



Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

La presente colección bibliográfica digital está sujeta a la legislación española sobre propiedad intelectual.

De acuerdo con lo establecido en la legislación vigente su utilización será exclusivamente con fines de estudio e investigación científica; en consecuencia, no podrán ser objeto de utilización colectiva ni lucrativa ni ser depositadas en centros públicos que las destinen a otros fines.

En las citas o referencias a los fondos incluidos en la investigación deberá mencionarse que los mismos proceden de la Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife y, además, hacer mención expresa del enlace permanente en Internet.

El investigador que utilice los citados fondos está obligado a hacer donación de un ejemplar a la Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife del estudio o trabajo de investigación realizado.

This bibliographic digital collection is subject to Spanish intellectual property Law. In accordance with current legislation, its use is solely for purposes of study and scientific research. Collective use, profit, and deposit of the materials in public centers intended for non-academic or study purposes is expressly prohibited.

Excerpts and references should be cited as being from the Library of the Patronato of the Alhambra and Generalife, and a stable URL should be included in the citation.

We kindly request that a copy of any publications resulting from said research be donated to the Library of the Patronato of the Alhambra and Generalife for the use of future students and researchers.

***Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife
C / Real de la Alhambra S/N . Edificio Nuevos Museos
18009 GRANADA (ESPAÑA)***

+ 34 958 02 79 45

biblioteca.pag@juntadeandalucia.es

JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

THE
STORY
of the
NATIONS

MOORS IN SPAIN

S. Lane-Poole

T. Fisher Unwin

A-3
1
19
B. P. A. G.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

EGYPT
ASSYRIA
GREECE
ROME
CARTHAGE
THE JEWS
BYZANTIUM
THE ROMANS
MONGOLS
MEXICO
MORWAY
SPAIN
GERMANY
HOLLAND

**BIBLIOTECA DE
LA ALHAMBRA**

Est. A-3

Tabl. 1

N.º 19

3/



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

The Story of the Nations.

THE MOORS IN SPAIN.

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generali
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

UNTA DE ANDALUCIA



THE STORY OF THE NATIONS.

Large Crown 8vo., Cloth, Illustrated, 5s.

1. ROME. ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A.
2. THE JEWS. Prof. J. K. HOSMER.
3. GERMANY. Rev. S. BARING-GOULD.
4. CARTHAGE. Prof. A. J. CHURCH.
5. ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE. Prof. J. P. MAHAFFY.
6. THE MOORS IN SPAIN. STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
7. ANCIENT EGYPT. Canon RAWLINSON.
8. HUNGARY. Prof. A. VAMBÉRY.
9. THE SARACENS. A. GILMAN, M.A.
10. IRELAND. Hon. EMILY LAWLESS.
11. CHALDEA. Z. A. RAGOZIN.
12. THE GOTHs. HENRY BRADLEY.
13. ASSYRIA. Z. A. RAGOZIN.
14. TURKEY. STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
15. HOLLAND. Prof. J. E. THOROLD ROGERS.
16. MEDIÆVAL FRANCE. Prof. G. MASSON.
17. PERSIA. G. W. S. BENJAMIN.
18. PHŒNICIA. Canon RAWLINSON.
19. MEDIA. Z. A. RAGOZIN.

London:

T. FISHER UNWIN, 25, Paternoster Square, E.C.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

Generalife

R 451

THE MOORS IN SPAIN

BY

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

*Author of "The Life of Viscount Strafford de Redcliffe," "The
Art of the Saracens in Egypt," "Turkey," &c.*

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A.

Donativo de S. Cónde de
Romanos a la Biblioteca
de la Alhambra. 1909

THIRD EDITION

London

T. FISHER UNWIN

26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

MDCCCLXXXIX



Entered at Stationers' Hall
By T. FISHER UNWIN.
COPYRIGHT BY G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS 1888
(For the United States of America).



PREFACE.

THE history of Spain offers us a melancholy contrast. Twelve hundred years ago, Tarik the Moor added the land of the Visigoths to the long catalogue of kingdoms subdued by the Moslems. For nearly eight centuries, under her Mohammedan rulers, Spain set to all Europe a shining example of a civilized and enlightened State. Her fertile provinces, rendered doubly prolific by the industry and engineering skill of her conquerors, bore fruit an hundredfold. Cities innumerable sprang up in the rich valleys of the Guadelquivir and the Guadiana, whose names, and names only, still commemorate the vanished glories of their past. Art, literature, and science prospered, as they then prospered nowhere else in Europe. Students flocked from France and Germany and England to drink from the fountain of learning which flowed only in the cities of the Moors. The surgeons and doctors of Andalusia were in the van of science: women were encouraged to devote themselves to serious study, and the lady doctor was not unknown among the people of Cordova. Mathematics, as-

tronomy and botany, history, philosophy and jurisprudence were to be mastered in Spain, and Spain alone. The practical work of the field, the scientific methods of irrigation, the arts of fortification and shipbuilding, the highest and most elaborate products of the loom, the graver and the hammer, the potter's wheel and the mason's trowel, were brought to perfection by the Spanish Moors. In the practice of war no less than in the arts of peace they long stood supreme. Their fleets disputed the command of the Mediterranean with the Fatimites, while their armies carried fire and sword through the Christian marches. The Cid himself, the national hero, long fought on the Moorish side, and in all save education was more than half a Moor. Whatsoever makes a kingdom great and prosperous, whatsoever tends to refinement and civilization, was found in Moslem Spain.

In 1492 the last bulwark of the Moors gave way before the crusade of Ferdinand and Isabella, and with Granada fell all Spain's greatness. For a brief while, indeed, the reflection of the Moorish splendour cast a borrowed light upon the history of the land which it had once warmed with its sunny radiance. The great epoch of Isabella, Charles v., and Philip II., of Columbus, Cortes, and Pizarro, shed a last halo about the dying moments of a mighty State. Then followed the abomination of desolation, the rule of the Inquisition, and the blackness of darkness in which Spain has been plunged ever since. In the land where science was once supreme, the Spanish doctors became noted for nothing but their ignorance and incapacity, and the discoveries of Newton and

Harvey were condemned as pernicious to the faith. Where once seventy public libraries had fed the minds of scholars, and half a million books had been gathered together at Cordova for the benefit of the world, such indifference to learning afterwards prevailed, that the new capital, Madrid, possessed no public library in the eighteenth century, and even the manuscripts of the Escorial were denied in our own days to the first scholarly historian of the Moors, though himself a Spaniard. The sixteen thousand looms of Seville soon dwindled to a fifth of their ancient number; the arts and industries of Toledo and Almeria faded into insignificance; the very baths—public buildings of equal ornament and use—were destroyed because cleanliness savoured too strongly of rank infidelity. The land, deprived of the skilful irrigation of the Moors, grew impoverished and neglected; the richest and most fertile valleys languished and were deserted; most of the populous cities which had filled every district of Andalusia fell into ruinous decay; and beggars, friars, and bandits took the place of scholars, merchants, and knights. So low fell Spain when she had driven away the Moors. Such is the melancholy contrast offered by her history.

Happily we have here only to do with the first of these contrasted periods, with Spain in her glory under the Moors, not with Spain in her degradation under the Bourbons. We have endeavoured to present the most salient points in the eight centuries of Mohammedan rule without prejudice or extenuation, and while not neglecting the heroic characters and

legends which appeal to the imagination of the reader, we have especially sought to give a clear picture of the struggle between races and creeds which formed the leading cause of political movement in mediæval Spain. The student who wishes to pursue the subject further than it has been possible to carry it in the limits of this volume should read the following authorities, to which we are deeply indebted. The most important is the late Professor Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (4 vols., Leyden, 1861), with the same scholar's *Récherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge* (2 vols., 3rd ed., Paris and Leyden, 1881). These works are full of valuable information presented in a form which, though somewhat fragmentary, is equally pleasing to the literary and the historical sense. Professor Dozy was an historian as well as an Orientalist, and his volumes are at once judicious and profound. Very useful, too, is Don Pascual de Gayangos's translation of El-Makkary's *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (2 vols., London, 1843), which has been exposed to some needlessly acrimonious criticism by Professor Dozy and others on the score of certain minor inaccuracies, but which none the less deserves the gratitude of all students who would rather have half a loaf than no bread, and are glad to be able to read an Arabic writer, even imperfectly, in a European tongue. Don Pascual's notes, moreover, present a mass of valuable material which can be obtained nowhere else. Beyond these two authorities there are many Arabic historians, whose works have been consulted in the composition of the present

volume, but who can hardly be recommended to the general student, as very few of them have found translators. A slight but very readable and instructive sketch of Arab civilization, with a glance at the Spanish development, is found in August Bebel's *Die Mohammedanisch-arabische Kulturperiode* (Stuttgart, 1884). For the last days of the Moorish domination, Washington Irving's picturesque *Conquest of Granada*, and Sir W. Stirling Maxwell's admirable *Don John of Austria*, largely drawn upon in this volume, deserve separate reading. All histories of the Moors written before the works of Gayangos and Dozy should be studiously avoided, since they are mainly founded upon Conde's *Dominacion de los Arabes in España*, a book of considerable literary merit but very slight historical value, and the source of most of the errors that are found in later works. Whether it has been in any degree the foundation of Miss Yonge's *Christians and Moors in Spain* (the only popular history of this period in English of which I have heard), I cannot determine: for a glance at her pages, while exciting my admiration, showed me that her book was written so much on the lines which I had drawn for my own work that I could not read it without risk of involuntary imitation.

Besides my indebtedness to the works of Dozy and Gayangos, and to the kind collaboration of Mr. Arthur Gilman, I have gratefully to acknowledge the assistance of my friend Mr. H. E. Watts, especially in matters of Spanish orthography.

In conclusion, those who are inclined to infer, from the picture here given of Moorish civilization, that

Mohammedanism is always on the side of culture and humanity, must turn to another volume in this series, my *Story of the Turks*, to see what Mohammedan barbarism means. The fall of Granada happened within forty years of the conquest of Constantinople; but the gain to Islam in the east made no amends for the loss to Europe in the west: the Turks were incapable of founding a second Cordova.

S. L.-P.

RICHMOND, SURREY,

July, 1886.



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

Francisco Sánchez



CONTENTS.

I.

PAGE

THE LAST OF THE GOTHS I

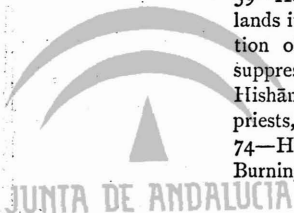
The seclusion of Ancient Arabia, 1—Change caused by the Prophet Mohammed, 2—The Saracen conquests, 3—Ceuta attacked, 4—Condition of Spain, 4—Effects of Roman rule, 5—The Visigoths, 6—Demoralization of all classes, 7—Witiza, 8—Roderick, 8—Story of Florinda, 11—Count Julian's revenge, 11—He joins the Arabs, 12—Musa son of Noseyr, 12—First incursion into Spain under Tarif, 13—Tārik's invasion, 13—The Enchanted Tower, 14—Roderick's vision, 18—Battle of the Guadalete, 20—Fate of Don Rodrigo, 21.

II.

THE WAVE OF CONQUEST 23

Subjugation of Spain, 23—Capture of Cordova, Malaga, Elvira, Murcia, 24—Theodemir's stratagem, 25—Flight of the Goths, 26—Musa crosses over to Spain, 27—His jealousy of Tārik, and recall, 28—Invasion of Aquitaine, and capture of Narbonne, 28—Battle of Tours, 29—A boundary set to the Moorish advance by Charles Martel, 30—Charlemagne invades Spain, 33—The Pass of Roncesvalles, 34—Death of Roland, 36.

	PAGE
III.	
THE PEOPLE OF ANDALUSIA	39
The limits of the Moorish territory, 39—Division between the north and the south, 40—Andalusia, 43—Condition of the people after the Conquest, 44—Taxation, 47—Moderation of the Moors, 47—State of the slaves, 48—The renegades, 49—Factions among the victors, 50—Arab tribal jealousies, 51—The Berbers or Moors proper, 52—Their superstitious character, 53—Berber insurrections in Africa and Spain, 54—Syrian Arabs come to the rescue, 55—Their settlement in Andalusia, 56.	
IV.	
A YOUNG PRETENDER	58
The Khalifs of Damascus, 58—Overthrow of the Omeyyads, 59—Adventures of Abd-er-Rahmān the Omeyyad, 60—He lands in Spain and is received with acclamation, 62—Foundation of the Omeyyad kingdom of Andalusia, 63—Revolts suppressed by Abd-er-Rahmān, 64—His character, 66—Hishām I., 71—His piety and virtues, 71—Power of the priests, 72—Yahya the theologian, 73—Accession of Hakam 74—His genial character, 74—Revolt of the zealots, 75—Burning of the southern suburb of Cordova, 76.	
V.	
THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS	78
Abd-er-Rahmān II., 78—Queen Tarūb, 81—Ziryāb the exquisite, 81—Frivolity of the Court, 82—Christian fanaticism, 84—A race for martyrdom, 85—St. Eulogius and Flora, 86—Death of Perfectus, 89—More "martyrs," 90—Indifference of the majority of the Christians, 90—Moderation counselled by the Church, 91—Flora and Eulogius in prison, 92—Their martyrdom, 93.	
VI.	
THE GREAT KHALIF	96
Large movements of race and creed in Andalusia, 96—The need of a great king, 98—Abdallah's weakness, 98—General anarchy, 101—Ibn-Hafsūn's rebellion, 102—Ibn-Hajjāj of	



Digitized by Google

PAGE

Seville, 105—Cordova in danger, 106—Accession of Abd-er-Rahmān III., 107—His courageous policy, 108—Submission of the rebels, 109—Death of Ibn-Hafsūn and conquest of Bobastro, 110—Siege of Toledo, 110—Surrender, 113—Pacification of Andalusia, 113.

VII.

THE HOLY WAR 114

Abd-er-Rahmān's principle of government, 114—The Slavs, 114—Wars with the Fātimate Khalifs of Africa, 115—Pelayo and the Christians of the Asturias, 116—Growth of the Christian power, 117—Alfonso's campaigns, 118—The soldiery of Leon, 119—Ordoño's forays, 119—Battle of St. Estevan de Gormaz, 120—Abd-er-Rahmān retaliates, 120—Battle of the Val de Junqueras and capture of Pamplona, 121—Abd-er-Rahmān assumes the title of Khalif, 121—Annual campaigns against the Christians, 122—Ramiro defeats him at Alharfdega, 123—Jealousies among the Christians, 123—Fernando Gonzalez, 123—Queen Theuda and Sancho the Fat invoke the Khalif's aid, 125—Their visit to Cordova, 126—Hazdai the physician, 126—Death of Abd-er-Rahmān III., 126—His achievements and character, 127.

VIII.

THE CITY OF THE KHALIF 129

Beauty of Cordova, 129—Gardens, 131—Palaces, 132—Baths, 135—The Great Mosque, 136—"The City of the Fairest," 139—Reception at Medinat-*ez-Zahrā*, 142—Science and letters cultivated under the Moors, 144—Condition of the arts in Andalusia, 147.

IX.

THE PRIME MINISTER 152

Hakam II., 152—His library, 155—Hishām II., 156—Seclusion in the *harīm*, 156—The Queen-mother Aurora, 156—Harīm influence, 157—Rise of Ibn-*Abī-Amir*, surnamed *Al-manzor*, 157—His campaign with Ghālib against the Christians, 159—He becomes Prime Minister, 160—His absolute

rule, 161—Policy, 162—Fortitude, 162—Resource, 162—The new army, 163—Campaigns against the Christians of the North, 164—Invasion of Leon, Barcelona, and Galicia, 165—Capture of St. Santiago de Compostella, 165—Unchecked victories, 166—Death, 166—"Buried in Hell," 166.

X.

THE BERBERS IN POWER 167

Anarchy after Almanzor's death, 167—His sons, 169—Succession of puppet Khalifs, 170—Misery of Hishām III., 171—Massacres and pillaging, 172—The Slavs and the Berbers, 175—Sack of the City of Ez-Zahrā, 175—Petty dynasties, 176—Advance of the Christians of Leon and Castile, 176—Alfonso VI., 177—The Cid, 177—The Moors call in the Almoravides, 178—Battle of Zallāka, 179—Character of the Almoravides, 180—They subdue Andalusia, 181—Their tyranny and demoralization, 183—The expulsion of the Almoravides, 184.

XI.

MY CID THE CHALLENGER 185

State of the Christian powers in the North, 185—Fernando I., 186—Vassalage of the Mohammedan princes, 186—Character of the Christians and Moors contrasted, 189—The *chevaliers d'industrie*, 191—The Cid Rodrigo de Bivar, 191—His title of Campeador, 191—His panegyrists, 192—Dozy's "real Cid," 192—The *Chronicle of the Cid*, 193—Heroic character, 193—The Cid's first appearance in history, 195—His services to Castile, 195—His banishment, 195—Takes service with the Moorish king of Zaragoza, 200—Fights against the Christians of Barcelona, 201—At Valencia, 205—Raid upon Leon, 206—Siege of Valencia, 206—Battle with the Almoravides, 209—Death and burial of the Cid, 213.

XII.

THE KINGDOM OF GRANADA 214

Invasion of Andalusia by the Almohades, 214—Victory at Alarcos, 217—Defeat at Las Navas, 217—Expulsion of the

CONTENTS.

xvii

Almohades, 217—Advance of the Christians, 217—Granada alone left to the Moors, 218—Dynasty of the Beny-Nasr of Granada, 218—Their tribute to Castile, 221—The Alhambra, 221—Ferdinand and Isabella, 232—Abul-Hasan (Alboacen) throws off his allegiance, 232—Capture of Zahara, 233—Fall of Alhama, 235—Disasters of the Christians in the mountains of Malaga, 236—Defeat of the Moors at Lucena, 242—Boabdil made prisoner, 245.

PAGE

XIII.

THE FALL OF GRANADA 246

Ferdinand's policy towards Boabdil, 246—Factions at Granada, 247—The Abencerrages, 247—Ez-Zaghal, 248—Ferdinand's campaigns, 251—Siege of Velez and Malaga, 251—Ez-Zegry's defence, 253—The surrender, 254—Siege of Baza, 258—Ez-Zaghal submits, 259—His fate, 259—Granada threatened, 260—Musa's reply, 260—The siege, 263—Exploit of Pulgar, 264—Boabdil capitulates, 266—Death of Musa, 266—Entry of Ferdinand and Isabella into the Alhambra, 266—"The last sigh of the Moor," 267.

XIV.

BEARING THE CROSS 269

Terms of surrender of Granada, 269—Archbishop Talavera's toleration, 269—Cardinal Ximenes, 269—Revolt in the Alpuxarras, 271—Defeat and death of Aguilar, 271—Persecution of the Moriscos, 272—Second revolt in the Alpuxarras, 274—Character of the country, 274—Heroism of the Christians, 276—The plank of Tablete, 276—Massacre of the Moors in the Albaycin gaol, 277—Aben Umeyya and Aben Abó, 277—Don John of Austria, 278—Banishment of the Moors, 279—Rejoicings in Spain, 279—Retribution, 280.

INDEX 281



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
THE ALPUXARRAS	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
TOLEDO	9
GATE OF BISAGRA, TOLEDO	15
PUERTO DEL SOL, TOLEDO	27
ARCH IN THE ALJAFERIA OF ZARAGOZA	31
ALCANTARA	41
THE SIERRA NEVADA	45
THE BRIDGE OF CORDOVA	69
MOORISH IVORY CASKET OF THE 11TH CENTURY IN THE CATHEDRAL OF PAMPLONA	79
THE GOLDEN TOWER, SEVILLE	99
DOOR OF THE MAIDEN'S COURT, ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE	103
AQUEDUCT NEAR GRANADA	111
EXTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT CORDOVA	133
GATE OF THE MOSQUE OF CORDOVA	137
HISPANO-MOORESCO VASE. (<i>Preserved at Granada</i>)	145
HISPANO-MOORESCO LUSTRED PLATE, WITH ARMS OF LEON, CASTILE, AND ARAGON. (<i>In the South Kensington Museum</i>).	149
ANCIENT KORAN CASE. (<i>Escorial Library</i>)	153

XX LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
THE GIRALDA AT SEVILLE	173
BOTICA DE LOS TEMPLARIOS, TOLEDO	187
GATE OF SERRANO, VALENCIA	203
TOMB OF THE CID AT SAN PEDRO DE CARDEÑA	211
BANNER OF THE ALMOHADES	215
SHIELD OF A KING OF GRANADA	219
THE COURT OF THE LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA	223
GARDEN OF THE GENERALIFE, GRANADA	229
A WINDOW IN THE ALHAMBRA	243
MOSQUE LAMP FROM GRANADA	249
MALAGA	255
SWORD OF BOABDIL. (<i>Villaseca Collection, Madrid</i>)	261



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
 CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA





THE STORY OF THE MOORS IN SPAIN.

I.

THE LAST OF THE GOTHS.

WHEN the armies of Alexander the Great were trampling upon the ancient empires of the East, one country remained undisturbed and undismayed. The people of Arabia sent no humble embassies to the conqueror. Alexander resolved to bring the contemptuous Arabs to his feet: he was preparing to invade their land when death laid its hand upon him, and the Arabs remained unconquered.

This was more than three hundred years before Christ, and even then the Arabs had long been established in independence in their great desert peninsula. For nearly a thousand years more they continued to dwell there in a strange solitude. Great empires sprang up all around them; the successors of Alexander founded the Syrian kingdom of the Seleucids and the Egyptian dynasty of the Ptolemies; Augustus was crowned Emperor at Rome; Constantine became the first Christian emperor at Byzantium;

the hordes of the barbarians bore down upon the wide-reaching provinces of the Cæsars—and still the Arabs remained undisturbed, unexplored, and subdued. Their frontier cities might pay homage to Chosroes or Cæsar, the legions of Rome might once and again flash across their highland wastes; but such impress was faint and transitory, and left the Arabs unmoved. Hemmed in as they were by lands ruled by historic dynasties, their deserts and their valour ever kept out the invader, and from the days of remote antiquity to the seventh century of the Christian era hardly anything was known of this secluded people save that they existed, and that no one attacked them with impunity.

Then suddenly a change came over the character of the Arabs. No longer courting seclusion, they came forth before the world, and proceeded in good earnest to conquer it. The change had been caused by one man. Mohammed the Arabian Prophet began to preach the religion of *Islam* in the beginning of the seventh century, and his doctrine, falling upon a people prone to quick impulses and susceptible of strong impressions, worked a revolution. What he taught was simple enough. He took the old faith of the Hebrews, which had its disciples in Arabia, and, making such additions and alterations as he thought needful, he preached the worship of One God as a new revelation to a nation of idolaters. It is difficult for us in the present time to understand the irresistible impulse which the simple and unemotional creed of Mohammed gave to the whole people of Arabia; but we know that such religious revolutions

have been, and that there is always a mysterious and potent fascination in the personal influence of a true prophet. Mohammed was so far true, that he taught honestly and strenuously what he believed to be the only right faith, and there was enough of sublimity in the creed and of enthusiasm in the Prophet and his hearers to produce that wave of overmastering popular feeling which people call fanaticism. The Arabs before the time of Mohammed had been a collection of rival tribes or clans, excelling in the savage virtues of bravery, hospitality, and even chivalry, and devoted to the pursuit of booty. The Prophet turned the Arab tribes, for the nonce, into the Moslem people, filled them with the fervour of martyrs, and added to the greed of plunder the nobler ambition of bringing all mankind to the knowledge of the truth.

Before Mohammed died he was master of Arabia, and the united tribes who had embraced the Moslem or Mohammedan faith were already spreading over the neighbouring lands and subduing the astonished nations. Under his successors the Khalifs, the armies of the Mussulmans overran Persia and Egypt and North Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules; and the Muezzins chanted the Call to Prayer to the Faithful over all the land from the river Oxus in Central Asia to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Mohammedans, or Saracens (a word which means "Easterns"), were checked in Asia Minor by the forces of the Greek Emperor; and it was not till the fifteenth century that they at last obtained the long-coveted possession of Constantinople, by the valour of the Ottoman Turks. So, too, at the oppo-

site extremity of the Mediterranean, it was an officer of the Greek Emperor who for a while held the Arab advance in check. The conquerors swept over the provinces of North Africa, and, after a long struggle, reduced the turbulent Berber tribes for a while to submission, till only the fortress of Ceuta held out against them. Like the rest of the southern shore of the Mediterranean, Ceuta belonged to the Greek Emperor; but it was so far removed from Constantinople that it was thrown upon the neighbouring kingdom of Spain for support, and, while still nominally under the authority of the Emperor, looked really to the King of Toledo for assistance and protection. It is not likely that all the aid that Spain could have given would have availed against the surging tide of Saracen invasion; but, as it happened, there was a quarrel at that time between Julian the governor of Ceuta and Roderick the King of Spain, which opened the door to the Arabs.

Spain was then under the rule of the Visigoths, or West Goths, a tribe of barbarians, like the many others who overran the provinces of the Roman Empire in its decline. The Ostrogoths had occupied Italy; and their kinsmen the Visigoths, displacing or subduing the Suevoi (or Swabians) and other rude German tribes, established themselves in the Roman province of Iberia (Spain) in the fifth century after Christ. They found the country in the same condition of effeminate luxury and degeneracy that had proved the ruin of other parts of the empire. Like many warlike peoples, the Romans, when their work was accomplished and the world was at their feet, had

rested contentedly from their labours, and abandoned themselves to the pleasures that wealth and security permit. They were no longer the brave stern men who lived simple lives and left the ploughshare to wield the sword when a Scipio or a Cæsar summoned them to defend their country or to conquer a continent. In Spain the richer classes were given over to luxury and sensuality; they lived only for eating and drinking, gambling and all kinds of excitement. The mass of the people were either slaves, or, what was much the same thing, labourers bound to the soil, who could not be detached from the land they cultivated but passed with it from master to master. Between the rich and the slaves was a middle class of burghers, who were perhaps even worse off: for on their shoulders lay all the burden of supporting the State; they paid the taxes, performed the civil and municipal functions, and supplied the money which the rich squandered upon their luxuries. In a society so demoralized there were no elements of opposition to a resolute invader. The wealthy nobles were too deeply absorbed in their pleasures to be easily roused by rumours of an enemy; their swords were rusty with being too long laid aside. The slaves felt little interest in a change of masters, which could hardly make them more miserable than they already were; and the burghers were discontented with the arrangement of the burdens of the State, by which they had to bear most of the cost while they reaped none of the advantages.

Out of such men as these a strong and resolute army could not be formed; and the Goths therefore

entered Spain with little trouble ; the cities willingly opened their gates, and the diseased civilization of Roman Spain yielded with hardly a blow. The truth was that the road of the Goths had been too well prepared by previous hordes of barbarians—Alans, Vandals, and Suevi—to need much exertion on their own part. The Romanized Spaniards had fully learned what a barbarian invasion entailed : they had seen their cities burnt, their wives and children carried captives, those few leaders who showed any manly resistance massacred ; they had seen the consequences of the barbarian scourge—plague and famine, wasted lands, starving inhabitants, and everywhere savage anarchy. They had learned their lesson, and meekly admitted the Goths.

In the beginning of the eighth century, when the Saracens had reached the African shore of the Atlantic and were looking across the Straits of Hercules to the sunny provinces of Andalusia, the Goths had been in possession of Spain for more than two hundred years. There had been time enough to reform the corrupt condition of the kingdom and to infuse the fresh vigour of youth which an old civilization sometimes gains by the introduction of barbarous but masculine races. There were special reasons why the Goths should improve the state of Spain. They were not only bold, strong, and uncorrupted by ease of life ; they were Christians, and, in their way, very earnest Christians. Spain was but nominally converted at the time of their arrival : Constantine had indeed promulgated Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire, but it had taken very little

root in the Western provinces. The advent of an ignorant but devout race like the Goths might probably arouse a more earnest faith in the new religion amid the worn-out paganism of the kingdom, and the Catholic priests were full of hope for the future of their church. The result did not in any way justify the anticipation. The Goths remained devout indeed, but they regarded their acts of religion chiefly as reparation for their vices; they compounded for exceptionally bad sins by an added amount of repentance, and then they sinned again without compunction. They were quite as corrupt and immoral as the Roman nobles who had preceded them, and their style of Christianity did not lead them to endeavour to improve the condition of their subjects. The serfs were in an even more pitiable state than before. Not only were they tied to the land or master, but they could not marry without his consent, and if slaves of neighbouring estates intermarried, their children were distributed between the owners of the several properties. The middle classes bore, as in Roman times, the burden of taxation, and were consequently bankrupt and ruined: the land was still in the hands of the few, and the large estates were indifferently cultivated by crowds of miserable slaves, whose dreary lives were brightened by no hope of improvement or dream of release before death. The very clergy, who preached about the brotherhood of Christians, now that they had become rich and owned great estates, joined in the traditional policy and treated their slaves and serfs as badly as any Roman noble. The rich were sunk in the same slough of

sensuality that had proved the ruin of the Romans, and the vices of the Christian Goths rivalled, if they did not exceed, the polished wickedness of the pagans. "King Witiza," says the chronicler, anxious to find some reason for the overthrow of the Christians by the Saracens, "taught all Spain to sin." Spain, indeed, knew only too well how to sin before, and Witiza may have been no worse than his predecessors; but the Goths gave a fresh license to the general corruption. The vices of barbarians show often a close resemblance to those of decayed civilization, and in this instance the change of rulers brought no amelioration of morals.¹

Such was the condition of Spain when the Mussulman approached her borders. A corrupt aristocracy divided the land among themselves; the great estates were tilled by a wretched and hopeless race of serfs; the citizen classes were ruined. On the other side of the straits of Gibraltar were the soldiers of Islam, all hardy warriors, fired with the fervour of a new faith, bred to arms from their childhood, simple and rude in their life, and eager to plunder the rich lands of the infidels. Between two such peoples there could be no doubt as to the issue of the fight; but to remove the possibility of doubt, treachery came to the aid of the invaders.

Witiza had been deposed by Roderick, a prince who seems to have begun his reign well, but who presently succumbed to the temptations of wealth and power. His selfish pleasure-loving disposition set fire to the combustible materials that sur-

¹ Dozy: *Hist. des Mus. d'Espagne*, livre ii. ch. i.



TOLEDO.

Generalife

JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

rounded him and that needed but a spark to explode and destroy his kingdom. It was then the custom among the princes of the State to send their children to the court, to be trained in whatever appertained to good breeding and polite conduct. Among others, Count Julian, the governor of Ceuta, sent his daughter Florinda to Roderick's court at Toledo to be educated among the queen's waiting women. The maiden was very beautiful, and the king, forgetful of his honour, which bound him to protect her as he would his own daughter, put her to shame.* The dishonour was the greater, since Julian's wife was a daughter of Witiza, and the royal blood of the Goths had thus been insulted in the person of Florinda. In her distress the young girl wrote to her father, and, summoning a trusty page, bade him, if he hoped for knightly honour or lady's favour, to speed with all haste, night and day, over land and sea, till he placed the letter in Count Julian's hand.

Julian had no reason to love King Roderick; his own connection with the deposed and probably murdered King Witiza forbade fellowship with the usurper; and his daughter's dishonour fanned his smouldering rancour to a blaze of vengeful fury. He had so far successfully resisted the attacks of the Arabs; but now he resolved no longer to defend the kingdom of his daughter's destroyer. The Saracens should have Spain if they would, and

* I reproduce this celebrated legend without vouching for its truth. Florinda, or Cava as the Moslems call her, plays too prominent a part in the first chapter of Andalusian history to be ignored; and, if her part be fictitious, her father's treachery at least is certain.

he was ready to show them the way. Full of a passion for revenge, Julian hastened to the Court of Roderick, where he so skilfully disguised his mind that the king, who felt some remorse and trusted that Florinda had kept the secret, heaped honours upon him, took his counsel in everything relating to the defence of the kingdom, and even by his treacherous advice sent the best horses and arms in Spain to the south under Julian's command, to be ready against the infidel invaders. Count Julian departed from Toledo in the highest favour of the king, taking his daughter with him. Roderick's parting request was that the Count would send him some special kind of hawks, which he needed for hunting; Julian made answer, that he would bring him such hawks as he had never in his life seen before, and with this covert hint of the coming of the Arabs he went back to Ceuta.

As soon as he had returned, he paid a visit to Mūsa, the son of Noseyr, the Arab governor of North Africa, with whom his troops had many times crossed swords, and he told him that war was now over between them—henceforth they must be friends. Then he filled the ears of the Arab general with stories of the beauty and richness of Spain, of its rivers and pastures, vines and olives, its splendid cities and palaces, and the treasures of the Goths: it was a land flowing with milk and honey, he said, and Mūsa had only to go over and take it. Julian himself would show him the way, and lend him the ships. The Arab was a cautious general, however; this inviting proposal, he considered, might cover a treacherous ambuscade; so he sent messengers to his master the

Khalif at Damascus, to ask for instructions, and meantime contented himself with sending a small body of five hundred men, under Tarīf, in 710, to make a raid, in Julian's four ships, upon the coast of Andalusia. The Arabs had not yet become used to the navigation of the Mediterranean, and Mūsa was unwilling to expose more than an insignificant part of his army to the perils of the deep.

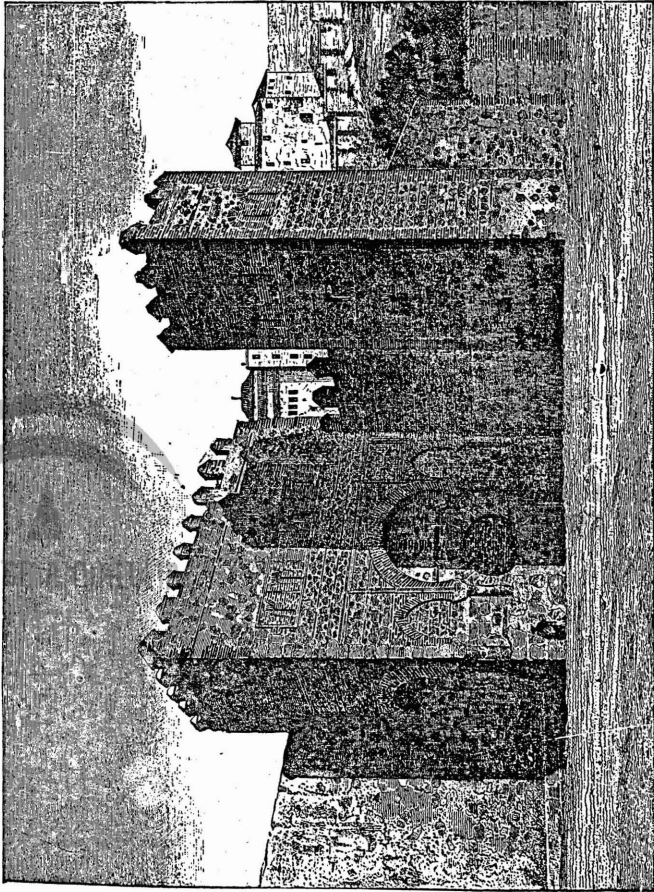
Tarīf returned in July, having successfully accomplished his mission. He had landed at the place which still bears his name, Tarifa, had plundered Algeciras, and seen enough to assure him that Count Julian's tale of the defenceless state of Spain was true, and that his own loyalty to the invaders was to be depended upon. Still Mūsa was not disposed to venture much upon the new conquest. The Khalif of Damascus had enjoined him on no account to risk the whole Moslem army in unknown dangers, and had only authorized small foraying expeditions. Still, encouraged by Tarīf's success, Mūsa resolved upon a somewhat larger venture. In 711, learning that Roderick was busy in the north of his dominions, where there was a rising of the Basques, Mūsa despatched one of his generals, the Moor Tārik, with 7,000 troops, most of whom were also Moors,¹ to make another raid upon Andalusia. The raid carried him further than he expected. Tārik landed at the lion's rock, which has ever since borne his name,

¹ The word Moor is conveniently used to signify Arabs and other Mohammedans in Spain, but properly it should only be applied to *Berbers* of North Africa and Spain. In this volume the term is used in its common acceptation, unless the Arabs are specially distinguished from the Berbers.

Gebal-Tarik, Gibraltar, and after capturing Carteya, advanced inland. He had not proceeded far when he perceived the whole force of the Goths under Roderick advancing to encounter him. The two armies met on the banks of a little river, called by the Saracens the Wady Bekka, near the Guadalete, which runs into the Straits by Cape Trafalgar.

The legend runs that some time before this, as King Roderick was seated on his throne in the ancient city of Toledo, two old men entered the audience chamber. They were arrayed in white robes of ancient make, and their girdles were adorned with the signs of the Zodiac and hung with innumerable keys. "Know, O king," said they, "that in days of yore, when Hercules had set up his pillars at the ocean strait, he erected a strong tower near to this ancient city of Toledo, and shut up within it a magical spell, secured by a ponderous iron gate with locks of steel; and he ordained that every new king should set a fresh lock to the portal, and foretold woe and destruction to him who should seek to unravel the mystery of the tower. Now, we and our ancestors have kept the door of the tower from the days of Hercules even to this hour; and though there have been kings who have sought to discover the secret, their end has ever been death or sore amazement. None ever penetrated beyond the threshold. Now, O king, we come to beg thee to affix thy lock upon the enchanted tower, as all the kings before thee have done." Whereupon the aged men departed.

But Roderick, when he had thought of all they had said, became filled with a burning desire to enter the



GATE OF BISAGRA, TOLEDO.

JUNTA

Generalife

enchanted tower, and despite the warnings of his bishops and counsellors, who told him again that none had ever entered the tower alive, and that even great Cæsar had not dared to attempt the entrance—

Nor shall it ever ope, old records say,
Save to a king, the last of all his line,
What time his empire totters to decay,
And treason digs, beneath, her fatal mine,
And high above, impends avenging wrath Divine—

despite all admonition, he rode forth one day, accompanied by his cavaliers, and approached the tower. It stood upon a lofty rock, and cliffs and precipices hemmed it in. Its walls were of jasper and marble, inlaid in subtle devices, which shone in the rays of the sun. The entrance was through a passage cut in the stone, and was closed by the great iron gate covered with the rusty locks of all the centuries from the time of Hercules to Witiza; and on either hand stood the aged men who had come to the audience hall. All day long did the two old janitors, though foreboding ill, aided by Roderick's gay cavaliers, labour to turn the rusty keys; until, when it was near sundown, the gate was undone, and the king and his train advanced to the entrance. The gate swung back, and they entered a hall, on the other side of which, guarding a second door, stood a gigantic bronze figure of terrible aspect, which wielded a huge mace unceasingly and dealt mighty blows upon the earth around.

When Roderick saw this figure, he was dismayed awhile; but seeing on its breast the words, "I do my duty," he plucked up courage and conjured it to

let him pass in safety, for he meant no sacrilege, but only wished to learn the mystery of the tower. Then the figure stood still, with its mace uplifted, and the king and his followers passed beneath it into the second chamber. They found this encrusted with precious stones, and in its midst was a table, set there by Hercules, and on it a casket, with the inscription, "In this coffer is the mystery of the Tower. The hand of none but a king can open it; but let him beware, for wonderful things will be disclosed to him, which must happen before his death."

When the king had opened the coffer, there was nothing in it but a parchment folded between two plates of copper; on it were figured men on horseback, fierce of countenance, armed with bows and scimitars, and above them was the motto, "Behold, rash man, those who shall hurl thee from thy throne and subdue thy kingdom." And as they gazed upon the picture, on a sudden they heard the sound of warfare, and saw, as though in a cloud, that the figures of the strange horsemen began to move, and the picture became a vision of war:

So to sad Roderick's eye, in order spread,
Successive pageants filled that mystic scene,
Showing the fate of battles ere they bled,
And issue of events that had not been.

"They beheld before them a great field of battle, where Christians and Moors were engaged in deadly conflict. They heard the rush and tramp of steeds, the blast of trump and clarion, the clash of cymbal, and the stormy din of a thousand drums. There was the flash of swords and maces and battle-axes, with

the whistling of arrows and the hurling of darts and lances. The Christians quailed before the foe. The infidels pressed upon them and put them to utter rout; the standard of the Cross was cast down, the banner of Spain was trodden under foot; the air resounded with shouts of triumph, with yells of fury, and with the groans of dying men. Amidst the flying squadrons King Roderick beheld a crowned warrior, whose back was turned towards him, but whose armour and device were his own, and who was mounted on a white steed that resembled his own war-horse Orelia. In the confusion of the fight, the warrior was dismounted, and was no longer seen to be, and Orelia galloped wildly through the field of battle without a rider." ¹

When the king and his attendants fled dismayed from the enchanted tower, the great bronze figure had disappeared, the two aged janitors lay dead at the entrance, and amid various stormy portents of nature the tower burst into a blaze, and every stone was consumed and scattered to the winds; and it is related that wherever its ashes fell to the earth there was seen a drop of blood.

The mediæval chroniclers, both Christian and Arab, delighted to relate portents such as these:

Legend and vision, prophecy and sign,
Where wonders wild of Arabesque combine
With Gothic imagery of darker shade;

and we read how both sides of the approaching combat were cheered or dismayed by omens of various

¹ Washington Irving: *The Conquest of Spain*, Bohn's ed., 378 ff.; American edition, *Spanish Papers*, vol. i. p. 42.

kinds. The Prophet himself is said to have appeared to Tārik, and to have bidden him be of good courage, to strike, and to conquer; and many like fables are related. But whatever may have been the dreams and visions of the armies then encamped over against one another near the river Guadeleté, the result of the combat was never doubtful. Tārik, indeed, although he had been reinforced with 5,000 Berbers, commanded still but a little army of 12,000 troops, and Roderick had six times as many men to his back. But the invaders were bold and hardy men, used to war, and led by a hero; the Spaniards were a crowd of ill-treated slaves, and among their commanders were treacherous nobles. The kinsmen of Witiza were there, obedient to the summons of Roderick; but they intended to desert to the enemy's side in the midst of the battle and win the day for the Saracens. They had no idea that they were betraying Spain. They thought that the invaders were only in search of booty; and that, the raid over and the booty secured, they would go back to Africa, when the line of Witiza would be restored to its ancient seat. And thus they lent a hand to the day's work which placed the fairest provinces of Spain for eight centuries under the Moslem domination.

When the Moors saw the mighty army that Roderick had brought against them, and beheld the king in his splendid armour under a magnificent canopy, their hearts for a moment sank within them. But Tārik cried aloud, "Men, before you is the enemy, and the sea is at your backs. By Allah, there is no escape for you save in valour and resolution." And

they plucked up courage and shouted, "We will follow thee, O Tārik," and rushed after their general into the fray. The battle lasted a whole week, and prodigies of valour are recorded on both sides. Roderick rallied his army again and again; but the desertion of the partisans of Witiza turned the fortune of the field and it became the scene of a disastrous rout.

The hosts of Don Rodrigo were scattered in dismay,
When lost was the eighth battle, nor heart nor hope had they;
He, when he saw that field was lost, and all his hope was flown,
He turned him from his flying host, and took his way alone.

All stained and strewed with dust and blood, like to some smouldering
brand

Plucked from the flame, Rodrigo showed: his sword was in his hand,
But it was hacked into a saw of dark and purple tint:
His jewelled mail had many a flaw, his helmet many a dint.

He climbed into a hill-top, the highest he could see,
Thence all about of that wide rout his last long look took he;
He saw his royal banners, where they lay drenched and torn,
He heard the cry of victory, the Arab's shout of scorn.

He looked for the brave captains that led the hosts of Spain,
But all were fled except the dead, and who could count the slain?
Where'er his eye could wander, all bloody was the plain,
And while thus he said, the tears he shed ran down his cheeks like rain:

"Last night I was the King of Spain—to-day no king am I;
Last night fair castles held my train—to-night where shall I lie?
Last night a hundred pages did serve me on the knee—
To-night not one I call my own—not one pertains to me.

O luckless, luckless was the hour, and cursed was the day,
When I was born to have the power of this great seniorey!
Unhappy me, that I should see the sun go down to-night!
O Death, why now so slow art thou, why fearest thou to smite?"

So runs the old Spanish ballad; but the fate of Roderick has remained a mystery to this day. His

* Lockhart: Spanish Ballads.

horse and sandals were found on the river bank the day after the battle ; but his body was not with them. Doubtless he was drowned and washed out to the great ocean. But the Spaniards would not believe this. They clothed the dead king with a holy mystery which assuredly did not enfold him when alive. They made the last of the Goths into a legendary saviour like King Arthur, and believed that he would come again from his resting-place in some ocean isle, healed of his wound, to lead the Christians once more against the infidels. In the Spanish legends, Roderick spent the rest of his life in pious acts of penance, and was slowly devoured by snakes in punishment for the sins he had committed, until at last his crime was washed out, "the body's pang had spared the spirit's pain," and "Don Rodrigo" was suffered to depart to the peaceful isle, whence his countrymen long awaited his triumphant return.





II.

THE WAVE OF CONQUEST.

“O COMMANDER of the Faithful, these are not common conquests; they are like the meeting of the nations on the Day of Judgment.” Thus wrote Mūsa, the Governor of Africa, to the Khalif Welīd, describing the victory of the Guadalete. There is little wonder that the Saracens stood amazed at the completeness of their triumph. Leaving the regions of myth, with which the Spanish chroniclers have surrounded the fall of Roderick, it is matter of sober history that the victory of the Guadalete gave all Spain into the hands of the Moors. Tārik and his twelve thousand Berbers had by a single action won the whole peninsula, and it needed but ordinary energy and promptness to reduce the feeble resistance which some of the cities still offered. The victor lost no time in following up his success. In defiance of an order from Mūsa, who was bitterly jealous of the unexpected glory which had come to his Berber lieutenant, and commanded him to advance no further, the fortunate general pushed on without delay. Dividing his forces into three brigades, he spread them over the peninsula, and reduced city after city with little difficulty. Mughith, one of his officers,

was despatched with seven hundred horse to seize Cordova. Lying hid till darkness came on, Mughith stealthily approached the city. A storm of hail, which the Moslems regarded as a special favour of Providence, muffled the clatter of their horses' hoofs. A shepherd pointed out a breach in the walls, and here the Moors determined to make the assault. One of them, more active than the rest, climbed a fig-tree which grew beneath the breach, and thence, springing on to the wall, flung the end of a long turban to the others, and pulled them up after him. They instantly surprised the guard, and threw open the gates to the main body of the invaders, and the town was captured with hardly a blow. The governor and garrison took refuge in a convent, where for three months they were closely beleaguered. When at length they surrendered, Cordova was left in the keeping of the Jews, who had proved themselves staunch allies of the Moslems in the campaign, and who ever afterwards enjoyed great consideration at the hands of the conquerors. The Moors admitted them to their intimacy, and, until very late times, never persecuted them as the Gothic priests had done. Wherever the arms of the Saracens penetrated, there we shall always find the Jews in close pursuit: while the Arab fought, the Jew trafficked, and when the fighting was over, Jew and Moor and Persian joined in that cultivation of learning and philosophy, arts and sciences, which preëminently distinguished the rule of the Saracens in the Middle Ages.

With the coöperation of the Jews, and the terror of the Spaniards, Tārik's conquest proceeded apace.

Archidona was occupied without a struggle : the inhabitants had all fled to the hills. Malaga surrendered, and Elvira (near where Granada now stands) was stormed. The mountain passes of Murcia were defended by Theodemir for some time with great valour and prudence; but at last, being over-persuaded into offering a pitched battle on the plain, the Christian army was cut to pieces, and Theodemir escaped with a single page to the city of Orihuela. There he practised an ingenious deception upon his pursuers. Having hardly any men left in the city, for the youth of Murcia had fallen in the field, he made the women put on male attire, arm themselves with helmets and long rods like lances, and bring their hair over their chins as though they wore beards. Then he lined the ramparts with this strange garrison, and when the enemy approached in the shades of evening, they were disheartened to see the walls so well defended. Theodemir then took a flag of truce in his hand, and put a herald's tabard on his page, and they two sallied forth to capitulate, and were graciously received by the Moslem general, who did not recognize the prince. "I come," said Theodemir, "on behalf of the commander of this city to treat for terms worthy of your magnanimity and of his dignity. You perceive that the city is capable of withstanding a long siege; but he is desirous of sparing the lives of his soldiers. Promise that the inhabitants shall be at liberty to depart unmolested with their property, and the city will be delivered up to you to-morrow morning without a blow; otherwise we are prepared to fight until not a man be left." The articles of capitulation were then

drawn out; and when the Moor had affixed his seal, Theodemir took the pen and wrote his signature, "Behold in me," said he, "the governor of the city!" At the dawn of day the gates were thrown open, and the Moslems looked to see a great force issuing forth, but beheld merely Theodemir and his page, in battered armour, followed by a multitude of old men, women, and children. "Where are the soldiers," asked the Moor, "that I saw lining the walls last evening?" "Soldiers have I none," answered Theodemir. "As to my garrison, behold it before you. With these women did I man my walls; and this page is my herald, guard, and retinue!" So struck was the Moorish general with the boldness and ingenuity of the trick which had been played upon him, that he made Theodemir governor of the province of Murcia, which was ever afterwards known in Arabic as "Theodemir's land." Even in these early days the Moors knew and practised the principles of true chivalry. They had already won that title to knightliness which many centuries later compelled the victorious Spaniards to address them as "Knights of Granada, Gentlemen, albeit Moors:"

Caballeros Granadinos
Aunque Moros hijos d'algo.

Meanwhile Tārik had pressed on to Toledo, the capital of the Goths. He was seeking for the Gothic nobles. At Cordova he had looked to meet them, but they had fled; at Toledo, which the Jews delivered into his hands, the nobles were not to be found; they had fled further, and taken refuge in the

mountains of the Asturias. Traitors, like the family of Witiza and Count Julian, alone remained, and these were rewarded with posts of government. The rest of the nobility had disappeared; the country was abandoned to the Moors. Spain had become, in fact, a province of the vast empire of the Arab Khalifs,



PUERTO DEL SOL, TOLEDO.

who held their court at Damascus and swayed an empire that stretched from the mountains of India to the pillars of Hercules. What remained to be done towards the pacification of Spain was effected by Mūsa, who, when he heard of Tārik's continued career of success, sailed in all haste across the Straits, followed by his Arabs, to take his full share

of the glory. He crossed in the summer of 712 with eighteen thousand men, and, after reducing Carmona, Seville, and Merida, joined Tārik at Toledo. The meeting between the conqueror and his superior officer was not friendly. Tārik went forth to receive the governor of the West with all honour, but Mūsa struck him with a whip, overwhelmed him with reprimands for exceeding his instructions, and, declaring that it was impossible to entrust the safety of the Moslems to such rash and impetuous leading, threw him into prison. When this act of jealous tyranny came to the ears of the Khalif Welid he summoned Mūsa to Damascus, and restored Tārik to his command in Spain.

Before returning to Syria, Mūsa had stood upon the Pyrenees and seen a vision of European conquest. His recall interrupted his further advance; but others soon pushed forward. An Arab governor, as early as 719, occupied the southern part of Gaul, called Septimania, with the cities of Carcasonne and Narbonne, and from these centres he began to make raids upon Burgundy and Aquitania. Eudes, Duke of Aquitania, administered a total defeat to the Saracens under the walls of Toulouse in 721, but this only diverted their course more to the west. They sacked Beaune, exacted tribute from Sens, seized Avignon in 730, and made numerous raids upon the neighbouring districts. The new governor of Narbonne, Abd-er-Rahmān, resolved upon the conquest of all Gaul. He had already checked the operations of Eudes, who presumed, after his victory at Toulouse, to carry the war into the Saracens' coun-

try; and now he attacked the Tarraconaise, and boldly invaded Aquitaine, defeated Eudes on the banks of the Garonne, captured Bordeaux by assault, and in 732 marched on in triumph towards Tours, where he had heard of the treasures of the Abbey of St. Martin. Between Poitiers and Tours he was met by Charles, the son of Pepin the Heristal, then virtual King of France, for the feeble Merovingian sovereign, Lothair, had no voice to oppose the will of his powerful Mayor of the Palace. The Saracens went joyfully to the fight. They expected a second field of the Guadalete, and looked to see fair France their prey from Calais to Marseilles. An issue momentous for Europe was to be decided, and the conflict that ensued has rightly been numbered among the fifteen decisive battles of the world. The question to be judged by force of arms was whether Europe was to be Christian or Mohammedan—whether the future Nôtre Dame was to be a church or a mosque—perhaps even whether St. Paul's, when it came to be built, should echo the chant of the Agnus Dei or the muttered prayers of Islam. Had not the Saracens been checked at Tours there is no reason to suppose that they would have stopped at the English Channel. But, as fate decreed, the tide of Mohammedan invasion had reached its limit, and the ebb was about to set in. Charles and his Franks were no emasculate race like the Romanized Spaniards and Goths. They were at least as hardy and valorous as the Moors themselves, and their magnificent stature gave them an advantage which could not fail to tell. Six days were spent in

partial engagements, and then on the seventh came a general melley. Charles cut through the ranks of the Moslems with irresistible might, dealing right and left such ponderous blows that from that day he was called Charles Martel, "Karl of the Hammer." His Frankish followers, inspired by their leader's prowess, bore down upon the Saracens with crushing force; and the whole array of the Moslems broke and fled in utter rout. The spot was long and shudderingly known in Andalusia by the name of the "Pavement of Martyrs."

The danger to Western Europe was averted. So crushing was the disaster that the Moors of Spain never again, during all the centuries that they ruled in the south, attempted to invade France. They retained, indeed, their hold of Narbonne and the districts bordering the northern slopes of the Pyrenees for some time longer (until 797), and even ventured upon foraying raids into Provence. But here their ambition ceased. The battle of Tours had once for all vindicated the independence of France, and set a bound to the Moslem conquests. Like the swelling tide of the sea, the Saracen hordes had poured over the land; and now, through the Hammerer of the Franks, a voice had spoken: "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

On the other hand, the kings of France were so deeply impressed with the courage of their Moslem neighbours, that, though they too delighted in occasional forays, once only did they attempt the subjugation of Spain. Charlemagne, the second Alexander,