they
separated, contenting themselves with seizing such of the
cities as lay immediately in their route.

To Mahomet his disappointment was productive of far dif-
ferent consequences. He was despised by his own subjects,
and forsaken by his kindred and friends, and not only lost all his influence in Spain, but had the humiliation of seeing his subjects in that quarter throw off their allegiance and divide into so many independent sovereignties. These changes are supposed to have hastened his death, and with him perished all the fortunes of the Almohades. Some of these princes indeed succeeded him, but the same trials, the same fatality awaited all, each being precipitated from the throne almost at the moment he was advanced to it. The empire of Morocco, after being long agitated by these severe and reiterated shocks, fell at length to pieces, and out of its scattered remnants were constructed the three distinct kingdoms of Tunis, Fez and Tremecin. But these kingdoms, being rivals from the cradle, only served to multiply, and perpetuate, the atrocities by which the pages of African history have been uniformly blackened.

Some dissentions in Castile at this period gave the Moors of Spain a little leisure to respire. Their numbers were still great and their power formidable. They were still in possession of Valencia, Murcia, Andalousia and Grenada, together with a part of Algarvez and the whole of the Baleares; islands then but imperfectly known to the Christians of the continent! These states had been parcelled out among as many sovereigns, the principal of whom was Benhoud, a descendant of the ancient kings of Saragossa, who by his courage and talents
had acquired almost the whole south east district of Spain. The kings of Valencia and Seville ranked next to Benhoud. With respect to the savage who reigned at Majorca, he could be deemed nothing better than a captain of pirates.

Such was the state of Moorish Spain, when two illustrious characters succeeded at the same time to the two first Christian thrones, and, having allayed the troubles in their kingdoms, which had raged during their respective minorities, determined to combine their forces against the common enemy. These heroes were James the First of Arragon, and Ferdinand the Third of Castile. Both were equally intent on glory, and had fortunately no rival interests to distract their councils, or divert them from the course of their policy. In addition to the courage and activity of his father, James inherited brighter talents and was far more fortunate. Ferdinand was a politic and valiant prince, whom history has exalted to the rank of heroes, and the church, either from zeal or adulation, to the number of its Saints. He was nephew to Blanche of Castile, queen of France, and cousin german to St. Louis, whom he resembled no less by his piety and valour, than by the wisdom of his laws.

The Castilian directed his arms chiefly on the side of Andalusia, where he exacted homage from most of the Musulman princes, and made many valuable acquisitions. Among these
was the original Alhambra, which he found forsaken on his approach, the affrighted inhabitants betaking themselves to Grenada, where they founded a new city, which they named after the one they had forsaken, and which, as we shall see in the sequel, became highly celebrated.

While Ferdinand was gathering laurels in this part of Spain, James embarked for the Baleares, and having landed at Majorca defeated a considerable body of Moors on the shore of that island. After this first success he laid siege to the capital, which was carried by assault; the royal knight, who claimed precedence in every danger, being the first to enter the breach. The taking of the capital was followed by the surrender of the island, and the expulsion of the Musulman monarch.

Having succeeded in this expedition, James projected another of still greater importance, the reduction of Valencia, which, after the death of the Cid, had again relapsed under the dominion of the infidels. This beautiful kingdom, on which nature seems to have lavished her choicest productions, but which man, as if to render his ingratitude unequivocal, has delighted in contaminating with blood, was governed at this time by Zeith, brother of that Mahomet Almohade who was defeated at Toloza. The rights of this Zeith to the crown were then contested by a powerful faction, which wished to substitute another prince of the name of Zean in his stead; so
that, when James invaded this kingdom, he found the two claimants contending strenuously for a prize which he was intent upon arresting from both. Under pretence of assisting Zean, the Arragonian entered the kingdom of Valencia, and, having vanquished his enemy in several different actions, and secured many of his principal towns, proceeded to invest his capital.

Zeith being thus closely pressed, solicited the protection of the king of Andalousia, whose dominions were then actually invaded, and his capital threatened by the overbearing arm of the Castilian.

Benhoud, the king of Cordova, was justly endeared to his people and to the Moors in general, being regarded by them as the main prop of the Musulman power in Spain. He was too politic not to perceive how deeply his own fate was implicated in that of Valencia, and, though himself tottering on his throne, and every where beset by the Castilians, he had determined to exert himself for the defence of that city. But while he was intent on this object, most unfortunately for the Valencians and his own subjects, he was treacherously murdered by one of his lieutenants, and by his death, the kings of Arragon and Castile released from the only enemy then capable of contending with them.
The death of Benhoud produced an immediate and fatal change among the Cordovians. Their courage forsook them entirely, all their energies abandoned them, and unmindful of their former glory and the value of the stake which was then contended for, they abjectly proposed a capitulation, of the terms of which the conqueror was not afterwards scrupulously observant. He left the inhabitants their lives; indeed, but he left them nothing more, compelling them to renounce their possessions and their country. Thousands of the unhappy people went weeping out of that superb city, which for a series of five hundred and twenty years, they had been taught to look up to as the bulwark of their independency, the asylum of their elegant arts, and the sacred sanctuary of their religion. Their splendid palaces, their spacious and elegant gardens, their solemn temples, and above all their grand mosque, which had been embellished by five centuries of labour and expense, alike attracted their parting regrets, and overwhelmed them with anguish and despair. The victorious soldiery, to whom they were compelled to renounce these elegances, the objects of their just veneration, were wholly insensible to the value of the recent acquisition. They were far better pleased to destroy than to possess. And Ferdinánd, who had grasped so eagerly at the talisman of Orosmanes, found his hands after all filled only with feathers. He found himself the master of a solitary deserted kingdom, to which he was obliged to attract settlers by particular remunerations,
and even to compel the continuance of part of his own soldiery, who murmured loudly at being thus forced to exchange the barren rocks of Leon, for the palaces of Caliphs and the paradise of the world!

The grand mosque of Abdelzamin was transformed into a cathedral, and Cordova became dignified by her prebends and bishops. But when has the bigotry of misguided bishops and prebends been found to produce wealth, advance population, or conduce essentially to the scanty portion of human happiness? Cordova, at this day, retains only a few wretched relics of its once celebrated grandeur and magnificence. Amidst the gloom of her mouldering walls, her ruined towers and dismantled pillars, not one object presents itself, not one cheerful ray beams out to brighten reflection, and cheer the contemplative traveller on his way.

"Yet time has seen, that lifts the low,
And level lays the lofty brow,
Has seen the broken pile complete;
Big with the pageantry of state;
(But, transient are the smiles of fate!"

Valencia soon shared the fate of her kindred city. While Zean, who had dethroned his brother Zeith, was besieged by the Spaniards without the walls, he had to combat the faction.

* Note (I).
of his brother within. And to complete his misfortunes, some fresh troops which the King of Tunis had sent to his relief, the only ones upon which he could calculate, were panic-struck, and fled at the first sight of the Christians.

Being thus crippled by a rival faction, thus cut off from all hopes of relief, and being disheartened by the fate of Cordova, Zean had no resource but to offer to become the vassal of the Arragonian monarch, and do homage for his crown. To these terms the haughty conqueror refused to accede. Nothing short of an unconditional surrender could satisfy his lofty views; and to this condition, painful and humiliating as it was, the unhappy Musulman had no alternative but to submit.

Upwards of fifty thousand Moors quitted Valencia, carrying with them their treasures, and, among these, the most valuable of all treasures, their population. James was so far faithful to his engagements, as to protect them against the rapacity of his soldiers, who, being apprised of the value, could not but repine at the loss of so rich a booty.

After these rapid and brilliant successes, nothing apparently remained to arrest the career of the Spaniards, or retard the complete recovery of their country. Seville, the only city of apparent importance that remained, was threatened by the arms of the triumphant Ferdinand, and all the fortunes of