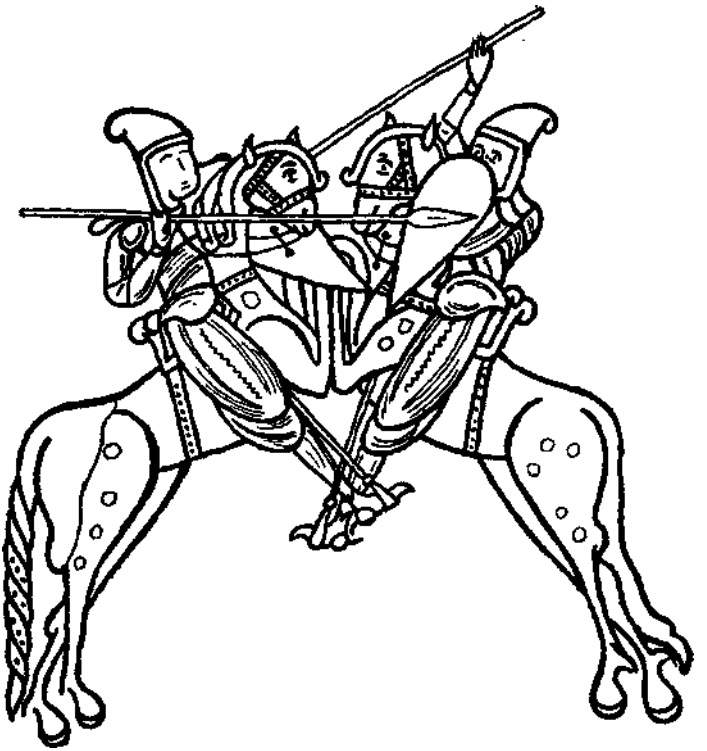
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THE CID AND HIS SPAIN



From a Spanish MS. of the Eleventh Century

THE CID AND HIS SPAIN

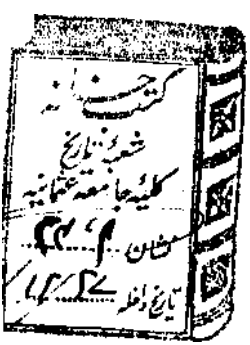
By RAMON MENENDEZ PIDAL

TRANSLATED

By HAROLD SUNDERLAND

FOREWORD

By THE DUKE OF BERWICK AND ALBA



LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

First Edition . . . 1934

DEDICATION

THE AUTHOR AND TRANSLATOR WISH TO RECORD
THEIR GRATITUDE TO THE

DUKE OF BERWICK AND ALBA

TO WHOSE GENEROUS INITIATION THE PUBLICATION OF THIS EDITION IS DUE

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FOREWORD

THE welcome accorded to the English translation of Don Miguel Asin's work, *La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia,*[1] has encouraged me to bring out this version of *La H del Cid,* by Don Ramon Menendez Pidal.[2]

Menendez Pidal, who is President of the Academia Espanola, Member of the Academia de la Historia, and Director of the Centro de Estudios Historicos of Madrid, is well known to all English and American Hispanic scholars and the friends of Spain in general as an authority—I might say *the* authority—on the mediaeval history and literature of Spain. He is thus particularly qualified to deal with the story of the national hero sung in Spanish epic ; and, indeed, he has devoted over twenty years to the study of the Cid, so that this work may be said to be his life-work.

The Cid, as Menendez Pidal shows very clearly, occupies a unique position among national heroes. Whereas the protagonists of the other great epic cycles, such as King Arthur and Roland, however lifelike they may appear in legend, are but shadowy figures in history, the figure of the Cid is more sharply silhouetted the fiercer the light that historical investigation brings to bear on him. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a wave of scepticism caused his very existence to be denied, but lately we have gained a new insight into

[1] *Islam and the Divine Comedy,* John Murray, London, 1926.
[2] 2 vols., Editorial Plutarco, Madrid, 1929.

the Middle Ages, and Menendez Pidal's convincing rehabilitation of the Cid should therefore be welcome ; as a glorification of the value of personality it should appeal particularly to the English-speaking reader.

In the setting he gives to his story of the Cid, the author paints a striking picture of eleventh-century Spain, bringing out the importance of the country as a link between Christian and Moslem civilization and a barrier protecting Christendom against Islam. In his masterly description of the several stages of the Reconquest and the intricate policy of the Northern States, he is the first to elucidate the true nature of the Empire of Le6n. His vast knowledge of the sources and of the records of the time has enabled him to establish the essential truth of the earliest poems on the hero, thereby restoring to Spain and to history the Cid who has been sung for centuries.

The work of translation has again been entrusted to Mr. Harold Sunderland, who, in collaboration with the author, has abridged the original by eliminating the greater part of the footnotes and the whole of the appendix, with a view to making the work available to a wider public. This compressed version, however, does full justice to the original, which has lost nothing of its historical value and literary merit. If, as I hope, this story of Mediaeval Spain and of the Spanish hero, Mio Cid, finds favour with the English-speaking public, I shall feel amply rewarded for my efforts.

PART I
INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

HISTORIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION

i. THE Cm AND HIS HISTORIANS

THE Cid made a very wide appeal to the men of his time. Clerics, *jongleurs,* and Moslems, each inspired by his own particular feelings, have all left us authentic records of his life and deeds. But, as these records were never all known at one and the same time or held at the same value, it was inevitable that the idea the historians formed of the Cid should vary considerably from age to age.

First Period. Early Biographers.

Those early records were written in the first forty years after the hero's death by men who had either first-hand or, at least, other authoritative knowledge of his life.

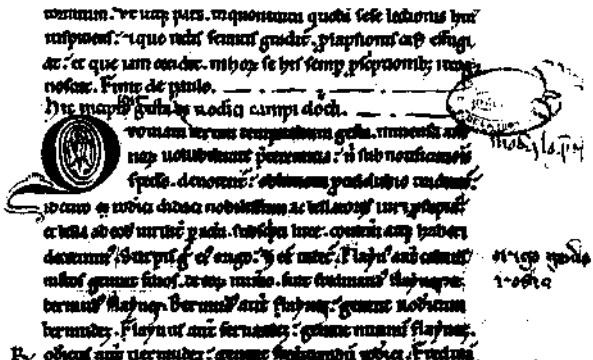
About 1110, Ibn Alcama, a Valencian Moor who had witnessed the siege and occupation of Valencia by the Cid, wrote a detailed account of these events under the title of *Eloquent Evidence of the Great Calamity* $_y$ which has come down to us in an incomplete translation embodied in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Castilian Chronicles. Writing at a time when Valencia was again in the hands of the Almoravides, whose cause he espoused, Ibn Alcama attributes the misfortunes of the city to the impiety of her rulers who, not content with exacting unlawful taxes, allied themselves with an enemy of the Faith, as the Cid was, instead of with the Africans.

The Christians, he says, are the natural enemies of Islam, and the lenience shown by the Cid to the vanquished Moors could only be prompted by falseness and cunning, which in the end must strengthen the inveterate antipathy of all true Moslems to the Christians.

Contemporary with Ibn Alcama, the Portuguese Moor, Ibn Bassam, wrote his *Treasury of the Excellences of the Spaniards*, in which he dealt with the Moslem men of letters of his time. In Vol. III, which was written at Seville in 1109 and treats of the octogenarian ex-King of Murcia, Ibn Tahir, he is led to expatiate on the Cid's conquest of Valencia, where Ibn Tahir was living at the time and, as a suspect, had been imprisoned for a while by the Cid. Ibn Bassam delights in depicting the Cid as cruel and calling down curses on his head but he is not, like Ibn Alcama, incapable of admiring the good points of this "dog of a Galician"; indeed, he has written what, though wrapt in hatred, is really a very fine eulogy of the Campeador, whom he regards as a veritable miracle of God.

The Arab historians, being naturally hostile to the Cid, are the first exponents of Cidophobia. And yet, were it not for Ibn Alcama, we should lack most of the facts concerning the hero's life and but for Ibn Bassam, a true perspective of his greatness.

Among the Christians, the Cid inspired the *Historia Roderici*, a work written in Latin, like all prose works of the time, by a cleric, who was not of Castilian origin but probably a Mozarab who accompanied the Cid on three separate occasions into the Moorish kingdoms of Saragossa and Valencia. This work must have appeared before July, 1110, or barely eleven years after the Cid's death; and the fact that it is written in greater detail and in a finer style than other biographies of the time, even those of the greatest kings, is in itself evidence of the author's extraordinary admiration for the hero. Yet,



MS. OF *HISTORIA RODERICI*, FOUND BY FATHER RISCO *CIRC.* 1785

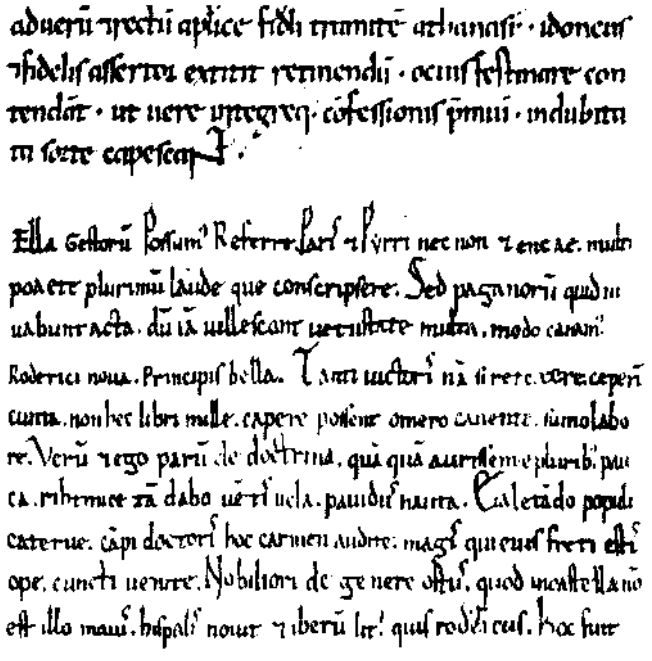
so narrow are the limits within which the Christian chroniclers confined themselves that even here the Cid is shown almost solely in two aspects, as a mighty and ever victorious man-at-arms and as a vassal of unfailing loyalty ; all other sides of his life and character are ignored. It is not surprising that the anonymous author should at times fall into the biblical style ; for the *Historia Rodericiy* breathing on every page, as it does, the spirit of plain devout, truth, is really a gospel of faithfulness and heroism.

Lastly, the oldest poems on the Cid must be accepted as historical sources. The first of these is a Latin *Carmen,* in Sapphic and Adonic verse, of which a fragment has come down to us in a manuscript from the monastery of Ripoll. This poem, which is addressed to the multitudes that lived under the hero's protection, appears to have dealt mainly with the struggle between Rodrigo and the Count of Barcelona ; and its author was probably a cleric of that County. Written about 1090 during the lifetime of the Cid, it stands as a valuable witness to the enthusiasm he aroused.

Closing this period comes the *Poema del Cid,* which was written in the neighbourhood of Medinaceli some forty years after the protagonist's death. Here, in addition to a description of innumerable types, events, and customs of the time, we find the most complete delineation of the hero's character. Like the *Historia Roderici,* the *Poem* extols the war-like feats of the Cid ; at the same time, however, it gives a livelier idea of his unswerving loyalty to an unjust king and shows due appreciation of his other qualities, such as his benevolent treatment of the conquered Moors ; above all, it introduces the more intimate note of the Cid's love for his family, a love that influenced his whole line of conduct and spurred him on to fresh deeds of valour.

Second Period. The mingling of History with Fable.

In the second period of the historiography of the Cid, stretching from the middle of the twelfth century to the seventeenth, the waters from the two sources of history and epic poetry unite to form one stream. This mingling of ballad with history started about 1160, when the *Cronica Najerense* included the deeds of the Cid in the general history of the nation. The example set was followed, though more cautiously, by the official historians of the time of St. Ferdinand III, namely, Bishop Lucas of Tuy and Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo (generally referred to as the " Tudense " and " Toledano "), in their respective works, the *Chronicon Mundi (circ.* 1236) and *De rebus Hispanice(1243).* But, when Alphonso X, the Wise, applied new methods to the writing of history and abandoned Latin in favour of Romance, the epic tales invaded the field of history and came to fill the *Primera Cronica General de Espana,* which was compiled by order of Alphonso, although the part based upon poetry was not written until 1289, in the reign of his son and successor, Sancho IV. The biography of the Cid contained in the *Primera Cronica General* is conceived on a grand scale and comprises lengthy extracts from the *Historia Roderick* the chronicles of the Tudense, the Toledano, and others, as well as from the work of Ibn Alcama and such poems of the thirteenth century as the *Cantor de Zamora* and a recast of the old *Poema del Cid.* It also repeats a legend written in the monastery of Cardena. According to the general plan followed throughout the *Cronica,* each of the above-mentioned works is closely adhered to, with the result that we are shown the Cid equally under the shadow of Moorish hatred and surrounded by the halo of hero-worship accorded him by the later poets. Nor is this medley unpleasing, thanks to the artlessness with which the conflict-



"CAMPIDOCTORIS HOC CARMEN AUDITE !"
Latin poem in honour of the lid. MS, from the Mouasterv of Ripoll, now in the BibI. Nat. Paris B. Royal 5132

ing elements appear, as though reflecting the storminess of his actual life.

A second *Cronica General,* which appeared in 1344, and a *Cronica Particular del Cid* draw practically on the same sources as the *Primera Cronica General,* and these three compilations served as a pattern for the many works written about the Cid down to the end of the sixteenth century. With the exception of the *Cronica de San Juan de la Pena* (1359), none of these works furnishes any fresh historical data ; on the other hand they add much legendary matter, particularly about Rodrigo's youth, which finally obscured the historical facts and converted the story of the Cid into a fable.

Third and Fourth Periods. Critical Discussions.

When in the seventeenth century mediaeval sources became the subject of direct study, this largely fabulous biography was submitted to critical revision, which, by the nineteenth century, had produced two opposite results—the one, affirmative, inspired by the dawning spirit of romanticism ; and the other, negative, by the hypercritical thought of the eighteenth century. Thus, the celebrated Swiss historian, Johann Muller in his work *Der Cid nach den Quellen* (1805), maintains that the *Poema del Cid* is as trustworthy as the *Historia Roderici* and gives a true picture of the hero, concerning whom he has the following fine passage : " All that godliness, honour, and love could make of a knight was combined in Don Rodrigo. . . . This remarkable man is one of the few who, eschewing all favouritism and intrigue, deceit and crime, have attained to the level of kings and been, in their own lifetime, their country's pride." The same wave of romanticism led to the publication in 1808 of Southey's *The Chronicle of the Cid.*

On the other hand, the Jesuit Masdeu in Vol. XX of his *Historia critica de Espana* (1805) denied all credence

to the *Historia Roderick* which he considered apocryphal. To him it was but a tale of the " perfidy, perjury, and brazen deeds of Rodrigo Diaz ", and he even went so far as to say : " O f the famous Cid we have not a single record that is reliable, founded on fact, or worthy of mention in the annals of our nation. . . . Of Rodrigo the Campeador we know absolutely nothing authentic ; we have not even proof that he ever existed."

Fifth Period. Chief Credit given to Arabic Sources.

In this last period, which runs from 1820 down to the present day, the historians show a marked antipathy against the Cid. The first to give a detailed account of the Campeador from Arabic sources was Jose Antonio Conde in his *Historia de los drabes en Espana* (1820). This is a book compiled from the Arabic *MSS* in the Escurial and bears so clear an imprint of its origin that it conveys the impression of being the work of an Arab author. Conde, indeed, seizes upon the figure of the Cid as portrayed by his enemies and relishes narrating the horrible tortures of the Valencian Cadi and the cruelty of the Cid, whom, faithful to his Moslem authorities, he represents as wishing to burn the condemned man's wife and children.

The immediate effect of Conde's work was completely to efface the scepticism of Masdeu, whilst leaving intact his bitter animosity against the Cid. Whereas the Cid had hitherto appeared in history as " the loyal Campeador ", who, as recorded by the Christian poets and chroniclers, " girt on his sword in a propitious hour ", he now re-arises from the ashes of Masdeu's scepticism as " the Campeador ; may Allah curse him ! " and " the dog of a Galician infidel " of the Arab historians. It is in this light he appears in the histories of Spain published in 1839 by Romey and Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire and in 1844 by H. Schafer,

A sane reaction from the Arabic tendency appeared in the *Geschichte des Cid* by V. A. Huber (1829) and the *Romancero Espagnol* of Damas Hinard (1844). Both these authors flatly reject evidence of Arabic origin; and indeed one would have thought that common sense alone would have warned any one against accepting the story of a man written by his enemy and especially a vanquished enemy. Nevertheless, the discovery of an important Moslem source was soon to give fresh vigour to the supporters of the Islamic theory. At Gotha in 1844 the Dutch orientalist, R. Dozy, discovered in Ibn Bassam a remarkable passage which, telling of a deed of great cruelty, shows the Cid in a very different light from that in which he is seen in the poems. Dozy's curiosity was aroused. In his eagerness to stress the piratical side of St. Olaf's character, he had not scrupled to alter a well-established date ; he now set himself to study Ibn Alcama, Ibn al-Kardabus, Al-Makkari, and other Arabic and Christian historians with the object of ferreting out further evidence derogatory to the Spanish hero ; and in 1849 he had published *Le Cid : textes et risultats nouveaux.* As Dozy brought to his critical study a wealth of historical matter that had been unknown to his predecessors, his life of the Cid was deservedly admired as a triumph of erudition. It occurred to none of his contemporaries to check the sources from which he drew, with the result that his account came to be universally accepted. Even H. Butler Clarke, who conscientiously studied the sources, came to the conclusion in his *The Cid Campeador* (1897) that " to differ from him is rash, to improve upon his work impossible ".

Yet Dozy's animosity was too evident to pass uncriticized. E. de Saint Albin condemned it in France and in Spain Menendez Pelayo, in commenting on Dozy's love of paradox, deplored his ultra-aggressiveness and his set purpose of creating the figure of a truculent Cid

that should strike the imagination by its sinister grandeur. Later, J. Puyol improved upon such general criticism by pointing out several passages in which Dozy had actually misinterpreted his sources.

In the Spanish edition of the present work *(La Espana del Cid,* pp. 32-51), I have endeavoured to show at length how Dozy's characterization of the Cid is influenced, not only by his habit of stretching and twisting his sources to suit his purpose, but by his faulty knowledge of the old Castilian used in the *Cronica General* and his ignorance of mediaeval law and even well-known legal texts. Hence, Dozy's " Cid de la realite " is in action and character as unreal, although represented in a very different light, as the Cid of the poets of the later Middle Ages. He is not merely the Cid as seen by harsh, malevolent critics such as Ibn Alcama and Ibn Bassam. They at least scorned to paint their enemy in false colours ; whereas the learned professor of Leyden allowed himself to be carried away by his delight in violent contrast and his ignorance of the workings of the mind and the rights of a vassal who was at the same time a conqueror in Western Europe of the eleventh century. Thus Dozy's Cid follows one path and the real Cid another ; nor do these paths ever meet.

It seems incredible that the same biographical construction should have been repeated over and over again for the last three-quarters of a century, that every writer should have agreed with Butler Clarke that " to differ from Dozy is rash, to improve upon his work impossible ". For my part, although I have nothing but praise for the erudition and skill shown by the famous Dutch orientalist, I consider his work quite out of date. Rather than drink from waters so long stagnant, let us seek for a more limpid spring.

2. ATTEMPT AT A NEW HISTORY OF THE CID

New Methods of Research.

In studying the sources afresh, I shall not be animated by any spirit of antagonism against the Cid's detractors ; nor do I intend to reopen the proceedings instituted by Philip II for the canonization of the Cid. I shall deal one by one with all the animadversions of the Moorish historians and, refraining from any distortion of the text, shall be guided by this one principle, dictated by common sense : The Cid, whom the Latin chroniclers and contemporary Spanish poets depicted as a hero ; whom Ibn Bassam extolled as a miracle of God ; and whose death, according to a French chronicle, filled Christendom with mourning and Islam with joy ; could hardly be the man of stupid and purposeless cruelty, the faithless and deceitful knave, the *condottiere* who knew not country, ideals or honour, that Dozy paradoxically portrayed.

We may improve our story of the Cid, not only by getting rid of bias, but also by making use of better materials than have hitherto been available. We have a greater knowledge of the chronicles and charters than Dozy and the critics before him and can add a Hebrew chronicle of singular interest. We also have at our disposal a greater number of charters referring to the Cid and, being better able to judge of their genuineness, can extract evidence from them that was formerly unknown. Nowadays, too, we can penetrate deeper into the *Historia Roderick* establish the truth of the text, and determine the nature and centre of interest of the work, in order to get a truer idea of the value of the statements and omissions of the author. Further, we have a less imperfect knowledge of Ibn Alcama than Dozy ; not only because the *Primera Cronica General* contains a more exact rendering into Castilian than the *Tercera*

Cronica, the only one previously known, and that translation is easier for us to understand than for the Dutch orientalist; but because the *Cronica de* 1344, which was unknown to Dozy, furnishes variants and even new passages that are of the greatest value as complementing the Arabic authors a translation of whose works appears in the *Primera Cronica.* Finally, we can draw on other historical sources,—whether Christian, like the *Cronica de San Juan de la Pena,* or Arabic, like certain passages of Ibn al-Abbar,—which were either ignored by, or unknown to, the later historians, but throw a vivid light upon the vicissitudes of the Cid's rule in Valencia.

The Three Valuable Poetical Sources.

Modern philological criticism, being better equipped and conversant with many chronicles that were unknown to Dozy, has a much fuller knowledge of the poetical texts and their value than could have been acquired in his time, and constrains us to accept these texts as authentic sources of information instead of as mere fictitious adornments of the drier historical narratives. The philologists, after meticulous study of the charters and topographical features, have definitely established that the primitive Castilian gests are founded on historical fact and are thus as distinct from the later and frankly fabulous ballads as they are from the epic stories of other nations that tell of far remoter heroes than the Cid and have indeed but the vaguest connection with history. Of the earlier Spanish gests it may be said more truly than of any others that they were written " ad recreationem et forte ad informationem ". In no other country did the custom of versifying history strike deeper root than in Spain, where the method of imparting news to the public in the epic metre of romance lived on until the seventeenth century. The conquest of Granada, the victory of Lepanto, and the war in Flanders were all

sung to the people in ballads. Similarly, the early Castilian epic goes back more or less directly to the actual time of the deeds it sang of and was but a popular form of history, appealing alike to the common people, who were ignorant of the Latin of the chroniclers, and to those who were not content with the bare facts given in the chronicles.

Bearing in mind, then, the fundamental veracity of the earliest poets, we should not hesitate to regard as supplementary historical sources the *Poema del Cid,* the Latin *Carmen,* and what remains of the oldest version of the *Cantor de Zamora.* These three poetical narratives will furnish us with characters and particulars that are worthy of attention, besides giving us important general ideas. When, by careful analysis, the modern historian has clarified and separated the earliest poetical tradition that is still warm with the hero's life-breath, he must probe it to discover those intimate features that the chronicler of the time was either too artless or too hostile to reveal. All that reached the ear of the early Christian historian is the clash of the Cid's arms in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia ; and the principal Moslem historian only sought the " Eloquent evidence of the great calamity " that befell the Valencian Moors for disobeying the precepts of the Koran and delivering their city over to the infidel. The earlier *jongleurs* alone strove to restore to the people that fuller picture of the hero that was familiar to those among whom he had lived and wrought. The *Poema del Cid* is the only record of the feelings expressed by the Cid on the relation between his public life and his private family life. The vassal's behaviour to his lord, though forming a subject of special attention in the *Historia Rodericiy* can only be understood in all its aspects, public and private, in the light of the *Poem.* The constitution of the Cid's retinue, his true position in the social hierarchy of his time, the grouping of his

enemies, all are essential points that the *Poem* alone makes clear. Incidentally, of course, the contemporary poems provide particulars of types and customs and a general atmosphere giving shape and colour to the vague outlines of history. These details should not be rejected with contempt, for our imagination also " abhors a vacuum ", and, if there is a gap, it is surely better to fill it with reliable ancient knowledge than with fantastic anachronisms.

Wide Range of this Work.

This story of the Cid is planned on a larger scale than the works of my predecessors. In pursuance of my aim to give a general picture, rather than a complete history, of the Peninsula in the eleventh century, I have omitted several well-known features and at the same time have endeavoured to bring to light others that may lead to the formation of fresh points of view. For this purpose I have included several facts that have hitherto been disregarded, as also such ancillary data as I have been able to glean from the laconic story of the chronicles and the sibylline statements contained in the charters. These we must endeavour to correlate and assess, seeking by close attention and scrupulous accuracy to gain an insight into their meaning, as the novelist, aided by art, penetrates the meaning of everyday facts so that he may be able to give us the essence of ordinary life. We must try to surround ourselves with an abundance of the facts that go to make up the historical picture so as to live, as it were, in the world of the past, just as the events of to-day compel us to live in the present. By so doing, we may perhaps succeed in understanding the past almost unconsciously and run the least risk of falsifying it with our prejudices ; and once we are able to absorb the spirit of the time, we may establish points of difference from the present that will help us to trace

the evolution of history. We must descry the features of the figures so faintly drawn in the texts, evoke the characters hitherto neglected, reconstruct whole families, make ourselves acquainted with the rival parties among the burgesses and nobles ; in short, we must command a wider view of the past than was open to former historians. It will be seen how notions of such importance as that of the Empire of Leon have been neglected hitherto ; how other points, such as the various aspects the Reconquest from time to time assumed, the value to be attributed to the Crusades in Spain, and the mutual relations and aims of the several States in the Peninsula, were all dealt with without any regard for precision.

Finally, I have thought it necessary to fit this piece of the history of Spain into universal history. Ancient Spain we must regard as being, not tangent to, but inscribed in the circle of the Western World of history ; for Spain lived within that world and, indeed, linked it up with Islam. The action of the Cid and other Spanish captains cannot be fully understood without taking into account that of the Normans and other Western lords ; nor can the resistance against Islam on Spanish soil be appreciated without a glance at the contemporaneous campaigns in the Byzantine Empire and in Palestine, and giving due consideration to the vigorous reaction of all Islam, from Asia in the East to Africa in the West.

CHAPTER II

SPAIN FROM AL-MANSUR TO THE CID

i. CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM

The Middle Ages.

ALTHOUGH the modern method of dividing History into three ages, instead of six as formerly, may tend to simplicity, it is of but little use to us when we attempt to co-ordinate the events that fall to be chronicled in a history that pretends to being universal. Nevertheless, for lack of a better term we employ that of the Middle Ages here to denote the period from the eighth to the fifteenth century. To bracket Boetius, St. Isidore, and the Popes of Constantinople with Alcuin, Alphonso X, and the pontiffs who claimed universal supremacy, is, considering no other portion of the globe but our own, to group indiscriminately men who continue to live in the ancient Roman orb with those of a new western world.

When the Roman Empire formed its nucleus of Mediterranean culture, it was surrounded by hosts of barbaric tribes who were covetous of the wealth within the walls of its cities. Hence the Romano-Christian era witnessed invasions by the Turanians, the Teutons, and the Slavs, whose hordes swept down from the North with an impetus born of a greater virility and force of numbers. Then followed the encroachment from the South of the Semitic nomads of Arabia, who brought with them a

new and vigorous religion containing the germs of a brilliant culture. Unlike the former invaders, who were absorbed by the empire they invaded, the Arabs imposed their desert tongue and faith in the lands they conquered, with the result that by A.D. 715 they had formed the great Ommeyad Empire. Not long after the civilization that was to dominate Western Europe throughout the centuries began to assert itself, and only then can it be said that the Middle Ages, essentially a Latin-Arabic era, began. Thenceforth Islamic culture was to stand out high above all others to light humanity on its way, until the nascent culture of the West should gather strength enough to snatch the torch from Moslem hands.

The Mediterranean ceased to be a Roman sea. Only its northern shores remained Christian ; the others, along with the shipping and the trade route overland to Asia, passed into the hands of the paynim. The *mare nostrum* itself, the hub of the ancient universe, became a border of strife between the two new worlds that arose in the eighth century.

Islam.

The last prophet born of mankind, he who claimed that he had come to complete the work of Jesus as Jesus had completed that of Moses, founded a State as universal in concept as his religion, the principles of whose subject peoples were so nearly identical that Islam, whilst respecting all alike, had little difficulty in welding them all into one homogeneous whole. For Mahomet preached tolerance to all, to pagans and the peoples of the Bible, the Jews and Christians whose God and prophets he also venerates, saying " Had it pleased Allah, all men would live united in the Faith ". In eighty years, then, the Moslem Empire spread throughout Asia, Africa, and Spain, stretching from the Tagus to the Indus and

embracing Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Barbary pagans and Brahmins.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, which had stood for the European invasion of Asia, there arose in counter-aggression the proud Damascene Empire ; and, where Christianity, allied to the spirit of Imperial Rome, had once been the great force binding the world of Alexander and Trajan,—in Eurasiafrica, to complete the new coinage of the geographers,—Islam, now lord of a larger part of that world, began to put forth its strength.

The Ommeyad Caliphs of Damascus were succeeded by the far more cultured but politically weaker Abbasides of Baghdad, from whom Al Andalus after barely forty years of Eastern rule separated in A.D. 756, in which year the Ommeyad refugees had succeeded in establishing themselves at Cordova. Towards the end of the eighth century Morocco became independent ; in the ninth, Kairawan, Khorassan, Egypt, Persia, and Afghanistan ; and by A.D. IOOO the rule of the Abbaside Caliph scarcely extended beyond the walls of his palace at Baghdad.

The political and military power of Islam was thus broken up and passed principally to the Ommeyad Caliphs of Cordova and the Fatimites of Egypt. At the same time secessions from the faith had become general, the Shiites in particular gaining a political triumph by establishing the Fatimite Caliphate in A.D. 909. And yet all continued to recognize Mecca as the common religious centre, to which every Mosque from Western Andalus to Eastern India faced ; and on the pilgrimage to Mecca, as enjoined by one of the five cardinal precepts of the faith, men from widely scattered countries met and mingled in a true cosmopolitan spirit. Moreover, as all were conversant with the Koran, Arabic became the greatest medium for human intercourse in the world.

Thus, the prodigious power of absorption that Islam

had early displayed in religion and politics, became even more manifest where intellectual matters were concerned. The Moslem conquerors, on coming into contact with the great ancient civilizations, became steeped in Sanskrit, Persian, and Greek lore, just as the Koran had been imbued with Judaism and Christianity ; and from the latter half of the eighth century onwards the Islamized Christians, Syrians, Jews, Persians, Afghans and Hindus in their turn endowed Arabic with a fresh cultural splendour. Baghdad in the days of Abu Jafar Al-Mansur, Haroun al Rashid, and Mamun was the world's seat of learning for astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, history, philology, and medicine ; but in the tenth century, when the Ommeyads of Cordova began to encourage the work of geographers, historians, and doctors, this intellectual activity quickly spread to the West.

And meantime, while Arabic, drawing upon the stores of learning available to Islam, was becoming the language of universal culture, Latin began to lose its hold on the Byzantine Empire and, once deprived of its oecumenical character, eventually lapsed into a state of dire impoverishment.

Christendom.

Ever since the Christian-barbarian era the two halves of the Roman Empire had drifted farther and farther apart. The Germanic invaders had impressed their character on the West, as had the Slavs and Asiatics on the East, and the official adoption of Greek by Byzantium in the seventh century severed the link of a common language. Again, the task of reorganization in Rome, following the upheaval caused by the Western invasions, called for purely practical minds, with the result that the taste for spiritual culture gradually became blunted. Further, Roman pride was wounded by the thought of Byzantine supremacy and developed an aversion to

Hellenism, from which it finally became estranged. Religious dissension soon followed the disunion. After the death in 752 of the last Pope of Greek origin, St. Zacharias, the breach between the two Churches eventually widened into schism. On the one hand, the Papacy assumed spiritual control over the West and built up its temporal power in the lands that had been lost by Byzantium, while on the other, the Patriarch of Constantinople was now but a poor monk, subject even in matters of dogma to the all-powerful Emperor. In the East, where the old Roman Imperial idea survived, the Church became merely an instrument of the Emperor ; whereas in the West Charlemagne created a new Empire, which was to serve the Church as an ally and servant.

The recognition of Charlemagne in 812 as *imperator* and *basileus* by the legates of the Eastern Emperor, hitherto the sole holder of this dual title, marks the end of the three-century supremacy of Byzantium, the completion of the European scission, and the birth of a strictly Western type of civilization.

This civilization, though destined to dominate the world, was then in a rude and feeble state compared with Islam. Aix-la-Chapelle, in attracting Alcuin from England, Paul the Deacon from Lombardy, and Theodulf from Spain, lagged far behind Baghdad in enterprise and achievement. Indeed, the Occident alone affords but a narrow vision of the Middle Ages, which were essentially a Christian-Islamic epoch.

This age is thus characterized by the predominance of Arabic culture and the cleavage of Christendom into a Greek East and a Latin West, the West more backward by reason of the rupture and the troublous times of its invasions. Western life was transformed, not only by Germanic ideas and institutions, but by the precepts of the Church, which controlled the thoughts of men practically unchallenged and moulded a new society, with

the eternal principles of unity and order, upon the pattern of a hierarchy under the supreme jurisdiction of the Papacy and the Empire.

By A.D. Iooo the Roman Papacy and the Germanic Empire were the closest allies ; and Pope Sylvester I I , who claimed authority over the Princes outside the Empire, bestowed a royal crown on the Duke of Hungary. This Pope, who was famed for his learning, had studied in Spain and, according to his contemporary, Ademar de Chavannes, had sought wisdom at the fount of Cordova. The fact is illustrative, to consider the new Occident alone, of the important part Spain played in Western mediaeval Europe as the one country on which had been superimposed the two great civilizations then warring on the Mediterranean.

2. THE EMPIRE OF LEON AND AL-MANSUR

The Conquest and Reconquest.

Christendom was taken unawares by the Holy War and the expansion of Islam. The Byzantine Empire, in spite of recent successes under Heraclius against the Persians, quickly lost Syria, Egypt, Cilicia and Africa ; and at the other end of the Mediterranean Spain also succumbed.

The rapid conquest of Spain by the Arabs has been considered proof rather of the innate inferiority than of any temporary weakness of the Visigoths. But, as the Byzantine provinces and the whole Sassanide Empire fell just as quickly, the resistance put up by the Visigoths, considering that their territory was smaller and they were in the throes of civil strife, could have been no less vigorous. True, the Franks were more successful under Charles Martel; but then, not only were they better organized, having renounced the Roman administration before the Visigoths did, but the Arabs themselves

had been weakened by forty years of civil war, a long period of famine, and defeats at the hands of Pelayo, Alphonso, and Fruela. It must also be taken into account that the expansive force of a nation decreases like that of a gas and that the Arabs had already reached their peak at the Taurus Mountains and the Pyrenees.

Nor must the Reconquest be dismissed too summarily. A remark by Menendez Pelayo has led to a reaction against the old acceptation of " eight centuries of glorious warfare ", with the result that the idea of the Reconquest has been reduced to a mere modern abstraction. The Cid's contemporaries are supposed to have had no remote end in view but to have fought instinctively for their daily bread or for the sake of small immediate gains. To adopt this version is to ignore the wider issues. The local skirmishes in themselves were of little account. The Reconquest proper, inspired as it was by definite national ideals, found Christendom and Islam engaged in a struggle for world supremacy from end to end of the Mediterranean. The story of the Cid will make this plain.

Hispania.

One reason for thus denying any conscious ideal to the Reconquest in the early Middle Ages may be found in the theory that national Hispanic sentiment was created by Castile and, therefore, did not exist until after the twelfth century. Certainly, the idea that Spain sprang from Castile contains, in common with most popular beliefs, more than a grain of truth and, accordingly, instead of being rejected off-hand, should be carefully analysed and advantage taken of its authentic elements.

It is true that Castile, particularly after the thirteenth century, was foremost among the Spanish provinces in both national outlook and sentiment; and it is also true that after the fifteenth century Castile unified and domin-

ated Spain. And this explains why Castile is credited with the original idea of a Spanish nation, an opinion to which even learned historians subscribe, in the conviction that Peninsular unity was unthought-of in the early Middle Ages. The fact of the matter is that political unification was attempted long before the fifteenth century and, at all events, the national spirit had always been in existence. Indeed, even if Castile had not paved the way, the union would have come about in the fifteenth century, in spite of the characteristic Iberian indifference to any undertaking, whether large or small, in which the interests of the country as a whole are involved.

The conception of Hispania did not originate with the Romans but was handed down to them by the Iberians, the Celts, and those other races who were later to become welded into one Peninsular nation. And it was the Visigoths who, by making one kingdom of this extreme province of the Roman Empire, first gave political expression to the national idea, proudly referred to by St. Isidore in his description of this land of the Romans and the Goths as : " pulcherrima es, o sacra semperque felix, principum gentiumque mater Spania. . . ."

The Arab invasion, of course, was soon to change the scene. The very name *Spania* was then in danger of losing its original significance by being applied to the larger, Islamized portion of the Peninsula to the exclusion of the small Christian States scattered in the North. And yet the invasion and the perennial warfare only served to educe the individuality of the country and bring Spain into prominence as the bulwark of Christendom. Even the rude chronicler of Albelda shows that he is alive to the unity of *Spania* by representing ninth century Spain as a daughter of Rome, carrying on the Gothic tradition in Leon and destined, according to Ezekiel, to be delivered from the Saracens

within a hundred years. Alphonso III, too, in the same century represents Pelayo as saying that in the Covadonga Rock lies " Spaniae salus ", the salvation of the whole of Gothic Spain. And in the tenth century the new Kingdom of Pamplona is hailed as sharing with Leon the mission of reconquest and the restoration of the Catholic Faith.

It is clear, then, that in the early Middle Ages, long before Castile assumed the hegemony of the Peninsula, there existed a national sentiment—whether prompted by idealism or by materialism is of little moment—and a fixed purpose on the part of the two realms to undertake the reconquest, either independently or together as allies in a common cause.

The Hispanic Empire of Leon.

National aspirations also found political expression in the Imperial title of premier sovereign of Christian Spain, given in the early Middle Ages to the Leonese King ; and this shows, incidentally, that Leon and not Castile was the rallying-point after the Gothic collapse.

This use of the Imperial title, though common in the Cid's time and in previous centuries, seems to be unknown to many historians and misunderstood by others. Mayer, for example, considers the title was borne indiscriminately by the sovereigns of Leon, Castile and Navarre as a protest against the dependence of the Peninsular Border States on the Carolingian Empire; but his sole authority for making Asturias recognize the Empire of Charlemagne's successors is the Council of Oviedo of 900 ; and the evidence he adduces of the use of the title by the Kings of Navarre and the Counts of Castile is also doubtful. Nevertheless, it has been proved conclusively that the Kings of Leon did use the title, although in a sense very different from that attributed to it by Mayer.

The Asturian monarchs, when they had consolidated

their small kingdom, felt that it was incumbent upon them, as the successors of the Gothic rulers of Toledo, to reunite all the Spanish provinces, whether free or still in possession of the Arabs, into one Hispania. Although as a rule these monarchs used no other title than *princeps* or *rex,* it is on record that Alphonso I I I the Great (866-910) was acknowledged " *magnus imperator* ". Ordofio II (914-923), who transferred the capital to Leon, is named in a chronicle *imperator legionensis,* and both Ramiro II (930-950) and Ramiro I I I (965-984) were called *imperator,* the last-named adopting in addition the title of *magnus basileus.*

In so doing he was no doubt influenced by the example of Charlemagne, who had styled himself *basileus* as well as *imperator* ; but it is unlikely that the idiosyncracies of the later, insignificant, Carolingian Emperors in any way affected the Kings of Leon. The rise of Navarre in 905 from the unimportant Lordship of Pamplona that had belonged to the Asturian kingdom of Alphonso I, is a more likely reason why the King of Asturias assumed the higher title ; and the use of the variant *rex magnus* by Ramiro II and Ramiro I I I also seems to indicate a claim of supremacy over the other Christian sovereigns. A similar pretension may account for the assistance Ordofio II repeatedly rendered to the new King of Navarre, for whom he won the city of Najera from the Moslems. Again, when in 909 the sons of Alphonso I I I of Leon rebelled against him and usurped his kingdom, it may well have been that they conferred the imperial title upon him merely by way of compensation ; for it is an established fact that this was the first occasion upon which the title was ever used.

Whatever the origin of the title may be, by the eleventh century the imperial status of the King of Leon was definitely recognized by the other Northern States as being supreme in the Peninsula. This is a point that

has been overlooked hitherto ; and yet it is noteworthy, for Leon, as the heir to the Visigothic kingdom, claimed ecclesiastical as well as political supremacy. Thus, in 954 Ordofio I I I styled the Bishop of Santiago " antistes totius orbis ", and that this pretentious title was not entirely empty is shown by the fact that the candidate to the Metropolitan see of Tarragona in 957 applied to Compostela for consecration.

The Northern States of the Peninsula.

Leon, the largest Christian State in Spain, being barely half the size of Cordova and including the rebellious Galician Counties and the great County of Castile, was exposed to the constant danger of a Moslem invasion.

Castile had been united by Fernan Gonzalez about the year 950. Though this famous count did not, as the poets aver, succeed in shaking off the rule of Leon, he did succeed in making the countship hereditary in his family, thus following the example set by the French counts in the preceding century.

To the east of Castile, from La Rioja to the small territories then known as Aragon and Sobrarbe, stretched the Kingdom of Navarre, peopled by *Vascones* or Basques, in the narrower sense of the word, for the inhabitants of Alava and Vizcaya were attached to Castile.

The extreme East was split up into the small counties, chief among them Barcelona, that had sprung up in the Spanish March of the Carolingian Empire. But it was not until the twelfth century that Catalonia, far behind Castile in its aspiration for union, arose through the merging of the Counties of Besalu and Cerdafia in that of Barcelona. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious had frequently sent expeditions to defend this region against the Moslems ; but, owing to the weakness of the later Carolingians and early Capets, the Franks lost interest

in this crusade, and the March, finding itself unprotected against the menace of Al-Mansur, eventually freed itself from the Frankish kings.

Thus we find that in the tenth century the interests of Spain were confined to the Peninsula and centred in Cordova. The Christian princes, one and all, relied upon the Court of the Caliphs to direct their politics and settle their quarrels ; and it is even told of how the great Castilian lord, Ruy Velazquez, looked to Al-Mansur for help to pay the expenses of weddings and family vendettas. Such, then, was the isolated situation of Spain, when it had to bear the full brunt of an outburst of martial and religious fury on the part of the Caliphate.

Al-Mansur.

At the end of the tenth century Islam owed its splendour to the Caliphates of Cairo and Cordova and to the genius of one minister in particular, Ibn Abbi Amir Al-Mansur of Cordova. In fifty consecutive campaigns Al-Mansur struck at every Christian centre in Spain. He sacked Barcelona (985), burnt down the monastery of San Cugat de Valles (986), laid Coimbra waste (987), razed Leon to the ground and set fire to the great monasteries of Eslonza and Sahagun (988), seized Osma (989) and the castles north of the Douro, and destroyed the Church of Santiago, the Christian Mecca (997). Not one of the Christian princes was strong enough to resist him. The Kings of Navarre and Leon surrendered their daughters to be his slaves or his wives ; the Count of Castile was his vassal, and the Viscount of Barcelona his prisoner for many years. Hosts of captives and long trains of carts, laden with the heads of the vanquished or with crosses, censers, holy vessels, and other rich spoil, kept pouring into Cordova. The prisoners were set to work on the extension of the Mosque, where

the bells brought from Santiago on the backs of Leonese prisoners were hung as lamps. To curry favour with the people, Al-Mansur himself lent a hand in the work on the Mosque, adopting a humble attitude to the fakirs and ignoring the philosophers entirely.

At this time Spanish Islam reached its zenith ; but its grandeur was shortlived. Al-Mansur had divested the Caliph Hishem II of all his power ; he had killed or vanquished all who were in a position to oppose him and had uprooted each and every organization that stood in his way. His, however, was a one-man power, and, when he died, there was neither man nor body of men capable of succeeding him. His death at Medinaceli in A.D. 1002 on his return from a last raid into La Rioja, in course of which he destroyed the monastery of San Millan, created a gap that was to be filled by a maelstrom of selfish ambitions—the only legacy left by this great genius of intrigue and warfare.

3. POLITICAL ASPECT OF ELEVENTH CENTURY

Last days of the Cordovan Caliphate.

The insignificant sons of Al-Mansur and the still more insignificant Ommeyad princes became the play-things of the two bodies that Al-Mansur had created or strengthened to form a bulwark against the forces of the nation. One of these bodies was composed of the troops he had brought over from Barbary to replace the old Arab militia ; the other, of the " Slavs " or European slaves. To the Eastern Arabs all Northerners were Slavs, whatever their race, and the term was extended to embrace all European slaves, whether Spanish or Frank. Thoroughly trained at the Moslem Courts, these slaves or Slavs came to fill high posts, ranging from Eunuchs of the Harem to dignities both civil and military. This policy of preferring the Slavs before the nobility

of the country was started by Abderrahman III at Cordova and spread to the Courts of Cairo, Baghdad and Ghazni.

On Al-Mansur's death, the Berbers sought help from Count Sancho Garcia of Castile, who sacked Cordova in 1009. In the following year the Slavs gained the support of the Counts of Barcelona and Urgel, but, when ultimately abandoned by them, had to cede 200 frontier forts to Castile. Thus, within seven years of the death of Al-Mansur the Christians had become the arbiters of the Caliphate—a phenomenal state of affairs which will be dealt with at length in a later chapter.

In the troublous times that followed, the power of the Caliph at Cordova, as that of the Caliph at Baghdad, barely extended beyond his palace. The Slavs seized the Mediterranean coast from Almeria to Tortosa, and Berber generals, the Southern territory from Cadiz to Granada. A third power, the old Moslem nobility of Spain, was still strong enough to hold the more important of the cities in the rest of the Peninsula.

Dissolution of the Caliphate.

On the death in A.D. 1030 of Hishem III, the last of the nominal Caliphs, the three parties divided the country up into a number of small, insignificant kingdoms known as " Taifas ".

A grandson of Al-Mansur reigned at *Valencia,* which was bounded on the North by the Slav State of *Tortosa* and on the South and East by *Denia* and the *Balearic Islands* under a Slav prince, a pirate of Christian origin. *Almeria,* on the death of its eunuch ruler in 1038, passed into the hands of the prince of Valencia.

Berber adventurers, installed by Al-Mansur, held *Ronda, Carmona* and *Moron.* The great Berber chieftain, Zawi ibn Zayri, of the royal family of Tunis, who had joined Al-Mansur in 983, made *Granada* the capital

of his kingdom in 1013 in preference to Elvira, which was rapidly becoming derelict. And the Beni Hammud princes, descendants of the Prophet, ruled at *Malaga*, *Algeciras* and *Ceuta.*

The government of the more important of the other cities passed into the hands of the descendants of the noble families that had come to Spain in the eighth century. At *Cordova* the Beni Jahwar presided over a Republican government and assumed the command of the army ; at *Seville* the Beni Abbad ruled as kings ; and at *Huelva* and in many of the smaller western cities other old Arab families held sway. On the northern boundaries the native nobility was of old organized for border defence : thus, on the " upper frontier " of the Ebro Valley the Beni Hud governed, first at *Lerida* and *Tudela* and, after 1039, also at *Saragossa* ; whereas the " lower frontier ", that of the Tagus, was divided into the Kingdoms of *Toledo* and *Badajoz* under the families of the Dsi-1-Nun and Al-Aftas respectively. To the south of Saragossa the Beni Razin held *Santa Maria de Oriente* (Albarracin) and the Beni Kasim, *Alpuente.* And, finally, the Beni Tahir reigned at *Murcia,* dependent now on Almeria and now on Valencia until 1078, when Abu Abderrahman ibn Tahir was driven out by Sevillian troops and sought refuge at Valencia, where, incidentally, he met the Cid.

Only two of these small realms, Seville and Saragossa, evinced any tendency to expand. The Beni Abbad showed themselves particularly hostile to the Berbers. The first Abbadid King expelled them from Seville ; the second, Motadid, despoiled them of Arcos, Moron, Ronda (1053), Algeciras (1055), and Carmona (1057); and the third, Motamid, by the capture of Jaen (1074), reduced / their territory to Malaga and Granada and, by the agency of the Cid, put the King of Granada to rout.

Saragossa enlarged its territory at the expense of the

Slavs. The first Ibn Hud seized Tortosa (1061) and Denia (1076) ; and his grandson, Mostain, aspired to the dominion of Valencia, acting at times in concert with the Cid and at others, at variance with him.

When about 1080 the Cid came into personal contact with the rulers in this region, Spain appears divided into two distinct parts : the Mediterranean, disunited and individualistic, and the Atlantic, better organized politically (see the map opposite p. 176). Just as Leon was the largest Christian State, so the western Moorish kingdoms of Toledo, Badajoz and Seville grew to some size ; while, like the small Christian States of the Eastern Pyrenees, the Moslem cities of the Mediterranean, from Tortosa to Malaga, formed independent units. But the latter had none of the political aspirations of the rising Italian city-republics, and their citizens were, accordingly, content to enjoy their wealth and the pleasures of an urban life without worrying about self-government. As a result, they fell an easy prey to foreign rulers, and the Cid, coming from Western Spain, thus found his field of action in the East.

New Aspect of the Reconquest.

The struggle between Al Andalus, or Moslem Spain, and the North came to a climax twice during the eleventh century, once in the time of Al-Mansur and again in the time of the Cid. The intervening period is characterized by peculiar features.

Al-Mansur, by his attacks on all the Christian cities from Barcelona to Compostela, fanned the flame of national feeling and quickened the aspirations of reconquest in the North. The moribund Caliphate and the growing Taifa kingdoms were, however, still strong enough to resist the Christians, who, lacking both the numbers and the wealth either to conquer or to colonize, had perforce to rely upon a system of armed intervention,

whereby, in exchange for castles or monetary tribute, they agreed to afford protection to the Moslem princes.

This tributary system remained in vogue practically throughout the eleventh century, rendering the relations between the Christians and their Moorish proteges almost as intimate as those between the eighth century conquerors and the Mozarabs. For this attitude of the Christians a scant population was not entirely responsible. Other factors were that Al Andalus, which was not long in shaking off the Eastern yoke, had hispanicized Islamism ; that the few Asiatics and Africans had been largely absorbed by the natives ; and that the vast majority of Spanish Moslems were, if Islamic in culture, of Ibero-Roman or Gothic stock and could thus understand their Northern brothers who had remained true to Christianity. Such quasi-fraternization was made possible in the eleventh century by the rationalism in which Spanish Islam was steeped and which allowed of a Moorish king entrusting the government of his land to the Cid.

The tributary system itself, however, was by no means stable. For no sooner did the power of a Christian protector begin to wane than the Moorish protege would renounce him and seek a stronger one. And so it came about that, as the Christians gathered strength towards the middle of the century, the system gradually gave way to conquest. This movement, starting in the west and spreading eastwards, led in the second half of the century to the recovery of such important cities as Coimbra, Toledo, Valencia and Huesca. On the Almoravide invasion of 1086 the Moors began to refuse payment of tribute, and the Cid abandoned all idea of associating with the Moorish princes in 1095. Thenceforth, although tribute was occasionally resorted to, the occupation of territory became the chief aim of the reconquest.

Thus, the mere pecuniary exploitation of the Moors fills the period of the century separating the two great clashes between the North and the South. When Cordovan supremacy ended in A.D. 1002, the Northern successes were limited to the occupation, more by repopulation than actual conquest, of the strategic desert of the Douro basin. Castilian supremacy, which dated from A.D. 1045, and aimed at the recovery of the larger cities, marked the beginning of the real reconquest, in which the Cid was so pre-eminent a figure.

Eleventh Century Evolution.

These three phases of the Reconquest are typical of the significant changes that were then taking place, not only in the Peninsula, but in the whole world. A glance at the political maps of Spain attached to this work will suffice to form a general idea of the cataclysms that occurred in the brief space of fifty years. The Spain that Al-Mansur contemplated with so much satisfaction on his death-bed bears no resemblance whatever to the country in the period that followed his death ; neither can the Spain in which forty years later the Cid was born, be identified in any way with the country in which he died. In this century the metamorphosis from an old to an entirely new Spain was complete.

4. SOCIAL ASPECT OF ELEVENTH CENTURY

The Tai/a Courts.

The nature of the Taifa kingdoms is best exemplified by the contrast between their political decline and their intellectual and economic advance in the eleventh century. As the number of royal courts increased, the spirit of culture spread, and other cities such as Seville, Toledo, Saragossa, Badajoz, Valencia and Granada began to keep pace with Cordova, which since the tenth century had

vied with Baghdad as a centre of splendour and learning. Innumerable libraries, both royal and private, replenished with the choicest Moslem works on the arts and sciences, were now to be found in the palaces of Andalusia. Several kings, like Al-Kadir, the proteg6 of the Cid, became bibliophiles and scholars. Two others, Moktadir and Mutamin of Saragossa, with whom the Cid also lived, attained notability as philosophers and mathematicians and won the esteem of Maimonides and his school. Another king, Motamid of Seville, was a poet of distinction, and yet another, Mudaffar ibn al-Aftas of Badajoz, compiled from works in his own library the *kitab al-mudaffarij* an encyclopaedia of fifty volumes.

Centuries later the valuable work done at these courts was to serve as a guide to the whole of Western Christianity. After Ibn al-Samh, the astronomer of Granada, who died in 1038, there came into prominence under the patronage of the king Mamun at Toledo, at the time when Alphonso VI was living in exile there, a group of mathematicians and astronomers, foremost among whom were Said (a pupil of Al-Wacashi, who later was with the Cid in Valencia) and the Cordovan, Azzarkal, one of the luminaries of the scientific world. These two jointly produced the famous Toledan Tables, a work that was later used by Alphonso X, the Wise, and came to be regarded as an authority throughout Europe. At the court of Almeria and that of Seville, at the time when the Cid went on a mission to Motamid, there also excelled as a geographer and historian a prince of Huelva, Abu Obaid al-Bekri, who likewise was consulted by Alphonso the Wise when writing his *Grande e General Estoria.* The influence of the Andalusian courts upon Alphonso X and the help he derived from these old scientific and literary works 200 years later is worthy of note.

Two other names should be mentioned to complete

the study of this Andalusian culture. The Cordovan, Ibn Hazm, a Moslem Spaniard (a grandson, it seems, of a Mozarab of Niebla and a son of one of Al-Mansur's ministers) who had never been outside of Spain, contrived to produce a detailed criticism of all the various religions, from those of India and Persia to the six main creeds of Christianity and the different sects of Islam. The other is the Murcian, Ibn Sida, who, before the middle of the eleventh century, compiled in seventeen volumes a dictionary of Arabic, in which the words were grouped according to ideological affinity and were explained by means of passages from the classics. The mental development required to produce works of this description was not attained in Europe itself until the nineteenth century.

As the arts and crafts kept pace with the sciences, not only the large cities such as Seville and Cordova (that " pearl of the universe ", according to the German nun Hrotswitha), but even the smaller towns began to prosper as never before. At the court of the smallest of the Taifa kingdoms, at Almeria, 5,000 looms were busy weaving brocades and so forth of Georgian and Persian design; all kinds of iron, copper and glassware were manufactured ; over a thousand hospices and public baths were opened ; and trade was carried on with ships from Syria, Egypt, Pisa and Genoa. In literary circles rivalry among the possessors of libraries was keen, the vizier of the second Slav king alone collecting as many as 400,000 volumes ; and in the royal palace itself the pursuit of all the fine arts was fostered by the lavish entertainment of poets from all parts of the country, especially Granada.

For, apart from the Berber courts, such as Granada, where artists were despised and even persecuted, poetry and music were the rage at all the Taifa courts. Nearly every king had his *citara*—an orchestra and female chorus, shut off in Oriental fashion by a " citara " or

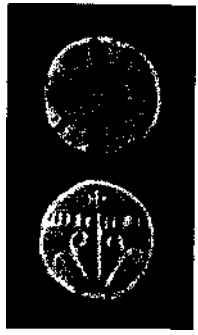
tapestry, " like birds hidden in the foliage ", as a Spanish-Arabian poet has described it. (The playing in the old Spanish theatre of guitars behind a " manta " was a survival of this custom.) Enormous sums were spent on buying and training these slaves, in spite of the ban of Islam upon music. For, whereas the Arabs considered poetry a sublime art, they regarded music in the light of its condemnation by the founders of the four orthodox rites of Islam and its prohibition, in times of religious fervour, by the authorities. Hence the reason why the Moslem authors place this passion of the Spanish Emirs for cantatrices and the music of the lute on a level with their other decadent vices, such as their fondness for feasting and the flowing bowl. These women, indeed, as well as wine-bibbing, will form the basis of the Cid's censure of the Taifa kings in his address to the Valencian Moors.

The poet-king, Motamid of Seville, himself exemplifies the justice of this censure. As a young man, he was given by his father command of an army to wage war on the Berber, Badis of Granada ; but on the march he and his captains dallied to such an extent with cantatrices that the army gradually dwindled away through sheer inactivity. Motamid himself, as will be seen, was to sink into degradation under very grave charges of voluptuousness and profanity.

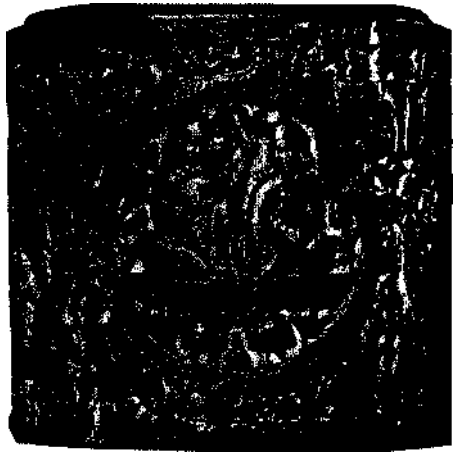
The Moslem kingdoms in Spain during the eleventh century are, then, characterized on the one hand by great wealth and splendour combined with exceptional cultural advancement (among the Spanish-Andalusians though not the Berbers of Granada) ; and on the other, by weakness in their faith and an almost total lack of both the political and the military spirit.

The Christian Courts.

In the North this contradistinction was equally marked, although there the position was inverted, the religious



COIN OF THE ANTI-EMPEROR, SANCHO EL MAYOR OF NAVARRE
Obverse: IMPERATOR. Reverse: NAJARA, Place of Coinage; date 1033 to 1035 (Museo Arqueologico Narional, Madrid)



WINE AND SONG AT THE MOSLEM COURTS
Early eleventh-century Spanish carving on a small, ivory box, now in the Louvre

and bellicose spirit predominating over culture. The Northern kings are neither philosophers, mathematicians, nor poets; at most, like Alphonso III, the Scholar, they are historians. But Christian libraries of the period were very circumscribed, containing anything from a few dozen volumes to less than 200. These were as a rule biblical, liturgical, and patristic works; and manuscripts of the *Comentario al Apocalipsis* by Beato de Liebana (d. 798), copied with great artistic skill, were also common. This indeed was the only relatively modern work in vogue. The most widely read were ancient volumes like the *Etymologies* of St. Isidore and, next in order of preference, grammarians such as Donatus and Priscian; some works of Aristotle, Porphyrius, Cicero and Boetius; and a book or two on geometry. Poetry was almost wholly confined to Virgil, Horace, Juvenal and Ovid, and especially the Spanish poets Juvencus, Prudentius and Dracontius. Rarely was a mediaeval poem like the *Dispute of the Water, Wine and Oil* to be found. The Cluniac Renaissance of the eleventh century, far from fostering, sought to ban all classical learning. St. Otho, the reformer, visualized Virgil as a beautiful vase full of vermin; and hence all profane authors came to be excluded from the monastic libraries.

Considering the more worldly literary productions in the Kingdom of Leon during the eleventh century, we find that the only history written was the paltry fifteen pages in which Sampiro, notary to Alphonso V, narrated the more important events of the 116 years preceding 1018. On the other hand, among the Taifas history flourished even more than at the courts of the caliphs; three histories of the Spanish caliphs were written by three contemporary Cordovans, Ibn Zaydun, Ibn Hayyan and Ibn Hazm, to whom we have already referred. The quality of the work, too, is inferior. Sampiro is dry and elementary; his record is vague in the extreme; and he

too flagrantly seeks to impart an importance to it by the extravagant use of adjectives and adverbs. How different is Ibn Hayyan's history of Spain in ten volumes ! The Cordovan author is an acute observer ; the customs, ceremonies, the very attitude of people, all have their significance for him, so that his narrative is clothed in a wealth of description. It was not until some years after the death of the Cid that his history and that of Alphonso V I I was enlivened through the influence of Sallust; and even then there is a marked contrast between the entertaining record of Ibn Alcama and the meagre narrative in the *Historia Roderici.*

In other departments of activity the inferiority of Christian culture is equally noticeable. The Church of St. John (afterwards St. Isidore) first erected by Alphonso V at Leon, not even when rebuilt in stone by Ferdinand I, could, for example, be compared with the Mosque of Cordova.

Islam's superiority over Christianity was, indeed, becoming more and more pronounced throughout the Peninsula. For 300 years Spain remained under the spell of Islam, and by the tenth century the bonds which united her to Europe had appreciably weakened. The result was that Spanish Christians were both precluded by their faith from adopting the life of the East and cut off from intercourse with the people of the West. For them Cordova was the hub of the political and commercial world, and yet it was an enemy headquarters which was at once a disgrace and a humiliation to them.

At the beginning of the eleventh century the situation changed completely. When Count Sancho Garcia of Castile entered Cordova as a victor, seven years after Al-Mansur's death, the Christian courts of the tenth century, ever subservient to the city of the Ommeyads, at once gave way to those of the eleventh century, which

not only dominated the Taifas but sought a closer relationship with the rest of Europe.

Islam and Christendom after Al-Mansur.

The reasons for this sudden reversal of power have to be sought deep in the natures of the two antagonistic worlds that had planted themselves on Spanish soil.

Throughout the first half of the eleventh century the expansion of Islam freely continues, although it is no longer the Arabs who are responsible ; it is the Ghaznavid Turks, who disseminate the faith as far as the Ganges, and the Almoravide Berbers, who carry it across the Niger to the negroes of the Sudan. On the other hand, in the same century, the slow progress of Christianity is further arrested in the South and the East of the Baltic, and there are serious reactions towards paganism in recently converted countries such as Hungary, which did not attain to European civilization until the end of the tenth century. Nevertheless, the difference between the watchwords of the two faiths—" Battle in the ways of God " (the Koran) and " Teach all peoples " (the Gospel)—pointed to a definite superiority of Christianity over Islam. The precocious development of the ever warlike Islam is attended by the inevitable shortcomings : the facility with which it gains converts betrays a lack of that deeper edification aimed at by Christianity ; and its political and military aspirations are in striking contrast to the pacific policy pursued by Christianity.

Hence the reason why Islam, despite its victories in the eleventh century, begins to lose its hold upon many of the converted peoples, while Christianity flourishes anew in all the countries of the West. After rapidly absorbing Syrians, Egyptians, Iranians, Berbers, Goths, Iberians, Turanians and Indians, the Arabs, lacking a culture of their own that they could inculcate upon them, formed them into one conglomerate civilization,

the individual nationalist spirit of each of whose members the Arabs were unable to keep in check for more than a century. Even on doctrinal grounds their supremacy was challenged by Shoubism, a school of nationalist thought of Persian origin, which promulgated the intellectual inferiority of the Arabs to Moslems of other races. These ideas spread to Spain and in the Cid's youth were widely diffused through the literary epistle of Ibn Garcia, a Moslem writer of Basque descent, who waxed eloquent on the subject. It is not surprising that, in spite of the greater military strength of Slavs and Berbers, the national characteristics of Andalusia were firmly maintained in the Taifa kingdoms, even of those dynasties that prided themselves most on their Arab ancestry and that the refined style of living already described, so antagonistic to the doctrines of Mahomet, should then be in vogue. It will also be seen later that there were many Moslems of Spanish origin who had only been partially absorbed by the Oriental world.

And so it came about that, when the Caliphate fell, the Islamic States in Spain had no political feeling to unite them against the Christians; while the states of the North, in spite of their rivalries, fostered the ideal of a united Spain, which sustained and gave solidarity to their efforts. This hope of unity was based chiefly on the cohesive powers of Christianity, on the thought of the Reconquest or the restoration of the " glory and the Kingdom of the Gothic nation ", and the understanding that the Empire of Leon would succeed that of Toledo.

The Spanish Moslem might continue to despise the culture of the Christian; both Ibn Hazm and Said of Toledo, the scientific historiographer, did so, the Slav or Northern European to their mind being on a par intellectually with the Sudanese, and the *gallego* (as they called the people of Leon) with the Berber. Neverthe-

less, the time had come when the Moslem States, in spite of their intellectual brilliance, were to find that their vital inferiority to the ignorant kingdoms of the North had been established beyond recall. Ibn Khaldun endorsed the current theory that religion alone could unite the minds of men and imbue them with a strong national consciousness and agreed that the Taifa kingdoms had lost all sense of unity.

As Islam begins to decline, Christianity with its invigorating influences flourishes anew throughout the West, although fifty years must pass before it is to rise above the narrow, primitive, culture of the day. During the Middle Ages the Church dominated Western civilization, and it is a noteworthy feature of the eleventh century that so many great sovereigns vied with one another in the practice of Christianity : St. Henry in Germany, St. Stephen in Hungary, and Robert the Pious in France. A generation later Ferdinand I, like Robert a monastic king, rules in Leon and Castile ; and to him, as being the first to subdue the Taifa princes, reference will from time to time be made in this book.

To sum up, Western civilization was more pronounced in the North of the Peninsula than Eastern civilization was in the South, which will be proved by the events of the eleventh century. The belief that Arabic influence prevailed over the whole of Spain, or even over all Al Andalus, is quite erroneous.

The Population of Spain.

The Moslem characteristics, so often stressed in history, actually left little impression on the Caliphate of Cordova. The people, admittedly, were of two faiths ; and the Moslems predominated. Further, there had been many alliances between Spanish women and Arabs, Syrians and Berbers during the invasion of the eighth century. Nevertheless, the new-comers were far out-

numbered by the Goths and Hispano-Romans who in course of time had apostatized from their old faith to Islam, to better their social condition and escape the taxes levied on all those belonging to other creeds. Moreover, Spanish Moslems, whether Oriental or Peninsular, were wont to take as wives slaves from the North, which ensured an abundance of European blood in their families.

The Christian population of Al Andalus, or Moslem Spain, was also of considerable importance. This comprised Mozarabs, or Spaniards who, retaining their Visigothic faith and laws, paid a special tribute to live in districts by themselves under the protection of Christian counts and bishops.

There were, too, in various parts of the Caliphate independent Christian lords who in the eighth century had only surrendered their strongholds under formal treaties of peace. In the tenth century these treaties were still in force, and it is on record that the magistrates of Cordova respected the independence of one such Christian lord who, be it noted, knew no Arabic. It is also recorded that *dre.* 1025 the King of Seville, on capturing two castles at Alafoens to the north-west of Viseo, found within them more than 300 Christian knights, whose ancestors had obtained capitulation rights from Musa ibn Nosayr in the eighth century. Another of those Mozarabs, an Aragonese nobleman captured by the Cid in 1084, asserted in 1057 that both he and his forbears had lived in entire independence, without paying tribute either to the Caliphs of Cordova, Al-Mansur, or, later, to the Kings of Aragon, " quia libertas nostra antiqua est ".

The people, whether Moslem or Mozarab, were for the most part bilingual. Few Moslems were ignorant of the *aljamia* or *latinia,* as they termed the Romance language of Spain ; and most of the Mozarabs knew

Arabic. The use of one language in preference to the other in Moslem Spain was determined by cultural rather than religious reasons : Arabic was spoken by the educated, and Romance by the common people. *Circ.* 1050 there were uneducated but devout Moslems in Toledo who could not speak Arabic.

In short, in the eleventh century Al Andalus was populated by an extremely heterogeneous mass, part of which was still Christian whilst another part was only half Moslem. Hence the reason why the kings of Leon found so little difficulty in penetrating the country on their campaigns, and the Christian armies, as will be seen, could pitch their tents in the very heart of Murcia or Valencia. The Mozarabs acted as intermediaries between the two contending powers. It will be seen, for example, that Count Sisnando, a Mozarab of Tentugal (to the west of Coimbra), when captured by Motadid of Seville, became the favourite of this king, and later, in service with Ferdinand I, often acted as mediator for the kings of Leon with other Moorish princes. The Cid, too, it will be found, was helped by the Mozarabs of Valencia.

The frontier territory of the Northern Christian kingdoms had been depopulated to a great extent both by war and emigration. The Upper Douro basin, from Zamora to Osma, had become a strategic desert dividing the Caliphate from the Kingdom of Asturias and was only repopulated between the middle of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, the southernmost part, including Salamanca, Avila and Segovia, as late as *circ.* 1088. To the south of Leon the new population was chiefly composed of, on the one hand, Galicians and Asturians and on the other, Mozarabs from Toledo, Coria and even Cordova. Practically the whole of Southern Castile was repopulated by Basques. These ethnological data are significant: while Leon was domin-

North, mostly Frankish. In the Peninsula a similar primary explanation seems to hold good: in Leon it has been seen that the Visigothic state continued in its Romanized form, whereas in Castile the population was chiefly Cantabrian; and so it may be supposed that the Germanic elements in Castile would be the least affected by the Gothic-Toledan clericalism, seeing that Cantabria, as well as the Basque country, had ever been hostile to the Toledo of the Visigoths.

It must here be noted that both Castile and Northern France, where the law of usages was adhered to, are the countries on either side of the Pyrenees that were destined to control the trend of events. In the first place, it was to them that the Spain and France of today owe their origin. In the second, it was they that evolved the language that was to become the literary language of the whole of their respective nations.

Another point of resemblance between Castile and Northern France and one that emphasized the contrast between them and Leon and Southern France is that both were rich in epic poetry. The favourite themes of these epics were tales of insult and hatred, private revenge, and the various Germanic customs that had been repressed in Spain by the Visigothic code of Leon.

From all of which it will be seen that Castile, ever more evolutive and progressive than Leon, was far more fitted to act as a guide to Spain at the time of its rebirth in the eleventh century.

The Nobility of Castile.

The refusal of Castile to be trammelled by traditions and her greater powers of adaptability are also manifested in the evolution of the nobility.

It will be seen at the outset that the nobles who play the most important part in Castilian history are not those of the highest birth. The Judges who established

the autonomy of the region were chosen from among the knights and not the nobles, whose selection, in view of their prepotence, might have been attended by disastrous results. Later, the constitution of the great County of Castile *etre.* 950 spelt the ready elimination of minor counties, that is to say, of a section of the nobility of the standing of the Counts in Galicia or the March that could not resist absorption by the one great County governed by Fernan Gonzalez. The successor of Gonzalez, Garci Fernandez, doubled the number of knights, from three to nearly six hundred. This was a revolutionary measure that implied a broadening of the concept of nobility and consisted in conferring the rank of lesser noble on the commoners who served on horseback in war.

The nobility of Castile at that time may be divided roughly into two classes. The higher nobility, or *ricos hombres,* acted as counts or governors of royal lands and castles or held high office in the administration of Crown rights. They had to attend at Court to advise and accompany the King. The lesser ntobles were the *infanzoneSy* to which class the Cid belonged. Rodrigo's father, though he did not attend at Court, yet had many vassals, with whom he waged war on castles and towns of the neighbouring Kingdom of Navarre. Between the two classes there was considerable antagonism. Indeed, the whole of the Cid's life was influenced by the antipathy with which the Court nobility regarded the activities of the rustic knight of Vivar. The mockery of the higher nobility in the *Poema del Cid* and the poet's insistence on the hero's lower rank are typical of the Castilian character.

Every nobleman enjoyed privileges in penal and civil law over the townsfolk, the mounted commoners, and the farmers, chief of which was exemption from taxation. If the exigencies of war with the Moors rendered it necessary for the King to levy a contribution from every

farm, he had on each occasion to obtain the consent of the *infanzones* before their property could be taxed.

The privileged status of the nobleman is also shown by the fact that he alone could deal directly with the King. The *infanzon* took a personal oath of allegiance to the new King and at the same time swore fealty to him as the overlord of the realm. But, in spite of the latter oath, there were many matters in which he recognized no State to whom he owed public duties ; his personal obligations to the King were all that concerned him.

This individuality on the part of the nobles explains the energy shown in the organization of the noble families in defence of the interests of each of their members and the *mesnada* or retinue, which included, apart from the family itself, the men brought up by the master and his vassals, whose allegiance to him was analogous to that which he owed to the king. It also shows how powerful family alliances between the *ricos hombres* could be, enabling them to undertake military expeditions on their own account. Some of these alliances, indeed, such as that of the Beni-Gomez with the Counts of Castile, assumed in history the importance of a coalition between States.

The personal activities of the nobles could lead to more than mere military enterprise as, for example, when the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, in the middle of the eleventh century, founded the Norman principalities in the South of Italy. The famous territorial expedition of a Castilian, which will form the main subject of our study, was made, not by a *rico hombre,* but by a simple *infanzon,* which once again confirms the estimate already given of the character of the Castilian nobility.

The King, from the Clerical Point of View.

Although in practice the Leonese monarchy conformed to the hereditary right of succession, in theory the Visi-

gothic principle was still retained. The monarch was chosen in the same manner as the Germanic kings, but in addition his coronation was sanctified by the Church. He thus received, theoretically, the divine blessing (" non est potestas nisi a Deo ") through election—now a matter of form—and acclamation by the people, that is to say, the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The will of God was the source of power : " Ranimirus nutu divino princeps."

Such was the ecclesiastical theory handed down from Rome to the barbarian kingdoms. The Prince represents the Almighty for the benefit of the *universitas* or the people generally, which implies that he has to see justice done to all, to maintain peace within the kingdom, and to wage war on its enemies without. All who require help receive royal protection : the Church, merchants, widows and orphans, and pilgrims ; the King settles all disputes among the nobles ; the first duty of a Leonese monarch on ascending the throne is to guarantee the safety of the roads by reducing the fastnesses held by the robber barons.

These tutelar activities on the part of the King were in a great measure performed by him in person, owing to the lack of an organization that would have enabled his subordinates to act on his behalf. The result was that he, with his whole Court, was perpetually on the move, dispensing justice here, transacting some other business there ; and this itinerant Court was to continue until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The King, from the Point of View of the Nobles.

The patriarchal tutelage of the King was still more in evidence as far as the nobles were concerned, owing to the fact that the sons and daughters of the more prominent nobles were brought up at Court and were married by the King. But, whereas the clergy sought

to foster the idea of the monarchy as the embodiment of the State, the nobility of the eleventh century tended more and more to base their duties to the Sovereign, not on any divine or other right, but entirely on their oath of allegiance, that is to say, on a personal bond or mutual agreement of protection and service. And it is this conception of vassalage that will actuate the Cid in all his dealings with his king.

The *infanzones* contrived legally to confine their dependence on the King to these limits. Nevertheless, the Monarch, as the source of law and order, could intervene wherever wrong had been done and hear the plaints, not only of the lower orders and the clergy against the nobles, but of the nobles themselves asking for judgment at Court, as the Cid does in the *Poem ;* the King, however, very often lacked the power necessary to deal with the guilty party, and the nobleman would resort to his old Germanic right of taking the law into his own hands. So it will be seen that the Roman principles governing life in the Middle Ages were constantly at variance with the Germanic.

The agreement between lord and vassal could be terminated by either party, and in the most arbitrary manner. The lord could turn out the vassal for no reason at all; all the Cid's pleadings against the King's decree of banishment were unavailing. The Court that advised the King on legal matters set no limit whatever to his powers ; it was not until the end of the twelfth century that an assembly dared to curb the wrathful will of the King. The vassal, for his part, could also renounce at will his oath of allegiance to his sovereign, whereupon he could engage him in war with impunity, although not in personal combat. The rights of the people in these matters were never defined ; and yet, when the King arbitrarily rejects the pleas of the Cid, or when the Cid exercises his right as an *infanzon* to

devastate a Spanish province, the clerical historian is quick to protest against so primitive ideas of justice.

The Evolution of Royalty in the Eleventh Century.

The Roman, ecclesiastical and Visigothic conception of royalty as an indivisible national monarchy, although it still survived at Leon, was to be radically modified as time went on. Early in the tenth century a king arises in Pamplona whose relation with the King of Leon is very slightly, if at all, subservient. As a military leader of renown, he is proclaimed, not only on the throne in the ecclesiastical fashion, as was the Leonese Emperor, but also on an upheld shield after the manner of the Teutons. Later, in 1029, Castile advances another step towards the disintegration of the Leonese monarchy, when Vermudo III bestows the title of King upon the Count of Castile, a concession that did not take effect until 1035, and then only on the intervention of Navarre. Thus, in opposition to Leon and its indivisible monarchy arise the two new Kingdoms of Navarre and Castile representing the old Vasconia and Cantabria, the inveterate enemies of Visigothic Toledo.

The Navarrese conception of royalty differs from that of Leon in that the kingdom is regarded as heritable property. It will be seen, for instance, how Sancho el Mayor divides his kingdom between his sons, thus creating two new kingdoms in Spain. The same conception persisted among the Merovingian monarchs and the first Carolingians, but was repudiated in France in the eleventh century; nevertheless, the example set by Sancho was quickly followed in Spain with the result that, throughout the eleventh century, the patrimonial method was adhered to both in Christian and in Moslem States.

Spanish Kingdoms and Feudal States.

It would seem as if this apparently inopportune resurrection of the barbarian idea of royalty in Spain during the eleventh century was due to the predominance of feudal principles in Europe, although they would appear to have no bearing whatever one upon another and often, indeed, seem to be contradictory. In France the nobles, growing in power, had wrested the countships and other dignities from the Crown and held them as hereditaments for their own lineage, while, at the same time, they firmly upheld the elective principle and unity of the monarchy. In Spain, on the other hand, the prolonged war abroad had strengthened the Crown, which had become definitely hereditary, and the kings made every effort to retain their right to dispose of the countships as they wished. In spite of these differences, it would seem obvious that Spain could not help feeling the effects of the great centrifugal force of feudalism that precipitated the fall of the Carolingian Empire towards the end of the ninth century, strengthening the hereditary duchies and counties from Flanders to Toulouse and creating small kingdoms such as Aries and the Jura. This continued tendency towards disintegration would seem to manifest itself in Spain between 905 and 1035, when the small kingdoms of the Reconquest were formed: Navarre, which developed side by side and in agreement with Leon; Castile, a county of Leon that expanded and became hereditary in the family of Fernan Gonzalez, eventually petitioning Leon for the status of a kingdom; and Aragon, another county that was to become a kingdom and yet recognize the imperial authority of Leon. Neither the emergencies of reconquest nor the difficulties of communication in the Pyrenees between the various centres of defence against the Moor can explain the origin of these kingdoms.

Reconquest was a task calling for union rather than disunion; and the difficulties of communication were greater in the eighth and ninth centuries, nor would they anyhow account for the rise of Castile. Rather do all the circumstances tend to the conclusion that these States came into being in precisely the same way as the great Feudal States in France. At first, theoretically, subservient to the Empire of Leon, they were soon to declare their entire independence.

It will now be seen how the small Kingdoms of Navarre and Castile began to combat the Visigothic conception of royalty as still adhered to by the Leonese Empire.

6. CASTILE AND THE BASQUES AGAINST LEON

The Decadence of Leon. New Political Factors.

On the death of Al-Mansur, the situation changed entirely, not only in the South, where the Slav and Berber forces arose, but also in the North of Spain. When the Christian principalities revived, they showed a strength and a vigour such as they had never shown before the great Moorish oppression.

The relative positions of Leon and Navarre, the two most important kingdoms, were soon to undergo a radical change. For, whereas Al-Mansur had persistently harried Leon, as being his most powerful enemy, Navarre had suffered but little. And so in the eleventh century Leon finds herself faced, on the one hand, with the rivalry of the Basques, who had once been either her subjects or her friends, and on the other, with the old enmity that had lasted between Pamplona and Toledo throughout the Visigothic period down to the death of King Rodrigo and now bursts out anew between Pamplona and Leon, the Imperial heir of the Gothic realm of Toledo.

Further, two new powers arise to challenge the supremacy of the two kingdoms. The Christians who intervene at Cordova, seven years after the death of Al-Mansur, are neither Leonese nor Navarrese, as might have been expected. They are from Castile and the former March, two States whose inhabitants vie with one another in exploiting the decadence of Islam in Spain. This is another of the great changes that marked the beginning of the eleventh century; and the confliction or co-ordination of the interests of Castile with those of Barcelona will have an important bearing on the whole life of the Cid.

Intervention of Castile in Leonese Affairs. Sancho Garcia.

To Castile, under Sancho Garcia (995-1017), whose undertakings, whether political or military, were invariably crowned with success, there accrued many more benefits from these new enterprises of the Reconquest than to the Catalans. At the mere threat of Castilian intervention Cordova ceded Osma, Gormaz and 200 other fortresses, which definitely consolidated the Douro frontier.

The misfortunes of Leon, on the other hand, did not end with the death of Al-Mansur. The young Alphonso V (999-1028) found himself overwhelmed with new troubles. In 1003 and 1009 Al-Mansur's sons and successors again destroyed the capital and laid waste the territory of Leon. Shortly afterwards, Norman invaders ascended the Mino, razed Tuy to the ground (1016), capturing its Bishop and a large number of its inhabitants, who were either put to death or sold as slaves, and leaving the city such a ruin that it took more than fifty years to rebuild it. Internally, the young King's vassals rose in rebellion against him, and he was incessantly harassed by his uncle, the Count of Castile, who either openly assisted the rebels or led revolts

against his royal nephew himself. The rehabilitation of Leon was naturally slow, and it was not until 1017 that Alphonso V completed the reconstruction of the walls of the capital and sought to repopulate it by granting special privileges throughout his territory.

In the same year Sancho Garcia died. His daughters' alliances amply testify to the permeation of Castilian influence throughout Spain; one married Vermudo III of Leon, who succeeded Alphonso V; another, Berenguer Ramon el Curvo, Count of Barcelona; and a third, Sancho el Mayor of Navarre.

Leon conquered by Navarre. Sancho el Mayor.

A direct outcome of the marriage of Sancho el Mayor (1000-35) was the union of Castile and Navarre, whose ethnic affinity for centuries had been exceptionally strong. Sancho also annexed the primitive Basque county of Ribagorza (1018). And so the once insignificant Kingdom of Navarre was gradually to become the most important of the Christian States, built on the solid foundation of a united Basque population. Sancho's political power was still further increased, when both Sanche Guillaume, Count of Gascony, and Berenguer el Curvo, Count of Barcelona, paid homage to him; and an extensive concentration of hostile forces began on both sides of the Pyrenees, from Barcelona to Burgos, in still further defiance of the shaken Kingdom of Leon.

And yet the traditional prestige of Leon remained inviolate. Sancho el Mayor, with all his greatness, had to recognize the imperial dignity of the new Leonese King, the youthful Vermudo III *(etre.* 1029): "Ego Sancius rex, tenens culmen potestatis mee in Aragone et in Pampilonia et in Sobrarbi et Ribagorza et in Nagera et in Castella et in Alava; et comes Sancius Guillelmus in Gasconia, et Belengarius comes in Barcelonia; et *imperator domnus Vermudus* in Gallecia." Oliva, Bishop

of Vic, also addressed Sancho simply as *rex,* although he never failed to call Vermudo *imperator.*

Further, the greatness of Navarre, although it appeared to rest on solid foundations, was in reality due to the efforts of Sancho alone ; and he made no attempt either to assume the leadership of the Reconquest or to engage in hostilities with the Moors. Only in the North did he embark upon military enterprises of any account.

Sancho el Mayor was the first who attempted to restore Spain to her position as a European country, a task that was the lighter now that the prestige of Cordova had waned. He introduced, for example, the Benedictine rite of Cluny (an abbey in the duchy of Burgundy, founded in 909) into various monasteries in Aragon, Navarre and Castile. The Cluniac monks at that time were the most arduous in their endeavours to reform the Church and especially the monastic customs ; their influence was already being felt throughout the duchy of Lorraine and in many other parts of the German Empire. And so it came about that Navarre, in thus turning towards Catholicism and universalism, outstripped Leon, which was still dominated by the Mozarab influence, in shaping the destiny of the Spanish nation.

Sancho el Mayor was also the first to attempt the more formidable task of dismembering the Kingdom of Leon and wresting political pre-eminence from her. He declared war on the youthful Vermudo III in 1031 ; seized the territory held by him from the Pisuerga to the Cea rivers ; instigated the Bishop of Compostela and other dignitaries to revolt against Vermudo and sent his Basques to ravage the land around Lugo alone or allied with the Galician rebels and Normans ; again, in a second war (1033), he took by storm both Leon and Astorga, driving the vanquished Vermudo into the mountains in the North. By these means Sancho changed the political map of Spain and reigned supreme, according

to his own official documents, " from Zamora to Barcelona ". Bishop Oliva of Vic now calls him " Santius rex Ibericus ", and he himself adopted the title of Emperor, when the old imperial city passed into his hands from those of Vermudo.

The New Political Situation in Spain.

Fortunately for Leon, the great King of Navarre died soon afterwards. He had already, as has been indicated, established the custom of the hereditary apportionment of a kingdom, another of the many innovations associated with the eleventh century.

Garcia, Sancho's eldest son (1035-54), inherited the Kingdom of Navarre, which now included the territory, annexed from Castile, that stretched from the neighbourhood of Santander to Burgos. His second son, Ferdinand (1035-65), inherited the former county, and now kingdom, of Castile, diminished, as indicated, on the east, but extended on the west by the conquests from Leon of Carrion and Saldafta as far as the river Cea. And, finally, to a natural son, Ramiro (1035-63), there passed the County of Aragon, which now also became a kingdom.

Such, then, was the beginning of the kingdoms that were to play an important part in mediaeval history. Nevertheless, the Asturian-Leonese era had by no means come to an end.

As, on the death of Sancho el Mayor, Vermudo I I I at once regained Leon, none of Sancho's sons assumed his father's title of Emperor ; in fact, they all had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Leonese king. Of this there is evidence in the marriage settlement of Ramiro I of Aragon dated 1036, " regnante *imperator* Veremundo in Leione, et comite Fredinando in Castella, et rex Garsea in Pampilonia, et rex Ranimirus in Aragone ". From which it will be seen that to the title of Emperor in Spain

itself there attached a special significance, which cannot be explained, as E. Mayer suggests, by the influence of the Carolingian Empire, already fast falling into oblivion. It is the proud title of the King of Leon, successor to the Gothic rulers of Spain, and it is respected alike by the Counts of Castile, the mighty King of Navarre, and the learned Bishop Oliva.

Ferdinand, " imperator magnus ".

The second son of Sancho el Mayor, King Ferdinand of Castile, who had married Sancha, the sister of Vermudo III, declared war on his brother-in-law and killed him at the battle of Tamaron in 1037, thus gaining possession of the Leonese kingdom. As a result, Ferdinand assumed the title of *Emperor* and Sancha, that of Queen-Empress, in contradistinction to the simple *kings* of Navarre and Aragon. *'Imperator fortissimus* is the appellation given to King Ferdinand by the chroniclers and *imperator magnus,* by his sons, thus reviving the " magnus basileus " adopted by Ramiro III; and his brother, the King of Aragon, deferentially acknowledges him as *imperator :* " regnante me rege Ranimiro in Aragone et in Suprarbi; fratre meo Garseano in Pampilona, et Fredelandus imperator in Castella et in Leone et in Astorgas ".

With the Empire of Leon now in the hands of a Navarrese dynasty, the new policies initiated by the central states are pursued from the North West of the Peninsula. Ferdinand, who was the son of a Basque and a Castilian, although greatly influenced by his wife Sancha, the daughter of a Leonese and a Galician, followed the lead of Sancho Garcia of Castile and of Sancho el Mayor of Navarre in shaping the destiny of Spain, promoting all manner of improvements, urging closer contact with Europe, and carrying through to a successful issue enterprises that Leon had long left abandoned.

The first nineteen years of Ferdinand's reign were dedicated to the war with Leon and quelling the revolts of the grandees ; the last eleven, to the wars with Navarre and the Moslems ; and it was during this second phase that the Cid Rodrigo Diaz was born and spent his boyhood. How Castile then developed the power to overthrow the Basques and for the first time establish her ascendancy over Leon will be narrated in due course.

PART II
THE CID OF CASTILE

CHAPTER III

END OF BASQUE RULE—RODRIGO'S YOUTH

I. VIVAR, ON THE FRONTIER OF NAVARRE

The Home of the Cid.

ALTHOUGH the guide-books give no indication to the traveller of the whereabouts of Vivar, no view of Spain would be complete without a glance at this Castilian hamlet, where the rude cradle of the hero was rocked.

Vivar lies in an upper valley of the Douro basin, a series, for the most part, of vast tablelands, which, for one part of the year, are scorched by the sun and for the other, suffer all the ravages of continual frost: " nine months of winter and three of hell,'* as the popular saying goes, the only two seasons of the Castilian year. The generation of today is apt to look upon Castile as a land of desolation, as the poet has depicted it :

> A land of lofty plains and rock-strewn wastes,
> Of parched and barren fields no tree adorns,
> Of age-worn towns and roads no hostel cheers,
> Of churls agape, who neither dance nor sing.

But the picture is overdrawn. Austere these Castilian plains admittedly are, but they are certainly not desolate. Indeed, their wealth in corn and wine, the envy of the poet of Alphonso VII 's time (some fifty years after the Cid), so enriched the Castilians as to give them a power

that far transcended that of any other of the Emperor's vassals :

Non est paupertas in eis, sed magna facultas.

The descendants of these Castilians, the countrymen of today, also wax fairly rich by agriculture. Nevertheless, the monotony of their surroundings adds to the monotonous sobriety of body and mind that is typical of the Iberian. And yet, though the hardships they endure may dull their intellects, in no way do they impair their strength of character. Inured to the rigorous extremes of their climate, they toil throughout both winter and summer, singing as they go and weaving the most pious meditations into their lively ploughmen's ditties :

Of the plough I'll sing
And all its parts ;
And of the Passion of Christ
I shall reveal the mysteries.

And so they live in the hope that the faith, which would spur them on to valiant deeds and which has so persistently been denied them, will be restored to them, so that they may be ready, when the moment comes, to lay down their lives as in days of yore.

Of primary importance in the northern part of the Douro plateau is the rich grain-growing Tierra de Campos, whose political centre was Carrion, the home of the powerful Beni-Gomez family, historical rivals of the Cid of Vivar. This tierra narrows towards the north-east into a smaller, loftier and more exposed plain, at the extreme end of which lie Burgos, the capital of Castile, and the hamlet of Vivar.

The land around Burgos, at the far end of the Douro uplands, with its valleys formed by erosion, is not so fertile as that of Carrion. Its flora is still chiefly Mediterranean : holm-oak, woody and wild thyme, and furze.

A little farther to the north of Burgos, where the Cantabrian mountains begin to rear their lofty heights, the flora begins to be boreal, and beech-trees and meadows abound.

This well-defined, natural boundary was for a brief period during the early Middle Ages a political frontier, for at the time of the Cid's birth Vivar bordered on the mighty Kingdom of Navarre. Thus, from his boyhood onwards the Cid stood in the van and would hear the call to arms.

The hamlet of Vivar, some six miles to the north of Burgos, consists today of sixty dwelling-houses, with less than 200 inhabitants, the great majority of whom are of the fair type, with blue eyes and aquiline features. The square, unpretentious buildings stand, each by itself, like mighty dice cast haphazard on the ground ; most of them still have the old-fashioned kitchen, with broad mantel, beneath which the family gathers for warmth on the raw winter evenings. The ruddy colour of the houses is that of the earth on which they are built; and in summer these houses, with their plots of ground, are barely distinguishable among the fields of dull golden corn all around. Only a few poplars, on the banks of the Ubierna or by the way-side, enliven the landscape with refreshing splashes of green.

The land is mediocre, and the rectangular fields, sown mainly with wheat, spread across the entire valley and up the slopes on either side as far as erosion has left subsoil for the plough. The whole area is dry-farmed, the Ubierna itself, which flows through it, carrying but water enough to drive—and even then only intermittently in summer—one mill at Vivar, three at Sotopalacios, and four at Ubierna. These mills, although some of the contrivances they operate are quite modern, wear an antiquated look and are reminiscent of the mills the Cid himself owned in the selfsame district. And in this

connection, in spite of the fact that in mediaeval times the possession of a mill was a valued manorial privilege, the proud Beni-Gomez scoffed at the hero as being a working miller :

Who hath news of My Cid of Vivar ?
To the Ubierna bid him go, to tend his mills
And exact his toll as is his wont!
Shall a miller's daughters wed with the scions of Carrion ?
***(Poema del Cid,* verse 3378)**

Here, by the banks of the Ubierna and the mills and the cornfields, Rodrigo spent the carefree days of his childhood.

The Great Kingdom of Navarre.

Vivar then, as has already been indicated, was a frontier town, so much so, indeed, that the neighbouring village and castle of Ubierna were embraced in Navarre, which had expanded in all directions and, at Arlanza in the east, to within ten miles of Burgos.

At that time, the various races in the North of Spain had overstepped their recognized boundaries. The Basque Kingdom, for example, attained its maximum extent under Sancho, the conqueror of Leon. By his will Sancho added to the Kingdom of Pamplona at the cost of Castile, not only the Basque-speaking provinces of *Alava* and *Vizcaya,* but the Romance provinces stretching towards Santander : *Cudello* and *Trasmiera* ; *Old Castile,* which extended from the sea to the Ebro ; *La Bureba* ; and the *Montes de Oca,* right up to the border of the old Roman province of Tarragona.

This arbitrary delimitation, however, conflicted with the Castilian claims, which, although of more recent origin, were none the less sound. Further, Garcia, who as the eldest son of Sancho el Mayor had inherited Navarre, was inferior in every way to the second son Ferdinand, the heir of Castile. The inevitable result



VIVAR. CONVENT of FRANCISCAN NUNS WHERE THE POEMA DEL CID WAS KEPT UNTIL 1775



MILLS AT SOTOPALUIOS OX THE UBIERNA RIVER

was that, when the clash between the two came, the comparatively unorganized Kingdom of Navarre soon succumbed, and Castile not only recovered the territory she had held in the tenth century, but, as will be seen, some forty years after the death of Sancho annexed a large portion of Navarre itself.

Battle of Atapuerca.

The downfall of the Basque Kingdom began with the forays made by Garcia into the lands of his brother Ferdinand of Castile and of Leon.

Ferdinand, massing his forces on the frontier, in a final effort to avoid hostilities, despatched envoys to his brother's camp ; and among these was the Abbot of Silos, St. Domingo, who thirteen years before had left Navarre at daggers drawn with the King and been warmly welcomed by Ferdinand. But neither he nor the Abbot of Ona, St. Inigo, one of Garcia's own favourite vassals, could reconcile the brothers. Garca loftily dismissed the messengers ; and the plain of Atapuerca, some twelve miles to the east of Burgos, was chosen as the field of battle.

Garcfa's despotism was now to bear its bitter fruit. Several knights, whom he had grievously wronged, demanded satisfaction of him on the field and, when denied it, forswore their allegiance and threw in their lot with King Ferdinand. Dismay spread through the ranks, and it was then that Fortun Sanchez, the Governor of Najera, apprehending the disaster that was imminent, and loath to survive his royal ward, flung away his shield and sought death in the thick of the fight. Soon afterwards, King Garcia fell mortally wounded by the hands, so it is said, of one of his rebel knights whose wife the irresponsible monarch had seduced. He expired in the arms of St. Inigo on September 1, 1054. His son Sancho was proclaimed King on the field of battle and the war went on.

Rodrigo's Father.

The events that followed the battle of Atapuerca agitated in no small measure the home of Rodrigo, who was then about eleven years old. His father, Diego Lainez, took a prominent part in them, recapturing the castle of Ubierna, some five miles to the north of Vivar ; and this no doubt explains the Cid's hereditaments there, which he eventually settled on his wife. Later, Diego Lainez seized the castle of Urbel, along with the village of La Piedra, some ten and twelve miles respectively to the north-west of Ubierna, and in 1055 in a pitched battle completely routed the Basques.

The successes of Diego Lainez were undoubtedly the decisive factors in the recovery for Castile of the north-western part of La Bureba, with the monastery of Ofia, which dated from 1011. It was in this monastery that Sancho el Mayor, whose attempts to maintain peace among his sons had been so futile, was buried ; and there also on August 31, 1056, King Ferdinand attended with all his Court, including Rodrigo's paternal grandfather, when he bestowed upon his new vassal St. Inigo the township of Cornudilla and received from the abbot a goblet of great value in consideration of his gift.

Diego Lainez himself was a descendant of Lain Calvo, one of the duumvirs elected, in accordance with tradition, by Castile when it rebelled against Leon. The tradition extant in the thirteenth century was that these duumvirs were chosen from among the wisest, although not the most powerful, knights and that Lain Calvo was a spitfire, who was more disposed to settle a dispute on the field of battle than by legal argument. The ancestry of Diego Lainez, therefore, although venerable, was not of the highest rank. True, his father, Lain Nufiez, frequently figures at the Court of Ferdinand, but his own name neither appears among those of the King's



SOTOPALACIOS CASTLE WITH THE UBIERNA IN DROUGHT

retinue, nor is it recorded in any of the royal charters. Only on one occasion indeed, when on October 29, 1047, an important grant was made by Nufio Alvarez and his wife Dona Godo to the Abbot of Cardefta and solemnly ratified by King Ferdinand, Queen Sancha, and their five children, does Diego Lainez appear with his father among the last signatories to the deed. And even this appearance is explained by the fact that, besides being on very friendly terms with the monks of Cardefta, Lainez was married to one of the donor's nieces.

This Nufio Alvarez, Rodrigo's great-uncle, had been a conspicuous figure at the royal Court ever since the coronation of Ferdinand I at Leon on June 21, 1038. His rule extended over a wide area, and he also held for Ferdinand the castle that from time immemorial had crowned the lofty crag of Amaya.

His brother, Rodrigo Alvarez, the Cid's maternal grandfather, who also assisted at the coronation of Ferdinand, although he was the lord of many castles and frequently appears as a witness to royal documents, attended at Court much less regularly.

The name of Rodrigo's daughter, who married Diego Lainez, is not recorded ; she named her son after her illustrious father, Rodrigo, a name that had not been borne by any paternal ancestor of the Cid.

Fables concerning Rodrigo's Youth.

Of the hero's early years we have no record beyond the fables that first acquired currency in the fourteenth century. The *Cronica Particular del Cid* and other kindred tales represent him as having already attained to manhood at the beginning of Ferdinand's reign, when, it is alleged, he vanquished five Moorish kings and led them captive to his mother at Vivar. They also tell of how Rodrigo killed Count Gomez de Gormaz in single combat and how Jimena, the Count's daughter,

after vainly seeking redress from the King, finally besought him, as the price of her pardon, to give her her father's slayer in marriage. This request Ferdinand and especially Rodrigo gladly complied with, and before long the bells rang out for the wedding, which was blessed by the Bishop of Palencia.

These incidents, however, are merely poetical conceits of the later *jongleurs*. To begin with, Ferdinand I reigned over Castile many years before the Cid was born. And again, although Sandoval and other chroniclers are ready to accept that Rodrigo's first wife was Jimena Gomez and his second, Jimena Diaz, history makes mention only of the second and states that he married her, not in his early youth, but when he was nearly thirty years of age. As for the struggle between anger and love that raged in the breasts of Jimena and Rodrigo, this proved its historical value when Guillen de Castro idealized it after the theatrical style of Lope de Vega and when Corneille, in glorifying the cause of a Spanish queen against Richelieu, made it the theme of the most widely read work in French literature. Rodrigo's reply, when he was called upon to marry Jimena, " I deem it no honour to kiss the hand of a king," is meaningless when addressed to the noble figure of Ferdinand I, but assumed a grave significance when used as a goad for reaffirming the principles of the more advanced school of Spanish thought that rebelled against the harsh regime of Ferdinand V I I.

Another fable, also dating from the fourteenth century, tells how Ferdinand and his counsellors had resigned themselves to paying a certain tribute demanded by Pope Urban, the Emperor Henry of Germany, and the King of France. At the time the Cid, who had but recently married Jimena, was absent; but, when he returned and heard of the imposition, he at once urged Ferdinand to reject it and, invading France with the King through the

Aspa passes, constrained the Pope and the other enemies of the country to recognize once and for all the entire independence of Spain ; " and thereby the King gained great honour and was acclaimed Ferdinand the Great; and that is why the minstrels maintained that he went through the Aspa passes in the teeth of the French ".

The tale is of course incredible. And yet the respect due to the *jongleurs,* even those of the era in question, has tempted some of the historians to accept as fact the story that Ferdinand assumed the title of Emperor by way of protest against the pretensions of Henry III ; whereas the truth of the matter is that he merely conformed to a custom that had been in existence in Leon long before Henry's time. The real foundation of the tale would seem to be the occasion when the Pope and certain sovereign princes cast covetous eyes on Spain some twelve years after Ferdinand's death, when the Cid actually was in his prime.

And so it will be seen that these later legends, especially when they concern such details as those of his marriage and his political outlook, are but vague distorted reflections of the historical facts. Nevertheless, they constitute the sole surviving record of the Cid's early years.

2. TRUE STORY OF THE CID'S YOUTH

Rodrigo's Upbringing.

Rodrigo de Vivar was born about 1043, of lofty descent, as has been indicated, on his mother's side and of lesser, though noble and famous, stock on his father's. In his boyhood at Vivar he must have witnessed many a border fray ; and by the time he was twelve he would follow his father's camp in the victorious campaign with Navarre. Was not the son of Alphonso VI present at the battle of Ucles before he had reached the age of ten ?

Diego Lainez died not long after his triumphs (1058 ?),

when his son and heir was still a boy. And so it came about that, in accordance with the Gothic custom of entrusting youths and maidens of noble birth to the care of princes and families of the highest rank until they were either knighted or married, Rodrigo became the ward of Sancho, Ferdinand's eldest son, who was himself but four or five years older.

He would receive a liberal education, probably from some bishop or other eminent cleric, at the schools Ferdinand I provided for his sons and would be given a thorough training in the use of arms, in horsemanship, and in the art of the chase. We do not know the names of Sancho's and, therefore, the Cid's private tutors ; but the Infante Alphonso studied under Raymond, whom he afterwards created Bishop of Palencia, and was trained to arms by Pedro Ansurez, Count of Carrion, who later was to be alternately the friend and the enemy of the Cid. Rodrigo excelled in all knightly exercises ; at the same time he did not neglect his letters, which is shown by the knowledge of the law he afterwards displayed. His orthography, however, was unpardonably weak; affirmo he wrote with one/, and even from *hoc* he omitted the *h*. His handwriting, executed in the recognized Visigothic or Toledan style, shows, in spite of the irregularity of both characters and lines, all the confidence and facility of one well accustomed to the use of the pen.

The Youthful Knight.

Rodrigo Diaz had many good friends at the Court of Don Sancho, where he grew up to manhood. His paternal grandfather, Lain Nufiez, was a constant companion of King Ferdinand, and his maternal great-uncle, Nuno Alvarez, was the leading courtier first of Ferdinand and then of Sancho in 1060, when Rodrigo was some seventeen years old. About this time (the exact date is not known) Sancho knighted Rodrigo by girding him

with his sword in purely military fashion and with none of the religious rites which only became general in the thirteenth century.

The young knight was now at liberty to use the armour and the trappings he had inherited from his father. These would comprise, according to the enumeration of the equipment gifted by a friend of Rodrigo's grandfather to the monastery of Arlanza, when he retired from the world in 1062 : " My trappings and harness, that is to say, my 'morzerzel' saddle and bridle, my sword and belt, my spurs, my targe and lance, my other engraved spurs, and spare swords both engraved and plain, my coats of mail, my helmets, my horses and mules, and my garments and other targes and spurs, and my silver bridle."

The " morzerzel " saddle was no doubt adorned with gold. The coat of mail consisted of a leather tunic covered with metal rings or scales, which were sewn to it; at the top the tunic was prolonged into a hood which enveloped the head and face, with apertures left for the eyes and nose. The steel helmet, which was either oval or pointed, was attached to the hood by means of leather thongs, and its rim was reinforced by a metal hoop which supported a bar that served to protect the nose. In view of the spare swords, spurs, helmets, and armour, the reference to the single lance is noteworthy. The targes were simply leather bucklers, large shields being seldom used before the end of the eleventh century.

When travelling, the knight rode his palfrey. By his side his squire led his charger, and the mules carrying his arms and baggage brought up the rear. When the time for battle came, the knight donned his armour and, after tightening its girths, mounted his charger.

Of the whole equipment, which represented considerable wealth, the charger was by far the most costly

item. Whereas in recent years a good mount could be had in the Madrid market for from 1,000 to 1,500 pesetas *(£30 TO £45) an*d a good draught ox for from 1,100 to 1,250 pesetas (£33 to £38), in those days a horse cost 500 *mithkals* and a silver-mounted saddle and bridle as much again. As ten oxen were then worth 200 *mithkals,* a fully-equipped horse was, therefore, actually the equivalent of a herd of fifty oxen.

Gratis.

What enterprises had the indomitable Infante Sancho to offer the new-fledged knight ? Of all the Taifa kingdoms Saragossa was the one that most required the protection of some powerful Christian prince to be allowed to live in peace, and this for the reason that it was the only Moslem kingdom that bordered on all the Christian States. That the Kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, as well as several Counts of the March, should covet its lands or riches, was in the circumstances inevitable.

As in 1060 Ferdinand I had laid Saragossa under an annual tribute, it was only natural that three years later Sancho, to whom this Moorish kingdom was shortly to be assigned as a tributary to Castile, should intervene to help King Moktadir ibn Hud. In the spring of 1063 Ramiro I of Aragon laid siege to Graus, a point where the Kingdom of Saragossa impinged menacingly upon the Aragonese territory of Ribagorza. Sancho was at Saragossa at the time and, as it happened, was embroiled with his uncle over Ramiro's steadfast alliance with the young King of Navarre, Castile's hereditary foe.

Moktadir, at the head of a great army, sallied forth from Saragossa in the direction of his northern frontier and was accompanied by Sancho and a band of Castilian knights, among whom was the twenty-year-old Rodrigo de Vivar. At Graus they encountered the Aragonese



WARRIORS IN COATS OF MAIL
lias-relief in the Cloister of Silos, end of eleventh century



ELEVENTH-CENTURY COAT OF MAIL AND HELMET. KING LEOVIGILD TAKING THE CITY OF CANTABR1A
Ivory carving on the Chest of San Millan de la Cogolla, finished in 1067

forces, and in the ensuing battle King Ramiro was killed (May 8, 1063). What actually happened at this battle it is difficult to say.

According to a Moslem author who lived at Saragossa shortly afterwards,[1] the Moors, after a protracted struggle, were forced to retire, and on the retreat a Moslem knight named Sadada, moved by Moktadir's laments, suggested to him a means of still saving the day. In short, Sadada, who was at home on the frontier and could dress and speak like a Christian, retraced his steps and with little difficulty succeeded in mingling with the Aragonese host. Drawing near the sexagenarian King, he seized a favourable opportunity to pierce him in the eye with his lance through one of the only two vulnerable spots in the hood of the coat of mail. King Ramiro fell headlong to the ground, and Sadada made good his escape, crying out in Romance as he went : " They have killed the King." Whereupon panic seized the Aragonese, and they fled in disorder.

This version, of course, was by no means acceptable to the Castilians. Indeed Sancho himself on his return seems to have claimed credit for Ramiro's death, for in the *Historia Roderici,* written fifty years afterwards, it is attributed solely to him. The truth, no doubt, lies midway between the two versions ; and it may safely be said that the victory was won as much by Sancho's knights as by the mighty army of the Moorish King.

At Graus, then, Castile defeated the Pyrenean Aragonese, who were Romanized Basques, just as nine years before at Atapuerca she had defeated the non-Romanized Basques of Navarre.

This, his first, campaign would serve to initiate the young knight of Vivar in the intricate policy of the

[1] El Tortosi, who was educated at Saragossa but at the age of twenty-five (in 1084) left for the East. In Egypt he wrote his *Siraj al-muluk,* which he finished in 1122. *Vide infra,* p. 180.

Castilian, Aragonese and Catalan princes in the bitter dispute over the appropriation of the Moorish tribute. And it has been shown that this financial exploitation of the Taifa kingdoms was the regular policy during that stage of the Reconquest, when territories could not yet be occupied by the Christians owing to their lack of numbers.

3. REBIRTH OF LEON

Submission of the Taifa Kingdoms.

Saragossa, having been secured by the campaign of Graus, remained a tributary of King Ferdinand, whose ambition was to subjugate the whole of Moslem Spain. By 1062 he had already laid King Mamun of Toledo under tribute, after invading his territory with a huge army of knights, with archers and all the engines of war. In 1063 he attacked Badajoz and exacted tribute from Motadid of Seville, who had recently enlarged his kingdom. The terms of peace he imposed upon Motadid indicate the extent to which Ferdinand and his Leonese subjects were actuated by religious zeal as well as by material aims ; for, in addition to the usual indemnities, they demanded the remains of Justa, the martyr saint of Seville, that they might transfer them to Leon.

To this end a delegation, comprising the Bishops of Leon and Astorga under the escort of Count Muno, was despatched from Merida ; but, being unable to find the remains of the martyr, took away in their stead those of St. Isidore, the Visigothic Archbishop whose learned works were to be found in every library in Europe. As the sarcophagus of the Saint was being slung between the mules that were to carry it to Leon, the superstitious Moslem monarch cast a rich brocade over the sacred burden, exclaiming : " Thou leavest me, oh venerable Isidore, thou whom I magnified ! But I beseech thee ever to remember me!"

Church of St. Isidore at Leon.

The convoy reached Leon on December 23, 1063, and the Saint's body was deposited in the church that Ferdinand, at the suggestion of Queen Sancha, had but recently rebuilt and which henceforth was to be known as the Church of St. Isidore. As the Christians of that era set great store by the remains of their saints, the new sepulchre, which was to be the scene of innumerable miracles, soon won fame for the church and added lustre to the whole city of Leon. The importance of St. Isidore was still further enhanced when Ferdinand was prevailed upon by his Leonese wife to abandon his desire to be buried either in the monastery of Ofia or that of Arlanza and to build a royal pantheon in the porch of the church. Here he had the remains of his father, Sancho el Mayor, transferred from Ona ; and so it came about that the House of Navarre, for long the implacable enemy of Leon, at last recognized the predominance of the imperial city.

The deep solemnity of the ceremonies attending the dedication of the basilica to the saint whose remains it received, furnishes an insight into the splendour of the Spanish Church and the fervour of both prelates and people. Among the great concourse of nobles and dignitaries no fewer than five abbots were saints : St. Inigo of Ona, St. Garcia of Arlanza, St. Sisebut of Cardefta, St. Domingo of Silos, and St. Fagildus of Antealtares. Alvito, the Bishop of Leon, who had died while the mission was at Seville and whose body was brought back with St. Isidore's, was also regarded as a Saint and revered to such an extent that, when the cortege was about to enter the city through the Gate of the " Arco del Rey ", the townsfolk hotly disputed among themselves whether he should be buried in the Cathedral or in the recently constructed basilica.

At the same time signs were not wanting of the upheaval that was soon to shake the Spanish Church to its foundations. Besides the bishops who attended from Leon and Galicia, and even from Calahorra in Navarre, one Peter, Bishop of Le Puy en Velay, came from the South of France. Although explained by the fact that he was doubtless on a pilgrimage to Santiago, his presence foreshadows the active co-operation soon to be established with the clergy on the other side of the Pyrenees. That foreign influence was indeed beginning to be felt was shown by the King himself, for among his offerings at the new shrine was—in strange contrast with the anti-iconic traditions of the national Church—an ivory image of the Crucifixion. There could be but little doubt that a storm was brewing between the Spanish and Roman Churches.

Partition of the Kingdoms.

At this assembly of magnates including the whole royal family and, no doubt, in Sancho's suite, Rodrigo de Vivar, the King-Emperor Ferdinand divided his realms among his three sons, with the view of ensuring peace when they should enter upon their inheritance.

To Alphonso, his second but favourite son, he allotted the Kingdom of Leon and the Campos Goticos as far as the Pisuerga River, along with the tribute derived from the Moorish Kingdom of Toledo. Sancho, the first-born, received Castile and the annual tribute from Saragossa. His third son, Garcia, received Galicia and the small territory of Portugal, together with the tributes from the Kings of Badajoz and Seville. To his two daughters, Urraca and Elvira, Ferdinand gave no lands but, on the condition that they should not marry, he granted them dominion over all the monasteries in the three realms. Although this dominion reverted to the male issue when the infantas died, it retained the name



NEW TYPE OF CROSS. IVORY CRUCIFIX PRESENTED BY KING FERDINAND AND QUEEN SANCHA TO THE CHURCH OF ST. ISIDORE OF LEON IN 1063
(Museo Arqueologico Nacional, Madrid)

of " Infantadgo " and was subsequently bestowed on other infantas and queens.

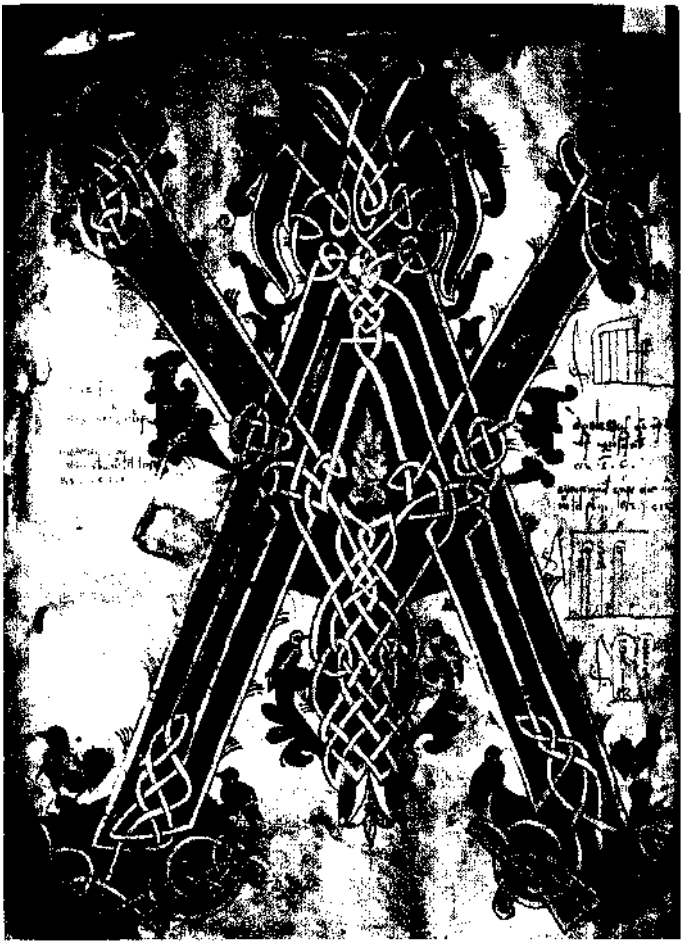
The *jongleurs'* tales current in the thirteenth century represent Sancho as being highly incensed at this partition and protesting to his father that " the Goths had established that the empire of Spain should never be divided, but always be under one lord ". Whereupon Ferdinand, they aver, referred his sons to the Cid for advice and bade them swear to abide by the partition, an oath which they took, with the exception of Sancho, who roundly refused to agree to any such arrangement. In view of his youth, it is improbable that the Cid was called upon to advise the three kings. At all events, it would seem that he shared Sancho's feelings, for two years later, as Sancho's ensign, he played a prominent part in the wars to which the partition of the kingdoms gave rise. As for Sancho's attitude, this no doubt was authentically rendered in the tales in question.

To account for a partition that ran counter both to ancient usage and to the interests of the eldest son, it has been alleged that the lack of means of communication resulting from continuous warfare and the pretensions to absolute power of so many counts and governors, rendered control difficult and that, though feudalism did not exist in Spain, an analogous movement towards dismemberment was afoot, which Ferdinand sought to turn to the benefit of his sons. But this explanation does not coincide with the facts. The hereditary division of States is of much earlier origin than the reign of Ferdinand I; it was indeed an old custom born of the barbaric conception of kingship as a royal patrimony, as also of the inefFectualness of the State as a social organism. True, it was discountenanced by the highly Romanized Goths, but both the Merovingian and Carolingian kings frequently adopted it. In Spain, the only instance of

dismemberment had been that of Leon by Alphonso III, who was doubtless acting under foreign influences, until a century later (1035) Sancho el Mayor, who had some justification for considering his realms as a personal heritage, separated Castile, which for long had aspired to independence. The example thus set by the leading monarch was followed throughout the Peninsula during the next fifty years, a fact that is significant of the lack of cohesion among the States at the time. Moreover, though the conception of a patrimonial kingdom was utterly foreign to Islam, the practice even spread to the Taifa kingdoms, as witness the subdivision of Saragossa under Suleiman in 1046, of Granada in 1073, and again of Saragossa under Moktadir in 1081.

These partitions almost invariably led to intrigues and wars among the brothers, no matter how their fathers might scheme to preserve peace at any price. Sancho el Mayor, following the practice of the Merovingians, bequeathed to each of his sons enclaves in the territory of one of his brothers, but the battle of Atapuerca was fought all the same. Ramon I of Barcelona thought to solve the problem by leaving his County to his two sons jointly and stipulating that each should reign for only six months in the year ; but this novel arrangement merely served to intensify between the brothers a hatred that culminated, not in a war, but in a vile assassination. Ferdinand I no doubt exacted from his sons the oath of acquiescence as mentioned by the *jongleurs,* but to how little effect will soon be seen.

Nor did Ferdinand create a precedent when he forbade his daughters to marry for fear lest they might produce rivals to his sons. Charlemagne had also imposed celibacy on his daughters. But, just as their Frankish sisters had done before them, the Spanish Infantas rebelled against the restraint placed upon them. Elvira's worldly habits ill accorded with monastic life.



INITIAL *A* OF ABBOT lKILA'S AMTI'PHONARY, MS. OF *CIRC.* 1060
(EXTANT IN LEON CATHEDRAL)

On either side are signatures of clerics, dated 1062 and 1063. On the right, in descending order, the scrolls of the three Infante Kings, Alphonso, Saneho and Garcia. These regal scrolls (for, though not recognized as such, this is what they evidently are) stand as a contemporary record of the partition of the Kingdom by Ferdinand 1

At Celanova, for example, she expelled the Abbot and replaced him by an apostate and, turning out the monks, installed her suite of ladies and gallants in the monastery. In high dudgeon at this profanation, an aged monk, invoking the aid of St. Rudesind, struck the sepulchre of the Saint with his staff and clamoured until by a heaven-sent miracle the apostate usurper fell dead amid a crash of thunder, whereupon the Infanta, leaping from her bed, fled in terror from the holy building. True, Urraca is praised in the chronicle of Silos for her monastic spirit, but after all this was merely a record of the court. The *jongleurs,* on the other hand, who were the independent chroniclers of the people, severely criticize her unchaste tongue ; and a shameful report, recorded by Friar Gil of Zamora in the thirteenth century, tells of her incestuous love for her brother Alphonso and alleges that on his return from Toledo she forced him to be her paramour if he would have Zamora.[1] Contemporary documents, however, merely reveal her fondness for Alphonso, leading her cruelly to betray her other brothers and perhaps plot the death of one of them ; they also show how Alphonso, upon his return from exile, treated Urraca as a queen and an equal, a footing he never accorded to Elvira.

Capture of Coimbra.

When the festival of the transfer of St. Isidore and the meeting of the Cortes for the partition of the kingdoms had ended, Ferdinand set out on a pilgrimage to Santiago to invoke the apostle's aid in a great enterprise. By January 20, 1064, he was encamped before Coimbra, which Al-Mansur had rewon for Islam seventy-seven years before. He was accompanied by the Bishop of Viseo, a city that had been reconquered some six years earlier, several Galician Bishops, and the whole of the

[1] ***Boletin de la Accidentia de la Historia,* V, 1884, p. 167.**

royal family, which proved that he was determined to prolong the siege until the fortress fell.

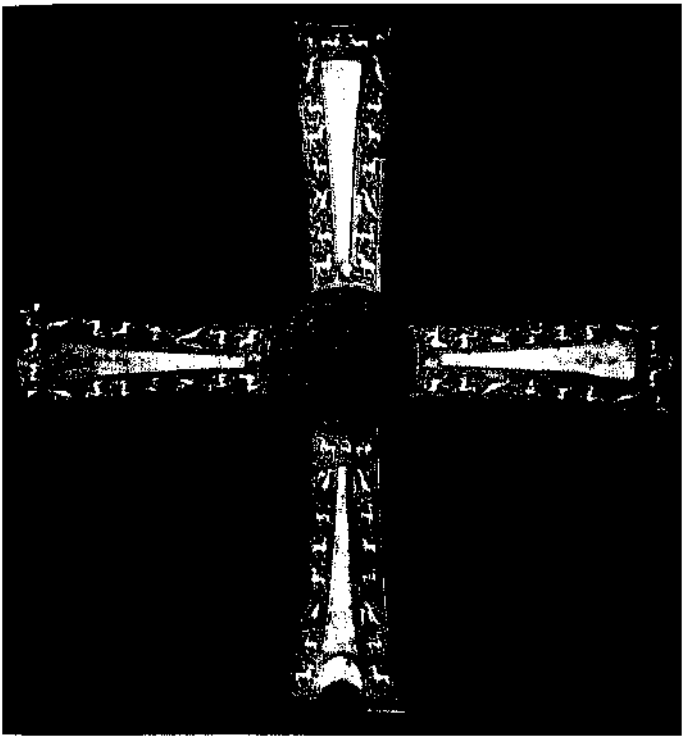
The siege lasted six months. According to one record, dating from the thirteenth century but doubtless based on contemporary evidence, the Christians ran short of provisions and were about to raise the siege, when the Mozarab monks from the mountain fastness of Lorvan came to their assistance with their secret stores of grain. In 1602, at a time when false chronicles were rampant, a charter of King Ferdinand dated July, 1064, and witnessed by Rodrigo Diaz was produced, in which there appears an exaggerated account of the help given by the monks ; but its very prolixity and the language put into the mouths of the monks at once prove it to be spurious. As for Rodrigo, he was far too young at the time to witness Don Sancho's charters, let alone the King's.

On July 9 the defendant of Coimbra capitulated with his wives and children and was accordingly allowed to go his way. Another part of the city, however, resisted for a further fortnight when food gave out and it surrendered. Over 5,000 of the inhabitants were taken captive, and King Ferdinand gave orders that all Moslems should be banished from the country then called Portugal and driven to the south of the Mondego River.

The *jongleurs* of the thirteenth century magnified this siege, dragging out its length to seven years and adding that it was then that Rodrigo was knighted by the King. But from the *Historia Roderici* we know that he had received the accolade from Sancho prior to the battle of Graus. No doubt he was present at Coimbra in Sancho's camp, but this is about all that the earlier and more reliable *jongleurs* could tell about him.

Further Land recovered from Navarre.

The aggrandizement of Ferdinand's empire necessitated a territorial readjustment on the eastern frontier.



MOZAKAB IVORY CROSS; END OF TENTH CENTURY

The only two arms remaining are preserved in the Louvre. By the shape and proportion of the arms and the absence of the crucified figure, this cross resembles the old Cruz de la Victoria of Oviedo

For there, in spite of the battle of Atapuerca and the successes gained by Rodrigo's father to the north of Vivar, many of the Castilian lands annexed by Sancho el Mayor were still held by Navarre, whose king styled himself: " Sancio rege in Pampilona, in Alava, in Castella Vetula, usque in Burgis feliciter." So, in 1064 or 1065, in a campaign the particulars of which are unrecorded, Ferdinand retook the territory, then known as Old Castile, lying between Santander and Castro Urdiales on the coast and the Upper Ebro on the south, as far as the castles of Luna and Cillorigo, which the King entrusted to the Cid's maternal grandfather, Rodrigo Alvarez. And thus, by recovering the lands it had lost after many reverses to Al-Mansur in Portugal and Sancho el Mayor in Castile, the Leonese empire resumed its former greatness.

4. CRUSADE AND RECONQUEST

A Crusade before the Crusades.

The year in which Coimbra fell witnessed an event that, although of less military importance, re-echoed throughout Christendom. The Moslem activities on the Ebro border, which kept Europe perpetually on tenterhooks, induced Pope Alexander II, in 1063, thirty years before the first Crusade was projected, to send an expedition to Spain. An international force was raised and dispatched in the direction of Graus. Among the French knights, most of whom were Normans under the banner of the great adventurer Robert Crespin, Baron of Lower Normandy, was William, Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, whose daughter eventually married the Infante-King Alphonso. According to the contemporary historian Ibn Hayyan of Cordova, the expedition was commanded by the " Captain of the Cavalry of Rome ", a designation that would seem to identify him

as the Pope's standard-bearer, William of Montreuil, who would no doubt be accompanied by a band of Italian knights. The Bishop of Vic with his followers and Count Ermengol I I I of Urgel joined the expedition in Spain.

Towards the beginning of July the crusaders laid siege to Barbastro, the key to the Kingdom of Lerida and, according to the Italian monk and historian Amado of Montecassino, a strongly fortified city of great wealth and importance. The Moslems also refer to this frontier fortress as a flourishing city, famous alike for its Koranic learning and its orchards, and above all for the great strength of its walls. Fortune favoured the besiegers. From the old fortifications an enormous stone fell and blocked the underground aqueduct that supplied the city, which forced the defenders to capitulate after a siege that had lasted forty days. According to the terms of surrender, their lives were to be spared upon condition that their property and families were handed over intact. The Christian commander, however, in gross violation of the capitulation caused 6,000 of the prisoners to be massacred as they marched out ; he then gave orders that the rest of the population should leave the city to quench their thirst, and in the rush that followed many children and old people were crushed to death at the gates. All who were owners of property had then to return with their families to the city and deliver up for division among the Christian knights their houses with the wealth and persons they contained. The most horrible tortures were then inflicted on the hapless Moslems to extort from them any treasure they might have hidden away, and their wives and daughters were violated before their very eyes.

Fifty thousand Moslems were either killed or taken captive at Barbastro, and the booty was immense. The share of the Christian Commander-in-Chief has been

estimated at 1,500 maidens and 500 loads of household goods, jewels, and clothing. In addition, he carried off thousands of captives, the flower of the country, men and women, as an offering to his sovereign ; and 7,000, it is said, were presented to the Emperor of Constantinople, whereby the fame of the Christian exploit was spread throughout Europe.

Of the life led by the Christian garrison left at Barbastro, Ibn Hayyan relates a curious story passed on to him by a correspondent on the frontier. One day a Jewish emissary appeared at the house of a certain count for the purpose of ransoming the daughters of the former owner, a wealthy Moslem who had escaped at the time of the massacre. He found the count, sumptuously arrayed in Moorish robes, reclining on a couch surrounded by a bevy of beautiful maidens. Upon his offering to pay whatever price might be asked for the daughters' ransom, the count called upon the girls to display so vast a store of costly stuffs, caskets, and bags of gold and jewels that the eyes of the Jew were completely dazzled, whereupon the count declared : " Though I had none of these and you were to offer me far more, I would never give up my favourite," and he indicated one of the Moslem's daughters. And then, turning to another, he bade her string her lute and sing to the stranger. With the tears rolling down her cheeks, she sang some Moorish verses whose import was far beyond the comprehension of the Jew, let alone the Christian, who, maudlin in his cups, nevertheless listened spellbound as he sat and drank in every word.

The utter abandonment of the conquerors to the pleasures of the harem evoked scandalized protests from the monks, such as Amado, who were aghast at the way those knights of the Cross allowed themselves to be consumed by the " fire of love ". But the day of reckoning was at hand. The city had been placed under the

sway of Sancho Ramirez, King of Aragon, and was held by Count Ermengol of Urgel as Governor. Moktadir of Saragossa, however, determined to regain the stronghold that his brother, the King of Lerida, had left undefended, launched an attack upon it with the aid of 500 Sevillian knights. Count Ermengol was killed when making a sortie, and a few days later, towards the end of April, 1065, the city was retaken and the Spanish and French garrison put to the sword. It was not until thirty-five years later that, in the natural course of the advance of Aragon, the city was freed once and for all from the Moslem yoke.

The case of Barbastro is an object-lesson of the advantage of the Spanish, over the foreign, system of combating the Moor; for, though the tribute system often sowed dissension among the Christian princes—as witness the disaster of Graus—it led, nevertheless, to an organized reconquest and exploitation of Moslem territory ; foreign expeditions, on the other hand, not being rooted in any Spanish interest, merely led to desultory advances characterized by gross excesses and followed by severe reprisals.

The failure of this expedition would inevitably leave a deep impression on young Rodrigo's mind and, though it seemed in no whit to stifle his desire for wealth, may well have warned him against the Oriental temptations that beset the path of the Christian warrior in Spain. Who knows but that the respect with which he treated his prisoners in Valencia and his vaunted aversion to the pleasures of the Moorish palaces were also inspired by the example of the Barbastro disaster.

The Emperor's Last Campaign. First Record of Rodrigo's Signature.

It would now seem as if Moktadir of Saragossa had broken off all relations with Castile, perhaps when he



ROYAL PAXTHEON IX THE ATRIUM OF ST. ISIDORE'S, WHERE FERDINAND I WAS BURIED

This is one of the earliest manifestations of Byzantine art in the West. The paintings on the vaults date from the twelfth century

allied himself to the King of Seville. At any rate it is on record that Ferdinand led a punitive expedition against him in 1064 and that in Saragossa and other towns of the kingdom there were grave disorders and a wholesale massacre of the Christians on January 25, 1065. Ferdinand ravaged the open country with fire and sword and carried the war into Valencia, where the young King Abdelmelik was hard put to it to defend his capital. Mamun of Toledo, though a tributary of Ferdinand, then came to the rescue of his son-in-law at Valencia, but later considered it more expedient to dethrone him and incorporate his kingdom in Toledo (November, 1065).

At this time appears the first record of Rodrigo's signature alongside of that of Garcia Ordonez and of Alvar Diaz, both of whom were destined to become his deadly enemies. The deed he signed is dated October 28, 1065, and records a donation a certain Alvar Nunez made to the monastery of Arlanza, probably, following an old knightly custom, before he set out on the Valencian campaign.

Valencia escaped capture, not, however, owing to Mamun's intervention, but because Ferdinand fell dangerously ill and had to retire from the field.

Death of Ferdinand the Great.

The ailing monarch reached Leon on Christmas Eve and was borne to St. Isidore's, where he celebrated the feast, joining with quavering voice in the last hymn of matins, the *Advenit nobis,* which was still sung according to the Mozarab liturgy. At dawn on Christmas Day he heard Mass and received the Sacrament, both the bread and the wine, as was the custom for laymen until the twelfth century. On the following day, robed in his regal garments, he was again carried to the church and there, kneeling before the altar of St. Isidore, he lifted his voice to the Almighty: "Thine is the Kingdom

and the Power, 0 Lord ! Into Thy hands I render the kingdom I received from Thee and beseech Thee that my soul, which is now being delivered from the turmoil of this world, may find rest in Thy holy peace." And then, discarding his royal mantle for a cilice and strewing ashes on his head, he lingered for two more days before giving up to God the spirit that had ever burned in chastity with the fires of energy and enthusiasm.

Thus died a great protagonist of the age-long crusade in Spain but a few weeks after the warriors of the Pope had met their ignominious end at Barbastro, themselves the victims of the Eastern beauties they held in bondage.

CHAPTER IV

THE CID INITIATES CASTILIAN HEGEMONY

i. CASTILIAN EXPANSION TOWARDS THE EBRO

Rodrigo, Ensign of Castile.

ON the death of Ferdinand, his Empire was divided among his three sons, Sancho reigning in Castile, Alphonso in Leon, and Garcia in Galicia. Castile at once began to forge ahead, and in its advancement Rodrigo de Vivar played a prominent part. Although the signature of Rodrigo is not to be found on any of the grants made by Sancho during the lifetime of Ferdinand I, it appears in the very first royal charters of Castile after the Emperor's death. On August 26, 1066, King Sancho, in appointing the monastery of Ona as his last resting-place, granted the Abbot, St. Ifiigo, licence to people the monastery demesne, which was to be exempt from all tribute and other such obligations. It was during the eleventh century that the Spanish nobles and the monasteries established their great estates free from all fiscal burdens, and Ofta, one of the last to be founded, was not slow to follow in their wake. The name of Rodrigo Diaz appears third on the list of witnesses to the grant; and this is the first time he is accredited as a member of the royal court.

Sancho distinguished Rodrigo de Vivar by making him " princeps " of the royal host and giving him the post of Ensign, a word that is rendered in Latin by *armiger* and in Romance by the Arabic *alferez.* Thq

Ensign ranked first among all the dignitaries at Court and, like the royal standard-bearers in the other European countries, was in supreme command of the army. He carried the royal sword in front of the King in token of his duty, as the King's deputy, not only to defend the realm, but to protect the rights of widows and orphans of noble birth and bring to justice any hidalgo who might transgress the law. In Castile, strangely enough, although the office was of such paramount importance, it was customary for one of the younger knights to be appointed to it, and changes in its tenure were frequent ; nevertheless, it would appear as if Rodrigo Diaz performed the duties throughout Sancho's lifetime, for it was he who directed the numerous campaigns upon which Castile embarked in her quest of power and territorial expansion.

Rodrigo, the " Campeador ".

At this time the Basque question overshadowed all others ; and it was then, I should imagine, that the dispute arose with Navarre over possession of the border castles, the most important of which was Pazuengos. The town of Pazuengos, slightly to the east of the Montes de Oca, had first been held by Castile, but subsequently it passed into the hands of Navarre. Its castle, which dated from the year 771, had been restored in 1063 by Ferdinand I, who by so doing ran foul of the King of Navarre. The dispute was settled by single combat, not, after the manner of the ancients, to avoid recourse to war, but, following the custom of the judicial duel prevalent in the eleventh century, to determine which party had justice on its side.

Navarre chose as her champion Jimeno Garces, a famous knight and lord of many castles. His opponent was Rodrigo de Vivar, then a youth of only twenty-three whose name had but recently begun to appear on official

documents. However, according to the Partidas (the laws of Castile), it behoved the ensign, as defender of the rights of the realm, " whenever the King lost any property, town or castle, and a challenge be required, to issue such challenge and pursue the claim ". And so Rodrigo, in encountering Jimeno Garces, was merely fulfilling the duties of his office.

By a victory over the Navarrese knight, young Rodrigo established his renown. The *Carmen Roderici* echoes the enthusiasm aroused by the brilliant fighting qualities revealed by the hero in this, his first, single combat. " Then ", it avers, " Rodrigo was acclaimed *Campi-doctor* and his exploit blazoned as an omen of the triumphs he was to achieve, of how he would lay low the counts and trample under foot the power of kings, subduing them by the sword." The sobriquet *Campeador*, by which Rodrigo was henceforward to be known, signifies " conqueror" and is applied by thirteenth-century writers to a famous King of Navarre and such illustrious heroes of the past as Hercules, Menelaus and Julius Caesar. In addition to the *Carmen,* the *Historia Roderici* tells of how Rodrigo became a mighty warrior and *Campi-doctus* when attached to the Court of King Sancho.

The *Historia Roderici* also mentions another single combat, in which the Campeador, not only fought, but slew the Moor of Medinaceli whom later records refer to as Harith. As Medinaceli was the principal fortress on the Saragossan frontier, it is probable that this fight also took place at this time, when Sancho was preparing for war with Moktadir.

Saragossa subdued by the Cid.

At the partition of the kingdoms Sancho had been allotted the Saragossan tribute, a precarious source of revenue that led him, after he had been only two years

on the throne, to wage war on Moktadir to enforce his rights, as his father Ferdinand I had had to do before him.

Saragossa was famous in Islam both for its strength and for its beauty. The city wall of tufa blocks all keyed together rose on the outside to a height of forty cubits from the ground ; on the inner side, however, it was not more than five cubits above the level of the streets, so that the houses overtopped the ramparts and, being whitewashed, stood clearly out even against the darkness of the night; the " white city " it was dubbed, and in the legends of both Mozarabs and Moslems many interpretations are put on its ethereal brightness.

Sancho laid siege to these massive walls with all his engines of war and a mighty army under the command of the Cid ; and it was not long before Moktadir, looking in vain for succour, realized that the doom of his city fastness was sealed. After a hurried counsel of war, he sent messengers to Sancho offering to pay a huge indemnity as the price of peace. Sancho's reply was that Moktadir and the leading citizens should bind themselves to recognize his overlordship and guarantee punctual payment of the tribute in future ; otherwise, he would raze their city to the ground and lead the whole population into captivity. As a parting thrust, he hinted, in sarcastic allusion to Moktadir's recent alliance with Seville, that, if they did not pay the tribute to him, they would at all events have to find it for whomsoever should come to their aid. The envoys' report of Sancho's relentless attitude and the strength of his army dispelled all doubts about the utter hopelessness of further resistance. Without more ado, Moktadir handed over the ransom of gold and silver, precious stones and pearls, and costly cloths, pledged himself in writing to pay the tribute, and surrendered the requisite hostages, in

return for which he received an assurance of Castilian protection against both Moor and Christian.

Rodrigo so distinguished himself at this siege that the Hebrew chronicler, Joseph Ben Zaddic of Arevalo, goes the length of stating that " Saragossa was taken by Cidi Ru Diaz, in the year of Creation 4827, or 1067 according to the Christian reckoning 'V In the Hebrew " Cidi " is the equivalent of " Mio Cid ", My Lord, the semi-Castilian, semi-Moorish name given to the Cid by his contemporaries. We have no definite records of the Cid's political and military activities during the first years of Sancho's reign, but this brief passage of the Jewish chronicler mentioning the ensign, but not the King, speaks volumes in itself.

The War of the Three Sanchos.

From the time of Ferdinand I, Castilian intervention in Saragossa had been frowned upon by the Kings of both Navarre and Aragon. Not only did they consider the Ebro valley their natural sphere of reconquest, but they aimed at restoring the original boundaries of the old Province of Tarragona, on which Castile had for long been encroaching. The King of Aragon was also eager to avenge his father's death at Graus ; and, to add to it all, Sancho's recent occupation of the fortress and defile of Pancorvo was threatening the part of La Bureba held by Navarre. The three kings involved were first cousins, each the first-born of a son of Sancho el Mayor, so that, after the custom of the time, they all bore the name of their illustrious grandfather.

Sancho of Castile, though heavily defeated at Viana by Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, who annexed a consider-

[1] A. Neubauer, *Mediceval Jewish Chronicles* (in *Anecdota Oxonensia,* IV, 1887). F. Fita, *Boletin de la Academia de la Historia,* XII, 1888, pp. 9 and 93.

able portion of his territory, eventually succeeded in restoring the *status quo* through inducing the Saragossan Vali of Huesca to invade Aragon from the south ; and, when peace was subsequently declared, Castile obtained territorial advantages.

Pancorvo, which had been lost by Castile in 1035 but had now been recovered from Navarre, was placed under the governorship of Garcia Ordonez, and with it Castile regained that part of La Bureba that Ferdinand I had been unable to reconquer. Alava and Guipuzcoa, meantime, remained in the possession of Navarre ; and Castile, on the other hand, occupied the mountains of Oca, a fact that is of great historical significance. The various centres of the early Reconquest appear to have been confined to the administrative divisions of Roman Spain that were later adhered to in the ecclesiastical organization of Visigothic Spain. Navarre, at the western extremity of the Province of Tarragona, claimed as a matter of course the western portion of the province right up to the gates of Burgos ; and Castile, originally confined to ancient Cantabria, had her historic boundary in the mountains of Oca :

> Entonce era Castiella un pequeno rincon
> Era de castellanos Montes d'Oca mojon

By subduing Saragossa and appropriating Oca, Castile initiated an encroachment upon the traditional boundaries of Navarre that was to assume greater proportions on the death of Sancho of Navarre in 1076. Alive to the historical importance of Oca, Sancho of Castile promptly restored the bishopric of the city, which had lain derelict ever since its destruction by Al-Mansur. In the charter, dated March 18, 1068, authorizing the restoration, the name of the Cid appears in the first column of witnesses and that of Garcia Ordofiez in the fourth, which shows the relative importance at court of the future rivals,

a position that was to be completely reversed as time went on.

2. CASTILE DOMINATES LEON

Causes of the War between Castile and Leon,

No sooner had the aspirations of Castile for territorial expansion in the east been satisfied than the death of the widow of Ferdinand I on November 7, 1067, relieved Sancho of his obligation to respect his father's partition of the kingdoms in the west.

Here it must be borne in mind that, although the idea of a Spanish Empire was second nature to the Asturian-Leonese Kingdom, the heir of Visigothic unity, it was quite against the grain of Castile. Castile, indeed, had always been intractable, imbued as it was with the peculiarly Iberian hankering after disunion and the feudal idea of complete isolation. Sancho el Mayor, the founder of the Navarrese dynasty, in pursuance of a bolder policy, set out to wrest the supremacy from Leon ; and, although he achieved no lasting results, it was he who was responsible for the movement that subsequently led to the transfer of the political hub of Spain nearer to the centre of the country. This arrangement found favour in the eyes of the Castilians, who adopted it for all time.

As both his father and his grandfather had each in his time conquered the royal city, to Sancho war with Leon thus came as a family heritage. The very idea of his younger brother's reigning in Leon was intolerable to him. The Visigothic unity, whose death-warrant Ferdinand had signed when he divided up his kingdom, had now to be restored, but with Castile predominant. The bellicose nature of Sancho the Strong, coupled with the great prestige of the Campeador, was all that was required to fan into flame the smouldering ambitions of Castile. War with Leon was in every man's mind, and before long war broke out.

Battle of Llantada.

Sancho and Alphonso between them arranged where and when the battle was to be fought: the date fixed was July 19, 1068, and the Llantada Plain, by the banks of the Pisuerga River, which marks the boundary between Castile and Leon, was chosen as the field. The result was that the Leonese were defeated and Alphonso took to flight.

Although it had been determined beforehand that the vanquished brother should there and then surrender his kingdom to the other, Alphonso soon showed that he was by no means disposed to abide by the agreement. As a matter of fact, he was far from being subdued by his brother's victory and no doubt may have felt justified in regarding as an anachronism the custom of accepting the result of one battle as the verdict of God on who was in the right.

In the same year Alphonso launched a campaign against Badajoz, only withdrawing his forces at the intercession of King Mamun ibn Dsi-1-Nun of Toledo and then on the condition that the kingdom should be under tribute to him. On the death of the aged King of Badajoz in 1068, Alphonso seized the opportunity of a rupture between the two sons to demand an increase in his tribute and, when this was denied him, he overran the country during the early months of 1069. As Badajoz had been assigned by Ferdinand Fs partition of 1063 to the third son Garcia, this proves that Sancho was not, as historians have invariably alleged, the only son to repudiate his father's will.

King Garcia of Galicia.

Sancho, for his part, had also made preparations for an attack on a still larger scale on his younger brother. During the years of strife among the brothers that

followed, official documents issued in 1069 and 1070 testify from time to time to the continuance of the Cid at Sancho's court in the capacity of royal standard-bearer. But the references are of the briefest, and it is left to the *jongleurs,* who a thousand times and more narrate the story of the wars among the brothers, to amplify with a wealth of detail the official records of the Cid's activities. To sift through the sieve of these records the mass of material handed down to us by the *jongleurs* will now be my endeavour.

Garcia of Galicia lacked the ability possessed by his brothers and accordingly was the first victim of the discord among them all. Sancho was ambitious, headstrong, and overbearing and was noted for his indomitable courage ; in his veins ran the blood of his ruthless Gothic ancestors. Alphonso, on the other hand, though go-ahead and energetic, was of a docile nature and readily deferred to his parents and his elder sister Urraca, so that he became the favourite son and developed all the selfish traits of a spoilt child. Compared with Sancho and Alphonso, Garcia was a pusillanimous nonentity, incapable of governing and too prone to lend an ear to every tale of his special favourite, who ultimately became so insufferable to the nobles that they killed him before Garcia's very eyes. The monarch's anger knew no bounds, and, to escape his vengeance, many of his vassals deserted him and fled the country. Although, by a victory at Braga on January 18, 1071, he succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of the Portuguese, he still had to deal with the equally discontented Galicians, who, there is every reason to believe, in seeking for aid were the first to bring about the intervention of the royal brothers.

Whilst Garcia was campaigning in Portugal, Alphonso had come to Tuy in Galicia, where on January 13, 1071, in the presence of a number of Leonese and Galician

bishops, he with due solemnity celebrated the restoration of the Cathedral, which had been abandoned ever since the destruction of the city by the Normans fifty-five years before. Alphonso came on a war footing and, it appears, had already secured his brother's submission, for he ratifies Garcia's documents as the Emperor of Leon, styling himself: " Legionensis imperii rex, et magnificus triumfator."

Garcia Dethroned.

A week or two later Alphonso is found attending, probably at Burgos, a plenary assembly at the Court of his brother and quondam enemy Sancho, at which were present Sancho's Queen Alberta, the Infantas Urraca and Elvira and, among all the leading ecclesiastics and counts of the country, St. Sisebut, Abbot of Cardefia, and St. Domingo, Abbot of Silos, also Garcia Ordonez and Ruy Diaz.

It is more than probable that at this meeting Sancho and Alphonso went fully into the question of Galicia, a desirable prize, any scheme for whose acquisition would be sufficient to bring the two brothers into harmony again. The thirteenth-century *jongleurs* have it that the Cid, after vainly advising Sancho not to violate the terms of his father's will, persuaded him at least to obtain Alphonso's consent to his passage through Leon. They also maintain that Sancho and Alphonso met at Sahagun, on the frontier of their kingdoms, and that Alphonso, although refusing to act directly in opposition to his father's wishes, gave the desired permission for transit through his kingdom on the condition that one half of Sancho's gains would be ceded to him. Subsequent events prove that some such arrangement was actually come to, but whether at Sahagun or Burgos is not known.

Sancho, indignant at some deceit on the part of Garcia,

dispossessed him of Galicia and took him a prisoner to Burgos. The *jongleurs* differ in their account of Garcia's capture. Some relate, ninety years or so after the event, how Sancho with 300 horsemen, under the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, was granted passage through Galicia and, when being welcomed by Garcia at Santarem, seized him and carried him across country to Castile. Later minstrels aver that Garcia was taken prisoner by the Cid in a battle at Santarem, after the hero had rescued Sancho from the Galician knights. What history does establish is that Sancho soon released Garcia in exchange for hostages and on his swearing an oath of allegiance and allowed him to take up his residence with a retinue of knights at the Court of Motamid of Seville, the tribute from which kingdom had been assigned to him in the partition of the Emperor Ferdinand.

Now, we know that Garcia had been despoiled of his kingdom by May, 1071, exactly one month and a half after the meeting of his brothers, and also that Alphonso received his share of the conquered territory, for a charter issued in November, 1071, runs : " regnante rege Santio in Castella et in Galletia, et Adefonso fratre ejus in Legione et in Galletia ". Thus, the *jongleurs'* tale of an agreement at Sahagun between Sancho and Alphonso, as counselled by the Cid, is confirmed by documentary evidence. Although Alphonso was too dutiful a son actively to disregard his father's wishes, he was not averse to accepting his share of the plunder of the lands of his younger brother.

Golpejera. The Beni-Gomez.

The egoistical pact between the two brothers did not last long. Alphonso's envious nature, evinced time and again in his relations with the Cid, and Sancho's violent temper made a rupture inevitable, and they determined

to engage in another battle on the fields of Golpejera early in January of 1072. The Golpejera Plain stretches along the wide and fertile valley of the River Carrion some three leagues down the river from the walled city of Santa Maria de Carrion, the capital of the county governed by the powerful family of Beni-Gomez.

It was the Moslems who gave this name of " Sons of Gomez " to the descendants and kinsmen of Gomez Diaz, the famous Count of Saldafia, son-in-law and, in 932, ensign of the great Count of Castile, Fernan Gonzalez. Later, the Beni-Gomez became Counts, not only of Saldafia, Liebana and Carrion, but also of Zamora. The history of this great family was as remarkable as it was chequered. In the tenth century, in alliance with their kinsmen of Castile, they had put up a stout though vain resistance against Al-Mansur, who in 995 destroyed Santa Maria de Carrion. This reverse, together with the enmity of Alphonso V of Leon, led to the eclipse of the Beni-Gomez until well on in the eleventh century, when they again shine forth as rulers of the vast dominions they had previously held. For, though the title of Count was not hereditary, it was customary for the King to allow it to be handed on. The fame of this clan, known amongst Christians by the same Moorish name, is sung by the *jongleur* in the *Poema del Cid:*

They are of Vanigomez stock whence came counts of worth and valour.
(verse 3443)

The *jongleur* relates that one of the Beni-Gomez, to wit, Gonzalo Ansurez, was the father of those young noblemen who, as the " Infantes de Carrion ", became notorious for their dastardly outrage on the daughters of the Cid. The same Gonzalo Ansurez, according to the official records, was Alphonso VI's ensign in 1071, though at the time of the battle of Golpejera he seems

to have been relieved of the duties. A brother of this Gonzalo, Pedro Ansurez by name, had been guardian to Alphonso VI. From 1068 onwards he was chief of the Beni-Gomez and a Count, as all his ancestors had been, in Carrion, Saldafia, Liebana and Zamora. A prominent figure at the Court of Leon, for fifty years he was to play a leading part in the life of Alphonso VI and the daughter who succeeded him.

Thus the Beni-Gomez were about to champion the cause of Leon on land that was their own. For the first time they were to cross the path of the Campeador. How the Cid, as Sancho's ensign, distinguished himself above all others on the field of Golpejera, is told in **the** *Historia Roderici.*

The Battle of Golpejera according to the " Chronicle of Najer a ".

The first circumstantial account of the battle is that of the *Cronica Najerense,* written some ninety years after the battle was fought. According to it, .Sancho, in discussing the night before the chances of victory, made light of the enemy's numerical superiority and in a jocular spirit boasted that he himself was worth a thousand knights and the Cid at least a hundred. To this the Cid refused to listen. " I myself can only promise to deal with one," he said ; " what follows is in the hands of God." Nor could all the cajolery of the king induce him to adopt a more arrogant attitude. The battle began at daybreak and, when it was at its height, both kings were taken prisoner. Rodrigo's weapons had been shattered when he espied a body of fourteen Leonese knights carrying off Sancho in triumph. " Return our king," he yelled to them, " and we will return yours." But the knights, in ignorance of the fate of Alphonso, spurned his offer. The story goes on **to tell** of how, at Rodrigo's taunt that he would fight them

single-handed, were he only armed, they disdainfully stuck a lance into the ground and rode on with their captive. Rodrigo, however, at once seized the weapon and spurred his horse in pursuit. On overtaking them, he unhorsed one, struck down a second and wounded several others ; and then, with the aid of Sancho, whom he had managed to free, put the rest to rout. Whereupon the tide of the whole battle turned, and the Castilians won the day.

This narrative undoubtedly bears the stamp of the *jongleurs,* both in the dialogue, which is foreign to the chronicles of the time, and in the antithesis, in the only two incidents related, between the modesty and prowess of the Cid and the arrogance and discomfiture of the King. More than probably it was taken from the *Cantor de Zamora,* which throughout extols the valour of the Cid and the Castilians to the disadvantage of the numerically superior Leonese.

Later Accounts of the Battle.

Some seventy years after the *Cronica Najerense,* the Leonese Bishop of Tuy retorted with an account of the battle favourable to Leon. He does not admit that the Leonese were superior in numbers, but asserts that the battle was so hotly contested that the carnage was still recalled with horror. In the end Sancho and the Castilians were forced to retire from the field, but, by the express command of Alphonso, were not pursued. At this juncture the Cid took it upon himself to infuse new courage into his King. " See," he cried, " how the Galicians and thy brother Alphonso peacefully repose in our tents after their victory ; let us fall upon them at dawn and we shall surely rout them." Taking fresh heart, Sancho rallied his scattered forces as best he could and, falling upon the unsuspecting Leonese at daybreak, overwhelmed them and took

Alphonso prisoner in the Church of Santa Maria de Carrion.

The Archbishop of Toledo follows the Bishop of Tuy in every detail and further insists that a pact was come to between the brothers before the battle, whereby the loser was to forfeit his kingdom to the victor. In so doing, however, he seems to be merely availing himself of, and transferring to this battle, a century-old incident before the battle of Llantada, when such an agreement was actually made by the contending brothers. The Cid's advice, too, he does not regard as being contrary to the pact, for the Castilians, though dispersed, were able to rally and renew the fight, which showed that the battle had not yet been decided.

About 1280, however, Friar Gil of Zamora, ever ready to turn to account against the Castilians the stories of the chroniclers and minstrels, maliciously perverted the Archbishop's narrative by making out that the Leonese were not, as suggested, caught unawares through overweening confidence in the decisiveness of their victory, but, relying implicitly on the fulfilment of the pact, had the tables turned upon them by treachery of the basest order. Against the Cid himself Friar Gil ventures no criticism whatever. Dozy, on the other hand, ignoring the fact that there is no evidence for the pact, deliberately misrepresents its alleged terms and, in defiance of his own authorities of Tuy and Toledo (Friar Gil was unknown to him), asserts that the Cid's counsel to Sancho was contrary to the spirit of the pact. To paint the picture in still blacker colours, he adds that Alphonso was " violently torn from " the asylum of " the Cathedral " of Carrion. Neither the Bishop of Tuy nor the Archbishop of Toledo mentions any such asylum or outrage ; nor does Sandoval, who contents himself with surmising that Alphonso made his last stand in the church before he was forced to surrender.

At all events, even if he had sought refuge in the church, there was nothing to prevent his enemies from starving him into submission without violating sanctuary at all. But Dozy, in dramatizing the whole incident, must needs embellish his narrative by transforming the church, to which the monarch fled, into nothing short of a " Cathedral ".

The fact of the matter is that Alphonso neither sought sanctuary nor had to defend himself in the Church of Santa Maria, but was captured on the field of Golpejera itself, some ten miles from Carrion. The allusion to the church is due to a misinterpretation by the Bishop of Tuy of a passage in the earlier chronicles, some of which say : " in Vulpejera circa Carrionem ", whilst others, using the common name of Santa Maria for Carrion, state less clearly : " in Golpellar in Santa Maria de Carrione ", out of which the Tudense makes: " in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Carrione ".

Alphonso and the Bent-Gomez Exiled.

According to the records, both old and new, the Campeador was the cause of the defeat and downfall of Alphonso.

Sancho, with a view to ensuring the submission of the inhabitants, had his brother borne through the country in chains before crowning himself King at Leon on January 12, 1072. For a third time a ruler of Castile had conquered the old Leonese Kingdom. First, Sancho el Mayor ; then, Ferdinand the Great; and now, Sancho the Strong ; each in turn had succeeded in wresting the hegemony from Leon and had helped to lay the foundations of Castilian predominance.

Alphonso was removed to the castle of Burgos, where but a year before Garcia had also been imprisoned. But Urraca, scenting danger to her favourite brother, hastened to Burgos to plead for his release, whereupon

Sancho, making him swear an oath of allegiance, sent him under a royal escort into exile at Toledo, to the Court of King Mamun, whose tribute Ferdinand I had apportioned to Leon. And so it happened that Alphonso shared the fate of his younger brother; despoiled of his inheritance, he was sent to live in exile at the Court of a king who had once been under tribute to him.

Urraca also prevailed upon Sancho to allow his guardian Pedro Ansurez with his brothers Gonzalo and Ferdinand to accompany Alphonso into exile. Thus the Beni-Gomez, whose territory no doubt was handed over to some Castilian noble, suffered equally with the King at the hands of the Campeador.

Alphonso at Toledo.

After they had sworn an oath of mutual amity, Mamun accorded the vanquished King a royal welcome and installed him in the Alcazar itself, which towered high above the city walls and overlooked the Alcantara Bridge; there, shut off from the noise and bustle of the Moorish city, he lived, passing his time in the vast grounds of the palace, which stretched far beyond the bridge within the great sweep the Tagus makes at that spot. By the thirteenth century the old Alcazar had disappeared, but antiquarians testified to its having been built of that material composed of earth and lime described by St. Isidore as being peculiar to Spain and Africa and more lasting than the best cement. Moslem authors expatiate on the magnificence of this Alcazar, with its gardens, and particularly on the splendour of the receptions given there by the Beni Dsi-1-Nun, which were famous throughout Al Andalus.

Alphonso's exile, according to the *Cronica Stlense,* was providential, inasmuch as it enabled him to become familiar with the Moors and, as he went about, to study the vulnerable spots in the defences of the city. One

oft-told story relates how Alphonso, while dozing in the shade of a tree in the royal park, overheard some Moslem nobles discussing how Toledo might be reduced by starvation. Another, obviously of Moorish origin, describes how the Moors professed to discern evil omens in the Christian King's shock of hair and advised Mamun to put his dangerous guest to death ; but the Toledan King, faithful to his pledge, contented himself with exacting from Alphonso an oath of lifelong friendship and alliance.

Alphonso spent much of his time either in joining with his companions in the expeditions against Mamun's Moorish enemies or in hunting the bear and the wild boar in the century-old forests of the Tajufia valleys. He was so captivated by Brihuega on the banks of this river that he did not rest until he had secured the castle in the vicinity from Mamun and placed it at the disposal of his own huntsmen. Thus Alphonso passed the first nine months of his exile (Jan.-Oct. 1072), during which his counsellor in all his actions was his former tutor, Count Pedro Ansurez. But there came a time when Pedro Ansurez became pensive and uncommunicative ; every day he would ride out along the roads leading to the north seeking, for he had a perfect knowledge of Arabic, to pick up from travellers what information he could about the Christian countries. What was happening in Leon so to agitate Pedro Ansurez? From Toledo he was hatching plots that were to have the direst consequences.

3. ZAMORA DECLARES FOR DONA URRACA

The Rebellion of Leon.

Although Sancho had in January proclaimed himself King of Leon, a number of the nobles refused to recognize him as such ; indeed, documents were still being dated " regnante rege Adefonso in Legione "„ The

pride of imperial Leon rebelled against the sovereignty of a king so profoundly Castilian as Sancho. True, Ferdinand I of Castile had ruled over Leon thirty-five years ago, but he had claimed the throne as the heritage of his queen, whose influence over him was quite enough to satisfy the feelings of the Leonese. But now submission was complete, and to the Beni-Gomez in particular it must have been extremely galling to find themselves eclipsed by the Campeador, a mere *infanzon* who did not even belong to the great nobility of Castile. Count Pedro Ansurez could not resign himself to such a disgrace. Either from Mamun's court itself or by stealing away to Zamora for a few days, he contrived to take counsel with Urraca, and together they organized a revolt with Zamora as the centre of operations. This city, though in the territory of Pedro Ansurez, had been ceded by Alphonso to the sister he cherished as a mother, so that Urraca came to be known among her followers as " Queen of Zamora ". Around her rallied the knights of Pedro Ansurez and other nobles, who raised the standard of the Infanta and the dethroned king.

The *jongleurs* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries declare that Sancho wished to dispossess Urraca of Zamora because of the menace to his suzerainty whilst so impregnable a city remained in her hands. The old part of the city is perched on a precipitous rock, beneath which, and serving as a natural fosse on the one side, flows the Douro. On the other sides the fortifications consisted in some parts of as many as seven walls with their moats and massive towers. These fortifications had been built originally in 893 by a wealthy Mozarab of Toledo, were destroyed in 981 by Al-Mansur, and were eventually rebuilt by Ferdinand I. Sancho proceeded to Zamora and encamped before the town, when, according to the *jongleurs,* he sent the Cid to treat with Urraca for the cession of Zamora in exchange for certain other towns.

Urraca, they aver, was deeply distressed when she heard the message and tried her utmost to arouse the compassion of the Cid by recalling the days of their childhood spent together at Zamora in the house of her tutor, Arias Gonzalo. To this day there stands fronting the river the fa?ade of a ruin known as the house of Arias Gonzalo or of the Cid, which, with its four windows with twin horse-shoe arches, dates without a doubt from the time of the Campeador. The *jongleurs* go on to narrate how Urraca, after holding a council in the Church of San Salvador with Arias Gonzalo and other knights and citizens, determined to refuse the offer. Whereupon Sancho, incensed against the Cid for having, as he believed, succumbed to the charms of Urraca, forthwith laid siege to the town. This story cannot be accepted as accurate. Sancho led his army against Zamora, not on his own initiative, but to quell the revolt that had broken out in this most formidable fortress.

From historical sources we learn that the Cid distinguished himself throughout the siege and particularly by a feat that still further enhanced his reputation for skill and personal courage. One day, when quite alone, on being attacked by fifteen Zamoran knights, seven of whom were in full harness, he gave fight, killing one, unhorsing two others and putting the rest to flight. By his bravery he thus foiled an ambush that had obviously been laid for him as ensign of the King and the life and soul of the besieging forces.

Death of King Sancho.

In sore straits and tormented as they were by hunger, the Leonese at length resolved upon a desperate plan to attack the person of Sancho himself. On Sunday, October 7, 1072, one of their boldest knights, Vellido Adolfo by name, surreptitiously gained entrance to the besiegers' camp and, appearing suddenly before the

King, pierced him with a lance. Thus the besieger of Zamora met the same fate that, with his connivance, overtook his uncle Ramiro of Aragon at the battle of Graus.

Vellido at a headlong gallop made good his escape and safely reached the gates of Zamora, which were opened ready to receive him. In Roman history Vellido would have been honoured as a Mucius Scaevola of unerring aim, but mediaeval historians, even those most partial to Alphonso, steeped in all the tradition of chivalry, unanimously condemn the death of Sancho as an act of treachery.

The more authoritative of the *jongleurs'* tales current some ninety years afterwards allege that Vellido Adolfo was madly in love with Urraca and that it was her lamentations over her brother's injustice that goaded him to kill Sancho. They also assert that, when the Cid saw Vellido galloping past his tent, his suspicions were at once aroused. Springing upon his horse, which was being groomed at the time, he rode, barebacked and spurless, in pursuit and, though he missed his quarry, sent his lance through Vellido's mount as the gates of Zamora were closing behind him. The *Cronica Najerense* amplifies the story with a description of the hero's return to camp, giving full vent to his feelings after the manner of his time by tearing his hair and beating his face with his clenched fists, as he vociferously lamented the death of his lord.

As the news spread through the camp, there arose from all sides a wail of black despair. The fate of Sancho's followers was sealed : the surviving brother would reascend the throne, and his vengeance would fall heavily upon them. That mighty army, which but a moment ago had been revelling in its invincible strength, now began to break up in hopeless confusion ; many of the knights, utterly demoralized, fled helter-skelter to

their homes, pausing to rest neither by day nor by night. A few of the more valiant, however, rallying their retainers, and cutting their way through the enemy country, took with them the body of the King and bore it with all possible honour to the monastery of Ofia for burial there in fulfilment of Sancho's wishes. The Cid had witnessed the two documents dated 1066 and 1072 whereby Sancho had bequeathed his body and his soul to that monastery, and it was no doubt he who led the party of knights that escorted the dead king to his last resting-place.

Sancho died in the prime of his manhood at the age of thirty-four and just as he was reaching the zenith of his power. His personal beauty alone was sufficient to intensify the mourning of Castile over his tragic death. Castile now saw her recently-won political predominance melt away completely, and her feelings found expression in a number of compositions, some of which have come down to us and will repay examination.

The Hard-hearted Infanta.

A monk of Ofia, who excelled all others in letters, betook himself to compose an epitaph in commemoration of the event that had plunged all Castile into grief. Under the influence of the legends of Troy, which had a great vogue among scholars at the time, he begins by comparing the beauty of Sancho to that of Paris and his valour to that of Hector :

> Sanctius, forma Paris et ferox Hector in armis,
> Clauditur hac tumba jam factus pulvis et umbra.

Then, remembering the passionate outbursts of the Cid and his companions as they conveyed the body of the murdered King to the monastery and burning with indignation himself, he does not hesitate to disturb the peace

of the tomb and follow on with a virulent denunciation of the Infanta :

> Femina mente dira, soror, hunc vita expoliavit,
> Jure quidem dempto, non flevit, fratre perempto.

To make his meaning still clearer, the learned monk added a note in prose in which he further condemns Urraca for the traitorous counsel she had given and, incidentally, bewrays his erudition by calling the city, not by its common name of Zamora, but by that of the famous Numancia, according to its erroneous identification in the Middle Ages :

> Rex iste occisus est proditore consilio sororis suae Urracae, apud Numantiam civitatem, per manum Belliti Adelfis, magni traditoris. In era MCX. nonis Octobris, rapuit me cursus ab horis.

From the pen of this monk there flowed the rancour of the whole of Castile. The chronicles also accused the Infanta, and *the jongleurs* broadcast the charge against her, recalling that, when the Cid took Sancho's message to Zamora, she had let fall against her brother the invective : "I am but a woman, and he knows full well I cannot engage him in single combat, but I will have him killed either in secret or in broad daylight." Of even graver significance is the fact that in a public document, as was the charter of Castrogeriz, which was to be read out before Alphonso some thirty years after he had returned from Toledo, Sancho, among various other kings, is referred to as follows : " iste fuit occisus per consilium domna Urraca, germana sua, in civitate quae dicitur Zamora " ; a statement whose brutal frankness did not deter Alphonso from appending his signature to the charter: " et ego Alphonsus imperator audio istos foros et confirmo "[1]

Of one fact we are certain, that much of the adulation

[1] Murioz, *Coleccion de Fueros,* 1847, P. 40

bestowed upon Urraca by the sycophantic author of the chronicle of Silos may be discounted. There is no doubt that she did show great piety in adorning altars and images with precious stones and that she lavished the most tender affection on her brother Alphonso, to whom in his childhood she had been as a mother. Nevertheless, her treatment of her other brothers was marked by downright cruelty. Clever and resolute as she was, she had also a truculent side to her nature, to which, as has been seen, she gave full rein in her dealing with Sancho and ultimately, as will be shown, with her younger brother Garcia.

Marmot's Generosity.

During the five or six days that it took the Cid and his company to bear the dead body of Sancho across Castile, events were taking place at Zamora that were to change the whole destiny of Spain.

Immediately after the regicide, Urraca had dispatched messengers to Toledo with injunctions to inform Alphonso but keep the news of what had happened secret from the Moors. However, there lived on the frontier a body of spies called the " initiated ", which implied men acquainted with the language and customs of the Moors, who throve on bearing tidings from one camp to another ; and some of these men forestalled Urraca's messengers in taking the news to Toledo. As chance would have it, Count Pedro Ansurez was keeping a closer watch than usual on the roads converging on Toledo from the north, and one evening he fell in with a couple of these " initiates " from whom he extracted the news that they were on their way to inform Mamun of King Sancho's death. Under the pretext of having important secrets to impart to them, Ansurez led the two men aside and slit their throats, whereupon he returned to his vigil. It was not long before he came

across Urraca's runners and, learning all that had befallen, hurried on with them to inform Alphonso.

The exiles were now greatly exercised about how best to take leave of Mamun, for they feared that, if they discovered the situation to him, he might force Alphonso to bind himself to some gravely compromising pact. Alphonso himself, however, refused point-blank to abuse the hospitality he had received at Toledo and, conquering his fears of Mamun, told him straight out of the great good fortune that had befallen him.

Mamun smiled when he heard the story. " Thanks be to God," he exclaimed, " Who has saved me from dishonour and thee from danger ! Hadst thou attempted to escape in secret, I, who already knew all, would have seen to it that thou wert either imprisoned or put to death. Go now in peace, and I will give thee all the arms and gold thou requirest to win the hearts of thy subjects.'' And so they parted friends, renewing their oath of mutual alliance and even extending it to include Mamun's eldest son.

Not content with loading him with gifts, Mamun accompanied Alphonso with the Moorish grandees to the frontiers of his kingdom. On gaining the bitterly cold heights of Palomera de Avila overlooking the desert border lands of the Douro, Mamun turned back, and Alphonso with the Beni-Gomez spurred on across those desolate plains in the direction of Zamora.

At thirty-two Alphonso had seen his highest ambition fulfilled. By a sudden stroke of fortune he found himself at the head of a kingdom to consolidate which had cost his brother years of endeavour and finally his life.

Alphonso again Enthroned at Leon.

No sooner had he reached Zamora than he held a secret council with Urraca and the chief nobles on the best way to take formal possession of the throne. All

the magnates and bishops of Leon, Asturias, Galicia and Portugal hastened to Zamora to welcome their former King and escort him to the royal city of Leon. With them there also went a number of Castilians, foremost among whom was Gonzalo Salvadorez, Count of Lara, who had already forgotten their old King in their eagerness to pay homage to the new.

When Alphonso took up the reins of government, he bestowed on Urraca the title and status of Queen and issued charters expressing her consent, as if she actually were his consort: " Adefonsus serenissimus rex, una cum consensu sororis mee Urracae," so run the charters issued at Leon on the 17th and 19th November, 1072, the former of which especially deserves our attention. At the castle of Santa Maria de Autares on the Valcarce Pass where the road to Santiago enters Galicia from the Bierzo country, it had long been the practice to fleece travellers under the pretext of tolls. Alphonso at once prohibited the levying of these dues, not only as a tribute to St. James " under whose lordship lies all Spain ", but out of consideration for the pilgrims and merchants who flocked to Santiago from all parts of Spain, and also from Italy, France and Germany. It will thus be seen that one of Alphonso's first acts on his restoration aimed at the promotion of international communication with Spain, a matter he ever had uppermost in his mind. A less noble side to his character, however, is revealed in the preamble to this charter when he thanks Heaven for his restoration to the throne at a time when he least expected it, " without opposition, without devastation of lands, without shedding of blood . . ." *Sine sanguine hostium !* And not even a prayer, as was the usage of the time, for his brother's soul, although barely five weeks had passed since Sancho's blood had stained the soil of Zamora.

CHAPTER V

CRITICAL TIMES FOR CASTILE

i. THE KING OF LEON IN CASTILE

The Cid opposed to Alphonso.

IN opposition to Gonzalo Salvadorez, Count of Lara, and the other Castilian opportunists who had hastened to pay homage to the new King at Zamora, there was a party in Castile that eyed the return of Alphonso with profound misgiving. The leader of this party, the *jongleurs* tell us, was the Cid. Antipathy to Alphonso was rife in Castile, where the majority openly attributed Sancho's death to the King's official counsellor, Urraca ; and some even went the length of accusing Alphonso, declaring that he had gone to Zamora and helped to plot the regicide himself. It was but natural that this party of extremists should require the new King to affirm his innocence on oath. Throughout the Middle Ages it was the recognized procedure for anyone suspected of a crime to exculpate himself on oath ; and the *Fuero Juzgo* not only outlawed anyone attempting the life of the king or instigating such an attempt, but made it incumbent on his successor to avenge the murder if he would clear himself of all participation in the crime.

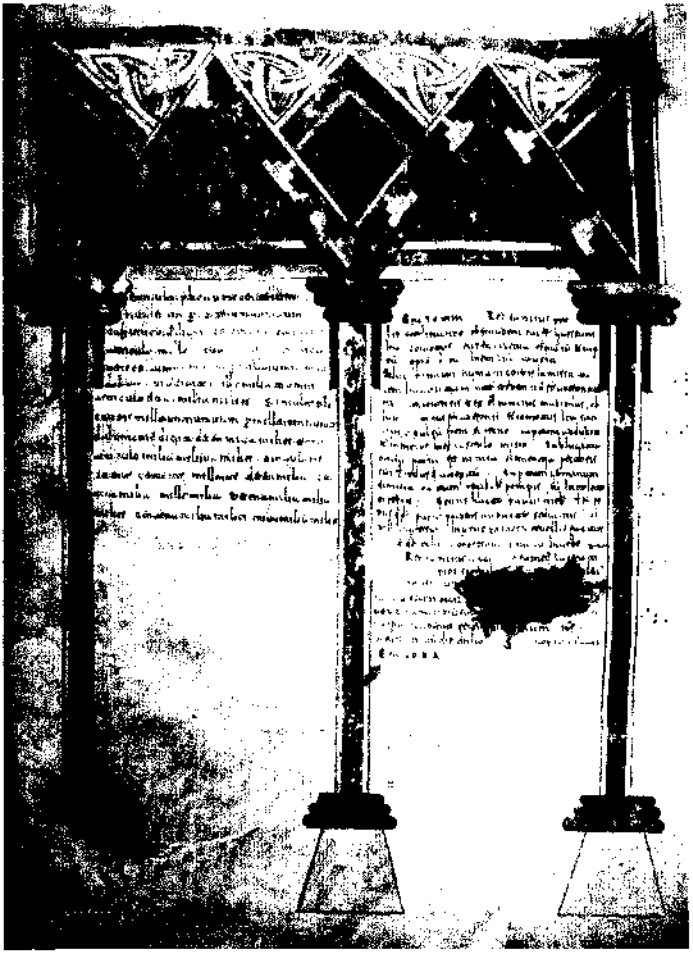
The eleventh century, which saw the partition of the kingdoms among the brothers and the fratricides that ensued, furnishes many instances of how vassals refused to recognize as king a brother accused or suspected of regicide. Four years after the Zamoran murder, San-

cho's cousin, Sancho of Navarre, was assassinated at the instigation of his brother Ramon, who proclaimed himself King, only to be rejected by the Navarrese and supplanted by the King of Aragon. Again, when Ramon Tow-head, Count of Barcelona, was murdered in 1082, the year when his son came of age, Berenguer, who had assumed the Countship in his own name and as his nephew's guardian, was accused of fratricide by the Catalan nobles and, having been proved guilty before the Court of Alphonso VI, was ousted from the County in 1096 and fled to Jerusalem, where he ended his days.

Thus, juridical custom debarred Alphonso from reigning over Castile until he had satisfied his opponents of his innocence. Now, the more intransigent among these, with the Cid as the ringleader, were actuated, not so much by loyalty to their old king, as by a desire to prosecute their plans for Castilian hegemony. It was just possible that the pangs of conscience might shame Alphonso out of taking the oath ; it was also possible, if they could but gain time, that the opposition might yet achieve their ends. Then Castile, instead of having to submit to the Leonese usurper, would choose its own king, either Garcia of Galicia, or one of the Kings of Navarre and Aragon, who were cousins of the murdered monarch.

The Oath taken at Santa Gadea.

The chronicler of Tuy maintains that the Castilians, in the absence of any worthier aspirant to the throne, agreed to accept Alphonso on condition that he swore an oath that he had no share in Sancho's murder ; he also adds that Rodrigo Diaz alone had the courage to administer this oath to Alphonso and that in so doing he incurred the King's lifelong displeasure. This version, which did not appear until 1236, seems to have been derived from the earlier Castilian *jongleurs* ; and, as



ACCUSATION OF ALPHONSO AND THE ZAMORANS BY A PARTISAN OF THE MURDERED KING: "CUES SIMUL ET REX FRAUDUUENTER SANTIUM REGEM OCCIDERUNT"

A marginal note in eleventh-century writing on folio 21 of a book of the Mozarab rite that was written in the first half of the eleventh century and belonged to the Monastery of Silos (now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, Nouv. acq. lat., No. 2171)

those, unlike the French, were chroniclers rather than poets, it is therefore worthy of belief.

The Spanish *jongleurs* of the thirteenth century assert according to tradition that the Cid, on appearing with the other Castilians before Alphonso, refused to kiss the new King's hand, saying: "Sire, all whom you see here, though none says so, harbour the suspicion that King Sancho, your own brother, was killed by your counsel; and so I say unto you that, should you not clear yourself thereof, as the law requires, never will I kiss your hand or own you as my lord."

This suspicion of the nobles, as has been shown, spread throughout Castile and even penetrated into the peace of the cloisters; at Ona it was fulminated that Urraca was the arch-conspirator, and at Silos the King himself was accused of the murder. The *jongleurs* in their narrative appear to have embroidered the historical account only with the one incident when the Cid is supposed to face Alphonso alone; for actually he would not be the sole recalcitrant but, as the dead king's closest friend and the ensign of Castile, would simply act as leader of the malcontents.

The King, according to the *jongleurs*, consented to comply with the demand of the Castilian knights that he should be put on oath together with twelve of his vassals. These were known as the *conjuradores* or *compurgadores* and were cited, in accordance with an institution that was unknown to the Romanized *Fuero Juzgo* but, like so many others of Germanic origin, had become established by force of custom. The number of co-jurors varied according to the nature of the oath but, although in exceptional cases it might amount to a hundred or more, it was usually restricted to twelve.

It was decided that the oath should be administered in the Church of Santa Gadea in Burgos. Santa Gadea was one of the special churches that had been designated

for the swearing of people of the different orders and provinces. In the charter given by Alphonso VI to Miranda de Ebro in 1099, for example, it was ordained that the men of Oca should take the oath in San Martin and those of Alava in San Nicolas. In stating that the Cid took the oath of the King at Santa Gadea in Burgos, *where nobles were wont to swear,* the old romance no doubt recalls a custom that was actually in vogue.

In the matter-of-fact narrative told by the *jongleurs,* Alphonso when taking the oath placed his hands upon the Gospels that lay on the altar. The Cid having adjured the King to avouch that he took no part in Sancho's death, Alphonso and the twelve deponents answered in accordance with the ritual : " We swear." Whereupon the Cid utters the imprecation : " Then, if ye swear falsely, may it please God that a vassal slay ye even as the traitor, Vellido Adolfo, slew King Sancho." Alphonso and his twelve knights cannot but endorse the malediction but, as he pronounces the solemn " Amen ", the King turns pale. Thrice, as was the custom, the Cid exacts the oath, and then would have kissed the hand of the King, but Alphonso forbade him.

The suggestion that Alphonso showed his anger and that he changed colour when he heard the imprecation, are merely poetic figments ; for it is unlikely that he would publicly give cause for offence to one who was performing a function that, although admittedly implying distrust, was after all a juridical rite. The victor of Golpejera may not have been a *persona grata* to the King, but it is an historical fact that he accepted him as a vassal and, by conferring special honours upon him, won over his whole party.

The Cid as Alphonso's Vassal.

The word " vassal " is here used, not in its wider sense of " subject ", but in its narrower sense of a hidalgo who

kissed a lord's hand and swore allegiance to him in return for protection. By this act of homage liege and vassal were in duty bound to render one another assistance in life and each to avenge the other should either meet with a violent death.

The vassal's duties were to stand by his lord against the whole world in war and to serve him as required in times of peace. This bond of allegiance could only be severed by a similar formality, the vassal again kissing the hand of his liege and bidding him farewell. To omit to do so, when he renounced his fealty, was sufficient to rank the vassal as a traitor.

The liege lord for his part had to bestow special favours upon his vassals, arrange advantageous alliances for them, protect them when in danger either of violence or insult, safeguard their rights, remunerate them for their service under arms, and divide amongst them four-fifths of the spoils of war. This last obligation, which was peculiar to the Spanish system of vassalage, had its origin in the Koranic injunction that reserved for the Caliph one-fifth of the booty taken in war.

The privilege of vassalage to the King himself, however, was not extended to all his subjects, many of whom were merely vassals to lesser lords. A special tie thus bound the Cid to the new King, in spite of which his position in the kingdom had radically altered. As Sancho's ensign he had held the highest rank in Castile and had overthrown the Beni-Gomez. Now he found his old enemies restored to power and Pedro Ansurez, duly reinstated in his counties of Carrion and Zamora, supreme at Burgos in the suite of the new King who, incidentally, had also brought his Leonese ensign, Gonzalo Diaz, with him. The Cid now was merely one of many vassals and, though no doubt esteemed for his sterling qualities, was at the best only tolerated by the King.

CRITICAL TIMES FOR CASTILE

On December 8, 1072, Alphonso, now King of Castile, authorized a grant to the monastery of Cardena. The deed was attested both by the Leonese and Galician dignitaries who had accompanied the King to Castile, and many prominent Castilians, among the first of whom to sign were the ever accommodating Gonzalo Salvadorez and Garcia Ordonez, who was soon to be singled out for honour by the King ; Rodrigo Diaz was also a witness, but the fact that his name appears among the last three signatures on the document is all too significant of the new status he now held in the kingdom.

The Cid as Counsel to the Abbot of Cardena.

Whilst the Court was still at Burgos, a lawsuit was instituted by St. Sisebut against the *infanzones* of the valley of Orbaneja for having lifted 104 oxen belonging to the Abbey of Cardena. The Castilian magnates having decided that the suit be settled by jurors, the King appointed the Cid and the royal judge of Burgos to act for the Abbot, for the purpose, it would seem, of taking and weighing the evidence. On April 17, 1073, a meeting was held with the lords in the valley in question, when, after a long and heated discussion, the arguments advanced by the Abbot's procurators prevailed ; whereupon the *infanzones,* threatened with a penalty of double the number of cattle lifted, wisely effected a compromise by the restoration of one beast, which was then and there killed and eaten by the assembled parties.[1]

Both this case and another in 1075, in which he acted as judge, go to prove that the Cid had a working knowledge of law and bear out the tradition that he not only promoted the adjuration proceedings at Santa Gadea, but was ever anxious faithfully to fulfil the legal duties of allegiance that bound him to his late lord.

[1] Serrano, *Becerro de Cardena,* 1910, pp. 18-20.

2. THE CID'S RIVALS

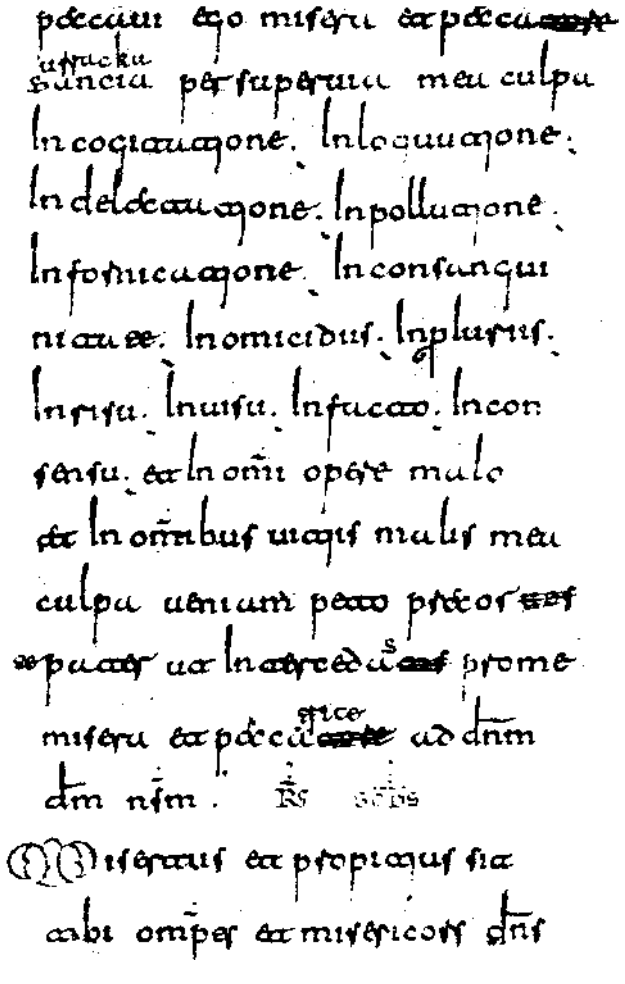
The Counsels of Dona Urraca and Pedro Ansurez.

History records two events, the one relating to Galicia and the other to Navarre, that serve to show how the Cid, who had been the soul of Sancho's enterprises, was now relegated by Alphonso to the background in favour of his enemies and rivals.

Although Alphonso's accession had immediately been acknowledged by the Galicians, his position in Galicia was by no means secure. After the regicide at Zamora, no sooner had Alphonso returned from exile than his brother Garcia left Seville to regain his former kingdom. To remove this rival from the path of Alphonso was now the concern of his constant counsellors, Pedro Ansurez and Urraca.

" In order to avoid another fratricide ", they advised Alphonso to summon Garcia to a conference, so that he might be seized and held in captivity. Thus the Infanta, who but a year ago had hastened to implore Alphonso 's liberty of Sancho, now that she had got rid of Sancho, was already plotting the imprisonment of Garcia to ensure a peaceful reign for her favourite brother. The unsuspecting Garcia answered the summons without even demanding safeguards and upon his arrival on February 13, 1073, was clapped in irons and shut up in the castle of Luna in the foothills of Leon.

There the unfortunate ex-King was treated, except for his chains, with royal honours. Alphonso, though he was not even married at the time, affected to regard him as his successor to the throne but, nevertheless, refused to give him his liberty ; the fact was that neither the King nor Pedro Ansurez dared to emulate the example of Sancho and the Cid who, secure in their strength, had been content with sending the then pretender into exile,



FORM OF CONFESSION IN THE *LIBER CANTICORUM* OF QUEEN SANCHA AND HER DAUGHTER, URRACA, EXTANT IN THE BIBL. DEL PALACIO NACIONAL, MADRID

itself and, conscience-stricken at having allowed worldly affairs to intervene between her and her duty to the monasteries, which her father had entrusted to her care, she henceforth became more and more engrossed in pious exercises and devotions.

The Book of Hours that she inherited from her mother, Sancha, has been handed down to us as an heirloom of the Kings of Spain. In the yellowed pages of this precious relic we may still read the *Mea Culpa* formulated for her by her spiritual guide : " I, Urraca, a miserable sinner, do confess to all the sins I have committed through pride, in thought, word, and deed, of incest, murder, perjury . . ." These and even cruder protestations, which were then included in confessions the world over, were rendered necessary by the barbarous customs of the time. Without going further afield than Spain, we find that the palace of the Counts of Barcelona housed princes who had murdered their mothers and their brothers, " a generation of vipers ", as they have been called, and in the opinion of many of her contemporaries Dona Urraca, in repeating her confession, must have been racked with shame and remorse as she re-awakened those pregnant memories of bloody hatred and untrammelled lust.

New War with Navarre.

In 1074 a feud burst out between the royal cousins of Castile and Navarre over, it is more than likely, the tribute due by Saragossa.

Payment of the imposts, levied by Sancho the Strong of Castile in 1067, soon ceased, owing, no doubt, to the fact that Sancho's attention was fully occupied in warring with his brothers in the effort to dominate Leon and Galicia. Sancho Garcia of Navarre had seized the opportunity to impose his protection on Moktadir, who on May 25, 1073, undertook to pay him 1,000 crowns a

month and signed a treaty of mutual aid against all enemies, whether Christian or Moslem, but particularly the King of Aragon, who was then encroaching upon both their territories. A combined attack on Aragon was determined, when Moktadir agreed to afford the barons of Navarre " the customary maintenance paid to the barons of Castile and Barcelona ". This clause suggests that Christian intervention in the affairs of the Taifa kingdoms of the eastern part of the Peninsula was undertaken for the most part by Castile and Barcelona, a fact that may account for Alphonso's apprehensiveness over the intrusion of Navarre.

The records tell of how the men of La Rioja, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by the hostilities between Castile and Navarre, seized and imprisoned Castilian pilgrims on their way to the monastery of San Millan. As it happened, Gonzalo Salvadorez, already well-known to us as the Count of Lara, was as staunch a devotee of the holy Riojan hermit as he was a friend of the King of Navarre, with whom in 1067 he had shared the expense of providing the magnificent ivory carvings on the chest containing the relics of the saint. He, therefore, brought the whole matter to the notice of King Sancho, who at once ordered the prisoners to be set free (1074) [an<^] then proceeded in person to the cloister of San Millan to see the Count and arrange for safe-conduct to be granted to all who " with frail and staff " should pilgrimage to the shrine.

Garcia Ordonez, Ensign of Castile.

When in June, 1074, Alphonso invaded La Rioja, he took with him as ensign Garcia Ordoflez, who was then coming into prominence at court; by occupying under Alphonso the distinguished post the Cid had held under Sancho, the new ensign thus became a rival of the Campeador. The Castilian army, which included Count Gonzalo

Salvadorez and Rodrigo Diaz, now merely one of the King's suite, had arrived at the monastery of San Millan on June 16, for there we find Alphonso, accompanied by his Queen Inez and the Infantas Urraca and Elvira. Unfortunately for Garcia Ordonez, the expedition met with little success. The Castilian army soon evacuated the country, and in December of the same year the King of Navarre himself was at San Millan.

Although the Cid was not prominent at Court, the documents of the time prove that he sedulously fulfilled his duties of vassal to the King. Alphonso, for his part, did not actually ignore the Campeador but, as will be seen, invariably gave preferment to his enemies and rivals over his head. Pedro Ansurez, for example, was the King's most valued counsellor, and Garcia Ordonez, whose ambition was matched only by his ineptitude, was created a Count immediately after the fiasco of the Riojan campaign.

3. THE CID RECONCILED WITH THE LEONESE

Dona fimena, the Asturian.

Alphonso, acting his part as a liege, sought for the Cid an honourable alliance and eventually chose as his consort Dofia Jimena Diaz, a lady of royal lineage, being a great granddaughter of Alphonso V of Leon and a niece of the King himself.

The Cid's marriage settlement, which is still in existence, is dated July 19, 1074, the day, no doubt, upon which the marriage was celebrated. Although occasionally the husband's endowment was regarded as a quid pro quo for the surrender of the bride's body, " comparatio corporis ", more often an altruistic motive was ascribed to it, such as, " in honour of her purity " or " in honour of her beauty and gentleness ". In the Cid's marriage settlement we find the combination : " in homage to both her beauty and her maidenhood ".

The Cid, in deference to the Leonese descent of his bride, although himself a Castilian, made this settlement in accordance with Leonese law. In Leon it was the custom for the bridegroom to settle on his wife one-half of the property he possessed or might later acquire, whereas in Castile the recognized endowment was one-third of his inheritance. Dona Jimena's portion consisted of three entire towns in Castile and thirty-four hereditaments each in a different township of the vicinity of Burgos, Castrogeriz and Lerma. For the Cid's possessions, like all the larger estates of the time, whether feudal or monastic, were widely scattered, which accounts for the roving life led by the great lords as with their retinues they passed from one to another of their hereditaments, dwelling awhile in each to avail themselves of the fruits it offered. The endowment of three entire towns to Dona Jimena may have been connected with the custom of defining, for certain legal purposes, a lady of high rank as one who spent at least one month every year in each of three properties of her own.

The fact that Jimena was of royal descent is proof of the high esteem in which Alphonso held the victor of Llantada and Golpejera. Her father, Diego, had been Count of Oviedo, and her mother, Cristina, was the granddaughter of Alphonso V of Leon. Prominent among her brothers were Rodrigo and Fernando Diaz, who in succession became Counts of Oviedo. Jimena belonged, then, to the highest Asturian nobility, and her marriage to the Cid was a stroke of diplomacy on the part of the King inasmuch as it tended to unite the interests and sentiments of his vassals. It was also a token of reconciliation between the Castilians and the Leonese, for the hero of Burgos had waived his right as a Castilian and had his marriage settlement drawn up in accordance with the laws of Leon.

Further evidence of the importance the King attached

to the marriage is to be found in the persons of the two guarantors for the settlement, Counts Pedro Ansurez and Garcia Ordonez, the one the Cid's antagonist in Leon, and the other his rival in Castile. The document was solemnly executed in the presence of the whole Court and was witnessed by Alphonso, his sister Urraca (who in the romances is represented as in love with the Cid and bitterly jealous of Dona Jimena), the Infanta Elvira, Gonzalo Salvadorez the opportunist, and various other noblemen. Noteworthy among these are two who are mentioned in the *Poema del Cid* as followers of the Campeador : Alvar Salvadorez, a brother of Gonzalo, Count of Lara, and Alvar Hanez, referred to in the deed as the Cid's nephew, who in the Reconquest was to acquire a fame for valour second only to that of the Cid himself.

The Cid and the Holy Chest of Oviedo.

As was but natural, Alphonso was desirous to strengthen the fragile bond of union between Castile and Leon and determined to pursue his policy of reconciliation by taking the Cid with him on a journey to Asturias.

Now, the Cathedral of San Salvador at Oviedo, to pilgrims a Mecca that was thenceforth second only to the famous shrine of Compostela, owed its fame to a chest containing holy relics which tradition averred had been collected at Toledo during the invasion of the Arabs and afterwards sent to Asturias for safety. By the eleventh century nobody knew what these relics were. About the year 1030, so it was said, the prelate Ponce, with his clerics, had sought to examine the contents ; but, when they opened the ark, there burst forth so stupendous a light that the terrified clerics, some of them stricken stone-blind, dropped the lid and fled, leaving the mystery unsolved.

It was to venerate these relics and reveal the treasures contained in the mysterious chest that Alphonso VI now went to Oviedo, where, with his court, he intended to stay during the whole of Lent. He was accompanied by only two Castilians of high rank, the Bishop of Oca or Burgos and Rodrigo the Campeador, who, it being but six months after his marriage, was no doubt accompanied by Jimena on this visit to her native country.

The numerous parties forming the royal suite crossed the snow-clad Cantabrians in the depth of winter, the majority going by the Pajares Pass. At that time Count Fruela (who was, I believe, a brother of Jimena) had not as yet founded the hospice of Arbas where, at the summit of the pass, the road ends its steep climb up the open slopes of Leon and begins to wind downwards, skirting the lofty precipices that wall in the Asturian valleys. The King reached Oviedo on February 2, 1075, exactly two weeks before Lent began.

The Emperor (as Alphonso now styled himself), having arranged for his clergy and knights to prepare themselves for the ceremony by fasting, prayer, and penance, after divine service on the fourth Friday of Lent, March 13, and in the presence of all the priests and courtiers, caused the chest to be opened, when there were exposed to the view of the awestruck beholders the most precious relics of the Passion of Christ : fragments of the Cross, drops of the Redeemer's Blood, shreds of His garment and the napkin that was about His head, and crumbs from the Last Supper ; relics, too, of the Virgin Mary, of the twelve Apostles, of Saints Justa and Rufina of Seville, of Saint Eulalia of Barcelona, and Heaven only knows of how many saints besides.

For the safe-keeping of so sacred a treasure Alphonso presented to the Cathedral a new reliquary plated with silver and bearing an inscription that set forth at length the principal contents. Needless to add, this solemn

declaration blazed abroad the fame of these hitherto unknown relics, and tradition ultimately improved upon the narrative by insisting that the chest was not of Spanish origin but had been brought to Toledo from Jerusalem when the Moslems invaded Palestine.

Two Lawsuits decided in Favour of the Church of Oviedo.

Towards the end of Lent the royal court resolved itself into a tribunal, and two of the cases it dealt with are of particular interest in that the Cid in both acted as judge. The first of these was a lawsuit between the Bishop of Oviedo and Count Vela Oviequez (a great-grand-uncle of Jimena) over the ownership of the monastery of Tol in the West of Asturias. Of the four judges appointed by the King, only Sisnando, the Wazir of Coimbra, and Rodrigo Diaz, " the Castilian ", seem to have taken an active part, for they alone signed the proceedings. Both the Cid and the Mozarab proved themselves to be fully conversant with their judicial functions. After examining the documentary evidence and rejecting that furnished by Count Vela, they quoted *in extenso* several relevant laws from the *Fuero Juzgo* and wound up by calling upon two clerics of the Cathedral to swear to the authenticity of the will adduced by the church in testimony of the donation. But the Count, realizing that the case was going against him, promptly suggested an immediate settlement with the view of escaping payment of the inevitable fines stipulated in the penal clauses of the will. Recourse to such withdrawal before the deciding oath was taken, it may be mentioned, was a common ruse in ancient litigation to avoid any anticipated penalty of the law.

In the other lawsuit the King himself was the defendant. To commemorate the opening of the chest, Alphonso had transferred the overlordship of Langreo to the bishopric of Oviedo, an act which had aroused the

indignant protests of the *infanzones* of that valley. The King, who for his part claimed absolute ownership of the territory involved, proposed that the dispute be settled by a single combat between a knight and one of the *infanzones.* It is strange that Alphonso, who founded his right on possession since the days of his great-grandfather, Sancho of Castile, and his grandfather, Alphonso V of Leon, should have preferred to have the point at issue decided in the lists rather than in a court of inquiry. The Court procedure, indeed, was the one generally adopted by both the Kings and the Church as being, not only more rational, but in stricter accordance with the law, whereas the duel, which was peculiar to Germanic law, was regarded by the Church as an institution, at once absurd and impious, that she only tolerated on account of its time-honoured establishment. It may be that Alphonso now preferred the duel because he had the Campeador with him. At all events, the *infanzones* succeeded in prevailing upon Urraca and the members of the Court to intercede with the King and have the lawsuit decided by " truthful investigation " instead of by single combat and the *Fuero Juzgo* ; and the King, " moved to mercy ", acceded to their petition. The outcome was that the case went against the *infanzones,* who were bound to admit that they held their lands from the King. The proceedings were over by March 27 (Good Friday), and the record was countersigned by Sisnando the Wazir of Coimbra and the Cid " Rodericus Didaz castellanus ".

These two actions, in which the Cid took part, show how up to the twelfth century the duty of the judge was, according to the Germanic procedure, simply to direct the parties to the lawsuit; he pronounced no final judgment for, no matter what form the trial took, whether that of single combat, of declaration on oath, of the ordeal of boiling water, or of an inquiry by means of witnesses,

the evidence alone, directed by the judge, determined the case, so that justice could be administered without the necessity of passing any definite sentence at all. It is true that in the case of the monastery of Tol the Cid and Sisnando examined the documents and quoted laws from the *Fuero Juzgo* as any judge in Roman Law would do ; but, in spite of this, it was the Germanic procedure that put an end to the litigation, when the judges, on rejecting the evidence of one of the parties, ordered that the authenticity or otherwise of the documents of the other party be decided by oath. The proceedings would thus terminate without the pronouncement of any final sentence, for the law on the point and the penalty to which the losing party was liable would be laid down in the penal clauses contained in the documents themselves.

In conclusion, the fact that the Cid was called upon to act in the process concerning the monastery of Tol is worthy of note. As a rule, judges appointed by the King to try cases brought before the royal court were Counts, who *ex officio* administered justice in their own territories, royal judges, or other dignitaries. Yet here the Cid is appointed to sit in judgment along with a count, a bishop, and a " scholar ", though he had neither the official position nor the learning of his colleagues, nor, since he was only thirty-two, had he the qualification of age. This leaves us in no doubt that he excelled in jurisprudence and had a knowledge of the law that was not confined to the juridical customs of his own country. It is, indeed, remarkable for a Castilian knight to be found hearing a suit in Asturias in accordance with the laws of the *Fuero Juzgo,* seeing that Castilian differed from the Leonese law precisely in that it ignored the Visigothic Code and was governed almost entirely by the consuetudinary laws of the Germanic and Hispano-Roman system.

In each of the cases referred to, the property in dis-

pute, the litigants, and the other judge were all Leonese ; the Cid alone—" Rodericus castellanus "—belonged to another kingdom. There can be little doubt that Alphonso, in appointing him a judge, showed how keen he was to bring him into closer contact with the Leonese.

Alphonso honours the Cid in Castile.

When Lent was over, the Court returned to Castile. By May i, Alphonso had gone to Burgos to hand over the palaces of his father, Ferdinand I, as a site for the proposed new Cathedral of Santa Maria, which, after the destruction of the city of Oca, was to become the see and " the centre of the diocese of all Castile ".

It must have been about this time that the Cid's first child, Diego, was born, and in all probability it was in commemoration of the event that Alphonso VI on July 28, 1075, granted the Cid, " fidelissimo Roderico Didaz ", and all his descendants complete franchise for all his lands in Vivar and elsewhere from royal dues of every description.

From the tenth century onwards the great landowners, ecclesiastics as well as noblemen, showed themselves disposed to enfranchise their lands from all burdens ; and in the eleventh century this tendency became still more marked. The enfranchisement of the Vivar lands had been initiated by Sancho the Strong, as the Cid himself declares when donating, together with Jimena, the half that each possessed of the towns of Pefiacova and Fresnosa to the neighbouring monastery of Silos : " sic eas offerrimus ingenuas, quomodo nobis ingenuavit Santius Rex ". Alphonso, then, in enfranchising all the lands held by the Cid, did no more than supplement, if he did not merely confirm, the privileges granted by his brother Sancho.

This donation to the monastery of Silos was made on May 12, 1076, shortly after the remains of the venerable

Abbot Domingo, who had died two years before, had been removed from the cloister to a niche beneath an altar in the church for canonization, after the manner of the time. Pilgrims had already begun to flock to the monastery from as far away as Palencia and even Aragon, bringing their sick with them in carts or on horseback, to set them for days at a time before the candle-lit tomb of the Saint until God, in answer to the ceaseless prayer of the pilgrims, in which the monks were wont to join, should show His mercy on them and heal them. The donation of the Cid and Jimena was made, not at Silos, but " under the arches of the cloister of Cardeila in the presence of King Alphonso ", for the purpose of illuminating the church and providing maintenance and quarters for the pilgrims.

Other documents issued in 1076 refer to the Cid as a member of Alphonso's Court but make no mention of any of his opponents, from which it would appear as though Jimena had influenced her uncle Alphonso in favour of the ex-ensign of King Sancho. Nevertheless, the fact remains that at that very time the growing prestige of Garcia Ordoilez was already threatening to eclipse that of Jimena and her husband in the eyes of the King.

4. THE RISE TO POWER OF GARCIA ORDONEZ

Annexation of La Rioja.

On June 4, 1076, King Sancho of Navarre fell a victim at Penalen to the treachery of his younger brother, Ramon, and his sister, and his death made yet another fratricide that was to redound to the advantage of Alphonso, ever the favourite of Fortune.

The Navarrese, refusing to grant the crown either to the murderer or to his feeble elder brother Ramiro, split up into two parties, the one favouring the King of

Aragon and the other, the King of Castile, both of whom were cousins of the deceased monarch. And so the disruption of the great Basque Kingdom of Sancho el Mayor was complete ; Navarre proper at once identified itself with Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, whereas the Basque-speaking countries of Alava, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, which had formerly belonged to Castile, as also the part of La Bureba that had not been recovered by the Castilians, threw in their lot with Alphonso, and La Rioja, in spite of its Navarrese origin, followed suit. Alphonso, accompanied by Queen Inez, immediately marched into La Rioja at the head of his Castilian and Leonese forces and by July 10 he had already reached Calahorra. With the capture of the key fortress of Najera he found himself in possession of more than one-half of the Kingdom of Navarre. The Infante Ramiro, content with being allowed to retain his domain of Calahorra, henceforth followed the Court of his successful cousin, Alphonso. His tragic death and the marriage of his son to the Cid's daughter will be dealt with later on in our narrative.

Garcia Ordonez, Count of Najera.

On the annexation of La Rioja any doubts about the predilection of Alphonso for Garcia Ordonez were dispelled. Although Ordonez was more or less coeval with the Cid and had as a youth cut a much less brilliant figure at the Court of Sancho of Castile than Rodrigo, owing to his noble birth, he was invariably called upon to occupy the higher positions. He began his career in 1067 as warden of the fortress of Pancorvo on the Navarrese frontier and held this position until 1070. In 1074 he was Alphonso's ensign and went with him on the expedition of that year to La Rioja ; his field of activity thus lay towards the Ebro, so that Alphonso, who two years before had created him Count, now conferred upon him the governorship of Najera. To crown all, the King

procured for him the most illustrious match in the country, when he united him to the Princess Urraca, the sister of the murdered King of Navarre, in a marriage, like the Cid's, of diplomacy, in that it tended to Castilianize the territory that had recently been annexed.

That this Castilian Count and his royal bride were not averse to being treated with exaggerated ceremony is evidenced in the official Riojan documents of the time : " the illustrious Lord, honoured by God and man, by the Grace of God and of King Alphonso, Count Garcia, and the Most Noble and Most High-born Lady, the Countess Urraca, ruling at Najera ". It will thus be seen that Garcia Ordonez, not only far outshone the Cid in his official activities, but ultimately took precedence at court both of him and all the other Castilian nobles. And yet, compared with the Cid, the Count with all his glory had himself achieved nothing whatever to merit the favour of the King; nor was he destined to aught else than one failure after another in the long life that lay before him.

The Pilgrimage to Compostela and the Prosperity of the Kingdom.

At the time of the annexation of La Rioja, a reform was being effected at Najera that was to have a significant bearing on the relations of Spain with other countries. This was the work of a hermit, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a capable and active organizer, who earned the sobriquet by his improvements to the *calzada,* or highway, leading to Santiago de Compostela ; this road he diverted over an easier route in the direction of Burgos and also built a bridge over the River Oja and a hospice for pilgrims. Alphonso paid a special visit to the engineer-saint, approved of his public works, and granted him the property required to carry them to completion.

Meantime, work on the temple of Santiago was also

proceeding apace. In 1078 the Compostelan bishop, Diego Pelaez, had enthusiastically recommenced the building of the great Cathedral, a work that was entrusted to Bernardo, " mirabilis magister ", with fifty craftsmen.

Alphonso, for his part, extended Santo Domingo's idea, carrying out further improvements to the highway and building the required bridges between Logrofio and Santiago. The King's interest in thus fostering pilgrimages to the country has already been referred to. Along this main central channel of his kingdom there flowed from Europe a constant and ever swelling stream of pilgrims and traders. Here and there backwaters were formed, where the travellers settled down in what were known as the " Frankish Quarters " of the cities along the route, such as Logrofio, Belorado, Burgos and Sahagun.[1] From this main artery prosperity spread to the other trade routes, so that Alphonso achieved the end for which he had been striving. Merchants and pilgrims could now cross the country without danger of being molested. Indeed, so strictly was " the King's Peace " enforced on all his vassals that a lone and defenceless woman carrying gold could pass with the utmost safety through any of the towns or wildest parts of the country.

These steps, taken by Alphonso to encourage trade, formed part of the general policy he had inherited from his father Ferdinand I and his grandfather Sancho el Mayor, a policy that aimed at strengthening the bonds connecting Spain with the rest of Europe. As at this very time Rome was exercising a great centralizing force upon the whole of the western world, it will be seen that Alphonso's aspirations for the most part coincided, and only occasionally came into conflict, with those of the Pope.

[1] See R. Menendez Pidal, *Poesia juglaresca*, Madrid, 1924, p. 327.

CHAPTER VI

CRISIS OF NATIONALISM—GREGORY VII

i. SPAIN, THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER

Rome and the Spanish Church.

THE activity on the part of the Popes to secure centralization was a reaction from their former apathy. In 991, Bishop Arnulf of Orleans had taxed the Papacy with being responsible, not only for the schisms of Constantinople and Alexandria, but for the isolation from Rome of the interior regions of Spain. To all appearances, Spain had dissented from the Roman Church, which no doubt accounted for the exaggerated importance attached to the action of the Bishop of Compostela, when, led away by his aspirations to the primacy of Spain, he arrogated to himself the title of " Bishop of the Apostolic See". For so doing he was excommunicated by Leo IX at the Synod of Rheims (October, 1049), but, in spite of this, the title was still being employed without question in 1088.

The essential points of difference between the Churches were, first, that the Church of Spain used a special liturgy of its own prayers and hymns, which had been derived from the Toledan or Visigothic Church, and, second, that at mass the Host was divided into nine parts instead of three as at Rome. True, the books of this Toledan or Spanish service had been examined at Rome in 924 and 1067 and approved as Catholic on both occasions ; nevertheless, the Papacy regarded with

growing disfavour the diversity of liturgies in the Western Church.

Theocratic and Imperial Claims to Sovereignty over Spain.

The centralism of Rome was not confined to ecclesiastical control alone. Both Pope Alexander II and the pre-eminent Churchman of the time, the Cluniac monk Hildebrand, were determined to assert the supremacy of the Apostolic See over all other powers, secular as well as clerical. To justify their pretensions, they cited various canons and historical documents, which, fortified by the evidence they had unearthed in the papal archives, affected to prove that every country, from Spain to Poland or Russia, was under an obligation to pay obeisance or tribute to Rome. They even claimed that the Pope had the power, not only to excommunicate or interdict the rulers of these countries, but to dethrone them and even wage war upon them.

The religious fervour of the age, as witness the numerous Spanish Saints of the time, engendered in the hearts of the clergy a desire for austerity that mingled strangely with their lust for worldly power. The same century that had opened with a wave of royal asceticism, was to see the Church in the grip of an ambition to rule the world. The Popes became obsessed by the idea that the " direct power " conferred by God on St. Peter and his successors transcended the ephemeral sway of kings. For priestly power, they argued, was divine, whereas kingly power was merely mundane and even pagan. All Christian nations, then, should unite under the supreme banner of the Pope.

These ideas of a universal monarchy were also nourished by the Romano-German Empire, the ally of the Pontificate. It was about the year 1065, when Henry IV of Germany came of age, that an anonymous Italian seeking to rouse all Italy in the Imperial cause

wrote an *Exhortatio ad proceres regni,* foretelling the imminence of a universal Empire which would include Gaul, Britain and Spain :

> Subdita erit vobis reverenter Hiberia fortis,
> romanas leges Cantaber excipiet . . .

The empire of Caesar and Charlemagne would re-arise, and the whole world would come under the equitable rule of St. Peter's keys.[1]

Alexander II and Gregory VII. Expedition of Ebles de Roucy.

These tendencies towards centralism, which originated in the question of the liturgies, had reactions that were practically simultaneous on the religion and politics of Spain. Although Christian Spain as a whole cleaved to the traditional Visigothic service, the advantage of a uniform liturgy for all the Western Churches was not lost upon the less dogmatic among the Nationalists ; in fact, King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon was the first to yield to Pope Alexander's wishes. It was in the monastery of San Juan de la Pefia, at the first and third hours of the second Tuesday in Lent, March 22, 1071, that Toledan prayers were read for the last time ; and at the sixth hour the Roman rite was inaugurated. This solemn renunciation was made in the presence of the King, the Bishops of Jaca and Roda, and Cardinal Hugo Candidus,the Papal Legate, at whose instance the reform had been introduced.[2]

When Hugo returned to Rome, he was chagrined to find that the liturgical question had receded considerably in importance at the pontifical court and that what he had regarded as a triumph was after all but a minor

[1] See Dummler, in *Neues Archiv,* I, pp. 175 *et seq.*

[2] *Espana Sagrada,* III, pp. 299-303 ; Briz, *Historia de San Juan de la Pefia,* Saragossa, 1620, pp. 517-18.

success. This may account for the fact that among the historical arguments that found favour in the eyes of the Lateran there then appeared the rumour, based perhaps on the fabulous donation of the Emperor Constantine, that Spain originally had been part of the patrimony of St. Peter. Indeed, it may be presumed that Hugo Candidus invented the story and offered it to the Curia as the fruit of his frequent missions to the Peninsula, for who more likely to attempt to gratify the Pope's desires with such an imposture than this unscrupulous libertine and seditionary who did not hesitate to champion three antipopes when it suited his purpose ? And yet, as will be seen, Rome availed herself of other pseudo-historical arguments that can in no way be attributed to Hugo Candidus.

At all events, shortly after Hugo's return to Rome Alexander II organized a military expedition to Spain under the command of Count Ebles of Roucy in Champagne, a brother of Queen Felicia of Aragon and a famous captain of the time. Whilst the gallant baron was gathering his forces preparatory to invading the Moorish Kingdom of Saragossa, the Pope died, and on April 22, 1073, Friar Hildebrand was proclaimed his successor under the name of Gregory VII. One week later Gregory issued a warning to " all princes desirous of leaving for Spanish lands to remember that the Kingdom of Spain had of old belonged to St. Peter and that now, though occupied by the heathen, it pertained to no mortal, but solely to the Apostolic See ". In other words, all property won would be held in the name of St. Peter and on certain terms, and in this connection the Cardinal Hugo was nominated the supreme representative of the Pope.

Barbastro, which, it will be remembered, was the sole fruit of Pope Alexander's former expedition, had been handed over to the King of Aragon; now,

according to the latest ideas of papal omnipotence, all conquests were to come under the dominion of the Pope.

Now, it may safely be assumed that Hugo's new theory of papal sovereignty was received in Spain with even less acclamation than his former liturgical doctrines. King Sancho Ramirez, for instance, though ever a dutiful son of the Holy See, could hardly view with equanimity the prospect of his brother-in-law conquering lands in Aragon to make them dependencies of Rome. What actually happened was that in May, 1073, Sancho Ramirez fought without foreign help on the Saragossan frontier, and the great expedition of Count Ebles, so blatantly advertised in France, achieved nothing whatever in Spain. As a matter of fact, Aragon had already recognized the authority of the Pope to a certain extent, for Sancho Ramirez had been paying regularly to Rome an annual tax of 500 golden crowns, but in no other way was she willing to acknowledge the temporal supremacy of Rome.

Fresh Claims of Gregory VII.

Four years later and just after the Emperor Henry IV had submitted and done penance before him at Canossa, Gregory again applied himself to the Spanish question. In a direct communication to the kings, counts, and other princes of Spain on June 28, 1077, he reiterated the terms of his proclamation issued in France in 1073. According to ancient constitutions, he tells them without making any reference to the fictitious donation by Constantine, Spain was by rights the property of St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church. The memory of these rights and the services entailed in safeguarding them had faded owing to the invasion of the Saracens and the negligence of his predecessors. But, now that they had recovered their land from the infidel, he would have

them remember (as they cherished their faith and their salvation) their duties to the Church.[1]

The records show that the Pope's exhortation did not pass unheeded. On December 6, 1077, Count Bernardo II of Besalu adopted the title "Knight of St. Peter" and as tribute for the privilege promised an annual payment to Rome by him and all his successors of 100 crowns in gold. This, of course, did not of itself imply that the Count accepted the historical data upon which the Pope based his claims; for it was not uncommon for European sovereigns of the time both to assume the title of *Miles Sancti Petri* and to pay tribute to Rome entirely of their own accord. The Kings of Denmark, Poland and Croatia, for example, all swore obedience to the Pope and sent him offerings from time to time. The Normans of the South of Italy, from the time Robert Guiscard rendered homage in 1059, and Hungary, ever since Sylvester II had raised it to the status of a kingdom, had been true vassals of the Pope. Before France as before Spain the weapon of historical record was brandished and payment demanded of a tax on every house, a precedent for which imposition was found in the Papal archives in a tome that established that Charlemagne collected twelve hundred pounds thrice a year for the treasury at Rome. In the same year, 1080, the Pope also required of William the Conqueror payment of the tribute of Peter's Pence. From all of which it will be seen that the papal plan was too comprehensive for Spain to expect any loophole of escape.

Alphonso, Emperor of all Spain.

Nevertheless, Alphonso VI was not prepared to pay the tribute as levied from the King of Aragon and the Count of Besalu and as was still being paid in the thirteenth century by both Portugal and Aragon. Far

[1] Migne, *Patrol lat,* Vol. CXLVIII, Coll. 483.

from acknowledging that Spain was the patrimony of St. Peter, he forthwith began to assert the imperial dignity to which as King of Leon he was entitled. Unlike his father, Ferdinand I, however, he was not content merely with being known as Emperor, but brought the title into general use in 1077, the very year in which Gregory reasserted his pretensions to supremacy in Spain, and, as if in defiance of the Apostolic See, he chose a much more explicit designation than his predecessors : *Ego Adefonsus imperator totius Hispanice}* For the first time the declaration has the true ring of a consciousness of the vast importance of imperial dominion over the whole of the Peninsula. The other kingdoms for their part, as of old, recognized the hierarchical supremacy of Leon ; and thus we find that several charters bear the inscription: " regnante pio rege domino Sancio in Aragone et in Pampilonia ; imperatore domino Adefonso in Legione ". The Moslem historians, too, refer to the fact that Alphonso VI " used the title of ' imperator', which means king of kings ". Alphonso himself a few years later still further amplified the title by proclaiming himself " constitutus imperator super omnes Hispaniae nationes ".

The Cid and the National Protest.

The claim of Gregory V I I gave rise to other protests in which the national sentiment was voiced in still stronger terms. These were duly recorded by *the jongleurs,* the newsmongers of the time, and have been handed down to us, though altered by tradition, in the *Cronica de* 1344 and the poem of the *Mocedades de Rodrigo,* which give, for instance, a lengthy summary of a lay that the Bishop of Tuy in 1236, or little more than a hundred years after the death of the Cid, men-

[1] **The first two instances known to me of the use of this imperial title are on March 26, 1077 and March 1, 1078.**

tions as having been in great vogue. According to this tale of *the jongleurs,* not only the Pope, but the Emperor of Germany and the King of France demand tribute from the King of Spain under the threat of a crusade against him. Rodrigo Diaz counsels resistance, contending that the Reconquest is a task for Spaniards and not for foreigners (an allusion to the Count of Champagne), and is eventually called upon to take the necessary steps to defend Spain and launch an attack on France.[1] In the poem of the *Mocedades,* Ruy Diaz defies the Pope and the German Emperor in this wise :

> May God requite thy evil, Roman Pope !
> The tribute year by year thou dids't demand
> Our good King Ferdinand shall surely pay
> In open fight tomorrow on the field.

This was the reply of the rhymesters of Spain to the Italian poet's " Subdita erit vobis reverenter Hiberia".

This is the only echo, incoherent as it may be, that is audible today of the stir created in Spain firstly, by the French expedition instigated by Rome in 1073, and, secondly, by the epistle of Gregory V I I in 1077 claiming sovereignty over the Peninsula. The official chronicles mention neither event, for in those days only the *jongleurs* concerned themselves with political questions.

The national protest against the other papal claim, relating to the Roman rite, is, however, recorded in the Latin chronicles, the writers of which were clerics who had the whole question very much at heart.

2. RITUAL AND CLERICAL REFORM

Alphonso proscribes the Toledan Rite.

In the prolonged dispute over the liturgy Alphonso, influenced by Queen Inez, almost invariably took the

[1] *Cronica particular del Cid,* caps. 21 and 22.

side of the Pope. In 1073, availing himself of the services of some Spanish bishops who had been summoned to a Council at Rome, he sent a communication on the subject to Gregory, who, on March 19, 1074, replied exhorting him to honour the pledge given by the bishops to the Council. That a compromise was effected is shown by the fact that at the Lenten celebrations attended by the Cid at Oviedo in 1075 both the Roman and Toledan clergy officiated. Nevertheless, a bitter struggle was to ensue between the sects. The national clergy clung tenaciously to the ritual observed by their Saints, Isidore and Leander of Seville, Braulius of Saragossa, and Eugene, Alphonsus, and Julian, of Toledo, and were grieved to find that the Pope should attribute the divergence in their ritual from the Roman to the false doctrines of the Arians or the invasions of the Moors and Goths. The allusion to the Goths was doubly impolitic inasmuch as it was made to a people who prided themselves on maintaining the tradition of the Gothic race. But to Gregory VII, who was quite prepared to ride roughshod over Spanish sentiment, that was a minor detail. Impetuous by nature, he waxed domineering in the face of difficulties ; and, so seriously did he regard the ritual problem in Spain, where no irregularities in the investiture of the bishops had ever given him grounds for intervention as in other countries, that he was fully determined to play off the king and the bishops against the clergy and the rest of the nation.

The dispute between Alphonso and the nationalists was first dealt with by civil procedure, and a settlement by duel was decided on. Each party appointed a champion, and the encounter took place at Burgos on April 9, 1077. Lope Martinez, a Castilian knight of Matanza, on the Pisuerga River, defended the Spanish tradition, and the champion of the Roman rite was, curiously enough,

a Mozarab from Toledo. The Castilian won the day, but the Queen's partisans, alleging foul play on the part of the victor, had the decision annulled. The *Cronica Najerense* adds a fantastic sequel to this historic combat. A further test, it avers, was arranged : A bonfire was lit in the square and the two missals thrown into it, whereupon the Toledan book was seen to leap from the flames ; the King, however, his anger roused, kicked it back into the fire, muttering as he did so the adage : " Alia van leyes do quieren reyes " (laws go whither kings wish).

National resistance to the change centred in Castile and, to add to the King's displeasure, at Burgos, as we have already seen. Determined to overcome it, Alphonso sought of the Pope that he send Cardinal Richard to Spain as his Legate. And, in short, it was not long after the Cardinal's arrival in 1078 that, notwithstanding the death of Queen Inez on June 7, the new rite began to spread throughout Leon and Castile. The record of the supersession in the Castilian chronicles of 1078, " intravit romana lex in Hispania ", is laconic in the extreme ; and yet it refers to one of the gravest crises in the life of the nation, for with the liturgy went much of the old Hispanic tradition. As for the nationalists, the bitterness of their defeat was intensified by the derision of the Pope, who would persist in qualifying the Spanish Church as " that fraudulent superstition of Toledo 'V So far as Gregory V I I was concerned, victory was essential to the realization of the idea of Catholic universality that inspired the ecclesiastical renaissance of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Admirable as were his aims, however, he did not hesitate to resort to the most extreme methods to achieve them.

[1] **Bull addressed to the Bishop of Jaca. See Fr. Ramon de Huesca, *Teatro de las Iglesias de Aragon,* V, 1792, p. 406.**

Reform of the Clergy—the Cluniac Monks,

Gregory's other valiant efforts, in the way of reforming the ecclesiastical customs, did not meet with the same formidable obstacles in Spain as they did abroad. Neither the simoniacs nor the concubinary clergy, who, in the interests of their sons, sought to make of the priesthood a Levitic caste, were so firmly and arrogantly entrenched in Spain as they were in Lombardy, Germany or France, where they fought the innovations tooth and nail. Indeed, Muiio, Bishop of Oca, who had been excommunicated in 1074 and was one of the few simoniacs remaining in Spain, made no delay in submitting to the will of the Pope. That the married clergy, whose sons were excluded by the Roman order from ecclesiastical dignities, would add their protests to those of the nationalists, can, in the absence of any record, only be surmised. To fight for ideals rather than material gain has, however, always been at once a virtue and a failing of mass movements in Spain. The comparatively feeble resistance of the clergy is further accounted for by the fact that the main instruments the Pope used to effect this reform, as also that of the liturgy, were the Benedictine monks of Cluny, who, ever since Sancho el Mayor fifty years before, had placed several monasteries in Aragon, Navarre and Castile under their observance, had been held in esteem throughout the Peninsula. Ferdinand I of Castile, the son of Sancho el Mayor, made Cluny a yearly grant of 1,000 *mithkahy* and payment of double this amount was undertaken by Ferdinand's own son, Alphonso VI, who was a particular friend of St. Hugh, the Abbot, and gave other handsome donations to his Abbey. The example thus set by the kings was emulated by the more prominent among the lieges, still further enhancing the prestige of Cluny. There is no doubt the Abbey was a powerful ally in bringing the Papal plans to fruition,

Robert the Monk. Reaction in Favour of the Toledan Rite.

And yet it was in the very ranks of Cluny that a rebellion was to burst out against the dictates of Rome.

In the critical year of 1078 St. Hugh, at the request of Alphonso VI, had installed Robert the Monk as Abbot in the great Leonese monastery of Sahagun in an endeavour to reform it on Cluniac lines.[1] Robert, however, prompted either by a genuine sympathy for the persecuted Visigothic tradition or, it may have been, by an ambition to become the head of the Spanish Church, availed himself of his authority to foster the resistance of the national clergy. A consummate courtier, he had won the complete favour of the King, and also, by persuading Alphonso to double the annuity paid to Cluny, the gratitude of his superior, St. Hugh, so that he could well afford to ignore the discontent of the monks of Sahagun over his appointment and the many complaints that began to be made about him. These complaints Alphonso forestalled by writing to St. Hugh (towards the end of 1078 ?), entreating him on no account ever to deprive him of Robert's edifying company and counsel and significantly reminding him that it was at Robert's suggestion that he had doubled his annual gift to Cluny ; the whole kingdom, he explained, had been perturbed by the recent introduction of the Roman rite, and he begged St. Hugh to urge the Pope to send a Cardinal with powers to revise the Toledan service instead of rejecting it *in toto.*

Gregory VII, his apprehensions lulled by his late success, did not trouble to send Cardinal Richard on his second mission to Spain until October 15, 1079. The letter he entrusted to him for Alphonso, the " glorious King of the Spains ", contained, though expressed in a

[1] Escalona, *Historia del monasterio de Sahagun,* 1782, pp. 299a and 475.

new form, the old mistaken and offensive historical notions advanced by Rome in justification of her interference : Not only the Kings, but the whole of the people of Spain, had lived in ignorance of the truth and justice of God until now, when Alphonso had submitted to the Papal will ; and, therefore, he is exhorted to continue the good work and give heed to the advice of the Cardinal, who, to fire his zeal, would present to him a small golden key with a relic of the chains of St. Peter. The Legate broke his journey at Marseilles, to take possession of the important Cluniac Abbey of St. Victor, and did not reach Spain till early in 1080, when he found that the situation had worsened considerably.

Queen Constance and the King's Paramour.

Alphonso had just married the widow of the Count of Chalon-sur-Saone, a granddaughter of Robert I I , the Pious, of France, and younger daughter of the aged Duke of Burgundy. The new Queen, Constance, came from Tournus, near Cluny, and the marriage was brought about by the Abbot of Tournus, a fact that is significant of the influence the French monks wielded over Alphonso.

It must have been towards the end of 1079 that Constance arrived in Castile. In her suite were two personages, the one a beautiful lady and the other, a monk, whose figures stand out through the mist of time. It so happened that the lady, a kinswoman of the bride's, found greater favour in the eyes of the bridegroom than the bride herself, with the result that her beauty and charm served to cast a shadow over the royal honeymoon and thereby caused grave annoyance to both the Legate and the Pope. The monk acted as secretary to the new Queen and was a pedant who, to enhance the prestige of the French ecclesiastical emigrants, was given to exaggerating the isolation of Spain, cut off as it was by the Pyrenees and, itself divided in religious practice,

deprived of all Apostolic doctrine from Rome. It was thus he explained the situation in a letter, addressed by Constance, " Hispaniae Regina ", to Adelelmus, calling upon him to come and by his miracles save Spain which otherwise would be lost. This Adelelmus, or Lesmes, was a pious recluse of humble origin who had resigned the abbacy of Chaise-Dieu, in the Clermont diocese, and now came on his ass to perform miracles before the King. Alphonso gave him the chapel of San Juan and an inn at the eastern gate of Burgos, so that he might help pilgrims on their way to Santiago. From which it will be seen that Adelelmus was a very different type from Santo Domingo de la Calzada, the ingenious maker of the Pilgrims' Way.

The great strength of these foreign monks lay in the fact that they stood for Catholicism and firmly upheld the Roman policy of centralism. The reorganization of the Church, as contemplated by Rome, required among the clergy a universal loyalty, free from any nationalist taint, whether of feudal origin, as in France and Germany, or traditional, as in Spain. To attain this end in Spain, where the problem of lay investitures was practically unknown,[1] the Pope resolved to make a clean sweep of the prelates, who were all more or less affected by nationalism, and at the same time discredit the Toledan rite once and for all.

The task of stamping out the nationalist spirit in Spain was entrusted to the Cluniac monks who, once they had insinuated themselves into the monasteries, soon rose to episcopal rank. Early in 1080, Queen Constance had in her suite another monk from Cluny, one Bernard of Perigord, who soon found himself in a position to appoint French monks to many of the Spanish bishoprics. Bernard was a man of the world who had taken the monastic vows after a stormy youth, spent

[1] A. Fliche, *Saint Gregoire*, Paris, 1920, p. 84.

firstly as a man of letters and then as a knight. On intimate terms with the Queen, he had on occasion gone the length of thwarting the policy of the King himself; further, he was a friend of the Cid and subsequently placed at his disposal the services of one of the many French clerics he brought into Spain. Bernard and the Cid may thus be regarded as forming the nucleus of a party favourably disposed to the Queen at a time when the King's mistress was being supported by a group headed by the crafty Abbot, Robert. The scandal in the royal household resulted in a division among the courtiers, who grouped themselves each according to his moral calibre. And it was then that the recently wedded Queen, her womanly pride mortified by the slight put upon her by the King, turned to the Campeador, who was shortly to incur the bitter enmity of the egoistical Alphonso and had already openly fallen foul of the King's favourite, Garcia Ordonez. From then on Constance was to be a ready mediator between the arbitrary monarch and his self-willed vassal.

Struggle between the King and the Legate.

By the time the Cardinal-Legate reached Spain, the Queen's rival had entirely ousted her from her husband's affections, and the lovers were being encouraged in their liaison by the Abbot Robert, who had promised to get the marriage with Constance annulled.[1] The course of events gave fresh hopes to the nationalist clergy, who foresaw that they would be able to count, not only on the authority of the Cluniac Abbot of Sahagun, but also on the fickle and formerly hostile monarch. Meanwhile, the most alarming news was being received by the Pope : 100,000 souls whom Rome had guided to the " way of truth " had,—he was informed,—once again been led astray by an evil Cluniac.

[1] F. Fita, *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, XLIX, p. 329.

As it happened, Alphonso hesitated to oppose Cardinal Richard. A Legate of Gregory VII, as may be seen from the history of contemporary France, Germany and Poland, was no mean adversary; and besides, had he not been expressly enjoined in 1077 to obey the Legate as though he were the Pope himself or even St. Peter in person? The King was fully aware of the situation and accordingly yielded. In April or May of 1080 the Legate presided over a Council at Burgos, at which the adoption of the Roman rite, as also the election of Bernard as Abbot of Sahagun, in place of Robert, was confirmed. This Council was attended by thirteen bishops from all parts of Alphonso's domains, the whole royal family, and a large number of nobles, including the Castilian counts, Gonzalo Salvadorez and Garcia Ordonez, and the Leonese counts, Pedro Ansurez of Carrion and Rodrigo Diaz of Oviedo, a brother of Jimena. The Cid was also present, having but recently returned from Seville, where, as will be seen, he had humiliated Garcia Ordofiez.

In spite of the satisfaction thus given publicly to the Pope, however, the resistance of the nationalists was no spent force. Robert, supported by several Cluniacs, openly declared against the Legate, and intrigues induced by the ritual question again became rife in the royal palace. Alphonso was loath to lose the support of the only churchman who was prepared to open a door to the consummation of his adulterous love; and the upshot was that, when Cardinal Richard intervened on behalf of the Roman rite and Queen Constance, the King gave rein to his smouldering passion and grossly insulted the Legate from Rome.

Complete Triumph of Gregory VII.

On being apprised by the Cardinal of the defection of the King and Cluny, the Pope hastened to interpose.



BISHOPS AND ABBOTS AT THE COUNCIL OF JACA IX 1063
(Archives of Huesca Cathedral)

Gregory by this time had reached the height of his ambition in so far as the establishment of papal supremacy was concerned ; he had just excommunicated Henry IV (March, 1080) and released the Emperor's subjects from their oath of allegiance ; and, although in retaliation the Assembly at Brixen (June 25) deposed him and elected the Archbishop of Ravenna Antipope, Gregory showed that his unbending will would have to be broken before it could be deflected from its course. Determined to impose discipline and morality upon clergy and laity alike, he despatched a communication, couched in no measured terms, to the Abbot Hugh of Cluny on June 27, and enclosed a similar letter for the King of Spain.

In this letter, following a tribute to the obedience and Christian virtue shown by Alphonso, which till then had shone forth in the West like a sun, to the intense gratification of the Church, he tells of his sorrow at hearing that the King has been led astray by an abandoned woman and the perfidious monk Robert and calls upon Alphonso to end his incestuous intrigue with the blood relation of his wife, otherwise he will be compelled to unsheathe the sword of St. Peter against him.

The threat implied in the reference to this apostolic sword is made clear in the communication addressed to the Abbot. After ordering him to recall the Cluniac monks scattered throughout Spain and to have Robert confined in Cluny, the Pope charges St. Hugh to write to the King, exacting of him humble and reverent atonement for his offence to the Legate ; should, he goes on, the King not mend his ways, he will be excommunicated and his vassals released from their oath of allegiance ; and, should these vassals choose to ignore the excommunication, then he, the Pope himself, will hasten to Spain to chastize the King as an enemy of the Christian faith.

In thus threatening the King and the Spanish people,

Gregory V I I was over-estimating his power. No doubt he was relying on the support of the Normans, Italians, and Saracens under Robert Guiscard of Sicily ; but it so happened that, when shortly afterwards he announced to all the Faithful his intention of marching upon the Antipopeat Ravenna with the aid of Robert Guiscardand the other Norman princes, he found that Guiscard was unwilling to help him and learned that Henry IV was about to cross the Alps to do battle for the Antipope.

But for all that, Alphonso, lacking Gregory's strength of character, was quite unable to withstand the Papal dictates. He was not a fighting rebel like Philip I of France or Henry IV of Germany, nor had he the calm resolution of William the Conqueror. Capitulating, he either renounced his paramour or at least ceased to give cause for scandal by showing his affections in public ; and the Pope received no further complaints about him. As for the Spanish clergy, their resistance to Apostolic dominion lacked the strong incentives behind the similar movements in Germany and Lombardy.

The Pope's letter in 1081 to Alphonso, " glorioso regi Hispaniae ", denotes the end of the struggle. In this letter Gregory declares his satisfaction at the adoption of the Roman rite throughout the kingdom ; he praises Alphonso 's modesty and his virtue, so rarely compatible with regal power. For an answer to his request concerning Queen Constance, Gregory refers him to the Legate Richard and Bishop Simeon (or Jimeno) of Burgos and ends by thanking him for his splendid present, which is worthy both of the royal giver and of St. Peter, the recipient.

The National Tradition Subdued.

The national protest having been stifled as a consequence of Alphonso's submission, the Legate Richard in the years that immediately followed devoted himself

to consolidating the Papal position throughout Spain. Now that the Mozarab liturgy had been trodden under foot, there was no danger in allowing it to be recognized as pure and Catholic and to linger on as a relic at certain altars in the country. But actually that liturgy was dead, and with it had gone the whole of the old Spanish tradition. From those centres of culture, the monasteries and the churches, the Cluniac monks exerted all their influence to assimilate the spiritual life of Spain with that of the rest of Europe. This idea of assimilation had developed gradually since the time of Ferdinand I when the Spanish aversion to the use of images began to give way to the general custom of the Church. And now, to crown the triumph of modernism, came the abandonment of the national handwriting.

Spain had formerly used characters derived from the cursive Roman letters and called, like the liturgy, Toledan or Visigothic. The writing was similar to that of other countries, e.g. the Lombard of Italy or the curial script of the eleventh century and part of the twelfth. These archaic forms of handwriting are distinguished by certain special formations : the *a,* in particular, is at times open at the top like the Latin *u* and at others like the Greek w, and the *t,* again, is formed with a dash curving to the left, which makes it resemble a written *a.* This was the handwriting the Cid learnt in the schools of Ferdinand I. The monks of Cluny, however, made it their endeavour to introduce the French handwriting into the monasteries and were aided in their task by the fact that the books of the Roman rite had all been written in France. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Great Council held at Leon in 1090 should have dealt a fresh blow at nationalism, when it decreed that for the sake of uniformity all liturgical books had to be written in French and not Toledan characters. Thenceforward many notaries also began to employ the new

letters, and the Toledan writing rapidly fell into disuse, to disappear altogether towards the middle of the twelfth century.

The great importance of this change will be readily understood. The old books became practically illegible. The whole literature of the eleventh century had either to be re-written or remain inaccessible to the men of the twelfth. And so a chasm was formed between the ancient learning and that of the period in question.

The *jongleurs* tell us nothing of the Cid's attitude towards this question of national tradition, for they were in no way concerned with it. But the probability is that he would oppose both the Roman claim to sovereignty over Spain and many of the other innovations of the time. And, indeed, this is borne out by the fact that he himself, not only adhered to the Toledan characters of his childhood, but also used them in his Chancery at Valencia, as did his wife after him. That the country's hero did not carry his nationalism to extremes, however, was made apparent when, as will be seen, at Valencia he lent his whole-hearted support to the Cluniac reformation and all the good works accomplished in its name.

PART III

THE CID BANISHED FROM CASTILE

CHAPTER VII

EXILE OF THE CID

i. THE CID IN DISGRACE WITH THE KING

Rodrigo as Ambassador at Seville.

IT is on June i, 1079, while the monk Robert is thus striving to rekindle the fire of nationalism, that the Cid appears on the scene, to confirm, along with Count Gonzalo Salvadorez and various ecclesiastics, a donation to Cardena. A few months later he is on his way to Seville to collect, as the ambassador of Alphonso, the tribute paid yearly by Motamid to the Leonese monarch as it had been paid by his father to Ferdinand I. Alphonso at the time had entered upon a series of campaigns against the Kings of Badajoz and Toledo but apparently had not availed himself of the services of the Cid otherwise than as a judge or an ambassador.

Rodrigo arrived at Seville at an inauspicious moment. Motamid, it appears, was being threatened by his enemy, Abdullah Mudaffar, the King of Granada. The feud between the two was of long standing and had its roots in racial hatred. The Beni Abbad of Seville, who were of Yemen origin and had come to Spain in 741, regarded the Zayris of Granada, who had been brought over by Al-Mansur from Barbary, as upstarts. Both the father and the grandfather of Motamid had expelled the Berbers from Seville and those other cities where Al-Mansur had established them, and nourished a still greater enmity towards the Zayris. The hatred between the two races

was intensified by the difference in cultural standards that existed between them. The mother tongue of the Zayris was Berber, so that, having but little knowledge of literary Arabic, they had reaped practically no benefit from Islamic civilization ; the fact of the matter is that neither scholars nor minstrels were received with open arms at the Alhambra. Motamid of Seville, on the other hand, was a poet of the first water and, ever lavish of his rewards, had soon found himself surrounded by a brilliant literary court. His Prime Minister was also a poet; and his favourite, the Sultana Romaiquia, had herself become famous through the verses she had extemporized at the festivals held on the banks of the Guadalquivir and with which she had won the prince's heart, though now she was better known for her vehement and wanton caprices which sorely tried the patience even of her tender-hearted, generous and infatuated husband.

The rival Kingdoms of Seville and Granada had originally been of equal size and power, but as time went on the inferiority of the Zayris became more and more apparent. Abdullah, who was only a minor when he succeeded to the throne of Granada in 1073, had lost Malaga to his elder brother and Jaen to Motamid (about 1074), and now retained only the territory around his capital, whereas Motamid, having annexed Cordova in 1070 and Murcia in 1078, was at this moment in possession of the richest Moorish kingdom in Spain. The predominance of the ancient Andalusian nobility over the illiterate Berber intruders had thus been definitely established.

The young Abdullah now sought revenge and appeared at the head of a force on the Sevillian frontier. Aware of his own impotence, he had enlisted the aid of Christian mercenaries led by four Castilian noblemen : Count Garcia Ordonez of Najera, the knight of Alava, Fortun Sanchez and his younger brother Lope, and Diego Perez.

The presence of King Alphonso's vassals in the Granadan army is not explained. As Motamid, however, had paid a high price for the services of Ramon Tow-head, Count of Barcelona, it is not unlikely that Alphonso had grown apprehensive of the Sevillian monarch's expanding power and was thus endeavouring merely to redress the balance. Be that as it may, the Castilian auxiliaries were ill-advised enough to launch their attack on Motamid just as he was about to pay his tribute to the Emperor. Naturally the Cid, who had been entrusted with the collection of the tribute, considered it his duty to defend the tributary and apprised the King of Granada and the Castilian nobles accordingly. Both King and nobles, however, were too confident in their strength to give heed to the warning and, advancing against Motamid, pillaged his territory right up to the gates of the frontier fortress of Cabra.

Encounter between the Cid and Garcia Ordonez.

Rodrigo, whom Alphonso had for seven years kept in enforced idleness, saw that the hour he had awaited had come at last. Placing himself at the head of the small force he had brought as an escort, he rushed to repel the invaders and met them in a long and bitterly contested battle. Abdullah's forces, Moorish and Christian alike, suffered the heaviest losses and ultimately fled in disorder, leaving Garcia Ordoflez, Diego Perez, Lope Sanchez, and many other noblemen prisoners in the enemy's hands.

The old poem on the Cid no doubt overcolours its version of the incident, when it alleges that the victor tore a tuft of hair out of the beard of Garda Ordonez, for this was an insult that the law decreed gave grounds for perpetual enmity. As a matter of fact, his capture was in itself insult enough to sting the Count to the quick. History merely tells us that the prisoners were

kept in captivity for three days, as a proof that the victory was conclusive, and were then released.[1] Their tents and spoils, however, remained with the victor. This success of a handful of men over so imposing a force brought the Cid enduring fame. Arab historians referred to it as " extraordinary ", and the Christian *jongleurs* and chroniclers, determined to commemorate for all time the place of his defeat, bestowed upon Garcia Ordoftez the humiliating nickname of Don Garcia " de Cabra ". Although of noble lineage and still more nobly connected by marriage, his complete lack of nobility, so far as his character was concerned, invited his being thus dubbed with a disrespectful sobriquet. To the Moors he was known as " Wry Mouth ".

The Cid re-entered Seville in triumph, received from Motamid the tribute and many presents for King Alphonso, and returned to Castile covered with glory. In May, 1080, as already indicated, both he and Garcia Ordonez attended the Council of Burgos, at which the question of the Roman rite was under discussion.

Although the humiliation of Garcia Ordonez may have given great satisfaction to the people of Burgos, it was displeasing to the King, who had always been well disposed to the Count. To complicate matters still further, the Cid's triumph had aroused the envy, not only of outsiders and the partisans of Ordonez, but even of his own kinsfolk. According to the *Poem*, though not the *Historia Roderici*, many false charges against him were made to the monarch, one of which was to the effect that he had withheld the larger portion of the Moorish King's tribute. It may have been that some actual occurrence had been misconstrued to give colour to such accusations. Motamid might easily have bestowed enviable gifts upon the Cid ; or, although it is less likely,

[1] Southey, *The Chronicle of the Cid*, London, 1808, p. 94, refers to this custom.

he might have deceived him, as he attempted to do in 1082, by paying his tribute in debased coin. But that is mere conjecture. What we do know is that there began to grow in Alphonso's mind a feeling of distrust in the Cid, which, stimulated shortly by yet another grievance, was to develop into a virulent antipathy that he could no longer conceal.

The Toledan War. Death-agony of the First Taifa Kingdom.

Mamun, the generous King of Toledo and Valencia who had befriended Alphonso when he was dethroned, captured Cordova from the King of Seville in February, 1075, but died from poisoning five months after establishing himself in the city. His retainers carried the body back to Toledo and buried it near the great Mosque there. Mamun's death marked the end of the power and glory of that great stronghold of Islam. For the Taifa kingdoms depended for their existence on the personal talents of their rulers; and, when he died, the hegemony of the Moorish kingdoms passed into the hands of Motamid of Seville.

Mamun's son Ishmael survived him but a few months and was succeeded at Toledo by the grandson, Yahya, who as sovereign adopted the title of Al-Kadir. Yahya was a poor-spirited, incompetent youth who, brought up in the harem, remained all his life under the influence of women and slaves. A feeble ruler, he was scornful and cruel towards his subjects and altogether was incapable of retaining for long the dominion his grandfather had bequeathed him.[1]

Mamun had strongly recommended him to give heed to the advice of his minister, Ibn al-Hadidi, who had subdued so many factions in the city. But, in spite of this, Al-Kadir's first thought was to set free the minister's

[1] Cf. R. Menendez Pidal, *Bol. Acad. Hist,* 1932.

enemies and have them brought secretly to his palace. When Ibn al-Hadidi entered the royal apartments and was suddenly confronted with his implacable foes, he realized that he was lost; he darted forward to clutch the monarch's tunic in an appeal for mercy, but fell stabbed to death (on August 26, 1075). Thus the beginning of Al-Kadir's reign is darkened by a murder as tragic as the one that marked its end ; for, many years afterwards, in Valencia the minister's family were to wreak their vengeance and in a way that was to vitally affect the Cid.

The minister's death was the signal for a general uproar in the city and the outbreak of rebellion and war throughout the land. The governor of Valencia, Ibn Abd-el-Aziz, at once declared his independence. Motamid of Seville took possession of Cordova (1076-1077) and the parts of Toledo bordering on his territory, whilst Moktadir of Saragossa and Sancho Ramirez of Aragon invaded the kingdom on the east. In his extremity the incapable successor of Mamun turned to Alphonso, just as later he was to seek protection from the Cid.

To subdue the rebels in Al-Kadir's kingdom, Alphonso began in 1079 a series of campaigns in Toledan territory, which were to last six years. At the time he was also at war with Omar Motawakkil, King of Badajoz, who had stubbornly refused to pay to the King of Leon the tribute both his father and brother had paid. " It was only yesterday ", he had the effrontery to write to the Christian Emperor, " that your grandfather (he is alluding to Vermudo II of Leon) was paying a yearly tribute to Al-Mansur, and he even sent his daughter as an offering. I, therefore, trust in God, Who will grant the Faithful either victory, or martyrdom and paradise." As it happened, Motawakkil gained neither victory nor paradise, but suffered a crushing defeat and lost Coria

(October, 1079). This was the first Christian conquest in the Tagus basin. The time-honoured frontier began to crumble, and so great was the alarm of Motawakkil that he actually implored help from the Almoravide Emperor of Africa.

This hope of Almoravide intervention may have encouraged the uncompromising party in Toledo to continue the rebellion against King Al-Kadir, in opposition to what may be called the Mudejar or tributary party, which looked upon the payment of tribute to the Christians as the safest guarantee of peace and order in Moslem Spain. To Al-Kadir's fresh appeals for aid Alphonso replied with a demand for the immediate payment of a huge sum of money, to meet which Al-Kadir was driven to convoking his magnates and threatening them with the seizure of their women and children as hostages if they did not supply him with the necessary means. The conference ended in a storm of clamour and protest, and the magnates, considering themselves freed from their allegiance, turned for help to the King of Badajoz.

Denied Alphonso's immediate protection, Al-Kadir felt his position so insecure that one night he fled in secret from the palace, accompanied only by a few retainers whose own interests were completely wrapped up in his cause. The Sultana and her daughter were left to follow as best they could, and they covered over two parasangs on foot before mounts were placed at their disposal. The fugitive monarch meantime sought refuge in the estates of his forefathers, the Beni Dsi-l-Nun, in the eastern part of his kingdom. When the magnates waited upon the King the following morning, they found that the royal family had gone and that the palace was being plundered by the household. It was then that the intransigent party, taking advantage of the chaos, sent a deputation to Badajoz to offer the

throne to Motawakkil, who made his entry into the city in June, 1080.

Meanwhile Al-Kadir, having been refused admission to Huete, eventually found a refuge at Cuenca, the home of his faithful followers, the Beni al-Faraj. Thence, having recovered from his panic, he despatched another urgent appeal for protection to Alphonso, at the same time pointing out that, although he had no material inducement to offer, it behoved Alphonso to remember the generous treatment he had received at the hands of Mamun during his exile at Toledo. Alphonso was not insensible either to his moral obligation or, incidentally, to the possibility of turning to account the other's plight. Hastening to Cuenca, he undertook to drive out Motawakkil on condition that Toledo should be ceded to him when he had installed Al-Kadir in Valencia, which had rebelled five years previously ; that Al-Kadir should defray the whole cost of the war out of the wealth he still possessed in Toledo ; and finally, that he, Alphonso, should hold in pledge the castles of Zorita and Canturia in the east and west of the Toledan Kingdom. Al-Kadir agreed to all the conditions, whereupon Alphonso, forthwith occupying the two castles, began operations by devastating the lands around the capital.

He met with but feeble resistance. Motawakkil, confident in the defences of the city, had abandoned himself to a life of revelry in Mamun's stately palaces, where, in the words of Ibn Bassam, " his light was extinguished like a lamp surcharged with oil ". For two months the orgy had continued before he suddenly awoke to the danger of his position, to flee in his turn from those ill-fated palaces, back to his kingdom of Badajoz (April, 1081).

Meanwhile Alphonso, accompanied by Al-Kadir, had arrived at the city, and the Mudejar party met with no opposition when they opened the gates to him (May,

1081). The time for payment having now arrived, Al-Kadir affected to offer the Emperor all the valuables in his possession, an adjustment that by no means satisfied Alphonso, who insisted that the Moor should produce all the gems he had inherited from Mamun. Finding even these insufficient to meet his demand (for the reason, no doubt, that Al-Kadir was concealing a large number, which the Cid found later at Valencia), Alphonso thereupon demanded the cession of yet another castle, that of Canales, having garrisoned which he returned to Castile laden with booty.

By the occupation of those castles Alphonso consolidated his dominion over the territory of Toledo, of which he already regarded himself as the overlord. The re-enthronement of Al-Kadir was but a temporary expedient. The Emperor's ulterior object was to revive the majesty of the Gothic Kingdom of Toledo, and to this end he was already in treaty with the Pope for the restoration in the ancient Visigothic capital of the archiepiscopal dignity which had lapsed away in Spain.

The intransigent party in Toledo, however, bitterly resenting the humiliating terms accepted by Al-Kadir, conspired on several occasions to kill him ; but, as Ibn Bassam records, God preserved his life. The more rebellious among the Toledans now fled and invoked the help of the King of Saragossa, who, as Motamid of Seville had done, again invaded Toledan territory. Sorely harassed by the continual strife within their gates and now threatened with war from without, the Mudejar party in desperation surreptitiously despatched a message to Alphonso professing their willingness to accept him as master of Toledo, as Al-Kadir himself-had offered, but only after they had simulated a resistance stout enough to convince the intransigent party of their impotence and at the same time save their own faces in the eyes of the Moslem world for having to surrender a

fortress whose very position had deservedly gained for it the epithet of " impregnable ". On this understanding, they implored the Emperor again to lay siege to the capital. Here it may be stated that extraordinary pacts of this kind, whereby the honour of Moslem arms was satisfied, were not infrequently concluded by the Mudejar parties in Spain, as witness also the treaty between the Governor of Juballa and the Cid in 1092. Alphonso was by no means loath to enter into the scheme, and, gathering his forces from all parts of his kingdom, he marched against Toledo, destroying the crops and laying waste the country as he went (midsummer of **1081).**

Triumph of the Cid's Enemies.

It was during either this campaign or, as is quite possible, the earlier one in April-May, 1081, when Alphonso drove Motawakkil out of Toledo, that the Cid remained on a sick-bed in Castile, where he received the intelligence that the Moors had seized the opportunity to attack the castle of Gormaz, the most important Spanish fortress on the Douro, and make off with considerable booty. Infuriated by the news, the Cid immediately mustered his followers and led them on a raid into the Kingdom of Toledo, pillaging the land and capturing no less than 7,000 prisoners both men and women as well as a great number of cattle and other spoil.

This second success of the Cid was also ill received by the courtiers, who represented to Alphonso that Rodrigo's sole object in making the raid was to ensure that the King and all who were warring with him in Moorish territory would be slain at the hands of the outraged Saracens.

This is the version the *Historia Roderici* gives us ; and in fact, although he was at war with the Kingdom of

Toledo, Alphonso was only fighting against Al-Kadir's enemies ; part of the kingdom, especially the country of the Beni Dsi-1-Nun in the east, was friendly, as was the Tajufia valley, where Mamun had given Alphonso the towns of Brihuega, Olmos and Canales, which the Emperor used for the care of the wounded during his Toledan campaign. It may have been that the Cid, in failing to distinguish between rebel areas and those loyal to Al-Kadir, thus endangered relations with the friendly Moors and gave the courtiers grounds for the charges formulated against him.

But, really, it mattered little whether the charges were well founded or not. The *Historia Roderici* maintains that envy was the sole reason for the exile and adds that Rodrigo was envied even by some of his own relations. These dissemblers strengthened the hands of his open enemies, the noblemen that he had humbled at Cabra. And the bitterest was the one he had humiliated most of all, Garcia Ordofiez, who was, according to the *Poem,* " an enemy who ever sought to do harm to My Cid ". The Count of Najera, moreover, had powerful kinsmen : his brother Rodrigo, who was then King's ensign, and Alvar Diaz, his brother-in-law, who is mentioned in the *Poem* as being particularly hostile. And over and above these were his old enemies, the Beni-Gomez. In brief, the whole Court was against Rodrigo, and his enemies triumphed.

Envy wielded an extraordinary power in the society of the time. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were occasions when those who had the ear of the King acquired a political ascendancy that seems incredible ; the so-called " mestureros ", or slanderers, were a public calamity when a weak or mistrustful monarch was on the throne. They flourished especially at the Court of Leon, and it is possible that Alphonso encouraged them in Castile. Anyhow, both now and later on, the

Cid, in the words of the *Poem,* was an eminent victim of lying tongues.

The monarch now paid heed to the envious suggestions of the courtiers, for he himself was afflicted with the same vice—" tactus zelo cordis ", as the *Carmen Roderici* puts it. Alphonso was as unwilling to give the Cid an important post in the war against Toledo as he had been in the campaign of La Rioja, for he was afraid lest all the credit for the victory should be attributed to Ruy Diaz, as it had been by both the Hebrew and Latin chroniclers in the times of King Sancho. What need had he of vassals with initiative ? The answer is to be found in the fact that, *unjustly* moved to anger, as the *Historia Roderici* points out, he sent the Campeador into exile for the initiative he had taken against the Toledan invaders.

2. THE CID GOES INTO EXILE

The Exile's Retinue.

According to Germanic law, the bond of vassalage could be broken at will by either party ; that is to say, the vassal could leave the service of his lord, or the King could withdraw his affection and favour from the vassal and, depriving him of the posts and property he had bestowed upon him, banish him from the kingdom.[1]

Exile was a punishment that was confined to the nobility and seldom involved confiscation, the delinquent, with his hereditaments, remaining a subject of the King who banished him. Only the personal bond of vassalage had been broken. Nevertheless, it was attended by serious complications for the exile, for he still had to support his own vassals, who were bound to him by personal ties far stronger than those that bound them, as subjects, to the King. According to the *Fuero Viejo*

[1] Schroder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschtchte,* 1887, P- 118.

de Costilla, it was their duty to accompany their liege into exile and gain for him either a livelihood or the protection of some overlord until such time as the King should consent again to receive him at Court.[1]

The Cid's vassals were numerous enough to make the great raid that had aroused the King's wrath. They were known as his *mesnada,* or retinue.

The *mesnada* was composed, firstly, of those whom the lord had brought up and whom, after knighting, he married and established ; their duties of fealty were more stringent than those of the other vassals. In the *mesnada* of Vivar for instance was one Mufio Gustioz, who had been brought up in the Cid's retinue and married to Dona Jimena's sister, and in the *Poem* there is mention of many others on a similar footing. Next came the kinsfolk, who, since Germanic times, had for the most part represented the fighting strength of the company. In the Cid's *mesnada* we know of four nephews : Alvar Alvarez ; the famous Alvar Haftez, who at the time of the banishment had already won recognition at the royal Court and was on the threshold of a brilliant career on his own account; Felez Muiloz ; and Pedro Vermudez, with the impediment in his speech, who became the hero's ensign in the campaigns waged in exile.[2]

The *mesnada* thus served the lord as a private council in times of peace and as a council of war when the occasion arose. The *Poem* avers that the Cid submitted all plans for raids and battles to his followers for approval: " Hearken, mesnadas . . ." " Tell me, my knights, what have ye mind to do ? "

The lord of the *mesnada* also enrolled in his service friends and such other knights as might kiss his hand in token of their desire for his protection and pay.

[1] *Fuero Viejo,* I and IV, 2. *Partidas,* IV, 25, 10.
[2] R. Menendez Pidal, *Mio Cid,* pp. 438, 686 and 794.

Among those who joined the Cid in this manner the most important mentioned in the *Poem* was Alvar Salvadorez, a brother of Gonzalo Count of Lara but, unlike the Count, no opportunist; for, though he frequently figures as a high official in the reign of Sancho II, he is seldom referred to in the official documents of Alphonso VI. The probability is that, as an old friend of the hero's who had witnessed his marriage settlement, he did actually go into exile with the Cid.

Thus, when the Cid is forced to leave his home to " win his bread " in a strange country, his *mesnadas* go with him, to share his exile and struggle for existence. One and all they did their duty by him as his vassals.

The " Jongleurs' " Version of the Farewell to Castile.

The old poem, revealing a much keener perception of the vicissitudes in the life of the Cid than the *Historia Roderici,* gives us a pathetic picture of the misfortune that befell the hero's home after he went into exile.

He sets out from Vivar with his followers, leaving his castles deserted and dismantled ; the lockless doors stand open ; the cupboards have been stripped and the falcons have flown away. He reaches Burgos but can obtain neither food nor shelter, for the incensed monarch has forbidden the inhabitants to provide them, under pain of confiscation of their goods and blinding—a common penalty for those who disobeyed the orders of the King.

No one dare receive him, and he is compelled to bivouac on the shingle of the River Arlanzon, as if he were in a desert region. Only the worthy Burgalese knight, Martin Antolinez, in defiance of the King, supplies him and his followers with bread and wine and accompanies him into exile. Nor did this " fiery " lance neglect to negotiate a loan for him with some Jews of Burgos ; for the Cid, far from having purloined any part of Motamid's tribute to the King, as his calumniators

maintained, was destitute of any resources whatever. Having struck camp, from the river bank he looks up at the castle-crowned city, where the Romanesque cathedral of Santa Maria, towering above the house-tops, seems to bid him a solemn farewell. He turns his steed towards the distant church, raises his right hand above his head, and crosses himself, saying, " I leave Castile, for I have vexed the King. Whether I shall ever return to it, I know not. Help me, O glorious Virgin, in my exile and I will load thine altars with rich gifts and cause a thousand masses to be sung in thy praise ".

At nightfall the party spurred on to San Pedro de Cardefia, where the wife and children of the Cid had taken refuge in the loneliness of exile. Dawn was breaking when they arrived ; the cocks were crowing ; and monks were offering up their orisons by the flickering light of candles within the church. Doila Jimena, with five of her ladies, was there too, praying for her husband's welfare ; but now the whole party rose and went out to greet the Cid. With Dona Jimena were the three children, Diego, Cristina and Maria, with their nurses ; the eldest child being but six years of age, and the youngest still an infant in arms. Falling on her knees before the Cid and kissing his hands, Dofta Jimena cried : " Good, my lord ! In a fortunate hour thou wast born. Lying tongues have driven thee forth. Too well I perceive that the hour has come when we must be parted in life as if by death." The Cid tenderly embraced her and the children, uttering his dearest wish, " Please God I may yet see my daughters wedded and all of you happy once again."

The bells of Cardefia crashed out, criers announced throughout Castile the departure of the Cid and warned all who wished to follow him to gather at the bridge over the Arlanzon. Some abandoned the lands and honours conferred on them by the King; others left

homes and heritages to be confiscated. Altogether, 115 knights, chief among whom, no doubt, was Alvar Salvadorez, hastened to Cardefta to swear fealty to the Cid.

At the end of his nine days' grace, the Cid bade a sorrowful farewell to his wife and family. Bringing up the rear of the cavalcade, he cast many a lingering look behind him, whereupon Alvar Hanez strove to restore his spirits : " Where is thy manhood, O Cid ? In a happy hour wast thou born of woman. Let us go on our way, for all this sorrow shall yet be turned to joy. God, who gave us our souls, will not leave us unprotected." Others join them on their way. They leave Castile by the Sierra Miedes, on reaching which and within sight of the Moorish castle of Atienza, the Cid marshals and numbers his forces. Three hundred lances, all with their pennons flying, are now at his disposal.

On the Road to Exile.

The old poem tells of how the Cid fought his way along the Saragossan frontier, Friar Gil of Zamora adding a story of those difficult early days of exile, when the hero was beset by enemies on every side, in Saragossa, in Castile, and in Aragon.[1] One day as he was on the point of decamping, he learnt that his cook's wife had just given birth to a child. Heedless of the imminent danger of an attack, he refused to move his camp until the woman had passed the same period of convalescence as was usually accorded to one of gentle birth in similar circumstances. Thus, a lowly child, born in a hostile land, was treated with every consideration at the hands of the hero.

It is said of Jaime the Conqueror that on one occasion he refused to have his tent struck until the swallows nesting there had taught their young to fly. The kindly

[1] See the biography of the Cid published by G. Cirot in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XVI, 1914, p. 84.

act of the fortunate King finds a worthy parallel in the demonstration of fellowship with the humble so fearlessly given by the exiled knight. The story, though of late origin, is in harmony with the reference in the *Historia Roderici* to the Cid's custom of not striking tents even when threatened by the gravest danger. There may, therefore, be more than a grain of truth in the tale, which serves to explain how the hero was able to retain the fervent devotion of all who elected to follow him into exile.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EXILE AND THE EMPEROR

i. THE CID AT SARAGOSSA

Rodrigo at Barcelona.

IT was customary in those days for exiled Spanish knights to seek their livelihood in Moorish territory. The Cid, however, had no desire to remain there but decided to go on to Barcelona, which was then being governed by the two brothers, Count Ramon II, nicknamed " Tow-head/' and Count Berenguer II, eventually known as the " Fratricide " for murdering his brother about a year after the Cid's arrival. History reveals nothing of the life of the Cid at the Court of the two brothers, but it is easy to conjecture how he passed his time.

Rodrigo had gained his first experience of war at Graus, and that campaign, together with the capture of Saragossa and the Valencian expedition of Ferdinand I, had no doubt engrained in his mind the old ambition of Castile to assume the protectorship of the Eastern Moslem regions. This undertaking Alphonso had for the time being abandoned and was at present concentrating his energies upon exacting tribute from Seville, harrying Badajoz and Toledo, and intervening in Granada. The Cid, therefore, studiously avoided those regions ; for, as the *Poem* tells us, he had no wish to clash with his lord, the King. In the circumstances the illustrious exile had no alternative but look to the East for a refuge

and conceived the ambitious plan of pursuing on his own account the policy affecting Saragossa, as indicated in the will of Ferdinand I and adhered to by the late King Sancho but now discarded by Alphonso. Not only the Kingdom of Navarre and Aragon, but the Counts of the March as well, coveted Saragossa. As the Castilians and Barcelonese had for a century been the most persistent exploiters of the Taifa kingdoms, it would appear only natural to the Castilian Cid to seek an alliance with Barcelona in an attempt to exploit the Kingdom of Moktadir. Nevertheless, in going to Barcelona he was actuated to a large extent by his own vanity. His exploits, such as the combat with the Navarrese knight, the sieges of Saragossa and Zamora, the battles of Llantada, Golpejera and Cabra, had not brought him the fame he sought, especially beyond the confines of Castile. It is probable, indeed, that the Barcelonese potentates regarded him as a mere visionary and a braggart to boot.

Of the two Counts of Barcelona Berenguer was the more interested in such enterprise across the frontier. In 1073 Ramon had ceded to him the tribute that the King of Lerida had paid to their father. As Lerida now belonged to Saragossa, what need had Berenguer of a Castilian exile in his designs upon that territory? Far from the welcome he had expected, Rodrigo met with insufferable disdain. Upon the course the negotiations at Barcelona took the *Historia Roderici* is silent, but the old poem records that they were violently broken off, owing to some insult flung at the Cid by a nephew of Berenguer's. This in all probability is the true explanation of how the Cid came to leave the Counts' Court as an enemy, for the *jongleur* shows himself to be singularly well versed in the Cid's doings. Moreover, contemporary documents mention this nephew, and Arab chroniclers aver that in 1078 Motamid of Seville held a

nephew of Berenguer's as a hostage for the fulfilment of an agreement concerning the conquest of Murcia. This, in conjunction with other evidence to be discussed later, tends to confirm the testimony of the earlier *jongleurs.*

Finding it impossible to gain the support of the other Christian rulers, the Cid resolved to deal with the Moors by himself and forthwith entered into negotiation with the King of Saragossa. Little did Berenguer dream of the dire consequences his scornful rejection of the Cid was to bring upon him.

At the Court of the Beni Hud.

The Cid and his knights betook themselves to the court of the Beni Hud at Saragossa, that " white city " whose strong walls he had beleaguered some fourteen years before.

Moktadir ibn Hud, the Magnificent, had been reigning there since 1046 ; and it was he who gave his first name of Abu Jafar to the handsome Al-Jaferia Palace on the outskirts of the city. Himself a learned writer on philosophy, astronomy and mathematics, he lived there surrounded by sages, both Moslems and Jews. Learning, however, had in no whit tempered his political ambitions. He had for long coveted the paternal inheritance of his brother, Mudaffar, King of Lerida and Tortosa, both of which realms he managed to seize in 1079, imprisoning his brother in the castle of Rueda. He had already dethroned the kinglet of Denia in 1076 and annexed his territory. Thus, when he opened negotiations with the Cid, he was in possession of one of the largest Moorish kingdoms in Spain.

Nevertheless, Moktadir felt that his position was insecure and that he needed the support either of Christian soldiers or of some Christian prince. Formerly he had paid tribute to Ferdinand I and Sancho II and later,

about 1069, he had accepted the King of Navarre's protection. When the King was assassinated at Pefialen in 1076, however, he sheltered the murderer, the Infante Ramon, in Saragossa and thereafter refused to pay further tribute. At the same time, he was well aware that his kingdom would one day again be caught in the maelstrom of Christian ambition, coveted as it was by the Counts of the March, the King of Navarre and Aragon, and Alphonso of Leon. And so, driven to taking some protective measures and rather than rely on any of the neighbouring princes, he preferred to accept the more effective aid of the Cid, whose prowess he had witnessed when, as a lieutenant of Sancho II, Rodrigo had laid Saragossa under tribute.

Shortly after the Cid's arrival, however, Moktadir died (October, 1081), leaving the Kingdom of Saragossa to his elder son, Mutamin, and Lerida, Tortosa and Denia to the younger son, Al-Hajib Mundhir. By this disposition he showed all too plainly that not even his own experience had taught him the folly of adhering to custom and the fatal example set by his father, when he divided the kingdom so traitorously united under his own dominion by Moktadir himself. The seeds of fratricidal strife sown by the grandfather again bore fruit, and the rival heirs, egged on by the Christians, who had their own reasons for fomenting discord, were soon at war with one another.

Why the Cid was honoured in Saragossa.

Mutamin honoured Rodrigo exceedingly and, holding that the Cid, in the words of the *Historia Roderici*, " custodiebat ac protegebat regnum suum ",, took counsel with him in all affairs of the kingdom. A philosopher, like his father, and an unorthodox Moslem, Mutamin felt no scruples in entrusting his kingdom to the Campeador.

The political theory prevailing at this Moorish Court

is expounded by El Tortosi, whose account of the battle of Graus was quoted above ; he was living at Saragossa when the Cid was all-powerful there and asserts in his treatise *Siraj al-muluk* (" de regimine principum ") that the strength of a state varies directly as the number of its paid troops. To a thinker like Ibn Khaldun such a theory was unacceptable and only applied to dynasties in decline ; that it was ever formulated he explains by the fact that El Tortosi lived in Saragossa at a time when the Beni Hud, having long lost, with the whole Arab race, that sense of nationhood that alone can give greatness to a kingdom and victory to its armies, were utterly devoid of the public spirit essential to their independence. At the same time the Beni Hud and El Tortosi believed that battles were won by the few knights who were renowned for their bravery and that the army that possessed even one more famous warrior than its enemy must inevitably win.[1]

This explains Mutamin's glorification of the Cid. For the rest, he was merely maintaining the tradition of his forefathers with the difference that he used Castilian soldiers in Jieu of Navarrese and that the Cid was one of those leaders of renown who in the opinion of the Beni Hud decided the fortunes of war. The rise of Saragossa, due to the helping hand of the Cid, presented a new menace, to counter which Al-Hajib of Tortosa and Lerida invoked the aid of his traditional protectors, the Count of Barcelona and Sancho Ramirez of Navarre and Aragon. Both viewed with growing envy the position now held by the Cid and were already seeking ways and means to destroy him.

[1] **Ibn Khaldun,** *Prolegomenes,* Slane's transl., I, pp. 89 and 321. A Saragossan soldier who had fought at Alcoraz (1096), accounted to El Tortosi for that Moslem defeat by the fact that Pedro I had eight famous warriors on his side and Mostain II, only seven (see Dozy, *Recherches,* II, 1881, p. 247).

The Cid invades the Kingdom of Lerida.

Accordingly, when Sancho Ramirez learnt that Rodrigo intended to set out for Monzon, he swore again and again that the exile would never dare thus to violate the frontiers of his protege. But Sancho's oath merely strengthened the Cid in his resolve. Leaving Saragossa some time in the year 1082, he arrived at Peralta de Alcofea, a short day's ride from Monzon, where he encamped in full view of the armies of Al-Hajib and Sancho. On the following day, having come to an arrangement with the garrison, he entered Monzon under the very eyes of Sancho, who showed no inclination to stand in his way. Thereupon the Cid continued confidently eastwards and occupied Tamarite, where he had occasion again to bring into play that prompt resourcefulness that was so vital to a campaigner in the dangerous life of those days. Accompanied by only a dozen followers, he was surprised one day outside Tamarite by 150 knights of the King of Aragon, all of whom he routed, capturing seven. And these he astounded by his generosity no less than by his courage, for he not only set them free without ransom, but also restored their horses to them.

Penetrating still farther into the frontier territory, Rodrigo and Mutamin repaired and garrisoned the ancient castle of Almenar, lying only twelve or thirteen miles from Lerida. Realizing his danger, Al-Hajib hastily formed an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, Count William of Cerdana, the Count of Urgel's brother, and other lords from Besalu, Rosellon, Ampurdan, and even Carcassone, which then belonged to Barcelona. In other words, the whole of Catalonia, with the exception of Pallars, entered the coalition, so that, with additional help received from France, he was soon in a position to invest the castle of Almenar so closely that its defenders

ran short of water. The Cid, who had continued his conquests in Lerida, was staying at the time at Escarpe, at the confluence of the Segre and Cinca, the castle of which he had recently captured. Immediately he learned of the straits of the garrison at Almenar, he despatched urgent messages to Saragossa, which brought Mutamin in haste to Tamarite to join forces with the Campeador.

Berenguer of Barcelona taken Prisoner.

Mutamin's proposal was to attack the besiegers forthwith, but Rodrigo counselled a parley. " It would be better to pay your brother for the occupation of the castle, so that he may abandon the siege, than give battle to such overwhelming forces." As was his wont, Mutamin accepted Rodrigo's advice ; but Al-Hajib and his allies, confident of reconquering Almenar, scornfully rejected the proposal.

No sooner did he learn of the allies' refusal to make terms, than the Cid ordered his knights to prepare for battle. The contemporary *Carmen* describes how he himself was the first to don his unsurpassable coat of mail and gird on his sword, a masterpiece inlaid with gold ; to fasten on his shining silver-plated helmet with its electron diadem and grasp his strong-pointed ashen lance and gold-worked shield displaying in the middle a dragon in fierce attitude ; first to leap upon the priceless charger brought from Africa by a Saracen, that flew like the wind and leapt like a deer. So armed he was the peer of either Paris or Hector.

The Cid sallied forth from Tamarite and did not rest until he had sighted the enemy, when the deafening roar of battle soon filled the air. In the end Al-Hajib and his allies took to flight, leaving their whole camp in the hands of the Cid. Most of the fugitives were overtaken and put to the sword, and Berenguer, with many of his followers, was taken prisoner. The Campeador handed

over the captives to Mutamin, who kept them for a matter of five days in the castle of Tamarite and then set them at liberty.

The Cid exalted in Saragossa,

On his return in triumph to Saragossa with Mutamin, the Cid received a stirring welcome from the overjoyed inhabitants. Mutamin exalted Rodrigo above all his nobles, even the heir apparent; so that he, an exile, was treated as if he were the conqueror of the kingdom. The Moslem monarch also bestowed upon him sumptuous gifts of money and gold and silver plate in gratitude for the sense of security afforded by the stout mail and shields of the Cid's retainers. And, indeed, Rodrigo's stupendous victory over the famed Barcelonese warriors had shown that, as a leader second to none, he was well worthy of the generosity Mutamin lavished upon him.

Foreign Moslems also aided Mutamin, but they were mere adventurers. A striking example of these was the famous Portuguese Ibn Ammar, who rose from being an itinerant minstrel to become the intimate friend and chief minister of Motamid of Seville ; his arrogance, ingratitude, and baseness, however, led to his expulsion, whereupon he sought refuge in Saragossa. By means of treachery and a murder, Ibn Ammar succeeded in gaining the submission to Mutamin of a certain rebel castle, a success which he followed up with a similar attempt on Segura, in the far interior of Denia. Here he was hoist with his own petard and sold to Motamid, who avenged himself by putting him to death (1084).

The services of the Cid, however, differed from those of all the others ; for with his followers he established over the Beni Hud a veritable protectorate, such as the Kings of Navarre and Castile and the Counts of Barcelona had aimed at. And that the Cid rendered those services, not as a mercenary, but as one acting in the

interests of Castile, is made abundantly clear in the narrative of the Emperor Alphonso's adventure in the castle of Rueda.

2. ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT RECONCILIATION

The Betrayal at Rueda.

Rueda was a royal domain situated some twenty miles from Saragossa, in a valley watered by the river Jalon. Standing on the brow of a frowning precipice, the ruins of a castle, whose double ramparts descended to the valley, may be seen to this day. Here the Beni Hud had more than once sought refuge from dangers lurking in the city. Here also, many years before, Mutamin's uncle Mudaffar, the ex-King of Lerida, had been imprisoned through the same brotherly ambition that had sent the ex-King of Galicia to languish in chains at Luna.

Shortly after the death of Moktadir, the warden of Rueda, having schemed with his royal prisoner to rebel against Mutamin, ultimately succeeded in enlisting the help of the Emperor Alphonso, who seized the opportunity of reviving the Castilian claims to Saragossa that he had left so long to the Cid to realize on his own account. To attack Rueda, Alphonso immediately levied a powerful army under two chieftains of the Ebro district, on the Castilian border with Saragossa—the Infante Ramiro of Navarre, now of Calahorra, and Gonzalo Salvadorez, who had been made Count of La Bureba and Old Castile and was nicknamed the " Four Handed " as a tribute to his prowess.

The expedition was ready by the end of the summer. On September 5, 1082, Gonzalo Salvadorez bade farewell to the monastery of Ona, and, as was the custom of all who were about to set out for war, made his will.

" Foreseeing that my death is at hand, I bequeath to

God and the monastery of Ofta where my forefathers sleep, whether I return alive or not, the towns of Andino, Villadeveo, and Palazuelos and all I possess in Hermosilla and Busto. If I be slain by the Moors, I commend my soul to God and my mortal remains to Ofia, to whose altar I bequeath 1,600 maravedis, three of my best horses, two mules, my clothing with two robes of ciclatoun and three purple cloaks, and also two silver goblets. Should my vassals not bring back my body, let them be held in dishonour, as if they were traitors who had murdered their lord; for I it was who enriched and promoted them."

The Castilians marched down the Ebro valley and, on arriving at Rueda, agreed with Mudaffar that the Emperor himself should be sent for; and Alphonso appeared at the castle, in which he stayed, however, only a few days.

Whilst the rebellion against Mutamin was thus in progress, the unexpected death of Mudaffar brought about a complete change, for it deprived the warden of the one person on whose prestige he had relied. His only concern now was to win back the favour of Mutamin, and with this end in view he prepared to deal a blow that was to become notorious. Persuading Ramiro that he now intended to deliver the castle over to Alphonso, he went in person to the Emperor to urge him to take immediate possession. Alphonso agreed and again led his force to Rueda. Arrived before the gates, the Emperor, preceded by several of his magnates, was on the point of entering the castle, when the Moors let fall a shower of stones upon the party (January 6, 1083). The Infante Ramiro, Count Gonzalo Salvadorez, and many other nobles were killed outright, but the Emperor himself escaped and so frustrated the main object of the warden's treachery.

The Cid rejoins Alphonso.

Overwhelmed with grief and realizing the futility of attempting to exact revenge, Alphonso returned to his camp. Rodrigo was at Tudela, when he heard of the warden's dastardly act, and with his knights he at once hastened to the Emperor's side. Now was the opportune moment to win the royal pardon, for when a king accepted the help of an exile and his followers, he was bound to revoke the decree of banishment and reinstate the wanderer in his favour.[1] As a matter of fact, Alphonso did receive the Cid with all due honour and bade him return to Castile with him. And so the Cid, relinquishing the exalted position he had occupied at the court of Mutamin, set out with the King on the homeward journey he had so long and anxiously awaited. But now Alphonso, having recovered from the shock of the tragedy and the emotion aroused by the reunion with his vassal, again gave ear to the jaundiced reports of the calumniators and fell a-cogitating on how he might once more get rid of the Cid. Alive to the false position in which he now found himself, Rodrigo abandoned all idea of returning home and bade the monarch farewell.

The imperial force, looking for all the world like a funeral cortege, plodded its way on, bearing the ransomed bodies of its murdered knights with it. The vassals of each bore their dead lord in a coffin to bury him in the monastery he had in life been wont to patronize. Count Gonzalo Salvadorez, along with his friends and kinsmen, was buried at Ofia, as he had directed in his will, and the Infante Ramiro, in the Church of Santa Maria of Najera, which had been built by his father, King Garcia of Navarre. Ramiro left an infant son, who in course of time married a daughter of the Cid.

[1] *Fuero de Navarra*, I, I, 4.

3. THE CID RETURNS TO SARAGOSSA

The Attack on Morella.

The Cid received a warm welcome from Mutamin when he returned to Saragossa. And here it may be as well to remember that Jimena had not yet rejoined her husband ; indeed, on August 13, 1083, she was at Oviedo, engaged with her brother, the Count of Asturias, in a lawsuit against the Bishop, which was heard before King Alphonso.

After a five days' raid into Aragon, with King Sancho powerless to make a stand against him, the Cid decided to suspend operations on the northern frontier of Saragossa and so afforded Aragon an opportunity to reconquer Agiiero and Graus in February and April of 1083, and Arguedas and Secastilla in April and May of 1084. Normally, as protector of Saragossa, Rodrigo restricted his field of action to the Kingdom of Al-Hajib, the brother and enemy of Mutamin.

The district upon which Rodrigo concentrated in his incursions into Al-Hajib's territory was one that on the face of it should have been the easiest to defend. This was Morella, an unusually mountainous and cragged country where precipitous paths led amid rocks and gullies, dense pine-woods, evergreen oaks, and juniper thickets ; but the Cid did not rest until he had razed every house to the ground and captured the last head of cattle in the vicinity.

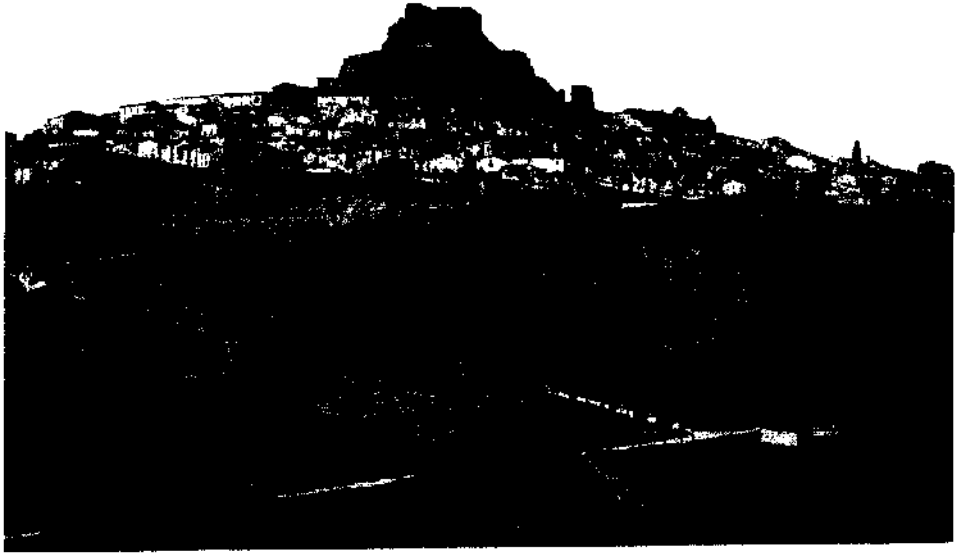
He even attacked the fortress of Morella itself, where, as the *Historia Roderici*, with a view no doubt to showing the hero's daring, laconically intimates, he climbed to the very gate of the castle and wrought great damage on it. To the fortifications of few places can the term " natural " be more aptly applied than to those of Morella, where even the arable area is & defence whose

impregnability makes it a source of worry and vexation to the peasantry, who can only cultivate their holdings by laboriously building up the land into terraces. Higher up, the city streets consist of long flights of steps ; and still higher, dominating all, is the extraordinary rock at the top of whose steep slopes the Romans and the Arabs built three castles, rising from a common base one above the other, like a megalithic triple crown. Such was the stronghold the Cid was bold enough to attack, a stronghold, indeed, that even modern artillery found it difficult to reduce in the first Carlist war.

In response to urgent messages received from Mutamin, Rodrigo now rebuilt, garrisoned and provisioned the castle of Olocau, some twelve miles west of Morella. In face of this fresh threat, Al-Hajib at once renewed his alliance with Sancho Ramirez, and the two kings determined to join battle with the Cid and drive him out of the country once and for all. They pitched camp on the banks of the Ebro, in all likelihood near Tortosa, some thirty or forty miles from the Cid, who was then in the neighbourhood of Morella.

The King of Aragon routed,

Rodrigo roundly refused to comply with the demand of Sancho Ramirez that he should evacuate Al-Hajib's territory. " If the King of Aragon desires to pass through this land," he wrote in mock humility, " I will gladly place myself at his service and even give him an escort of a hundred knights." In high dudgeon the King, accompanied by Al-Hajib, set out for the Cid's encampment. Rodrigo, fully determined to give battle, swore he would not move his tents for them, whereupon on the following day the allied kings attacked him in full force (August 14, 1084). For many hours the battle raged, but in the end Sancho and Al-Hajib took to flight, to be pursued for several miles by the Cid, who took



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over 2,000 prisoners, including men of the highest rank. The Cid retained possession of his enemies' tents and a goodly haul of other booty, but liberated his captives, with exception of sixteen of the most illustrious, with whom he returned in triumph to Saragossa.[1]

On learning of the Cid's approach with his eminent captives and all his spoils of war, Mutamin, accompanied by his sons, the Court nobles, and a huge crowd of his subjects, both men and women, went forth to meet the victor at Fuentes, sixteen miles outside Saragossa, and gave him a rousing reception amid, general rejoicing. El Tortosi explains the political significance of the pomp attending the Cid's return by the fact that Mutamin was merely exalting the one warrior who could ensure safety to the State by victory in the field and whose services alone justified the huge expense entailed in maintaining Christian troops. This battle found an echo far beyond Saragossa, for Ibn Bassam records it as one of the greatest victories gained by the exile with a mere handful of knights against overwhelming odds.

On the death of Mutamin in 1085, the Cid remained for two years with his son Mostain II, still being held, according to the *Historia Roderici,* in the highest honour and veneration, though, for reasons shortly to be explained, we hear nothing of him in 1085 and 1086.

4. THE CID ECLIPSED BY THE EMPEROR

Seville Humiliated.

Alphonso's tendency to intervene in the Moslem kingdoms now became more and more pronounced. In 1082, the embassy he sent to Seville to collect the yearly tribute, gave occasion to a serious rupture of relations. His agent, the Jewish Ben Khalib, alleging that the

[1] Regarding this battle and the prisoners, see *La Espana del Cid,* pp. 761-6.

coinage was debased, arrogantly threatened to demand cities in guarantee of legitimate payment, whereupon Motamid imprisoned Alphonso's knights and impaled the presumptuous Jew. He felt, indeed, that he was too powerful a monarch to act the part of tributary any longer.

To ransom his envoys, the Emperor was obliged to cede the important castle of Almodovar. In the meantime, however, he organized a powerful army of Galicians, Castilians and Basques and, sending a contingent to ravage the Beja and Niebla regions, himself laid waste the Aljarafe of Seville. Thereafter he united his forces for a three days' concentrated attack on the capital. The story goes that Alphonso encamped at Triana, on the bank of the Guadalquivir facing Motamid's palace, and from there sent an imperious demand to the Sultan to surrender his palace as a shelter for the Castilians from the unbearable heat and the flies infesting the camp. Motamid's reply, scribbled on the back of the letter, was to the effect that he would take great pains to provide a shady place, well protected by the hides of hippopotamuses, for the King's siesta. This allusion to the leather-lined shields of the Almoravides betrayed that he was already thinking seriously of invoking the aid of the Africans.[1]

The Emperor now continued his march southward and overran Andalusia as far as Tarifa Point in the extreme South. Here, spurring his horse into the sea, he cried, " Behold ! I have trodden beneath my feet the furthermost confines of Andalusia."

Saragossa Attacked.

Having thus satisfied his pride in Seville, Alphonso launched his annual attack on Toledo and gained a number of successes, which will be referred to later on.

[1] Al-Makkari, transl, by P. de Gayangos, II, 1843, pp. 272-3.

Nor did he overlook Saragossa, the conquest of which by Navarre and Aragon in the course of their expansion he feared and was determined to prevent. Sancho Ramirez, he knew, had been overawed by the Cid, and Rodrigo himself would never dare to fight against his former sovereign. Early in 1085, the Emperor marched against Saragossa and, having pitched his camp, swore not to depart until he had taken the city. Death alone, he said, would prevent him from accomplishing his purpose.

The East of Spain furnished Alphonso with a wide field in which to develop his imperialistic policy. In Aragon itself he had supporters, the chief of whom was no less a personage than the King's brother, Bishop Garcia of Jaca, who was accused of conspiring to dethrone Sancho Ramirez and hand over Alquezar to Alphonso, all of which goes to prove the extent to which the imperial concept of Leon was forcing its way into and being assimilated by the other kingdoms. When the Bishop presented himself before the Emperor to complain of the treatment he had received from his brother, Alphonso offered him the Archbishopric of Toledo, which he expected soon to reconquer, and a position that would entail a retinue of a thousand vassals. Similar promises tempted many of the Aragonese nobles to throw in their lot with the Emperor ; but in the end Sancho Ramirez bowed to the inevitable and unreservedly acknowledged Alphonso's right to intervene in the conquest of Saragossa.

The Cid's Inactivity.

This intervention was a more serious matter for the exile of Vivar. If, as is possible, he did again offer his services to Alphonso as at Rueda, he must have received a rebuff, for his banishment was not raised. And, as he would not fight against his sovereign, he presumably

remained inactive, either at Tudela or in the castle of Escarpe, from which he could make minor raids against Al-Hajib of Lerida. His original retinue would dwindle considerably through his inaction ; indeed, public documents show that at the beginning of 1085 his nephews, Alvar Hafiez and Pedro Vermudez, had rejoined King Alphonso, as Alvar Salvadorez had done at a still earlier date.

Following the thread of the old poem, which fits in so accurately with history, we may assume that, after a victory in Lerida during one of the many wars unrecorded on his own admission by the Latin chronicler, the Cid selected from his fifth share in the booty 100 of the strongest and swiftest horses, which he saddled and harnessed in regal style, complete with swords slung from the cruppers, and sent them, along with endowments of gold and silver for Burgos Cathedral and his wife Jimena, under escort of Alvar Hafiez and a troop of knights, to Alphonso, in accordance with the old Law of Castile. To Alvar Hanez' plea for the exile's pardon, however, the Emperor, although his anger had now been mitigated, demurred on the ground that it was too soon for a reconciliation : " Nevertheless, I accept the gift, being as it is the fruits of victory over the Moors, and am rejoiced to learn of the Cid's successes. As for you, Alvar Hafiez, I grant you pardon and restore to you your honours and estates ; from now on you are free either to remain in Castile or to go again to seek the Cid."[1]

According to the poem, Alvar Hafiez duly informed the Cid of his interview and elected to remain at his right hand. History, however, records that actually he returned to Castile, where during this year of 1085 he rendered King Alphonso considerable service, first as

[1] *Poema del Cid*, verses 888-9 ; see also verses 810-36, 871, 891, and I336-7-

his ambassador to Seville and afterwards, as we shall presently see, on a still more important mission to Valencia.

In contrast with the isolation and idleness of Rodrigo, the activity of Alphonso was then at its height. Whilst maintaining the siege of Saragossa and thus paralysing the Cid in his only field of action, he was preparing to win at Toledo one of the most decisive victories of the Reconquest.

Conquest of Toledo.

The second phase of the Toledan campaign was the siege secretly agreed upon with the Mudejar party in 1081, which dragged on for four years, no less than four years being required to save the military honour of so redoubtable a fortress and overcome the opposition of the intransigents.

The leaders of the uncompromising party had come to regard themselves as having gained sufficient mastery to entitle them to make overtures for peace in some form direct with Alphonso ; so that on May 2, 1082, when the Emperor was drawing near to the city, they sallied forth to lay their complaints against Al-Kadir before him. Alphonso, however, had them stoned out of his camp. " Despairing of Castile," as Ibn Bassam says, " they fell into the greatest confusion ", and many of them betook themselves to Madrid, where they put up a resistance against Al-Kadir. In retaliation, Al-Kadir confiscated their property in Toledo and crucified all on whom he could lay his hands.

Al-Kadir, lurking in his palace, meanwhile continued to extort from his starving subjects the sums he had to pay to Alphonso, who periodically harried the country-side to sharpen the famine and so weaken the resistance of the city. For six years he had pursued this policy, and what it meant to the inhabitants of the country may

be seen from an incident recorded by Al-Makkari.[1] Alphonso was harassing the Guadiana valley with a large force, burning the farms, cutting down the trees, and dealing destruction on every side, when the governor of Calatrava la Vieja, Harith ibn Okkashah, one of the most famous Moorish warriors of the time, addressed the following appeal to him : " Spare these creatures of the Almighty further pain and privation ", he wrote, " because, if He has decreed that the country shall be yours, there is no need for you to destroy the wealth of your future domain ; if, on the other hand, it is written that you shall not conquer this land, never will be it yours, bring you ten times the number of men against it you now command." Alphonso thereupon gave orders for the persecution to cease. Eager now to meet Harith, he sent him a safe-conduct to his camp and was in due course amazed at the wonderful specimen of powerful manhood represented by the handsome, gigantic Moor, who leapt from his steed and stood before him.

The time came when Alphonso decided to put an end to the mock resistance staged for honour's sake ; and so at dead of night (probably in the autumn of 1084) [at] the head of a small band of followers, he forced his way into the gardens of Mamun, that royal pleasance that lay beneath the very walls of Toledo on either side of the Alcantara bridge. So severe was the winter of that year, however, that the roads from the north were rendered impassable, thus cutting off his supplies from that direction. At this juncture several of the Taifa kings volunteered to help him out of his difficulty and supplied him with all the provisions he required, as the besieged were shortly to discover to their dismay.

Although by this time the inhabitants had been reduced to the last stages of hunger and exhaustion, the intransigents still hoped to prolong their resistance by gaining

[1] Translated by P. de Gayangos, I, 1840, pp. 125-7.

the help of friendly Moorish States ; and to this end some of the leading citizens went down to Alphonso's camp to beg safe-conduct for the messengers they intended to send out in various directions. It had been a custom since ancient times (and we shall again have occasion to refer to it in connection with the Cid) for the besieger to grant the besieged a truce, should they desire to seek help from their friends. When, as a last resource, the Toledan magnates sought an interview with the King for this purpose, they were warned that he was asleep and could not be disturbed ; but eventually they gained admission to the royal presence through the offices of a Sevillian renegade serving in the besieging army. Alphonso, shaking off his sleep and hastily arranging his disordered hair, advanced with head erect and haughtily demanded their business : " When will ye cease from deceiving me ? What seek ye here ? " was his greeting. " We would fain seek the aid of one or other of the Taifa kingdoms," was the humble reply, " it is the last hope that remains to us." By way of answer, Alphonso clapped his hands and bade his attendant summon the ambassadors from Ibn Abbad of Seville. In they came, trailing their sumptuous offerings and murmuring protestations of submission, to which Alphonso gave scant acknowledgment. And when the ambassadors laid their priceless treasures before him, he merely swept them aside with his foot and ordered his servants to remove them. Then followed the ambassadors of other Moorish kings, whose lavish gifts and obsequious professions he treated with the same disdain. The wretched magnates from Toledo could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the state of cringing servility to which the envoys of those Taifa monarchs, in whose help they had trusted, had been reduced. Utterly crestfallen, they made their way back to the city, where for very shame they kept in hiding for three days, at the end of which time (on

May 6, 1085) the Mudejar party surrendered the city to Alphonso on the following terms :

All Moorish citizens who so desired might leave the city unhindered and without forfeiting their property in the event of their return. The rest would be allowed to remain in peaceful possession of their houses and estates, on payment of such taxes as were formerly imposed by their own kings. Their great Mosque they should be allowed to keep for ever, but they would hand over to the Christians their fortresses, the Alcazar, and the royal park, where the besiegers were then encamped. Al-Kadir, for his part, was promised the rebel kingdom of Valencia ; and it is said that Alphonso even undertook to assist him in conquering Denia and Albarracin. Thus, through the agency of the feeble Al-Kadir, Alphonso hoped to gain possession of the whole of the East, for the disunion of the Moors would in itself prevent any effective resistance.

On Sunday, May 25, 1085, after allowing Al-Kadir a fortnight in which to prepare for his departure, the Emperor made his solemn entry into Toledo and occupied the old adobe Alcazar, where as an exile he had been entertained by Mamun. This castle, owing to the strategical and political importance of Toledo, he henceforth adopted as his principal residence. Situated on heights that made it impregnable and encircled by the great River Tagus, Toledo provided the Christians with a new kingdom and a stable frontier, which, commanding the Tagus as it did, rendered the ancient boundary of the Douro obsolete. Politically, the royal city of the Goths evoked memories of a Spain united under one sceptre, and its possession went to confirm the imperial title Alphonso bore as King of Leon. To be King of Toledo meant much more than to be King of Leon, Castile and Najera ; and his favourite title was " imperator toletanus ".

The conquest of Toledo produced great consternation among the Moslems. Al Andalus seemed definitely lost to Islam. Who could now resist the Emperor? The only course open to them now was to fly the country; to remain would be utter madness. The Christians were also deeply impressed by the trend of events. Sancho Ramirez of Aragon in his charters now began to refer to Alphonso as his superior: "Regnante Adefonso imperatore in Toleto et in Leone; rege Sancio Rademiri gratia Dei regnante in Pampilonia et in Aragone." With Toledo, Alphonso acquired the greater part of Al-Kadir's kingdom, to wit: Talavera, Guadalajara, and eighty towns having mosques, besides countless hamlets and farmsteads.

Al-Kadir sets out for Valencia.

And now the hapless Al-Kadir at once outraged the Moslems and amused the Christians by consulting his horoscope to ascertain the right moment for him to go his dejected way. In spite of this, however, he relied for protection less on the stars than on the Emperor, who undertook to send Alvar Hafiez to his assistance, should the Valencians hesitate to receive him. As it turned out, Al-Kadir was soon to claim this help. Many of the Toledan castles he came to, as on his former flight, refused to admit him. Nowhere was he welcomed until he reached Cuenca, when his loyal servant Ibn al-Faraj, who held the fortress, undertook to go to Valencia to sound Ibn Abd-el-Aziz, who, though formally acknowledging Al-Kadir as sovereign, on the death of Mamun had shaken off the Toledan yoke.

The occasion was not propitious, for Ibn Abd-el-Aziz was in too confident a mood. In January he had married his daughter to Mostain of Saragossa; and this brilliant match could but tend to unite Saragossa and Valencia in one powerful State. On the death of

Ibn Abd-el-Aziz on June 6, however, the situation soon changed. " The torch of Valencia was extinguished ", wrote Ibn Alcama, " and darkness supervened." The two sons of the King, each supported by his own following, fought over the succession. Others, solicitous for the safety of Valencia, favoured the King of Saragossa ; and there were also some who supported Al-Kadir, who, as Mamun's grandson, was the sovereign *de jure* and, as the Emperor's protege, *de facto.* The more worthy among the citizens were helpless to straighten out the tangle created by so many conflicting ambitions and were bitterly disappointed at the turn affairs had taken. The Governor, Ibn Labbun, an upright, selfless, and God-fearing man, determined to wash his hands of the whole business and retire to his castle of Murviedro and was only dissuaded from doing so by the learned bibliophile Mohammed al-Araushi.

Ibn al-Faraj lodged in the house of the Governor and learnt full particulars of the situation from Ibn Labbun himself. On his return to Cuenca, he informed his master of the dissension in the city, and Al-Kadir deemed the moment opportune to act. Marshalling his whole following, down to the very eunuchs, he sent for Alvar Hanez, who, in fulfilment of Alphonso's pledge, came to his support with a large Christian force, whereupon they all set out for Valencia. Al-Kadir sent out a messenger in advance to announce his coming in the friendliest of terms and with tempting promises of good government and awaited an answer at Serra, not far from Murviedro.

Al-Kadir received at Valencia.

After prolonged deliberation, the Valencian Aljama, or Assembly of Notables, decided to accept Al-Kadir as their king. The plausible speeches of the messenger certainly weighed less in their minds than the mailed warriors of Alvar Hanez who were approaching the city.

Fearful lest the Emperor's soldiers should resort to force, they at once deposed Othman, the son of Ibn Abd-el-Aziz, who had occupied the throne for a matter of nine months ; and then the chief Moors, including Ibn Labbun who kept the keys of the Alcazar and the city, sent a favourable reply to Al-Kadir at Serra, presenting themselves shortly afterwards to promise with due humility their loyal obedience to him.

Al-Kadir was received in Valencia with great popular rejoicings (February?, 1086) and immediately installed himself and his harem in the Alcazar, which had been specially prepared for him by Ibn Labbun. Good quarters were found for the horsemen in his suite, the archers were accommodated around the Alcazar, to serve as the royal bodyguard, and the warriors of Alvar Haflez in the Mozarab suburb of Ruzafa.

Discontent in Valencia.

This imposing array soon commanded the respect of all parties, and Ibn Labbun in particular showed himself so obsequious that he speedily won the highest royal favours. The wardens of the other castles, taking their cue from Valencia, also sent the King rich gifts and hailed him in terms of fulsome servility, with every assurance of obedience. For they vied with one another in adulation, as only Moors know how. Their chief aim was to persuade Al-Kadir to trust them and send back to Castile those warriors of Alvar Hafiez whose maintenance was costing them some 600 gold dinars a day. But all their show of submission availed them nothing. Al-Kadir had realized all along that he would never be able to win his subjects' support and so preferred to have at his back King Alphonso's soldiers, to pay for whom he had not hesitated to oppress his former subjects in Toledo and was now quite prepared to fleece the Valencians. Far from dismissing Alvar Hafiez, then, he levied a

barley tax on the city and district, payable by rich and poor alike, public repugnance to which found expression in the sarcastic injunction " hand over your barley ", which became a byword in the city ; and even a boar-hound that was kept in the slaughter-house to kill cattle was trained to growl and bark when the phrase was used. It was obvious to all that Al-Kadir would lose Valencia as he had lost Toledo.

Al-Kadir ignored the public discontent, but was quick enough to show resentment at the slightest hint of insubordination. The Governor of Jativa, Ibn Mahcor, had omitted to send gifts along with the others ; and now, on being taken to task by the indignant King, although he delayed no longer in despatching his offerings, assuring Al-Kadir of his loyalty and even placing his office at the royal disposal, he excused himself from appearing before the King. Ibn Labbun advised Al-Kadir to accept the apology and refrain from carrying out his threat to make war on Jativa; also to dismiss the expensive warriors of Alvar Hanez and alleviate the burden of taxation. But Al-Kadir inclined his ear to the warlike advice of the sons of Ibn Abd-el-Aziz and, bent on extinguishing every spark of rebellion, attacked Ibn Mahcor.

On the first day he captured the plain of Jativa, but at the end of four months the Alcazar and other forts still held out, and Al-Kadir had the money neither to pay his own demoralized troops nor those of Alvar Haftez, who were now resting at Ruzafa. Turning on the sons of Ibn Abd-el-Aziz for the disastrous advice they had given him, he ordered one of them to maintain the Christian warriors for thirty days and thus afforded a temporary relief to Valencia.

When Ibn Mahcor saw that Al-Kadir was determined to have his revenge, he made overtures to Al-Hajib, King of Lerida and Denia, to take Jativa over. Whereupon Al-Hajib, to counter the challenge of Al-Kadir's

Castilians, allied himself with Gerard Aleman, Baron of Cervellon, with whose Catalan knights he descended on Jativa, " like a sudden shower ", as the Arab chronicler described it. The faint-hearted Al-Kadir, at the mere hint of their approach, fled incontinently to Alcira some twelve miles away, to pique himself on his strategic escape and return, the laughing-stock of the people, to Valencia. Shortly afterwards Al-Hajib advanced against Valencia and encamped in the outer quarter of Xarea, to ride around the city at will, whilst Al-Kadir looked on from behind the ramparts and Alvar Hafiez busied himself with preparing against any surprise attack by the Catalans. But this precarious situation was relieved by a sudden impulse of Al-Hajib to march off in the direction of Tortosa, to meet, it can only be conjectured, one of the Cid's incursions on the frontiers of Lerida.

Alvar Hafiez, Master of Valencia.

The danger past, Al-Kadir set himself to devise ways and means by which he could pay his debts to the Emperor's representative. As a beginning, he threw the sons of Ibn Abd-el-Aziz and many of the leading citizens into prison and confiscated their wealth. Then he made certain of retaining the services of Alvar Hafiez by settling him in the country as the lord of extensive domains and thereby, incidentally, destroyed any hope there may have remained of relieving Valencia of the presence of the Castilian leader.

The growing power of Alvar Hafiez attracted to his service Moslems eager for advancement, " almogavares " or professional raiders, and bands of *dawayir* or robbers, many of them renegades from Islam, who took advantage of the general confusion to violate harems, torture prisoners to exact ransom from them, mutilate both men and women or sell them into slavery for whatever price they could get for them.

All power, official as well as military, was in the hands of the new lord, who, to assure Al-Kadir of his reconciliation, undertook an expedition against Lerida in revenge for the Jativa campaign. With those dreaded hordes of almogavares and bandits in their wake, the Christians marched against the Burriana frontier, raiding villages and castles and seizing many head of cattle and considerable booty, all of which was afterwards put up for public sale at Valencia.

Alvar Haiiez and the King of Castile were the real masters of the city, and they alone could guarantee personal safety, even though they found it difficult to do so owing to Al-Kadir's contempt for the law. Othman, who had been deposed in favour of the ex-King of Toledo, sought to escape from the grasping hands of his supplanter by purchasing the friendship of Alvar Hanez with costly gifts. Ibn Labbun and Alphonso's Jewish tax-collector together persuaded the Emperor to take him under his aegis and confirm him in the possession of his estates and income in return for a yearly payment of 30,000 dinars ; and from then on Alphonso saw to it that Al-Kadir treated Othman with respect. Othman, however, soon fell in arrears with his payments and, disguising himself as a woman, fled to his friend, Ibn Labbun, at Murviedro, where the Jewish collector ultimately found him and extorted 15,000 dinars in silver, jewellery, precious stones, and ropes of pearls, the remainder, it was arranged, to be paid when he could safely return to the city and collect his rents.

And so it happened that, as neither person nor property could be regarded as safe in Valencia, many local landowners fled, with all their movable wealth, to Murviedro. Others, such as Othman's brother, went further afield, to Saragossa, which, invested as it was by Alphonso, offered a very doubtful refuge.

Valencia and Castilian Imperialism.

Alphonso was on the way to assuming absolute dominion over Valencia by methods of the same kind with those he had used at Toledo.

Historically speaking, Valencia could be considered as an annexe to Toledo ; from the days of Constantine to the time of the Caliphate both cities had belonged to the Province of Carthagena, the capital of which, since the Visigothic era, had been Toledo. Hence Mamun's claims to Valencia in 1065. Inthe first centuries of the Reconquest, as we have seen, Christian territorial ambitions were for the most part regulated by the administrative divisions of the Romano-Gothic period. Accordingly, when Toledo had been subjected by Ferdinand the Great and ultimately conquered by Alphonso, it was but natural that each in turn should aspire to the dominion of the whole Province of Carthagena. All of which explains the Castilian domination of Valencia first by Alvar Hafiez and afterwards by the Cid. On the other hand, it is subsequent physico-political conditions that furnish the reason why the King of Saragossa, the King of Lerida, and the Count of Barcelona also coveted the city. They, however, were repulsed, for traditional claims, backed by force, triumphed over mere geographical factors. Nevertheless, a century later Castile was compelled to yield the reconquest of Valencia to Aragon, when, along with other Spanish states, it sought to counterpoise Castilian expansion. And even later still, memories of the old Province of Carthagena were temporarily revived in the dispute between the Bishop of Albarracin and the Bishop of Tarragona in 1238, when the former, acting in the name of the Archbishop of Toledo, sought by dint of matins and baptism to take possession of the Church in Valencia, which had recently been conquered by the King of Aragon. By that time,

however, old historical arguments of this nature could no longer hope to prevail.

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that even in the eleventh century the old Romano-Gothic argument was only used when it was found convenient. Castile, which now claimed the whole of the old Province of Carthagena, ever since the days of Fernan Gonzalez, had continually encroached on the borders of the Province of Tarragona, which, both historically and naturally, belonged to Navarre and Aragon. Alphonso was now besieging Saragossa more determinedly than ever, overriding, as Emperor, the King of Aragon's claims, which were founded, not only on historical considerations, but also on the need for a natural frontier.

Saragossa on the Point of Surrender.

The Emperor coveted Saragossa as much out of enmity towards the Cid as towards Navarre and Aragon. He refused Mostain's offers of money to abandon the siege, replying with the utmost self-confidence : " Both the gold you offer me and the city are mine " ; and he pushed the siege still more vigorously. To expedite the fall of the city, he forbade his knights to harm the Moorish villagers and assured these people that he would respect their Moslem laws and customs and never impose taxation, as the Taifa kings were wont to do, beyond what was allowed by the Koran and the Sunna. As the villagers also learnt of his generous distribution of 100,000 dinars among the Moors of Toledo to help them to sow and cultivate their land, they were on the whole well disposed towards the Emperor.

Alphonso's Imperial Activity.

But in the other Taifa kingdoms, where he had no need to ingratiate himself with the people, the Emperor adopted the policy he had pursued, formerly in Toledo

and latterly at Valencia, of not scrupling to squeeze the last drop of substance out of the kings ; and the high-handed methods he resorted to were exemplified by the Jewish collector who bullied a Valencian magnate and a king of Seville with the same brazen-faced effrontery.

Nor was Alphonso by any manner of means grateful for the pecuniary assistance afforded by the kings. When Abu Merwan Hosam al-daula, King of Albarracin, in his own person brought him a sumptuous offering, the Emperor acknowledged it by giving him the monkey with which at the moment he had been amusing himself. Far from taking the Emperor's joke as an insult, the Moor accepted the gift as an inestimable token of friendship and a mascot that would protect him from Christian oppression. And that in itself was no mean consideration at a time when Alphonso on the slightest pretext was, not merely extorting tribute, but seizing villages and castles and holding them in pledge and keeping some of their chief cities, even those in the most remote districts, in a constant state of siege and warfare. In the spring of 1085, the Castilians were harrying Granada and had reached Nivar, about four miles from the capital. Another force under Garcia Jimenez, using the castle of Aledo as its base of operations, was raiding the Murcia region, which belonged to Motamid of Seville, and the Kingdom of Almeria. The inhabitants were seized with panic, to such an extent, indeed, that, when the King of Almeria sent out 400 picked horsemen to drive off a matter of eighty raiders, who had arrived within sight of the city, as soon as they came face to face with the Christians they turned tail and fled.

Not one of the kings now dared to face Alphonso, who assailed them all with ridicule. In reply to Motamid's Jewish ambassador, for instance, he exclaimed : " Why should I leave in peace those wastrels who, usurping the high-sounding titles of their Eastern Princes, call them-

selves Motamid, Motawakkil, Mostain, Alamin and so forth ; when not one is capable of drawing his sword in self-defence ? "

This widespread warlike activity and the fall of Toledo led to general submission. Princes and chieftains throughout Al Andalus bound themselves to pay tribute and admitted to their courts a governor or lieutenant of Alphonso's to ensure that it was paid.

With the object of subjecting Motamid to a like humiliation, in the autumn of 1085 Alphonso sent Alvar Hanez to Seville bearing credentials addressed : " from the Emperor of the Two Religions, the Excellent King Alphonso Ben Sancho, to Motamid Billah ". Prefacing his communication with a warning to the Sevillian monarch to avoid war and remember Toledo, he proceeded : " We send thee our ambassador, Count Alvar Haftez, who possesses all the tact and sagacity thou could'st desire for the governing of thy country. In every way is he well fitted to act as our lieutenant at thy Court." Now, Motamid was the most powerful ruler in Al Andalus and was ever vacillating between rebellion and peace as a tributary. At the moment, he was in a rebellious mood and in his own hand indited a poetic reply, rejecting the demands of the tyrant, Alphonso Ben Sancho. The title of " Sovereign of the Two Religions " he referred to as mere bombast and being better suited to a Moslem ruler, and he upbraided the Christian with breaking their long-standing alliance by attempting to force a lieutenant upon him.

It was doubtless after this setback that Alphonso refused the tribute that Motamid had been in the habit of paying and demanded instead, under pain of the loss of Cordova, the surrender of all the forts in the mountainous country between Toledo and Seville. For to acquire the capital of the fallen Caliphate was Alphonso's latest ambition ; and in this connection he observed to a

Moslem sycophant : " I shall never rest content until Cordova is mine, and I rescue the bells of Santiago Cathedral that now serve as lamps in the Mosque."

There was little doubt that Cordova would prove an easier prey than Toledo. Saragossa was on the point of capitulating. Valencia was under the control of Alvar Hanez ; and in all the Courts of Moslem Spain, barring that of Seville, Alphonso had installed his lieutenants. Further, the imperial splendour of Leon shone over all the Christian princes, and the Emperor even intruded into the internal affairs of Aragon and the March and forced the rulers of those territories to accept his delimitation of their appropriate spheres of reconquest. Well, indeed, might Alphonso subscribe his Arabic letters as " the Emperor of the Two Religions ", and those in Latin, as " Imperator totius Hispaniae ".

And so it was that the Cid and his retainers found themselves without a refuge, either among the Moors or the Christians. Had this state of affairs continued, Rodrigo could not have helped being obliged by the glory of his implacable sovereign to end his days in obscurity in some out-of-the-way corner of Spain. As it happened, however, a profound change was about to come over Al Andalus, which was to see the Emperor's power break against an unforeseen force. The unparalleled attributes of the Cid alone were to stem the onslaught that threatened to overthrow the imperial edifice raised by the King of Leon.

PART IV

THE ALMORAVIDE INVASION

CHAPTER IX

THE REVIVAL OF ISLAM

I. IN EAST AND WEST

The Seljuks.

WHEREAS the invasion of the Hungarian nomads, in the first half of the tenth century, marked the end of the aggressive foreign penetrations into the European part of the old Roman Empire, the Africo-Asiatic or Moslem part continued to suffer great racial upheavals in the centuries that followed. Ibn Khaldun the philosopher, indeed, contemplating the situation through Islamic spectacles, cannot conceive of the evolution of human society as anything but a periodic reappearance of nomad races on the stage of history. For the nomads are the best fitted of all to undertake extensive conquests. Their roving, pastoral life renders them more vigorous than the settled peoples ; and, having no ties to bind them to a definable home-land of their own, they covet all others as being more desirable. It was when Omar taught the desert Arabs that the cities of Iraq were destined to pass into their hands that the Moslem Empire began ; and the history of the rise and fall of that Empire is repeated over and over again with rhythmic regularity : the nomads are constantly being attracted to the higher centres of culture created by the settled races and then their vital forces, engendered in the desert, gradually dissolve as they become more and more vitiated by the refinements of urban life.

In the eleventh century, that century of far-reaching crises, the marked rhythm in the history of the Islamic world reaches a climax in the rise of two vast empires, one in the Asiatic East and the other in the African West, both of which were founded in a brief space of time by nomad races, the Turks of the Kirghiz steppes and the Berbers of the Sahara.

The Seljuk Turks, by invading civilized Moslem territories, founded an empire that restored orthodox Mohammedanism to its ascendancy over the Shi'ism latent in Persia and spread the religion by further conquests at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. They also invaded Armenia and in 1071 won a decisive victory at Manzikert, when the East Roman Emperor, Romanus IV (Diogenes), was taken prisoner and not only Armenia, but Asia Minor and a part of Syria as well, were lost to Christendom.

Whilst the Seljukian Empire was taking root, the Almoravide Empire was expanding, as the result of another reaction at the opposite end of the Moslem world. And so it came about that barely fifteen years after the downfall of the great Byzantine Emperor, the lesser Emperor of Leon was likewise heavily defeated, and Islam recovered all the aggressive superiority of her palmy days.

In 1039, the fakir, Abdullah ibn Yassin, of the Jazula tribe in the Moghreb, began to re-Islamize the savage nomads of the Sahara, expounding the Koran with its doctrine of hell fire, ablutions, alms, tithes, and other religious duties. His first devotees were known as " almoravides " *(almorabetin),* because they were bound by special vows to wage holy war against the Sudanese idolaters in the *rabita,* or frontier castle, that the fakir had built on an islet in the River Niger.

Abdullah launched his followers on a holy war against the unbelievers, and by 1042 the true faith of Moham-

medanism had triumphed throughout that part of the Sahara that was dominated by the great Sanhaja tribe, which covered an area, as measured after the custom of the time, of six months' journey in length and over four months in width. Amongst the seventy clans of the Sanhaja who pastured their camels in the desert, the Lamtunas were noted for their religious fervour ; and so the fakir favoured them and chose from among them the first two Emirs, who ultimately completed the conquest of the Sahara and a part of the Sudan that extended over an area of a three-months' journey. It was their Emir, too, who led the Almoravides in war, although the real sovereign was Abdullah, who, as the overlord of the Emir, did not hesitate to administer the penitential rod to his naked flanks whenever he had occasion to correct him.

Those early Almoravides were still far from adopting religion mainly for the wealth and advantages it might bring them. They accepted it with all the sacrifices it implied. In the lands they conquered they punished impiety, interdicted marriage with more than four free women, burnt the wine shops and destroyed musical instruments as being corrupters of morals. Above all they sternly suppressed all taxation unauthorized by the Koran and the Sunna, only permitting tithes, the customary alms, the special tax on infidel subjects, and a fifth of the booty won in holy warfare.

In 1055 these Saharan nomads, at the call of the pious fakirs, invaded and conquered the Moghreb. Shortly afterwards, in 1061, the Almoravide Emir, surfeited with the urban luxuries of the Moghreb, returned to his beloved desert and ended his days in the holy war of the Sudan. Before he left, however, he appointed his cousin, Yusuf ibn Teshufin, governor of the country, and it was this illustrious chief who thereafter led the Almoravides in the course of their transition to a settled colony, and

in all their hazardous undertakings, beginning with the founding of Marrakesh and the conquest of Fez.

2. YUSUF, EMIR OF THE FAITHFUL

Yusuf called to Spain.

The Almoravides were thus approaching Spain preceded by their glorious military reputation, and so Motamid of Seville, unable any longer to brook Alphonso's tyranny, looked to them for succour.

In 1075 he had already begged Yusuf to come over and declare a holy war in Spain, but Yusuf, who was parsimonious in the employment of his energies, refused to come until he had gained possession of Tangier and Ceuta. He conquered the former in 1077, subjecting the Riff as far as Melilla, and captured Oran and Tunis in 1081-1082. And it was now that Motamid, beset, as we know, by Alphonso, again besought his help to retrieve the Spanish Moors from their evil plight. Yusuf, however, replied phlegmatically, " I will come if God gives me Ceuta." Ceuta finally fell into his hands in August, 1084.

In the following year, after the fall of Toledo, when Motamid saw that Alphonso was again threatening Cordova and other Andalusian cities and was determined to enter Saragossa, he bethought himself of the words of Yusuf and again resolved to approach him. At the same time Motawakkil of Badajoz, seeing that a pusillanimous coward (Al-Kadir) had allowed the proudest fortress in Spain to fall into the hands of the idolatrous tyrant, also appealed for help to the Almoravide Emperor.

Now, this decision to call in Yusuf showed how very serious matters had become for the Taifa kings. The religious austerity of the Almoravides had no echo in the palaces of Andalusia. There wine and song stifled all spirituality; in the academies the minds of men were

being led astray along dangerous paths ; and the people generally were becoming demoralized through the enormous taxation unwarrantably imposed upon them in an effort to balance the royal budget. Between a Motamid and a Yusuf, too, there existed an ineradicable antipathy ; and, at all events, owing to the military inferiority of the Andalusians, it was palpable that the conqueror of Africa would inevitably pass from the status of ally to that of master. For these reasons, then, Motamid's eldest son opposed his father's desperate resolve; whereupon Motamid declared : "I would prefer anything rather than be accused of surrendering Al Andalus to the Christians, to have it turned into a colony of infidels ; I do not want to be cursed from the pulpit of every mosque of Islam ; and, since I am bound to choose, I would sooner be a cameleer with the Almoravides than a swineherd amongst the Christians." [1] Although Motamid was a man of mettle, this idea did not strike him spontaneously but was forced upon him by the fakirs, who at a congress in Cordova had decided, in view of Alphonso's impending attack, to call in the Almoravides as their only salvation. Thus, the experience of the Moghreb some thirty years before was about to be repeated. Then also, the fakirs had met, pious and learned men from Sijilmasa and Draa, who wrote to the Almoravide Prince, imploring military assistance against the Zanata Emir who was reigning there, and so brought about the Almoravide conquest of the country. To avoid a similar occurrence in Spain, Motamid deemed it expedient to anticipate action by the fakirs. Accord-

[1] *Al-Holal al-maushiya* (in Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis,* I I , p. 189 ; on p. 8 the same sentence is given in a shorter form according to the Cordovan historian, Mohammed ibn Ibrahim). The words were known to the Toledano (VI, 30), but were not attributed by him to Motamid, as he considered the King of Seville to be Alphonso's ally at the time when the Almoravides were called over.

ingly, he imparted his proposal to his two principal neighbours, Motawakkil of Badajoz and Abdullah of Granada, and the three kings sent ambassadors to Yusuf inviting him to cross the Straits under oath not to despoil the Andalusian princes of their kingdoms.

Yusuf, in fulfilment of the promise he had previously made, sent a huge army to Algeciras, which he had already seized. He himself followed, accompanied by many Almoravide chieftains, as well as fakirs and monks, who, as his most venerated counsellors, were the soul of that holy war. When embarking, the Emir offered up the prayer : " If this crossing, O Allah, be of service to Islam, let good fortune attend it; but, if not, then let some mishap on the voyage compel me to turn back." The wind was favourable, and Yusuf set foot on Spanish soil at Algeciras on June 30 (?), 1086.

He who thus came as the saviour of Mohammedanism in Andalusia was an old man of seventy, lean and swarthy, with brows that met, a straggling beard, and a piping voice. He had been born in the Sahara long before the conversion of his Lamtuna tribe, and his soul still burned with all the fervour of a neophyte. He held worldly pleasures in disdain and was austere, humble, and holy. His only fare was barley bread, milk, and camel's flesh ; his only clothing was of wool, and he wore a veil over his face after the manner of the desert tribes, which the fakirs regarded as a symbol of the modesty that hid his nobleness and virtue.[1]

Sagrajas.

The news of the landing of the Almoravides was carried with all haste from the Toledan frontier to King Alphonso, who was then investing Saragossa. Little

[1] *Cartas*, translated by Beaumier, pp. 190, 192. The veil is still used by the Tuareg, who are the descendants of the Sanhaja. The Almoravide women, on the other hand, did not veil their faces.

doubting that those within the city were in ignorance of the turn of events, the Emperor sent a message to Mostain agreeing to accept the sum he had already offered in exchange for Alphonso's withdrawal. By this time, however, the news had reached Mostain, and he flatly declined to pay a farthing. The upshot was that Alphonso had forthwith to raise the siege he had so pertinaciously maintained ; and, summoning to his side Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, he at once sought the help of the princes beyond the Pyrenees and ordered Alvar Haftez to leave Valencia and join him. In spite of the exigencies of the occasion, however, he still ignored the Cid.

As Yusuf advanced towards Seville, Motamid and the brothers, the King of Granada and the King of Malaga, went out to meet him ; the King of Almeria sent his son with a squadron of horse and an apology for being unable to come in person because of the constant threat to his territory by the Christians at Aledo. The whole array then set out for Badajoz to join Motawakkil.

Alphonso, for his part, raised a great army. Sancho Ramirez of Aragon sent reinforcements, and from both Italy and France knights flocked to his standard. Determined to carry the war into the enemy's country, he at once marched south and came across the Moslems encamped near Sagrajas, some five miles from Badajoz.

The Moslem vanguard, which was separated by a hill from the main body, was formed of Motamid and the Andalusians. The Christians pitched their camp about three miles away, leaving a tributary of the Guadiana River, called today the Guerrero, between them and the enemy ; and both armies drank the waters of this stream. Thus they remained for three days, during which messengers came and went between the rival camps, to determine the day of battle. Motamid consulted his horoscope ; his omen was unfavourable, but that of Yusuf's camp was most propitious.

The battle began, ahead of the day appointed, on Friday, October 23, the Moslem Sabbath. It was before daybreak, while Motamid was still engaged in morning prayer, that scouts arrived at full gallop bearing the tidings that the Christians were coming upon them " like a swarm of locusts ". This was Alphonso's vanguard, led by Alvar Hafiez, and consisting of the Aragonese auxiliaries. True to their reputation, the Andalusian Moors quaked at the approach of the enemy and soon fell into disorder. The Sevillians alone held their ground. Motamid himself, though six times wounded, fought throughout the day with the greatest zeal and courage. The other Taifa princes were soon in flight towards Badajoz, relentlessly pursued by Alvar Hafiez and with none to help them. When news of their rout reached Yusufs ears, he coolly remarked, " Let the slaughter continue a little while longer ; they no less than the Christians are our enemies " ; and he calmly waited until the pursuing Christians had left their camp still further behind them.

New Tactics,

Whilst the vanguards of the two armies were thus engaged, the Christian main body, commanded by Alphonso, attacked the Almoravides and likewise broke the African front. Whereupon Yusuf despatched the great Lamtuna chieftain, Syr Abu ibn Bekr, at the head of the Moghreb tribes, to reinforce the line and support Motamid and his hard-pressed Andalusians. He himself, with his Lamtunas and other Saharan Berbers, fell upon the Christian rear and ravaged Alphonso's camp with fire and sword. Meanwhile Alphonso, victorious in his turn, had reached the tents of Yusuf and had already forced the great trench surrounding them, when he received the news that his own camp was being invaded. Taking hasty counsel with his captains



MOORS LEAVING, FOR WAR. THIRTEENTH CENTURY
(MS. of the Cautigas de Alfonso X, Escurial Library)



ANDALUSIAN MOORS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY
(MS. of the Cantigas de Alfonso X, Escurial Library)

(amongst whom was the ensign Rodrigo Ordoftez with his brother, the Count of Najera), he decided to abandon the attack and make a bid to save his rear-guard entrenchment. As they returned, however, they met leaderless mobs of Christians fleeing before Yusuf, who, with the rear-guard of the Almoravides, was advancing with drums rolling and banners flying. The clash between the two kings was terrific, but, in spite of tremendous losses, Alphonso succeeded in reaching his own camp and reorganizing his forces. The thundering roll of the Almoravide drums, now heard for the first time on Spanish soil, shook the earth and resounded in the mountains. And Yusuf, galloping along the serried ranks of the Moors, nerved them to bear the fearful sufferings inseparable from holy war, promising Paradise to the dying and the richest booty to those who survived the day.

This weird drum-beating, which so dumbfounded the Christians, is an indication in itself of the new tactics brought into play by the Almoravides, whereby compact masses, trained to regular, rhythmic, and unfaltering action, moved with one accord in obedience to successive orders. The idea of grouping the various units under their own banners, adopted by the Almoravide army at the same time as the drum, and the employment of bodies of Turkish archers, who fought in regular, parallel ranks, provide further evidence of this new method of warfare. The Christian knights, accustomed for the most part to single combat, where individual courage determines the issue, were nonplussed ; in spite of their better armament and superior skill, they realized their inferiority before the steadier massed formations whose onslaughts they were unable to withstand.

When they saw how badly things were going, even the Christian vanguard bent before the storm. As Alvar Haflez began to withdraw his knights, Motamid, already resigned to defeat, could scarcely believe his eyes, for it

looked as if he himself had forced them to retire. The reinforcements sent by Yusuf, Syr Ibn Abu Bekr with his Zanatas, Gomers, Mesmuds and other Moroccan tribes, now appeared on the scene, and the rout of Alvar Haftez became so manifest that even the fleeing Andalusians took heart and turned back from Badajoz to the field of battle.

The whole Moslem force now concentrated upon the attack and as the day waned Alphonso's position grew desperate. Yusuf's Black Guard of 4,000 men, armed with light Indian swords and shields of hippopotamus hide, was hurled fresh into the combat and cut its way through to the King himself. Alphonso, sword in hand, slashed out at a negro who, dodging the stroke and bending before the horse as it leapt upon him, grasped the reins and with a powerful knife-thrust pierced the King's mail and pinned his leg to the saddle. The Christians, unable to hold out longer, were driven from their camp at nightfall. The King, with his chief nobles, took refuge on a neighbouring hill, whence he beheld the flames devouring his encampment, while the victors sacked it of all its treasure, provisions, and arms.

The Emperor escaped from the hill under cover of darkness, accompanied by a remnant of 500 knights, nearly all of whom, like himself, were wounded. Nowhere could the fugitives find water, so that, tortured by thirst caused by continual loss of blood and having nothing to drink but wine, Alphonso soon fell into a dangerous swoon. During this flight, many were overtaken and slaughtered by the Almoravides, and it was only when he had covered some twenty leagues that Alphonso found refuge in Coria, the first Christian fortress, which he himself had reconquered nine years before.

Consequences of the Battle.

On the night of his victory on the field of Sagrajas, Yusuf caused the heads of all the Christian slain to be

cut off and gathered together in piles ; and from the tops of those gruesome minarets the muezzins called to morning prayer the victorious soldiers, now worked into a frenzy by the sight of this bestial treading under-foot of human remains, " in the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful ". Later, many cartloads of those rotting heads left for Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, Cordova and Murcia, to make known to all that they could now breathe freely, relieved of the constant dread of Alphonso and Alvar Haflez. Some were even sent to Africa, to be distributed among the Moghreb cities as evidence of the great victory. Nearly a century had passed since, in the days of Al-Mansur, the Spanish Moslems had last seen those pulpits of Christian heads and the trundling by of carts laden with the bloody trophies. The military prowess of the latest invaders of Europe revived the Holy War in no uncertain manner, and their successes and cruelties rivalled the greatest triumphs of the Ommeyad Caliphate.

The victory of Sagrajas, too, served to cement an Islam that had become disunited on either side of the Straits. When, on the battlefield, Motamid, wounded in many places and with a broken arm, congratulated Yusuf on his great victory, he and all the thirteen Andalusian kings and emirs who fought that day greeted the African as " Emir-al-Mumenin ", or " Prince of the Faithful ", and Yusuf adopted the solemn title for his official documents. Pious Moslems in Spain and Africa gave alms and freed slaves in thanksgiving to Allah for the signal proof of His love for His people. Spanish Mohammedanism, cultured no doubt, had lacked cohesive force until it eventually found it in the religious fervour the Africans came to arouse in Andalusia.

Yusuf's triumph, however, was beclouded by the news that was brought to him on the very field of battle of the death of his son and heir, who had been left sick at

Ceuta, and he resolved to return forthwith to Morocco. At all events, this is the only reason Arab authors advance for his leaving Spain. Be that as it may, it must have been a bitter blow to the victorious army to find itself unable to reap the harvest of so extraordinary a victory by, for instance, taking Toledo, or at the very least laying siege to it. However, much had been achieved. On departing, Yusuf left a division of 3,000 Almoravide horse under the charge of Motamid, who, in common with the other Andalusian princes, now ceased either to fear Alphonso or to pay him tribute. Even Al-Kadir of Valencia, as we shall presently see, allied himself with Yusuf.

3. THE CID RECONCILED TO ALPHONSO

Alphonso invokes the aid of all Christendom.

Alphonso was not slow to appreciate the vital mistake in his policy. He had harassed the Taifa kings beyond endurance without taking the precaution of seizing the Straits and thus cutting off their communications. Once Yusuf had taken Algeciras, the Spanish Calais, the Straits were thenceforward open for unity of action between Africa and Andalusia. And so an " Emir of the Faithful " had arisen in his might to challenge the " Emperor of the Two Religions ".

Alphonso dreaded the consequences of the Sagrajas disaster. Formerly the Andalusian kings had relied almost entirely on mercenary troops, who had proved themselves no match for the national forces of the Northern Spaniards. Now that the Almoravides had revived the Holy War, however, the tables had been turned. To meet this Islamic union between Africa and Andalusia, Alphonso conceived the idea of a united Christendom. He sent messengers beyond the Pyrenees demanding help and threatening, if this were not forth-

coming, to make terms with the Saracens and allow them to enter France at will. His urgent appeal was successful. Many French knights at once set to work to organize a great expedition, and both citizens and peasants offered their help.[1] The preparations, however, dragged on for months and months.

The Cid returns to Castile.

And now, too, the thoughts of Alphonso turned to the exile of Saragossa. Although the Cid had been content to allow his King to eclipse him, he had been too successful in dealing with dangerous situations for people to refrain from thinking that, if he had been in command at Sagrajas, Yusuf would never have been proclaimed Emir-al-Mumenin in Spain. Alphonso himself could not but feel that he had treated the best knight in the land unjustly ; but whether he recalled the exile (as he had Alvar Haftez before the battle) or received a petition from him, is not known. The fact remains that he was now, after the terrible disaster, very much more inclined to a reconciliation than he had been when he suffered the lesser disaster of Rueda.

Both history and the oldest poetry are agreed that the reconciliation took place at Toledo, and, it is more than likely, in the spring of 1087[2] ; so that, as the *Poem* is accurate in determining the place, it may be none the less so in the other details it gives of the reconciliation.

The followers of both the Cid and the King, so the poet avers, then prepared for the meeting that had been arranged between them. Many sturdy mules and swift palfreys are equipped for the journey ; the lances of the cavalcade flaunt their proudest pennons ; and with them

[1] See J. Saroihandy, in *Homenaje a Menendez Pidal,* II, p. 260.

[2] " Ilium recepi pro seniore in Toleto ", says the Cid in his fourth oath of the year of 1089 *(Historia Roderici).* The *Poema del Cid,* verses 1954, 1973, says, " on the Tagus ".

the knights carry shields that glitter with silver and gold and the finest furs ; cloaks, and silks of the East; all alike don gaudy apparel and start on their way. The King for his part sends an abundant supply of provisions to the trysting-place on the banks of the Tagus, near Toledo. When the Cid reached the spot and espied the King, who had already arrived and was advancing to meet him, he halted his men and, accompanied by only fifteen of his principal knights, he dismounted and approached Alphonso. When he reached him, he fell on his knees and bent low in deep humility before the Emperor who had treated him so unjustly. He even took grass and bit it, in token, according to an ancient ritual, of submission ; for at that moment vague millenary ideas stirred in the hero's mind. Amongst primitive Indo-European peoples the vanquished acknowledged his defeat by taking grass between the lips like a beast of burden ; and in mediaeval times, when a man fell mortally wounded, he put three blades of grass into his mouth, thereby humiliating himself before the Divine Power and joining in mystic communion with Mother Earth.[1] Profound indeed was the veneration displayed by the Cid on treading once more the land of his King.

And now, although the King orders him to do so, he refuses to rise ; on his knees he remains so that all may hear the words of pardon, which the King finally pronounces : "I forgive you, grant you my friendship, and from today I admit you to all my realms." " I ", replied the Cid, " thank God in heaven and you also, Sire, and all these retainers standing around." Then, as his vassal once again, he kissed the hands of the King and, rising to his feet, kissed him on the mouth. Most of those present were overjoyed at the proceedings, but bitter,

[1] Cf. G. L. Hamilton, *The Sources of the Symbolical Lay Communion* (in *Romanic Review,* IV, 1913, p. 221).

indeed, were the thoughts of Garcia Ordoftez, his brother-in-law, Alvar Diaz, and the other enemies of the loyal vassal.

Alphonso grants the Cid Privileges,

Returning to historical evidence, we know that the Emperor received the Cid into his kingdom with great honours. He gave him the castle of Duenas with the inhabitants of the district; the great castle of Gormaz that had been built by the Cordovan Caliphs to dominate the Douro, and, also on this river, the town of Langa with its surroundings ; and near Burgos, he added Ibeas de Juarros and Briviesca, and the Campoo and Eguiia valleys stretching towards the district of Santander. He also conferred upon him " sealed privilege ", whereby all lands and castles he might win from the Moors would become his own property and that of his heirs. The Cid returns to Castile, then, not merely as a vassal restored to favour, but like a conqueror to be respected and supported. The Cid's first vassalage to Alphonso was simply a personal bond ; this, his second, implied the addition of any conquests he might make to the customary grant of estates within the realm, thus laying the foundations of a future Cid dominion in Moorish territory.

The date of these royal concessions is not known ; what we do know is that on July 21, 1087, the Cid was in attendance at the King's Court at Burgos, when Alphonso arrived there with the Toledan Archbishop and several Castilian Bishops, doubtless on the way back from some military expedition or other.

One of Alphonso's Campaigns.

Although the alliance of the Andalusian princes with Yusuf had crippled his power, Alphonso amplified his old imperial title, making it still more explicit and affirm-

atory : *Adefonsus Imperator super omnes Hispaniae nationes constitutus.* Clearly, this title no longer represented a reality, so far as the Moslem States were concerned, but merely asserted a right whose recognition had to be regained ; but the King's special merit lay in the fact that never for an instant did he pause in his task.

When the winter following his defeat had passed, Alphonso mobilized his forces. On March 15, 1087, the Mozarab Count Sisnando made his will at Coimbra, preparatory to following his King into battle against the paynim ; and on April 25, Alphonso with all his Court and men-at-arms was at Astorga. There can be little doubt that some minor campaign took place that spring, possibly against Motawakkil of Badajoz.

The New Crusade in the West.

It was during that spring, too, that the army that had taken so long to raise in France, arrived in the Peninsula. With it came the Duke of Burgundy, Eudes I Borel, his brother Henry, and his cousin Raymond, Count of Amous ; Raymond de Saint-Gilles, the famous Count of Toulouse, also brought detachments from Provence and Languedoc ; and many knights came from the Limousin, Poitou and Normandy ; in short, nearly all the nobles of France had crossed into Spain.

But this great expedition came, not, as Alphonso had desired, to counteract the Holy War of the Almoravides, but to seek the Ebro valley, where not a vestige of any African was to be found. The idea of the Western Crusade, as Alexander II and Gregory V I I conceived it, confined operations to the Ebro basin, so that the new expedition placed itself at the service of Sancho Ramirez of Aragon. In due course they attacked the domains of Mostain of Saragossa and laid siege to Tudela, but serious dissensions then arose between them. The Norman leader, Guillaume le Charpentier, the gigantic, lusty,

garrulous, and mendacious Viscount of Melun, acted with the greatest duplicity ; it is said that he attempted to sell his comrades to the Moors (as later, during the first Crusade, he was to be accused of treason at Antioch in 1098). In the end that great expedition fizzled out just as that of Ebles de Roucy had done in 1077, and so many others of more recent date, which, initiated with generous enthusiasm, soon came face to face with the serious difficulties besetting them at every turn in the War of Reconquest. After undergoing the severest hardships at the investment of Tudela, the Frenchmen dispersed, each making his way home as best he could. Only Count Raymond of Amous and his cousin the Duke of Burgundy actually entered Leon in April and August, and they went to see their aunt Constance on important family matters. In this same year, 1087, we hear of Count Raymond's marriage to Urraca, the daughter of Alphonso and Queen Constance who was barely seven years old at the time.

And this was the sole result of the great crusade. Christendom had as yet but little idea of military cohesion, and the upshot was that the Spaniards were left to carry on unaided their national campaign against the might of Islam now restored to its full strength in the Holy War of the Almoravides.

Galicia and William the Conqueror.

As was only to be expected, Alphonso's defeat at Sagrajas was the signal for an attempt at dismemberment within his realm.

A Galician Count, Rodrigo Ovequiz, who had previously rebelled and been expelled by Alphonso to Saragossa, contrived to escape from Mostain's Court during the King's absence on his spring campaign. Returning to his native Galicia, Ovequiz took up his position in the castle of San Esteban de Ortigueira on the Cantabrian

coast and hoisted the flag of revolt. There can be little doubt that he was in league with Diego Pelaez, Bishop of Compostela, and that the two rebels aimed at nothing less than the surrender of Galicia to William the Conqueror of England. William's death on September 7, 1087, seems to have defeated the conspiracy. Although this rebellion proved abortive, it introduces a new element into the scheme of Spanish history and is worthy of emphasis, inasmuch as it demonstrates the permanence given to relations between peoples by their geographical situation. The sympathy between England and Portugal had its roots in this Galician venture long before Portugal became a nation.

Alphonso had apparently little difficulty in seizing the conspirators and quelling the rebellion, for we know that on June 18, 1088, he bestowed the estate of the rebel Count on the Cathedral of Lugo. In March of the same year he had held an Extraordinary Court at Toledo, at which Queen Constance, Cardinal Richard, and all the magnates and bishops of Castile and Leon were present. Rodrigo Diaz, who had been pardoned by the King at Toledo the year before, also took part in this solemn function.

CHAPTER X

THE CID IN THE EMPEROR'S SERVICE

I. THE EAST RECOVERED FOR ALPHONSO

Rodrigo returns to Saragossa. Situation in the East.

FOR over a year the Cid remained in obscurity at Alphonso's side, his hands tied by the subordination that the monarch's favour entailed, and we hear no more about him until the submission of Galicia in the second half of the year 1088, when he again appears on the scene at Saragossa, wearied no doubt of Court life and keener than ever to make use of his former experience in the affairs of the Spanish East either on his own account or as the Emperor's envoy. For Alphonso had granted to him and his heirs whatever conquests he should gain from the Moors, and these it was his aim to seek in the East.

Alphonso and the Cid were well advised to ignore for the time being the western half of Moslem Spain. Seville and Badajoz, the largest and wealthiest of the Moorish States, had been reinforced by the Almoravide troops that Yusuf had left at Motamid's disposal. The Eastern Peninsula, on the other hand, from Lerida to Valencia, Denia, Murcia and Almeria, which was divided into small domains, was left unprotected by the Almoravides ; and so it was that, as soon as Yusuf had sailed for Africa, the Christians were able to invade those districts, many of which, devastated by continual warfare, had now the appearance of deserts. Garcia Jimenez, who had in-

stalled himself in Aledo Castle, acted as Alphonso's scourge in the Kingdom of Almeria, as also in Murcia and Lorca, the farthest outposts of Motamid's realm. The Cid, meanwhile, chose Saragossa as his base of operations in an attack upon Valencia.

Valencia besieged by Al-Hajib of Lerida.

When, after his rout at Sagrajas, Alphonso was forced to abandon his designs upon Valencia, Al-Kadir felt that he could at last breathe freely. Relieved of the two-sided protection of Alvar Haftez, he followed the example of the other Andalusian princes and formed an alliance with the Emir-al-Mumenin. But, if the friendship of Yusuf was less exacting than that of Alvar Hanez, at the same time it failed in its object, and before long the very castle wardens in whom Al-Kadir had placed the greatest confidence arose in a body and refused any longer to pay tribute. Valencia, left to shift for itself, again became a prey to the greed of its neighbours.

The first to attempt to turn the occasion to his own advantage was Al-Hajib, King of Lerida, Tortosa and Denia, whose kingdom was split in half by Al-Kadir's possessions, which he, therefore, naturally wished to annex. Gathering his followers together in 1088 and aided by Catalan mercenaries, as he had been two years previously, he invested Valencia, within which, ever since the siege of 1086, he had many partisans who wished to surrender the city to him.

Al-Kadir in a fruitless sortie lost heavily both in men and arms and, being compelled to give battle daily to the besiegers, soon found himself at his wits' end. Now eager to surrender, he summoned a council of the leading magnates and citizens. And then it was that Ibn Tahir, ex-King of Murcia, who, on being dethroned by Motamid's general in 1078, had taken refuge in Valencia and had lived there ever since, encouraged the pusil-

lanimous Al-Kadir not to make unfavourable terms with the besieger and, by placing his treasure at the other's disposal, enabled the defence to be continued. The ever-fearful Al-Kadir, however, at once despatched a message of reconciliation to the Emperor Alphonso, informing him of his evil plight and begging for help. At the same time he sent a similar appeal to the King of Saragossa.

At Saragossa his request met with a prompt but not too sincere response. For it so happened that the lord of Cuenca had just arrived at Saragossa with the object of persuading Mostain, as son-in-law of Al-Kadir's predecessor, not merely to succour Valencia, but to take possession of it.

Al-Hajib flees on the Cid's Approach.

Mostain considered the opportunity too favourable to be lost. At that very moment the Cid was in Saragossa raising an army for his campaign against the Moors, and many, elated by the prospect of fighting under such a leader, were flocking to his standard. And so Mostain prevailed upon Rodrigo to accompany him with all his forces to the relief of Valencia ; he did not, however, apprise him of his intention to annex the city but, to ensure his co-operation, paid over the sum the Cid demanded. Mostain had no misgivings, even though the Cid's forces were eight times more numerous than his own. Anxious to arrive at the great and coveted city, he set out for Valencia with all possible speed.

His promptitude brought matters to a head, but it was not Mostain who reaped the benefit. When Al-Hajib learned that his nephew, accompanied by the Cid, was advancing on Valencia, he decided to decamp, for well he knew that Valencia would fall to them and that they would gather the fruits of his long and costly invest-

ment. He accordingly informed Al-Kadir that, not only was he raising the siege, but he wished to be his friend and would hand over to him all the provisions in his camp, afterwards sending men and money to help him against the King of Saragossa. Al-Kadir, though well aware that Al-Hajib was only awaiting a more favourable opportunity, thereupon signed a treaty with his unexpected ally. No sooner had Al-Hajib and his Catalans retired towards Tortosa, however, than he sought a more substantial auxiliary in the tough Castilian lances whose prowess he knew so well.

The Cid and Mostain arrive at Valencia.

Al-Kadir now sent messengers to meet Rodrigo and open secret negotiations with him, unknown to the King of Saragossa. What were Mostain's paltry 400 horse, when compared with the Cid's 3,000 ? And at any rate, how could he trust one whom he knew had come to usurp his kingdom ? Al-Kadir's envoys interviewed Rodrigo, tendered the recognized offerings of rich gifts and monies, and no doubt informed him that Al-Kadir had asked the Emperor for help before he appealed to the King of Saragossa. And so it came about that on the road to Valencia the foundations were laid, not only of a treaty between the feeblest king and the strongest warrior that had ever existed, but of a friendship between the two that was to be both enduring and eventful.

Al-Kadir met the expedition on its arrival at Valencia and, bestowing special attention on Mostain, as if he had actually come on a benevolent mission, and warmly thanking him for so loyally answering his call, lodged him regally, first in the royal gardens of the Villanueva suburb, and ultimately in the very alcazar of the city. Mostain was indeed most hospitably entertained, but the time wore on and not the faintest sign did the chief

of Cuenca give of being able to fulfil his promise to hand over the city to him. His hopes in this direction having vanished, Mostain confided to the Cid that his real motive in coming to Valencia was not to save Al-Kadir, but to take advantage of the lord of Cuenca's promise, which had not been fulfilled. What steps, he asked Rodrigo, should he now take to win the city? The Cid's reply was straight and to the point: how could a vassal of King Alphonso help him, seeing that Valencia was held by Al-Kadir on behalf of its true owner, the Emperor? If Mostain desired Valencia, he would have to ask the Emperor for it and, when once the royal consent had been given, he, the Cid, would very quickly put him in possession of the city. As things were, it was unheard of for a vassal of the King of Castile to act contrary to the wishes of his natural lord; the Cid was not at liberty now to serve the King of Saragossa as he had been when an exile.

Again thwarted and realizing the futility of relying upon the Cid to further his ambitions, Mostain returned to Saragossa, leaving a lieutenant with a squadron of horse at Valencia, ostensibly to help Al-Kadir, but actually to await an opportunity to attack the city. His parting advice to the Cid was that he should scour the country and deprive Al-Hajib's partisans of their means of livelihood. He especially urged the capture of Murviedro, which he knew to be ill equipped with arms and supplies through the neglect of its lord and warden Ibn Labbun, ex-vizier of Valencia. As it happened, however, Ibn Labbun, having grown weary of Al-Kadir's misrule and weakness and doubtless resenting the Cid's interference in Valencian affairs (he was a scrupulous Moslem), decided to open his gates to the King of Lerida and Denia. Whereupon Al-Hajib hastened to Murviedro to take over the fortress and receive the oath of fealty of its lord.

The Cid's Agreements with Alphonso.

Rodrigo was greatly perturbed at the turn events were taking in Al-Hajib's favour by the defection of Murviedro. He saw that he was committed to a more difficult task than he had thought, and until he should find a thread of Theseus to guide him in that labyrinth of interests and intrigues he determined to eschew all action. His new friend, Al-Kadir, he secretly advised on no account to give up the city to anybody ; at the same time he confirmed his offer to Mostain to help him win Valencia subject to Alphonso's consent ; and, when he found that the friendship of the Saragossan monarch was beginning to cool, he took the precaution of proposing to Al-Hajib that their long-standing feud should be brought to an end.

He then reported on the state of affairs in Valencia to Alphonso, reiterating his protestations of loyalty as a vassal and affirming that all he did and all he won would be for his liege and king. As for his knights, they were being maintained at Valencia and were at the disposal of the King, without entailing any expense on him, to harass the Moors and hasten the conquest of the East. This message gave great satisfaction to the monarch, who replied by giving the knights his permission to follow Rodrigo. We have this on the authority both of Ibn Alcama and the old poem, which so faithfully reflects the events of the time :

> **Ye who would seek to serve the Campeador**
> **Must now depart. God speed you on your way.**
> ***{Poem,* verse 1369)**

Secure of the King's approval, Rodrigo began to explore and exploit the land, which had hitherto been unknown to him. He sent his knights raiding in all directions and, when the Moors protested, he blandly

informed them that he was in duty bound to maintain his followers. This answer, handed down to us by Ibn Alcama, is also confirmed by the old poem :

> From noble Castile to this land we came ;
> And war with Moors to win our bread alone.

Having completed in this manner his survey of the district, the Cid returned to Alphonso to ratify with him the agreement that had already been formulated in connection with the conquest of the East.

Mostain in League with Berenguer.

But during the Cid's absence in Castile affairs in Valencia became still more complicated. When the King of Saragossa saw that Rodrigo was to lend him no effective aid and was resolved to place the interests of Alphonso above all else, he broke with his former ally. The rupture was at once taken advantage of by Count Berenguer of Barcelona, the Cid's old enemy, who betook himself with a great force to Saragossa, determined to fill the Castilian's place in the city. Mostain was overjoyed to receive him, came to a friendly agreement with him, and, having paid him a large sum of money, availed himself of the Cid's absence to send him to invest Valencia. To help him, Mostain set up two towers, one at Liria and the other at Puig (or Poyo) de Juballa, and was already planning to establish a third at Albufera to cut off all communication with the city. Al-Kadir, however, confident of Rodrigo's help, continued to defy the siege.

The Poyo of the Cid. Albarracin a Tributary.

Meanwhile the Cid tarried in Castile gathering his forces until, in the biblical phrase of the *Historia Roderick* " the season came when kings are wont to go to war ", or as Fra Salimbene puts it, " the calm, temperate, and

pleasant month of May, when the nightingale's song is often heard and the young grass offers its profusion to horses and cattle " ; that is to say, when campaigning is easy. It was then that Alphonso set out from Toledo to harry the lands of the King of Seville as far as Baeza, and shortly afterwards, the Cid left Castile with 7,000 men of all arms. Crossing the Douro by the Navapalos ford, at the foot of the great fort of Gormaz (held by him for the King since 1087), he marched through the southern part of Saragossa and pitched his tents at Calamocha in the territory of Albarracin, where he celebrated the Whitsun feast (May 20, 1089).

Toponomy confirms the old poet's assertion that the Cid established and fortified his camp on a hill less than a league from Calamocha, since called the " Poyo de Mio Cid " :

> High is the Poyo and marvellous and great;
> Impregnable it stands on every side.
>
> *(Poem,* verses 862-4)

The remains of vast walls that linked the two peaks of the Poyo may be seen to this day. The strategical importance of this position lies in the fact that it dominates the whole Jiloca basin belonging to two Taifa kingdoms (two modern provinces, geographically quite distinct regions). The fertile lowlands of Daroca belonged to Mostain, with their orchards, vineyards, and fields of hemp and wheat, whose spring-time verdure is in pleasing contrast to the reddish-brown soil and the golden adobes of the buildings. Up-stream, where the soil is more of a greyish colour, lay the domains of the King of Albarracin, comprising the higher and more exposed irrigated lands of Calamocha, as also the still higher and drier fields of Monreal, where nowadays only saffron and wheat are grown. Along the bank of the Jiloca the Roman road, which was still in use, ran from Calatayud to Murviedro ; and so from the Poyo

the Cid also commanded Mostain's sole means of communication with Valencia.

According to the old poem, Rodrigo stayed on the Poyo long enough to lay under tribute the whole country from Daroca to Teruel. This is substantially confirmed by the *Historia Roderick* when it records that King Abu Merwan ibn Razin of Albarracin sought a conference at Calamocha, at which the Cid promised to leave the King in peace and the latter agreed again to become a tributary of King Alphonso as he had been before the Sagrajas disaster. He also undertook to pay 10,000 dinars to Rodrigo as representing King Alphonso and holding his conquests by royal authority.

Valencia again Subdued.

Having made this quarter secure, the Cid abandoned the Poyo and marched seawards to relieve Valencia, eventually pitching his tents in the village of Torres, near Murviedro.

Berenguer, encamped at Cuarte above Valencia, was greatly alarmed when he heard of his enemy's approach ; he was certainly far from sharing the merry mood of his knights, who in a spirit of bravado amused themselves by hurling insults at the Cid, threatening him with death or imprisonment. Although Rodrigo was duly informed of all this fanfaronade he was reluctant to join battle with a cousin of King Alphonso's ;[1] and so for some days messengers continued to pass between the camps until the Count, yielding to necessity, raised the siege of Valencia and withdrew to Barcelona by way of Requena.

Once freed of this rival, Rodrigo, operating from Torres, easily quelled the few enemies he encountered and ultimately encamped near Valencia. Al-Kadir immediately sent him innumerable presents and became his

[1] " Ejus consanguineus erat ", *Historia Roderici.*

tributary, thus cementing the friendship begun the year before. He was to pay the Cid 1,000 dinars a week, in return for which Rodrigo agreed to make the castle wardens pay their dues as in former times and defend Al-Kadir against all his enemies ; he himself was to live in the suburb of Alcudia, where he could sell the booty captured in other parts and establish his own granaries and other stores.

None of the wardens dared to disobey the Cid's order to resume payment to their Valencian overlord, for all were eager to win Rodrigo's favour. Even Ibn Labbun of Murviedro, that learned and pious enemy of Christian intervention who but recently had placed his castle at Al-Hajib's disposal, agreed to pay the Cid 8,000 dinars a year. Finally, Rodrigo scaled the mountains of Alpuente, where Abdullah ibn Kasim held sway ; he laid waste the country and overcame its ruler, from whom he exacted a tribute of 10,000 dinars and then, after a brief stay there, went down and encamped at Requena.

Thus the Cid had made the position of Castile in the East stronger than it had been before the battle of Sagrajas ; and the submission of Albarracin, Valencia and Alpuente was more thorough and better organized than it had ever been before.

2. ALEDO AND THE CID'S SECOND EXILE

Garcia Jimenez.

The fruits of Yusuf's victory had thus been destroyed so far as the East of the Peninsula was concerned, and the triumphs of the Cid at Valencia, coupled with those of Garcia Jimenez at Aledo, meant the establishment of two great Christian outposts in the heart of the Moslem country.

After the Sagrajas disaster, Alphonso had still further fortified the castle of Aledo and ordered Garcia Jimenez

to devastate, in particular, the region of Lorca, on the eastern confines of the Kingdom of Seville, so as to pay Motamid out for having been the prime instigator of the advent of the Almoravides. The great castle was enlarged to hold a garrison of 12,000 men within its ramparts, without counting the women and children.

Two stories, one in Latin and the other in Arabic, furnish an idea of the daily peril in which the whole neighbourhood of the castle lived. About 1087, among the garrison of Aledo was one Pedro of Llantada, on the banks of the Pisuerga, a knight famous for both his courage and his lineage. Sallying forth on a raid one day, he was taken prisoner with all his men and fell by lot to one of the chief Moors of Murcia. Unable to find the money required for his ransom, he was cast into a deep and noisome dungeon, where he was kept entombed for two years. There came a day, however, when, his captor having released him and put him to work in a field, he succeeded, thanks to the intercession of Santo Domingo de Silos (whose miracles only fifteen years after his death were already numerous), in freeing his feet from the shackles and escaping ; after twelve days of flight he appeared at Toledo, giving glory to the divine protector that watched over the Christians as they daily risked their lives in the midst of enemies.[1]

The other story gives the reverse of the medal. In March, 1088, the Murcian poet, Abd-el-Khalil, was journeying with a friend from Lorca to Murcia and, to dissemble their fear as they approached the dread castle of Aledo, they set to improvising verses. Soon after passing a group of tombstones, they were surprised by a detachment of Castilian horsemen, who killed Abd-el-Khalil and despoiled his friend of all his possessions.[2]

[1] Grimaldo, *Vita beati Dominici,* I I , 25 (written *etre.* 1100), in S. de Vergara, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos,* 1736, pp. 389-92.

[2] *Al-Dabbi,* in *Biblioth. arabico-hisp..* I 1 1 , p. 384, biogr. 1101.

Following the Emperor's injunctions, the garrison of Garcia Jimenez made daily raids in the Murcian area, as well as in the neighbouring Kingdom of Almeria, ravaging the fields and taking captive or putting to the sword all with whom they came into contact, till every security had vanished from the land under the fatal shadow of the castle of Aledo.

The raids were a source of perpetual annoyance to Motamid, for his possession of Lorca was never free from danger and Murcia, now in the hands of Ibn Rashik, who was in revolt against him, was secretly aiding and abetting Garcia Jimenez. Even with the help of the Almoravides he had at his disposal, it was in vain that he set out to crush Ibn Rashik and put a stop to the Christian raids. The climax came when, near Lorca, 3,000 Sevillian horse fled before 300 knights of Aledo, and Ibn Rashik, incidentally, succeeded in winning over the Almoravides of Motamid.

Yusuf called to fight the Cid and win back Aledo.

Once again convinced of his own helplessness, Motamid saw that his only hope lay in a further appeal to Yusuf; but, as before, the fakirs forestalled him in carrying the idea into effect. Accompanied by nobles from Valencia, Murcia, Lorca and Baza, they had already gone on a mission to Morocco to lay before the Emir-al-Mumenin the intolerable situation in the East of Andalusia. Their chief complaint was against the Cid, who for seven years had been warring in the country of Lerida and was even now ravaging Valencia. They also bewailed the continual incursions of the Christians from Aledo, that kept the whole land from Lorca to Baza in a state of terror. So loud were their protestations against Rodrigo and Garcia Jimenez that in the end Yusuf agreed to recross to Spain as soon as it was possible for him to do so.[1]

[1] *Al-Holal al-maushiya* ; in Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis,* I I , pp. 201-2.

In the meantime, harassed by increased activity on the part of the Christians, Motamid took ship from Seville to the mouth of the Sebu, at La Mamora, where he sought Yusuf and begged him, in the name of the faith, to come over and eject the Christians from their castle in the very heart of Andalusia. This Yusuf promised to do immediately his preparations were complete.

Yusuf Returns. Siege of Aledo.

The Emir lost no time in mobilizing his forces and disembarked at Algeciras in June, 1089. His two objectives were Aledo and the Cid, and of these Aledo was the more urgent for the allied kings. The Almoravide army, supported by contingents from Motamid of Seville, Abdullah of Granada, Temin of Malaga, Mutasim of Almeria and Ibn Rashik of Murcia, accordingly laid siege to Aledo ; and attempts were first of all made to storm the fortress by means of battering-rams and other engines constructed by Murcian workmen. As these proved of no avail, the besiegers decided to starve it into surrender.

As time wore on, however, the tediousness of camp life served to intensify the quarrels among the Andalusian princes. No sooner had the monarch of Almeria managed to undermine Motamid in the eyes of Yusuf than Motamid himself, denouncing the King of Murcia as a usurper, alleged that he had been a friend, not only of Alphonso, but of the very defenders of Aledo. Yusuf at once ordered the fakirs to investigate Motamid's right to Murcia and, when this had been established, Ibn Rashik was promptly seized and handed over to the King of Seville. As it turned out, the consequences of this act were disastrous. The outraged Murcians promptly refused to supply any more provisions or workmen for the engines of war and soon scattered in all directions, to intercept the supply columns of the besieging army. Thus, after four months' investment, the Moorish force

became weakened by hunger and desertion, and, to crown all, in late autumn they learned that King Alphonso was marching against them. As for the besieged, the truth is that they were in a still worse plight, for their water supply was completely exhausted.

The Cid fails to join the Emperor.

Whilst the Cid, after the submission of Valencia and Alpuente, was resting at Requena, he received a communication from King Alphonso bidding him join forces and proceed with him at once to the relief of Aledo and engage Yusuf in battle. Rodrigo despatched a written reply by the selfsame messengers to the effect that he would obey the orders of his liege lord and awaited notice of his coming. He then struck tents at Requena and, to be near the scene of the coming campaign, set out for Jativa, where a further message arrived from the King ordering Rodrigo to meet him at Villena, through which he would certainly pass. The messenger informed him that the King already had at Toledo a large army which, we know from Ibn al-Abbar, consisted of 18,000 men.

The Cid, anxious about provisions for his army, instead of waiting at Villena, as Alphonso had ordered, encamped at Onteniente, which, besides being the best-watered valley in the whole interior, as well as the richest in wheat, barley, oats, carob beans, and oil, has the most numerous herds and is, in fact, almost as fruitful as the Valencian valley. In order that he might receive due notice of the arrival of the Christian army and so have time to reach Villena from Onteniente, he placed outposts, not only at Villena, the rendezvous fixed by the King, but farther out still at Chinchilla. It so happened, however, that, instead of going to Villena, as he had promised, Alphonso chose the more direct route through Hellin and the Segura valley to Molina,

two leagues from Murcia. When he learned that the King had already passed, the Cid immediately set out with his forces for Hellin and, greatly perturbed, pressed on ahead with a handful of men to Molina.

As fate would have it, he arrived too late, for the campaign had come to a sudden end in favour of the Castilians. When Yusuf heard of Alphonso's approach, he prepared for battle, but on second thoughts, having lost all confidence in the Andalusian troops and fearing that they would flee as they had done at Sagrajas, he decided to withdraw to Lorca. And, in spite of the sufferings they had undergone, Garcia Jimenez and the garrison of Aledo were able to sally out and harass the rear of the retreating army. Yusuf now abandoned all idea of prosecuting the campaign and, in high dudgeon at the Andalusians for proving such broken reeds, marched out of Lorca on the road to Almeria.[1]

As for Alphonso, once he had relieved and provisioned Aledo, he set out immediately with his army on his return journey ; and so the Cid reached Molina too late to meet the King and had to return to his camp at Elche to grieve over a failure which, although serious on the face of it, was really pardonable, having done no harm whatever. To those of his knights who dreaded the anger of the King, he gave permission to return to Castile forthwith.

The date of Alphonso's return to Toledo is common knowledge. On November 25, 1089, the Emperor's army was at Chinchilla, as We know from Diego Oriolez, a monk of San Millan, who goes on to tell of how, having no experience of the work, he had considerable trouble in leading the two mules that the monastery had been called upon to supply for the baggage column. This muleteer-monk, taking advantage of the good spirits prevailing on account of the happy issue of the cam-

[1] *Cartas ; Cronica de* 1344 ; *Cronica de Veinte Reyes.*

paign, contrived to interview the Emperor and persuade him to relieve the monastery of that obligation in future. In this way, the monasteries sought to free their estates, not only from all taxation, but also from any share in other public burdens. Don Alphonso granted San Millan this privilege, to commemorate his arrival at Aledo and Yusuf's flight. The grant was witnessed by those high civil authorities and clergy attached to the army who were most interested in that monastery, to wit, the Infante Garcia, son of the King of Navarre who was assassinated at Peftalen, the Bishops of Najera, Burgos and Palencia, along with several lords, including the Cid's worst enemies, Count Garcia Ordonez of Najera, and his brother-in-law, Alvar Diaz of Oca.[1]

And these same enemies it was who, along with other envious Castilians, worked upon the baser passions of the King by accusing Rodrigo of being, not merely a faithless vassal, but a traitor and alleging that the Cid's message asking for notice of his arrival was simply a ruse to avoid helping the expedition in the hope that Alphonso and his army would perish at the hands of the Moors.

The King's Anger. Dona Jimena Imprisoned.

The accusers had little difficulty in poisoning the King's mind. Alphonso lent a ready ear to the false imputations of the meddlers and backbiters and in a paroxysm of rage deprived the Cid of all the castles and towns and every honour he had conferred on him two years before. He also gave orders for the Cid's own estates to be occupied, his houses to be razed, and all the gold, silver, and other riches that could be found to be confiscated. He even went the length of subjecting Dona Jimena to the indignity of being bound and cast into prison with her three children. Here it should

[1] *Cartulario de San Millan,* 1930, p. 275.

be understood that the materialistic Germanic law, opposed in vain by the Romanized Visigothic code, held the family jointly liable in all penal matters (even a whole neighbourhood was held responsible for the crime of one inhabitant). It followed, therefore, that the wife could be called upon to pay the penalty for her husband's offences. True, in practice the responsibility was purely pecuniary, and even this custom tended to fall into disuse with the progress of ideas ; but in cases of high treason the law was inexorable, condemning to death both the traitor and all his family.[1] And that was the position in which Rodrigo came very near to finding himself, for he was accused of conspiring against the King's life. To make matters worse, as the Cid was now without a friend amongst the nobility of Castile, there was no one at all to curb Alphonso's wrath.

When the news of these baseless accusations and the personal abuse being heaped upon him reached the Cid's ears, he despatched one of his trustiest knights to the King with a prayer that he be allowed to clear his name by means of a legal duel to be fought either by himself or one of his knights. But in spite of the sincerity of his appeal, the king refused even to listen to the knight's explanations. He did, however, relent so far as to set free Dofia Jimena and her children and allow them to join the Cid.

The Cid in Vain endeavours to obtain a Legal Trial.

When Rodrigo at Elche learned that his proposal had been rejected, he determined to conduct his own defence and, being learned in the law, drew up four different forms of oath containing an explanation of his involuntary fault, a protestation of loyalty to the king, and a form of "confusion" or legal curse invoking divine justice. In the first three oaths he justified his conduct

[1] Cf. *Fuero de Cuenca,* cap. 43, par. 9, G. H. Allen's edition, 1909.

during the recent campaign, whilst in the fourth he presented the defence in more general terms, to provide against the possibility that the unknown accusations might refer to facts prior to Aledo. He asked that the King should choose whichever he pleased of those four oaths and, to fulfil it, declared himself ready to fight with any knight of the King, his equal in the rank he had held when he enjoyed the royal favour. And he ended up by saying that, if any other oath be found juster and better than his own, he would gladly accept it and clear himself by undergoing the ordeal therein imposed.

Now, according to the law of those days, when the call to arms went forth, anyone who strove to join the standard but failed to get there, cleared himself merely by taking an oath.[1] Alphonso, however, did not deign to accept either the oath or the challenge of the Cid and refused to listen to his demand that he be allowed either a regular trial or an opportunity to meet his accusers face to face. In the eleventh century the King's power was absolute, and Alphonso, in the knowledge that the Cid was without a friend at Court, made him feel the full weight of this power. A hundred years were to pass before Alphonso IX of Leon was compelled to swear before the Court in 1188 that he would refrain from venting his anger on anyone on the strength of intrigue or slander without first hearing the accused, disclosing the name of the informer, and making him prove his accusation or pay the penalty.

The blind intolerance of King Alphonso is of special significance at a moment when he was feeling particularly elated by the success attending a difficult campaign and the Cid had just achieved, both quickly and brilliantly, the submission of Albarracin, Valencia, and Alpuente in the name of his liege lord. No doubt this

[1] *Fuero de Cuenca,* XXXI, 1 and 2.

unexpected success of a vassal caused chagrin, not only to the hostile magnates, but to the King himself, and he in his implacable rage seemed only to desire to undo the Cid's work in the East, while regretting the concession he had made to the hero of whatsoever conquests he might gain. Be that as it may, subsequent events, including the siege of Valencia by the King in 1092, all give point to this argument.

CHAPTER XI

THE CID FACES THE ALMORAVIDES

i. THE CID AGAIN SUBDUES THE EAST

Position of the Cid, after his Second Exile,

YUSUF had come to Spain this second time to deliver Andalusia from the only two Christian menaces that had survived the victory of Sagrajas, namely, Aledo and the Cid. In this campaign he had at all costs to consolidate the gains of the first and, with this end in view, despite the failure of the Aledo expedition, before returning to Almeria, he in the first instance detached 400 horse and, later, a whole army under Prince Mohammed ibn Teshufin, to protect the Valencian region against Rodrigo. Thereupon he took ship at Algeciras and returned to Morocco.

When the Eastern Moors learned of the powerful support Yusuf was giving them and how the Emperor had renounced his vassal, they concluded that at last they were rid of Rodrigo ; and on this assumption Al-Kadir lost no time in stopping payment of his stipulated tribute.

The Cid, as in his first exile, found himself completely abandoned, with the difference that now he was surrounded by enemies. Through loyalty to his own King he had antagonized his former ally of Saragossa ; and now, deserted by Alphonso and the Castilian knights, he would have to battle single-handed against the rulers of Aragon, Barcelona, Saragossa, Lerida and Valencia.

His elaborate scheme to gain dominion over the eastern kinglets he had seen vanish into thin air, and at that very moment an Almoravide prince was preparing to attack him. His heart did not fail him, however, **and** he determined forthwith to reconquer the rich territories of the East, where intrigue was still rife. Although this time he would be unaided, as the undertaking was for his own hand, he would at least not be hampered by the obligations devolving upon a vassal.

War with Al-Hajib. Submission of Valencia.

The Cid celebrated the Christmas of 1089 at Elche and soon afterwards began to harry his old enemy Al-Hajib of Lerida and Denia, in whose country he had pitched his camp. Advancing along the coast, he attacked the castle of Polop (five leagues to the south-west of Denia) where, in a huge cave now replete, Al-Hajib guarded his treasure of gold and silver and precious cloths. This cave the Cid captured after an attack which lasted but a few days and then, enriched by the booty, he continued his advance to the very gates of Denia, where he re-fortified the castle of Ondara. There he passed the winter, making daily raids into that unfortunate land and ravaging it throughout. From Orihuela to Jativa the whole country was laid waste : " not one stone was left upon another ", as Ibn Alcama described it, " nor was there any sign of life at all ". Innumerable prisoners, sheep and cattle were taken, and the loot was so considerable that, even after the needs of his followers had been satisfied, there still remained a large quantity, which later the Cid sold at Valencia.

Rodrigo kept the Lenten Fast (Ash Wednesday fell on March 6, 1090) and the Easter Feast, on April 21, at Ondara, where he received messengers sent by Al-Hajib from Lerida and Tortosa to sue for peace. An agreement having been concluded, Rodrigo withdrew

from the Denia country and set out for Valencia. No sooner had he left, however, than Al-Hajib hastened to Murviedro with his friend Ibn Labbun (who had surrendered to him that great fortress in 1088 to spite the Cid) inspired, no doubt, by the hope that with the help of such a castle he would be in a position to re-assert his claim to Valencia.

But when Al-Kadir, the king of the great city, heard that Al-Hajib was approaching and that he had made peace with Rodrigo, he realized the danger he was in of being dethroned by the latter in favour of the King of Denia. Accordingly, after taking counsel with his ministers, he at once sent a large gift of money to renew the friendship and submission he had, he declared, forsworn in an evil hour. Nor were the other castle wardens, who had already shown themselves disposed to rebel against the King of Valencia when they saw him unsupported by the Campeador, behindhand in flocking to the Cid with their gifts and tributes. Thus, Rodrigo again found himself in the position he had occupied before incurring the unwarrantable anger of the Emperor.

Berenguer organizes a Coalition against the Cid.

Apprised in due course of the fact that Valencia had again submitted to the Cid, Al-Hajib forestalled the danger that awaited him at Murviedro by making off at midnight with all speed to his own territory of Tortosa. There he set his wits to work on an ambitious plot to throw the Castilian out of the country and to this end he sought to enlist the aid of Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, Count Berenguer of Barcelona, and Count Ermengol of Urgel. Both Sancho and Ermengol, however, were too well aware of Rodrigo's superiority, the one by personal experience and the other through his brother, and the result was that Al-Hajib only found

support in Berenguer, a stiff-necked campaigner, who still nursed a hatred of the Cid for having captured him at Almenar in 1082 and ejected him from Valencia in 1089, whereby he lost the coveted tribute from that realm.

It was not until he had left the dominions of Al-Kadir and arrived at Burriana, in Al-Hajib's country, that Rodrigo assured himself of the latter's duplicity. Instead of leaving the domains of the faithless monarch, however, he pushed forward towards Tortosa, scaling the arduous Morella range and finding there a superabundance of provisions and livestock. All the villages he came across he razed to the ground and destroyed every orchard, vineyard and cornfield in the district.

When Al-Hajib saw that his land had been stripped of all its flocks and crops and left absolutely desolate, he sent messengers with large sums of money, to induce Berenguer to march from Barcelona to Calamocha in Albarracin. The Count duly arrived and at once sought out Mostain of Saragossa in the neighbouring city of Daroca, who also paid over a considerable sum, and ratified the treaty that had been entered into between the two in the preceding year. Thus, fear of the Campeador had now united under the aegis of Berenguer the two lifelong rivals, Mostain and his uncle, Al-Hajib. But Berenguer was not yet satisfied. His aim was to deal a decisive blow, and he accordingly urged Mostain to accompany him to a conference with King Alphonso. By uniting the Emperor's forces with his own and those of the two Beni Hud kings, he hoped to crush the Cid once and for all.

Berenguer and Mostain met Alphonso at Oron (half a league from Miranda de Ebro) in the territory of Garcia Ordofiez and tried their utmost to persuade him to join the alliance against Rodrigo. Berenguer boasted before the two sovereigns that, whatever happened, he himself

would drive the Cid out of Tortosa and had only desisted from doing so hitherto because the Cid had been the Emperor's vassal. Why, the exile would not dare even to await his coming. His knights, especially Ramon de Barbara, were not slow to endorse the tall talk of the Count and roundly abused the Cid, holding him up to the scorn of the many Castilians who, such as Garcia Ordoftez, were the hero's enemies at court. But the Emperor was not deceived by the braggart Count and turned a deaf ear to his proposal, whereupon Berenguer and Mostain departed in high dudgeon.

Even without Alphonso's assistance, however, the combined forces of Berenguer and the Beni Hud kings at Calamocha were so numerous, between Moors and Christians, that both the Count and Mostain felt positive that the Cid would flee at the mere rumour of their approach. To the Eastern Moor the Catalan knights were the strongest in the world, as they were also the best-armed and the most formidable in combat; but, over and above these, Berenguer had others from the March of no less repute and in particular the same Gerard Aleman, Count of Cervellon, who five years before had ridden around the walls of Valencia striking terror even into the heart of Alvar Hanez.

The Encounter in the Pine-wood of Tevar (May ?, 1090).

When the Cid learned of the vast numbers that were marching upon him, he doubted whether he would be able to hold his own against them all. To oblige Berenguer to split his force, he determined to avail himself of the lie of the land by taking up his position in the Tevar pine-wood in a narrow-necked valley, which he fortified with well-defended barriers.

His preparations complete, he sent a message to Mostain who, having no illusions about what the Emperor's rebuff meant and knowing the Cid only too well, had

already sought means to impress upon Rodrigo that it went very much against his grain to have to join forces with such as Berenguer. He took the opportunity to warn the Cid to be prepared for an immediate attack. The Cid's reply was couched in terms of biting sarcasm. He thanked his "faithful friend, the King of Saragossa", for the warning, but gave him to understand that he felt nothing but scorn for the Count and all his men; let them come on, he said, for with God's help he would make it hot for them when they did. In conclusion, he invited Mostain to show his letter to Berenguer.

Meantime, the mighty array of the Count of Barcelona had made its way across the mountains and pitched its camp within distant sight of Rodrigo's position, which Berenguer's scouts duly reconnoitred under cover of darkness from the summit of the great hill of Herbes (?) beneath which it stood. On the following day Berenguer's men addressed themselves to taunting the knights of the Cid and daring them to come out and fight in the open; but Rodrigo bade them answer that he was not there to fight but merely wished to be left to roam around at his pleasure. The men then drew near to where the Cid himself was lodged and with many a jeer urged him to come out, adding that he lacked the courage either to leave the hill or meet them in battle. But again Rodrigo ignored their insults, and so the story of Marius and the Teutons was repeated: "Why don't you come out?" "Why don't you make me?"

Letters of Defiance.

In the hope that a written challenge would make the Cid abandon his vantage-ground Berenguer then sent him the following letter:

"I, Count Berenguer of Barcelona, at one with my

vassals, tell thee, Ruy Diaz, that we have read the epistle thou didst send to Mostain, bidding him show it to us to increase our anger against thee. Thou hast thought well to add mockery to thy former insults. Thou hast even likened us unto our spouses ; but, instead of returning the insult to thee and thy followers, we ask God to deliver thee into our hands that thou mayest learn we count for more than women. The money thou didst take from us of yore is still in thy keeping, but Almighty God will aid us to get it back. It is easy to see that it is thy wish to fight us with the help of thy mountain in which thou dost put thy trust; well we know that the hills, with the rooks and ravens and hawks and eagles, are thy gods, in whose omens thou trustest more than in the One God, to Whom we therefore pray to give us vengeance upon thee. By the grace of God, tomorrow at dawn, thou shalt see us very near. Should'st thou leave thy mountain and meet us in the open plain, then wilt thou be Rodrigo whom men call ' the Campeador '; but if not, thou wilt show thyself to be but a traitor and a knave. All thy vaunted courage will avail thee naught ; we shall not leave thee until we have made thee, dead or in chains, the scorn and derision of all, even as thou madest of us. God in his mercy will avenge the churches thou didst destroy and violate."

Chiefly concerned about proving himself in the right, the Cid at once replied that not he but Berenguer himself had been the first to resort to insults. For the rest, he deplored that the name of God should be bandied about in the exchange of human hatreds, as was the invariable subterfuge of those whose hatred was deepest, and he then contented himself with one last thrust at the Count when he darkly alluded to the notorious fratricide committed nine years before. The gist of his reply was as follows :

" I, Rodrigo, at one with my comrades, greet thee, Berenguer. True ; in my letter to Mostain, I insulted thee and thy vassals, but I was fully justified in so doing, for well I knew how thou didst deride me at Calatayud before King Mostain and in Castile before him and King Alphonso, and how Ramon de Barbara and others of thy knights mocked and defamed me at Alphonso's Court. Though thou hast a treaty with Al-Hajib and acceptest his gold for turning me out of his country, verily I ween thou durst not fulfil thy promise or seek me out. Yet come—come and fight! Remember all the harm I have done to thee and thine. Christians and Moors alike know that I imprisoned thee, and that the riches of thee and thine are in my hands. Come ! Let not my mountains be thy excuse, for I await thee on the flattest land for miles around. An thou darest come, thou shalt see again some of thy former riches, but it will be for thy undoing rather than thy gain. Shouldst thou refuse to come, I will write of thy cowardice to King Alphonso ; messengers shall tell of thy fear to King Mostain and not a magnate, be he Christian or Moslem, but shall know of it. Thou twittest me with being a knave and a traitor, but then thou hast a lying tongue ; he who has been proved to be the traitor is one thou knowest full well, even as he is known to Moor and Christianalike. Thouvauntest much of conquering me, but victory is in the hands of the Almighty, not in thine. Enough then of words, and let us fight it out like very knights. Come quickly, and receive thy wonted reward ! "

The Cid succeeds in Dividing his Enemies.

While these letters were being exchanged, the Cid continued with his preparations. He sent out a number of men, who had been carefully instructed, to play the part of deserters and allow themselves to be taken by

the Catalans ; and these in due course conveyed to Berenguer the intelligence that the Cid intended to escape that night by one of the three highest passes through the mountains. Acting upon this information, the Catalans, as the Cid had foreseen, thereupon divided their forces into three, so that each of the passes might be seized and guarded. Rodrigo, however, anticipated his enemy's plan and laid an ambuscade of Moors, under some of his own captains, among the broken ground around the passes. In the meantime Berenguer and his chief knights who, their anger kindled by the Cid's letter, were athirst for vengeance, decided at a council of war that the Count himself should keep guard over the entrance to the valley, whilst a division of Catalan knights was pushing forward under cover of darkness to seize by stealth the summit of the great hill that dominated the Castilian camp. This operation was duly carried out unperceived by Rodrigo.

The night's events came as a complete surprise to both sides. No sooner had the Catalans who had been detailed to seize the passes scaled the rugged heights than they fell into the ambuscades that awaited them, and in less than no time the three divisions were cut to pieces ; all the leading knights were captured, chief among whom was Gerard Aleman, who was suffering from a wound in the face.

Meanwhile, Berenguer's men, who had taken possession of the lofty height overlooking the Cid's encampment, now began to creep down the slope, bent on springing a surprise attack from above and developing, as they fondly thought, the Cid's projected flight through the captured passes into a rout. Before the early dawn had begun to streak the darkness, the Catalans had reached their objective and with a triumphant yell rushed down to the attack. In great alarm the Castilians, whose whole vigilance had been concentrated upon defending

the entrance to the defile, rushed from their tents to meet the double threat from mountain and valley. The Cid himself, seething with excitement and " grinding his teeth ", hastily ordered his knights to don their armour, tighten up the girths of their drowsing horses, form up in battle order, and charge the advancing enemy. And at the same moment the Count launched his attack upon the entrance to the valley. His dispositions made, the Cid pressed forward to tackle the column of Count Berenguer and in one furious onslaught threw it into the wildest disorder. In the course of the battle the Cid was unhorsed and fell bruised and wounded ; but his men fought on, to win a glorious victory and capture Berenguer with nearly 5,000 men.

The Cid gave orders for Berenguer and the various other nobles to be guarded, whilst the Castilian knights despoiled their camp of all its gold and silver and precious cloths and took over their mules and palfreys, armour, shields and lances, all of which were handed over to the Cid to be duly shared out.

Berenguer a Prisoner. The Ctd's Banquet.

In the hope that he might be able to come to some agreement or other with the Cid, Berenguer now sought an interview and found Rodrigo seated in his tent, still suffering from the effects of his fall. The Count begged humbly for mercy, but the Cid treated him most ofF-handedly and without even offering him a seat, ordered his knights to take him away and keep him under close arrest. In due course, however, having relieved his feelings and humbled the boastful spirit of the Count, Rodrigo relented and ordered that his enemy be supplied with the choicest viands ; he also promised to let him return a free man to his own country.

Now, both the Latin historian of the Cid and the

old poet (also a historian for laymen who spoke only in Romance) took due note of this strange gesture of Rodrigo's. In vain did the Cid's kitchen excel itself in the food it offered Berenguer ; beside himself with anger and vexation, the Count would eat nothing, determined to remain on what is now termed " hunger strike ".

To revive his spirits, Rodrigo made him a promise : " Come, Count, eat this bread and drink this wine. If you do what I ask, you shall leave captivity ; but if you refuse, no Christian land will you ever see again ". But the distrustful Count remained obdurate : " Eat, Don Rodrigo, and be merry. As for me, I only wish to die." And so it came to the third day. The Castilians were busying themselves with the distribution of the rich haul of booty ; the Count was still deaf to reason and would eat nothing but a miserable crust of bread. Whereupon the Cid renewed his promise : " Come, Count, eat thy fill, when I will set thee free and two of thy nobles to accompany thee ", and the stubborn captive at last gave in : " I f thou dost fulfil thy promise, 0 Cid, all my life will I marvel at it." " Eat then, Count, and when thou hast had thy fill, with other twain shall I set thee free. But know that of all that 1 have gained from thee, not one base coin shall I restore to thee. For of it we have the greater need, we who suffer in exile the wrath of our King." The Count took heart of grace, asked for water to wash his hands, and sat down to eat with two of his knights as the Cid had arranged. Famished as he was, his appetite knew no bounds, and it pleased the Cid intensely to see him eat so eagerly. " And now by thy leave, my Cid, we are ready to go ; let our beasts be brought forthwith. Never since I have been a count have I dined so well. The pleasure of this repast will ever remain with me." Three palfreys, well saddled, were placed at their dis-

posal and, clothed in the finest fur-lined garments, the Count rode off with a noble on either side and the Cid, in merry vein, accompanying him as far as the neck of the valley. The Count then spurred forward, looking back from time to time to make sure that the Cid had not changed his mind ; but his fear was groundless, for the punctilious Castilian never went back on his word.

It suited the minstrel's poetic purpose to dwell on the poverty in which the Cid lived in exile and omit all reference to the generosity which, according to the *Historia Roderici,* he showed to all he conquered. In the *Historia* we find that, having promised the Count his freedom after the banquet, the Cid, who had by then recovered from the effects of his fall, stipulated for a ransom from Berenguer and Gerard Aleman together amounting to 80,000 Valencian marks of gold. The other prisoners paid varying sums and in addition had to surrender all the valuable antique swords in their possession. Here again the *Poem* bears out history, when it tells of how the Cid won Berenguer's sword, the " precious Colada, worth a thousand marks and more ", that the Cid always used thereafter and made famous. The freed Catalans kept their word and duly returned to Rodrigo with the vast sums agreed upon for their ransom. Many who could not pay brought sons and relations as hostages, which so moved the Cid that, after consulting with his followers, he forgave them all their ransoms and let them go. These took their leave with expressions of deep gratitude and many a protest of their willingness ever to serve their benefactor to the utmost of their power.

When it is borne in mind that quickly-won wealth was the main object in mediaeval warfare and that, as ransom was one of the chief means to that end, it was considered more expedient to take an enemy prisoner

than put him to the sword, the Cid's generosity towards his captives is readily apparent.[1]

Berenguer renounces his Protectorate over the Moors.

All these scenes of moral and warlike triumph that took place in the Tevar pine-wood had far-reaching repercussions. When Al-Hajib, the Cid's inveterate enemy, learned of Berenguer's defeat, he lost all hope of support for his schemes and, lapsing into melancholy, died soon after. Among the Eastern Moors, too, the fame of the Cid, who for the second time had overcome the great Margrave of Barcelona, grew by leaps and bounds and even spread to the other end of the Peninsula, where the Portuguese writer, Ibn Bassam, extolled the military genius of Rodrigo, who with a mere handful of warriors had scattered the hosts of Count Garcia, the Prince of the Catalans, and the King of Aragon. Amongst Christians, the rout of these powerful hostile counts, besides surrounding the exile with a halo, assured his dominion over the Saracens : " qui domuit mauros, comites domuit quoque nostros ", as the Latin poet so tersely put it.

Needless to say, the Cid had no intention of abandoning those lands from which the vanquished allies had schemed to drive him. If he left the domains of Al-Hajib, it was only to occupy those of Mostain. He first of all encamped at Sacarca, near Saragossa, where he remained for nearly two months (July-August ?), and then removed to Daroca (August-September) in order that his army might take advantage of the abundance of bread, barley and cattle to be found in the district. In Daroca he fell seriously ill and at once despatched knights with letters to King Mostain. When the mes-

[1] In a poetic tale such as the *Nibelungen*, King Gunther, although a model of courtesy and liberality, only sets the Saxon prisoners free without ransom when advised to do so by Siegfried.

sengers were ushered into the presence of the Moorish king, they found Count Berenguer seated at his side, which seemed to indicate that the alliance formed in the preceding year between the Saragossan Moslem and the Barcelonese Christian against Rodrigo was still in existence. However, when the Count learned that the knights came from the Cid, he charged them to convey to their liege his most cordial greetings and an assurance that he wished to be his friend and helper.

The Cid, who by the time his knights returned was already convalescent, received the message with a bad grace and paid little heed to the Count's protestations. The fact was that he distrusted Berenguer's presence at Saragossa and accordingly refused point-blank to treat with him in any way whatever. To his chief knights this attitude seemed indefensible. Had the Cid not conquered, despoiled and imprisoned Berenguer ? And at all events was it not the Count who was the petitioner and the Cid who had received the petition ? Yielding in the end to the persuasion of his followers, the Cid ordered the messengers to return to Saragossa and accept the Count's friendship. Thus encouraged, Berenguer at once left Mostain and hastened to the Cid's camp at Daroca, where the two former enemies concluded a highly important treaty. By it the Count formally renounced all claims to the lands of Al-Hajib that for so long had paid him tribute and handed them over to the protection of the Cid from whom he had tried so hard to keep them. In the Tevar pine-wood the mighty Count had learnt to recognize the sterling worth of the man he had refused to listen to at Barcelona as being beneath his notice. The treaty signed, the new allies went down to the coast together, and then, taking leave of Rodrigo, who had encamped at Burriana, Berenguer returned to his county.

The Cid, Master of the East.

After the battle of Te var, Rodrigo's star was in the ascendant.

Al-Hajib had left a young son, Suleiman ibn Hud, in the guardianship of the Beni Betir, one of whom held Denia, where the lad lived and his money was minted, another Jativa, and a third Tortosa. They were all agreed that, now that they had been abandoned by Berenguer, they could not exist without the help of the Cid and accordingly, with due humility, placed themselves at his orders and offered to pay whatever yearly tribute he should demand. This the Cid fixed at 50,000 dinars a year, and they not only bound themselves to pay this sum, but placed the whole territory comprising Lerida, Tortosa and Denia as far as Orihuela under Rodrigo's protection. No doubt it was about that time that the Cid also occupied Lucena, Villafranca and Moleta, which dominated the whole country-side between Burriana and Morella and bear the name of the hero to the present day. Thus, both the East and the South-east of Spain were completely in Rodrigo's power. Apart from the Beni Betir, the Lord of Santa Maria (Albarracin), Ibn Razin, paid the Cid 10,000 dinars ; Ibn Kasim of Alpuente paid him 10,000 ; Ibn Labbun of Murviedro, 8,000 ; Segorbe Castle, 6,000 ; Xerica Castle, 3,000 ; Almenar Castle, 3,000; Liria, 2,000. The largest tribute of all, 52,000 dinars, was paid by Al-Kadir of Valencia, who in addition was responsible for a tithe of 5,200 dinars payable to the " Said Almatran " (the metropolitan lord) as the Moslems styled the Mozarab bishop who had been placed there by King Alphonso.

In Valencia, indeed, the word of the Cid was law ; and his dictatorship was made all the more manifest by a long illness of Al-Kadir's, during which nobody

saw the Moorish king, with the result that in the city it was thought that he had died. The Cid had, however, placed the whole of Valencia nominally in the hands of the vizier, Ibn al-Faraj, of the noble family of Cuenca that had always supported Al-Kadir. He also appointed the necessary officials in Valencia, to collect the land and maritime taxes, and located a Castilian knight in every village in charge of the Moors and to preserve peace throughout the country. Although the upkeep of these knights entailed a burden that was resented by the villagers, the Valencians themselves were thankful for the justice and prosperity their appointment brought in its train ; for now they obtained bread and cattle in abundance through the Christian raids, as well as Moorish captives of both sexes, whose labour and ransoms represented a facile source of wealth.

2. THE ALMORAVIDE DANGER GROWS

The Plans of the Cid and the Emperor's. Anti-Almoravide reaction in Andalusia.

Ever since Sagrajas, Rodrigo had striven to form a vast protectorate in the East. Now that he had succeeded in doing so, he was having the greatest difficulty in maintaining it. The presence of the Almoravides in the South had revived the Moslem spirit through Al Andalus and given new hope to all who opposed Christian domination.

The Cid worked incessantly to consolidate his position in Valencia, so that he might operate from there against the invaders. He took great pains to avoid giving any cause for offence to his Moorish subjects, lest they should turn to Yusuf; he ruled with a justice that was tempered, as Ibn Alcama himself admits, by benevolence ; although he required obedience and a reasonable tribute of his subjects, he neither squeezed nor oppressed them

as, for example, Alvar Haflez had done in the Emperor's name in Valencia.

Alphonso, too, was beginning to realize that the time had come when the high-handed policy he had adopted towards the Moors should be abandoned in favour of one similar to Rodrigo's. Above all, he regretted his precipitance in attempting to subdue the Andalusian kings. There was no doubt that he had treated them too harshly, exacting not only enormous tributes, but, a still greater blow to them, lands and castles as well. Now, reversing his policy, he sought to ingratiate himself with the Moorish chiefs and princes by promising to demand neither money, towns nor fortresses, if they would only help to drive the Almoravides out of Andalusia. His friendly tactics, however, produced no immediate result ; men still remembered, not only the insults he had heaped upon them, but also the great triumph of the Almoravide Emir at Sagrajas. Moreover, the Almoravides had won another signal victory over the flower of the nobility of Castile and Leon and Alvar Hanez and the Beni-Gomez combined ; and so all Alphonso's promises to the Moors for the time being fell on deaf ears.

In course of time, however, Yusuf 's soldiers in Andalusia ceased to be looked upon as saviours and gradually assumed the aspect of rapacious guests. The quarrels between them and the Andalusians, begun at the siege of Aledo, became more embittered, until at length the Kings of Granada and Seville, with various others, entered into secret negotiations with Alphonso ; all of them pledged themselves, in return for Alphonso's support, to supply the Almoravides with neither men nor money and some went as far as to offer to hand over their realms to the Christian and remain as governors where they had ruled as kings.[1]

[1] **Ibn al-Kardabus, *Kitab al iktifa* (in Al-Makkari, transl, by Gayangos, II, p. xl.),**

Yusufs Third Campaign in the Peninsula.

So it came about that towards June of 1090, when the African Emperor made his third landing at Algeciras, the Andalusian emirs, instead of offering him any assistance, put as many obstacles in the way of a holy war as they possibly could.

YusuPs ambition was to reconquer Toledo and thus gratify a great popular aspiration: " May Allah ", all good Moslems exclaimed when mentioning the Visigothic capital, " once more write its name in the register of Moslem cities ! " The Almoravides, absolutely unaided, attacked the city, made havoc of its walls, cut down the trees, and laid waste the country for miles around. Alphonso, however, replied with a stout resistance, and Sancho Ramirez of Aragon hastened to his aid (August-September ?). Completely baffled, Yusuf was forced to retire, and this failure, following up the fiasco of Aledo, still further incensed him against the Andalusians.

His attitude in this direction gave an impetus to the movement of the clerical party amongst the Spanish Moslems, which, led by the fakirs, identified itself with the religious zeal of the Almoravides against the Taifa kings and the excessive officialism indispensable to the maintenance of their luxurious Courts. Life at those Courts, which had become centres of a brilliant culture, had indeed reached a high standard of refinement, but the people groaned under the burden of taxation, and personal safety became jeopardized both by the flagrant misgovernment and the Christian menace. What wonder that the Imams, backed by the rude strength of the Almoravides, found more support for an Islamic revival among the masses than the Andalusian kings, repenting too late of having invoked foreign aid, could ever hope to expect for their policy of Spanish nationalism.

The Cadi of Granada, Abu Jafar, who had already

conspired with Yusuf at the siege of Aledo and had thereby incurred the wrath of the Granadan monarch, now imparted to Yusuf the wrongs he had received and at the same time succeeded in getting the other cadis and fakirs of Andalusia to issue two fetwas. One of these proclaimed that the brothers, the King of Granada and the King of Malaga, had forfeited their regal rights through the many illegal acts they had committed ; and the other allotted to Yusuf, as Emir of the Faithful, the task of instilling a sense of duty into all the Andalusian kings and urging them to refrain from imposing upon their subjects any taxes heavier than those prescribed in the Koran and the Sunna. Now, to try to apply to Andalusia this pious and popular fiscal policy, which the Almoravides had established in Africa, was tantamount to declaring open war on the Taifa kinglets, with whom it had become second nature to levy huge taxes for the upkeep of their Courts and the purchase of that foreign help without which they could not subsist. Nevertheless, in obedience as usual to the wishes of the fakirs, Yusuf ordered the Andalusian emirs to suppress all illegal taxation forthwith, and, withdrawing from Toledo, led his army towards Granada, without however declaring his hostile intentions.

The Granadan King, Abdullah, the Berber friend of Garcia Ordofiez, whose army the Cid had routed ten years before, had again made a treaty with Alphonso and put himself under his protection, for which he had paid, in defiance of the Emir of the Faithful, a considerable sum of money. In vain, however, did he now send message after message to Alphonso ; the Emperor found it impossible to help him. And so, when Yusuf arrived on November 10, the only course open to Abdullah was to sally forth and humbly crave the Emir's pardon. But to little purpose ; Yusuf, unable to forgive his dealings with Alphonso, threw him

into chains and, having dethroned his brother, Temin of Malaga, eventually shipped them both to Africa, with their families and harems, to pass the remainder of their days on an allowance he made them.

The Moorish Princess Zaida pledged in Favour of the Anti-Almoravide Alliance.

Just before these events took place, Motamid of Seville in a moment of covetousness had an inspiration. It occurred to him that Yusuf, who had taken Algeciras from him, might be disposed to give him Granada in its place ; and so with this object in view he had the conscience to accompany Motawakkil of Badajoz to congratulate Yusuf on his disposal of Abdullah. Yusuf, however, disdainfully sent them about their business, and they returned home filled with fear. " By Allah,'' moaned Motamid to his companion of Badajoz, " the Almoravide will make us swallow the same potion as Abdullah "; and in this conviction he returned to Seville and immediately set about repairing the fortifications of the city. Meantime, his first-born did not omit to remind him of their discussion in the past. " Did I not tell you, padrecito," he said, with the Sevillian partiality for the diminutive, " that this man from the Sahara would be our ruin if we brought him over ? " To which Motamid replied sadly: " What can the foresight of man avail against the Divine decree ? "

At the same time, every precaution had to be taken. Now openly preparing to resist Yusuf (presumably at the end of 1090), Motamid, impulsive and original as ever, sought to strengthen his alliance with Alphonso, in the most public and binding way possible, by offering him his daughter Zaida as a concubine, with a dowry of that part of the old Kingdom of Toledo that had been annexed to Seville, namely, the district of Consuegra, Huete and Cuenca. The sensual Alphonso, in

violation of the chaste customs of his father Ferdinand, welcomed Zaida, who, the minstrels assure us, was already enamoured of the Christian King " by hearsay, though not by sight ". It was not, however, until he had taken counsel with his counts and courtiers and saw his opportunity of rounding off his Toledan domains with her dowry that he accepted her as a concubine. This Moorish princess, who had been baptized Isabel, was another addition to the rivals of the unfortunate Queen Constance and her successor in the royal bride-chamber, Queen Bertha ; and she it was who presented the Emperor with his only male child, the Infante Sancho.

But this close family alliance was formed too late both for the Moorish father and his Christian son-in-law. Yusuf, before re-embarking at the end of November, called upon the fakirs of Spain and the Moghreb to give their verdict on the behaviour of the Andalusian princes, especially in so far as the holy war was concerned. The fetwa of the fakirs was incontrovertible : those princes were wholly unworthy to reign over Moslems and had forfeited all right to their thrones through their impiety. YusuPs scruples about going back on the oath he had sworn before his first landing in Spain to maintain the Taifa princes on their thrones, the fakirs speedily put at rest : " The princes, far from keeping their promises, have allied themselves with Alphonso against thee that thou mightest fall into his hands. Depose them ! We will answer for thee to God, and if we sin, eternal punishment shall be ours ; but, if thou leavest them in peace, they shall surely surrender the lands of Islam unto the Christians, and thine will be the blame." The Sevillian fakirs for their part singled out the Sultana Romaiquia, the lovely poetess with the impetuous and charming caprices, as the object of their attack and denounced her for having enmeshed Motamid in a whirl of abominable pleasures, dragging him so deeply into

the mire of public libertinism that he even neglected to fulfil the precept of Friday prayer at the Mosque. To Yusufs mind there could be no doubt that this reprobate, who had so outraged Moslem feelings by handing his daughter over to the infidel, deserved above all others to be dethroned.

These fetwas were submitted by Yusuf to the most learned doctors of Iraq, and all, including the famous philosopher Algazel and the historian El Tortosi, who had gone to live there, endorsed the opinions of their western brethren and authorized Yusuf to carry out the sentence of Allah on the Andalusian emirs.

The sentence was duly executed by force of arms. The Almoravide general Syr Ibn Abu Bekr, Yusufs first cousin, whom he had left in Spain, was entrusted with the mission, and by December had already begun operations against Motamid by capturing Tarifa.

This compelled the Emperor to go to the assistance of Zaida's father and the other Andalusian kings who were suffering under Yusufs yoke. And in the meantime the Cid made ready to defend the East against the Africans.

The Cid makes War on the King of Saragossa.

Mostain's enmity constituted a grave threat to the dominion of the Cid. True, the King of Saragossa yielded to none in his fear of Yusuf and being, like all the Beni Hud, a lukewarm Moslem too prone to Christian alliances, he was loathed and despised by the partisans of the Ahnoravides ; for all that he was so dominated by ambition that, to retain his throne or, it might be, to enlarge his dominions, he was equally ready to court the favour of the Almoravides. And it is just possible that Yusuf, who, on leaving Aledo, had detached an army against the Cid, had intended to give some share in Valencia to the Saragossan king, whose

marriage gave him at least the shadow of a claim to the coveted city.

Ever since Berenguer's investment of Valencia in 1089, Mostain had maintained the two outposts he had then established at the Poyo of Juballa and Liria. Rodrigo, with the view of putting an end to such pretensions once and for all, encamped before Juballa, where he celebrated Christmas, and then sent a warning to Mostain to abandon both positions. This, however, the Saragossan refused to do, maintaining that Al-Kadir should first pay him the expenses he had incurred in that unfortunate expedition which, in company with the Cid himself, he had made in 1088 to raise the siege of Valencia by the late King of Denia and Tortosa.

The Cid thereupon invested Liria, which had failed to pay the tribute of 2,000 dinars due for the year 1090. During this siege the Christian knights on their raids into the territory of the King of Saragossa captured huge quantities of booty, all of which was taken to Valencia for sale to the great advantage of that city. The defenders of Liria, worn out with warfare, famine and thirst, had already been reduced to a desperate plight, when news arrived from Castile which upset the whole of the Cid's plans.

The Queen's Letter to the Cid.

To meet the African menace in Andalusia, the Emperor's first thought was to plan a counter-stroke in Granada, for the success of which he no doubt relied on the support of the ex-King's partisans. The month of March, 1901, was about to end when, having obtained the consent of the *infanzones* to pay on this one occasion the same as the commoners, Alphonso levied an extraordinary tax throughout his kingdoms, to defray the cost of the war against the Almoravides. He had already announced his intention to march upon Granada and

lay it under tribute and had ordered every count and magnate in the kingdoms to supply their quota of arms and food. This much we know from a hitherto unnoticed anecdote that tells of how Bremundo Roiz, a Castilian nobleman of Arauzo de Miel, near Silos, was in such haste to finish his preparations that he set his steward to hewing wood on a Sunday, for which heaven chastized him by smiting him with illness.

On the eve of the campaign, Queen Constance (again subjected to the presence of a rival and more than ever disposed to recognize Alphonso's injustice) decided to force the King into a reconciliation by inducing the Cid to take part in the war. Her best policy, she determined, was to co-ordinate the King's plans and the Cid's against the Almoravides. And so, with this end in view, this wise and prudent woman, as her familiar Alon Gramatico describes her, wrote direct to the Cid and at the same time urged other Castilian friends to do likewise. All of them informed the outlaw of Alphonso's imminent departure for Granada and his resolve to wrest that city from the clutches of the Almoravides, and all begged and counselled him not to delay but to join forces with the King at once, for by so doing he would win Alphonso's pardon and friendship.

The Cid received these letters when Liria was on the point of surrendering to him ; but for all that, in view of the Queen's wishes and the chance of reconciliation with the King, he did not hesitate to abandon the siege and set out in pursuit of the Christian army, which by forced marches he succeeded in overtaking at Martos. When Alphonso heard of the Cid's arrival, he galloped out to meet him and received him with every honour. Together they left Martos by way of the mountainous region of Alcala la Real and the Sierra de Parapanda, and at Pinos Puente they caught sight of the vale of Granada.

Before Granada. The King's Fresh Displeasure with the Cid.

The King had his tents pitched at the foot of the bare, black cliffs of the Sierra Elvira, near the thermal springs and the remains of the Roman town, which the Arabs called Elvira and had once occupied as their capital, but which was now derelict, owing to the emigration of its inhabitants to the new capital of Granada, known to the ancients as Iliberis.

It was with envious eyes that the Christians gazed upon the wonderful panorama of the city rising out of the luxuriant valley, that formed so striking a contrast to the rocky wastes shrouding the mountains they had crossed. Barely eighty years had passed since the Berber band of the Zayris had set up their capital in Granada, but already a red Alhambra, the forerunner of that which exists today, from amid the greenery of the terrace that had been the site of the ancient acropolis, dominated the entire town and stood out in bold relief against the distant snows of the Sierra Nevada. So vast was the treasure stored within the palaces of that huge fortress that even the austere Yusuf was unable to restrain his greed when he conquered Abdullah and caused the floors, pipes, and even the sewers of the royal mansion to be torn up and ransacked for the gold and pearls of the dethroned King.

The Cid was the last to reach Elvira, but, pushing on ahead of the royal camp, he entered the vale and there pitched his tents with the dual object of keeping a closer watch over the monarch's safety and bearing the brunt of the coming battle. For, remembering how the backbiters in 1081 and 1089 had accused him of exposing the King to danger from the Moors, he was determined to run no risk of any similar charge. It so happened, however, that once again his plans came to

naught. The King took his vassal's solicitude in bad part. It may have been that, out of humour with the Queen's officiousness, he had been reconciled to the Cid with a bad grace. Whatever the reason, moved now by envy and displeasure, he saved his courtiers the trouble of sowing fresh scandal by himself blurting out : " Behold how Rodrigo has chosen to insult us once again. Though he arrived today after us, worn out by his long journey, he must needs go on ahead and pitch his tents in front of us." The whole Court applauded the King's denunciation of the Cid's presumption ; but all this petty squabbling merely served to sap the spirit and paralyse the action of the whole of that Christian army.

For six days Alphonso remained before the city, but neither did he open his attack (possibly because the party of the dethroned Berber within failed him) nor did the Almoravides come out to fight. In the circumstances, he returned to Toledo by a different route and had taken up his quarters in the castle of Ubeda, situated on a height in the Guadalquivir valley, when Rodrigo, unaware of the King's annoyance, arrived and pitched his camp on the plain near the same river. At this fresh display of overbearing self-confidence, the King could no longer contain his anger. When the Cid came forward to greet him, he received him with the utmost harshness, accused him of all sorts of imaginary wrongs, and in a blind fury hurled insult upon insult at him. In vain did the Cid seek to explain ; the more he tried, the angrier Alphonso grew, until at last he could think of nothing else than imprisoning the man who had flung away his chance of taking Liria to become his vassal.

The Cid, divining the monarch's purpose, bore his wrath patiently, but at nightfall he withdrew, at considerable risk, from Alphonso's camp and sought the security of his own. Even there, however, he did not find either the peace or the loyalty he had anticipated ;

the news of the King's displeasure had produced restlessness among his knights, many of whom, bent on returning to Castile, now left their leader to enter the service of Alphonso. And so the history of Aledo, right up to the desertions that followed the King's displeasure, had repeated itself in every detail.

It is difficult to understand the envy, of which the Latin historian accuses the King, and his inveterate antagonism to the Cid to the prejudice of his own interests. As a matter of fact, Alphonso possessed all the personal qualities he required to live without being troubled by envy ; but he lacked that calm self-confidence and noble resignation essential to one who refuses to be obsessed by the resentment and hatred born of a conscious inferiority. The more famous the Cid became, the less he could bear the very sight of him. The old imputation " Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands ", has always stirred up evil passions in the breasts of the mighty, whose exalted position demands that they maintain an appearance of superiority often without any justification whatever. And Alphonso persecuted the Cid just as pertinaciously as Saul, in his demoniacal fury, attempted the life of David. Nor was this to be the last time.

At dawn on the day after the disgraceful scene at Ubeda, Alphonso, his heart full of rancour, took the road for Toledo by way of the Desperiaperros defiles in the Sierra Morena ; whilst the Cid, in the deepest dejection, followed the more difficult route through the Segura ranges towards the Valencian region he had left in an evil hour all through his unquenchable desire to be reconciled with the King.

Alphonso shut out from Andalusia by the Almoravides.

Once again at daggers drawn with the great warrior, the Emperor found himself helpless to stem the tide of the Almoravide successes.

Syr Ibn Abu Bekr, who had already captured Cordova (March 26) and Carmona (May 10), now laid siege to Seville. For help Motamid turned to his Christian son-in-law, who at once sent a large army under Alvar Haftez, next to the Cid the greatest Christian leader in Spain, to relieve the town. When it reached the castle of Almodovar del Rio, however, this force was intercepted and in the ensuing battle, in spite of the heavy losses suffered by the Almoravides, was finally cut to pieces (July ?, 1091). Alvar Hanez, who had himself received a sword-thrust in the face, succeeded in making good his retreat, but left in the enemy's hands many knights who were destined to undergo a long period of captivity in the dungeons of Almodovar Castle. Seville was left to defend itself and was soon afterwards stormed and sacked with great savagery by the Africans (September 7). Motamid, along with Romaiquia, was deported to Agmat, near Marrakesh, where they had to suffer a long and bitter captivity. When he took ship on the Guadalquivir, with his children and harem, the grief-stricken Sevillians thronged to the river banks, the women dishevelled as if in mourning, tearing their faces in anguish ; and as the ship set sail, black despair gripped every heart, for the passing of that magnificent Court spelled the ruin of Andalusia at the hands of the barbarian. The clerical party, on the other hand, was above entertaining any such sentiments. The fakirs, the real authors and abettors of the invasion, profited by the victory to secure the triumph of the Maliki orthodoxy over the indifference of the Andalusian Courts and the heterodox sects that infested the Taifa kingdoms under cover of that indifference. The Maliki doctors installed themselves in the important public posts and through their fetwas, so respected by Yusuf, conducted the highest affairs of State, dethroned kings at will, and instigated the persecution of the Mozarabs. Learned and ascetic

as they were, they eagerly flocked to the standard, thus restoring the character of a holy war to the struggle with the North for the first time since the death of Al-Mansur.

And so the religious and military reaction swept away the nationalist movement in every part of Andalusia. The King of Almeria soon suffered the same fate as the King of Seville, and Alphonso's erstwhile undisputed influence received two decisive blows ; YusuPs son, Ibn Ayesha, took Murcia, which Alvar Haftez failed to succour as the inhabitants had hoped (November-December, 1091), and immediately after starved the oft-disputed castle of Aledo into surrender. With the fall of this last Christian stronghold, all trace of Alphonso's imperial sway over the Moslems vanished. In little more than a year the Almoravides had annexed four of the principal Andalusian kingdoms, only Badajoz, where Motawakkil ibn al-Aftas kept on good terms with the invaders, retaining its independence. All initiative on Alphonso's part, so far as the South was concerned, was now out of the question. In 1089 the two thorns in Yusuf's side had been Aledo and the Cid : now only one remained, the Cid.

3. THE EMPEROR OVERSHADOWED BY THE CID

The Cid fortifies Pena Cadiella against the Almoravides.

Despite the awkward situation in which the Cid found himself after his disastrous interview with the Emperor at Ubeda, his chief concern was to tighten his hold upon the East.

Foreseeing the imminent Almoravide advance, and considering the defence of Denia impracticable, he decided to establish his lines of defence a little farther to the north, so as to protect the Valencian district. With this end in view, he availed himself of the high valley of

Albaida, occupying, not the plateau at Onteniente where he had quartered in the autumn of 1089, but the part backed by the Sierra Benicadell, which, though not so rich, was of greater strategical importance.

The name Benicadell is a corruption lending an Arabic appearance to the name given to the range by the Mozarabs who lived there in the time of the Cid. They called this part of the range Pefia Cadiella or " The Whelp ", in contradistinction to the more western prolongation whose neighbouring peak, Moncabrer, has a height of over 4,500 feet against the Cadiella's of barely 3,600. The only passes through the Benicadell range are at its two ends, so that it shuts in the southern part of the Valencian plain like a wall. Its bleak, rugged summits overhang the shaded part of the valley, giving it a cool atmosphere and an abundance of water that render it fertile and smiling. Its arable land bears excellent vines, olives, wheat, barley, and carob beans, and in its watery gullies the peasants grow mulberry trees for the silkworm industry.

Overlooking this admirable site for quartering an army, and standing on a spur of Mt. Carbonera, below the lofty peaks of the Benicadell, was a very important castle. On the summit itself, guarding the castle against any surprise attack, a watch tower commanded a view over the whole country-side as far as Valencia, over forty miles away. Lesser forts at Beniatjar and Carricola, from where Jativa castle, some ten miles away, may be seen, complete the defence,

One of the guardians of Al-Hajib's son, the Ibn Betir who held Jativa, to save the expense of upkeep had razed the castle of Pefia Cadiella to the ground. He had formerly offered it along with two other fortresses to the Cid in part payment of tribute. Rodrigo, realizing both the dangers of the situation and the fact that this was " one of the world's strong castles ", had it rebuilt with

the aid of overseers, workmen, and money supplied by the King of Valencia and, having erected a large number of strong subsidiary buildings, surrounded the whole with massive walls. Next, he furnished the castle with weapons of every kind and a plentiful supply of grain, wine, and cattle and garrisoned it strongly with both horse and foot under Martin Fernandez, who had already taken possession of all the castles in the vicinity. The strategical value of these positions lay in the fact that they held the Sierra Benicadell which, as already indicated, bars the Valencian region on the south, leaving the only means of access to the Valencian plain from the southern mountain regions by the passes at either extremity. One of these passes is the coast road that runs from Denia, through the closely cultivated lands of Gandia, to Cullera ; and the other is the inland highway from Alcoy and Concentaina that leads through the Jativa vale. And thus the Cid, as master of Pena Cadiella, held, as the early poem accurately observes, both the entrance to and exit from Valencia against any invasion from the south. Satisfied with these dispositions, Rodrigo went down from the Sierra Benicadell to the plains around the city.

Rodrigo the Goth and Rodrigo the Cast Man.

The danger the Almoravides constituted to the Spanish Reconquest explains why the Cid, immediately he was in a position to undertake work of importance on his own responsibility, pursued the same ends as the Emperor and helped him to check the African invasion. But, now that Alphonso had lost all his power in the South, the Cid in his eastern realms found himself more closely begirt with dangers than ever.

In the first place, the situation in those selfsame realms was none too safe. The King of Saragossa's claims to Valencia did not offer a serious menace, when

taken by themselves ; but the steady approach of Yusuf 's soldiers encouraged Moslems everywhere to rebel against Christian domination, and soon there was not a city or a castle where the Almoravide party, swollen with political malcontents and religious fanatics, might not suddenly rear its head.

Again, the position throughout Moorish Spain, where the disunion of the Taifas was being followed by a consolidation of the Moslem alliance between Spain and Africa, could scarcely have been more critical. With the Almoravide invasion, indeed, the struggle between the two civilizations had reached its height. Before, as we have already seen, the slight racial differences between the Caliphate and the northern kingdoms had been more or less satisfactorily settled ; the civil strife between the Christians and Islamized Spaniards gradually died down as the connection between the two peoples became more intimate, to develop into that confraternity of which the Infante Sancho, the son of Alphonso and Zaida and only male descendant of the Emperor, was the last exponent. But now, with the invasion of the desert races and the recrudescence of Islamic fanaticism, a new chasm opened out between the two. And, on the Christian side, it was the Cid who, as leader of the resistance against the victorious invaders, showed himself the most determined to carry on the war without giving or seeking quarter. He it was who, with growing harshness, gave the Spanish Moslems to understand that no mercy would be shown to any who sought an alliance with the Africans.

Further, when the Emperor lost Andalusia, revealing his utter helplessness to stem the Almoravide advance, and when, not only he, but Alvar Hafiez and the Beni-Gomez as well, broke before the new tactics of the invaders, it was upon the Cid that the task devolved of resisting, unaided, the whole might of Islam, a task

that would extend the scope of his operations far beyond the confines of the East.

And the Cid felt equal to the task. So far he had vanquished all the greatest among his Christian rivals—Garcia Ordoiiez, the King of Aragon, the Counts of the March ; he had been acknowledged by the powerful Count of Barcelona ; he had subjected several of the Moorish kings and laid them under heavy tribute ; and now, at forty-five years of age, he was overlord of a vast dominion that extended from Orihuela to Tortosa and comprised the richest lands in the Peninsula. Well might he have every confidence in his strength, assured as he was, in the words of Ibn Alcama, of his acknowledged superiority over all men of arms of his day. His heart swelled with pride. The hour had come to dream of great deeds. The exile, whose life was spent in battling against the dangers that beset him at every turn, rose superior to them all. Not for him to rest upon his laurels ; his thoughts were already soaring on the wings of his inextinguishable ambition. He would drive out the Almoravide invader, not only from the East but from the whole of Spain. He would reduce every Emir in Al Andalus to submission. A Moslem had heard the Cid declare in one of these moments of sublime aspiration and ardent desire for action : " A Rodrigo lost this peninsula, but another Rodrigo shall save it " ; and the threat these words implied, as Ibn Bassam wrote, filled every Moslem breast with fear, for it seemed as if the calamities they dreaded were soon to fall upon them.

Rodrigo opens Negotiations with the King of Aragon.

In furtherance of his plans to drive out the Almoravides, the Cid sought to extend his sphere of action by co-operation with the other Spanish kings.

On his return to Valencia from Benicadell, he found

a messenger from King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon (November ?, 1091). Sancho, like Berenguer, had been a rival of the Cid for the Moorish tribute but now followed the example of the Count who, though more obstinate and vindictive than the other, had already made his peace with the exile.

The messenger had been sent to place his services and those of the forty Aragonese knights who accompanied him, at the disposal of the Cid, who quartered the company in the suburb of Alcudia, where the Castilians, as also the diocesan appointed by King Alphonso, had their abode. Among this little band of Aragonese, now fraternizing with the Cid's Valencian garrison, was no doubt that " Galind Garcia, the good, of Aragon ", whom the old minstrel tenderly refers to as one of the hero's followers.[1] In this connection, authentic documents prove that in the Cid's time there did exist a historical Galindo Garcia, who was lord of Estada and Laguarres in Western Aragon. And the accuracy of the minstrel's reminiscences becomes still more pronounced when he narrates that in the Cid's absence this Galindo was entrusted, along with Alvar Salvadorez the Castilian, with the defence of the city. We know, in fact, that Rodrigo at the end of 1091, leaving the Aragonese envoys, the Castilian garrison, and his tax-gatherer at Alcudia, went to the Morella mountains, where he solemnly celebrated the Christmas Feast.

The Cid makes a Fresh Alliance with Saragossa and Aragon.

A few days after his arrival at Morella, the Cid received a surreptitious offer to deliver over to him the castle of Borja lying to the west of Saragossa, and, as his kniglits considered the occasion propitious to punish

[1] ***Poema del Cid,*** **verses 740, 3071, etc.**

King Mostain for his defection, he decided to advance on that castle.

Just then, however, a messenger arrived from Mostain bearing the news that Sancho Ramirez was again threatening Saragossa. It seemed that at a distance of only four leagues farther up the Ebro from the city he had erected a stronghold, with the object of extorting and increasing the tributes paid of old by the Beni Hud to the Kings of Pamplona. When the messenger had gone, Rodrigo, with a handful of men, moved stealthily forward by night in the direction of Borja, but he had barely reached Saragossa when he discovered that the statement about the surrender of the castle was false ; in spite of this, he did not withdraw but decided to await the rest of his army. At this juncture a deputation of Saragossan nobles and senators arrived at his camp with the express purpose of entreating him to make peace with the Moorish King. An interview with Mostain was at once arranged and a treaty of peace signed on the spot. The fact of the matter was that it was to the interest equally of the Cid and Mostain to renew their friendship, for both were endangered by the activities of the Almoravide forces, which were moving from the West of the Peninsula to the East and had already occupied Murcia and Aledo. To the Moor especially the treaty was of vital importance. For already the Africans were spying out the land at the Saragossan frontier from many of the castle turrets in the mountains of the South ; and before long the fate of the Zayris of Granada, the Beni Abbad of Seville, and the Beni Somadih of Almeria would inevitably overtake the Beni Hud dynasty. Everything considered, then, Mostain's only salvation lay in making Rodrigo's position in the East secure, so that he might act as a buffer between the vanguard of the Almoravides and the Kingdom of Saragossa. Thus, far from contesting as formerly the

Cid's right to Valencia, he now offered to help him hold it.

Having made peace with Mostain, the Cid, whose main army had now joined him, resumed his journey to Saragossa, crossed the Ebro, and encamped beside the city. In the meantime, Sancho Ramirez, resolved to ascertain the Castilian's objective and the strength of his force, levied a large army throughout Aragon and Navarre and, supported by his son Pedro, with whom he shared the kingdom, penetrated Mostain's country as far as Gurrea, twenty-five miles to the north of Saragossa, where he encamped. Messages were then despatched with all haste to Rodrigo, expressing the earnest desire of both Sancho and Pedro to continue the negotiations for an alliance already begun at Valencia ; and in due course a meeting was arranged, at which the three concluded a treaty of friendship and mutual help that was destined to grow stronger with the passage of time. To crown all, the Cid with the utmost tact paved the way for a similar agreement between Sancho Ramirez and Mostain, without prejudice at all to Sancho's right to his stronghold near Saragossa.

These treaties, of which Rodrigo was the soul, consolidated the union of Spanish Christians and Moslems against the African invaders ; they constituted a coalition the object of which was to preserve the East from Yusuf's grip, which had already fastened on the South-west and more recently on the South-east of the Peninsula. For Mostain was not alone in offering to help the Cid, Sancho Ramirez was also bent on taking part, though in a lesser way, in the defence of the East, not only with the forty knights now stationed at Valencia, but by occupying a small strip of coast at Castellon and Oropesa, which would effectually cover the Cid's rear during his activities in the Valencian region.

These preparations completed, Sancho returned to

Aragon, but Rodrigo remained at Saragossa as the honoured guest of Mostain and was immersed in his plan of campaign, when he was rudely interrupted by a threat from a very different quarter to the invasion of the Almoravides.

Alphonso, the Ally of Genoa and Pisa.

Meanwhile, Alphonso was levying a large army and garnering the necessary supplies. As Emperor, he was counting on the co-operation of both the King of Aragon and the Count of Barcelona ; and, by way of gaining reinforcements for the great warlike enterprise he was about to launch, he enlisted the aid of the republics of Genoa and Pisa. These allies, who together constituted the greatest Christian sea-power in the Mediterranean, had already sent an expedition to Syria in 1001, and another to Tunis in 1088. By the agreement with Alphonso the two fleets were to help in the taking of Valencia, which was the main object of the campaign, and were also to assault another tributary of the Cid's, Tortosa, by sea, whilst Sancho Ramirez and Berenguer advanced upon it by land.[1]

Alphonso opened his campaign in May?, 1092, by marching on Valencia and pitching his camp, within sight of the city, on the Poyo de Juballa. He then ordered the wardens of all the castles depending on the capital to pay him in advance five annual instalments of the tribute they were under obligation to pay to the Cid. The Campeador was still in Saragossa, when he heard of how the Emperor, not satisfied with having confiscated his properties, imprisoned Jimena, and grossly insulted him at Ubeda, was now seeking at all costs to render his efforts fruitless and even deprive him of his tributaries.

Now, according to the law governing the nobility, if

[1] ***Kitab aliktifa,*** **in Al-Makkari, transl, by Gayangos, II, p. xxxviii.**

any noble were unjustly driven out of his country, he was entitled to take up arms against the King and overrun his lands and the lands belonging to his subjects ; and, further, the exile's retainers were bound to assist him. But the Cid's case was even graver ; for on two occasions he had gone to the succour of his monarch without being restored to his favour. What he should have done was to attack the King's armies, castles, and lands. But it never entered the Cid's head to avenge himself on his sovereign for the insults the King had heaped upon him ; nor would he do so even now. And yet, forbearing as he was, he felt that the time for stern action had come. He sent a message to Alphonso at Juballa expressing his astonishment that the Emperor should thus seek to discredit him ; he trusted that God would reveal to Alphonso how evil was the counsel given him ; in spite of the King's unmerited insults, never would he lift a hand against him but, in order that he might vindicate his honour, assailed by those evil counsellors, let them meet him in the field and show whether they were as expert with their weapons as they were with their tongues.

Rodrigo's Vengeance

When the Emperor received this message, he feared for Rodrigo's enemies and warned them of their peril, for well he knew the Cid. Rodrigo, for his part, at once set about reinforcing his own following with Moorish auxiliaries, supplied by his tributaries, Mostain and the young Suleiman ibn Hud of Tortosa and Lerida, and chose as his initial target his arch-enemy, Garcia Ordoftez. Invading the territories of Calahorra and Najera, he left behind him a trail of fire, destruction, and rapine. He captured Alberite, the royal inheritance of the wife of Garcia Ordoftez, and, having also taken Logrofio, gave over both towns to pillage, ravaging the land on every

side. But still the Count did not appear to defend either his county or his estates. It was not, indeed, until he was on his way back to Saragossa and, to complete his vengeance, was in the act of storming Alfaro Castle, that the Cid at length received a message from Garcia Ordofiez and his kinsmen, begging him to grant them seven days and no longer, when they undertook to come and give him battle. Rodrigo agreed and awaited their coming.

Garcia Ordonez had collected a large force from among his relatives and partisans, the nobles and magnates who ruled from Zamora, Carrion, and Saldana to the Oca Mountains and even up to Pamplona. With this host, Garcia Ordofiez arrived at Alberite all eager for the fray ; but, no sooner did he see the desolation of the land and realize the proximity of the Cid than, filled with terror, the " illustrious Don Garcia, honoured by God and man, a pillar of the glorious realm ", as Alphonso magniloquently styled him, refused to advance another step. The Cid, in keen anticipation of the encounter, waited seven days at Alfaro, firm as a rock, as his historian puts it. And then to his utter disgust he realized that the Count and his relations had no intention of fulfilling their promise to fight and were already returning to their homes ; the whole force, he eventually learned, had evacuated Alberite and left the town completely deserted.

However, the aim of this incursion had been achieved. When the Emperor heard of the havoc the Cid had wrought in the Ebro valley, he deemed it prudent to raise the siege of Valencia forthwith ; for, to make matters worse, the fleet from Genoa and Pisa was late in coming and the besiegers were running short of provisions. And so one day, to the amazement of the suffering Valencians, Alphonso struck his tents and hastened back to Castile to help Garcia Ordofiez. But he was

too late ; Garcia's imposing array had already dispersed, and the Cid, his task of punishment performed, was on his way back to Saragossa.

Withdrawal of the Genoese and Pisan Fleet.

Thus ended the Emperor's ill-starred expedition to Valencia. It was not until he had retired from the district that the Genoese and Pisan fleet, 400 vessels in all, appeared on the scene. Thwarted at Valencia, they turned their attention upon Tortosa and, acting in concert with Sancho Ramirez and Berenguer on the land, launched an attack upon the city ; the allied forces were, however, repelled on all sides and soon withdrew, and the King of Aragon suffered severe losses, as he made his way across the mountains that Suleiman ibn Hud had wrested from him. Sancho Ramirez and Berenguer had supported the Emperor against the Cid, quite forgetful of their alliances with the exile. The complete failure of the whole campaign was to serve as a warning to them for the future.

So thorough, effective, and infallible were the methods adopted by the Cid to punish his enemies that, as in the case of Berenguer, they led to a reconciliation with old-time foes. When the Emperor became aware of how his greatest nobles had shirked battle with the Cid, he sent him a letter of pardon (perhaps Queen Constance again intervened), admitting that he himself had been to blame for what had happened and assuring him that he would find his estates free and unencumbered, when he returned to Castile. The Cid replied in deferential terms, accepting the pardon as a special favour and begging Alphonso not to give ear to evil counsellors, for he would always be at the service of his King.[1]

[1] *Cronica de* 1344.

Eclipse of the Imperial Sun.

Whereas the Cid's sphere of influence in Moslem territory now commanded respect on every side, events show how inopportune had been the Emperor's interference in Valencian affairs, for it was obvious that he could not oppose the Almoravides from there. As a matter of fact, he was far from having a surplus of fighting strength. But a few months previously he had found himself helpless to intervene at either Seville or Murcia. And now at the beginning of 1092, not only had Aledo been left at the mercy of Yusuf's son, but a force sent to rescue the captives who had lain in the dungeons of Almodovar Castle since the disaster of the previous year, had also been repulsed. Alphonso himself, not long after the Valencian fiasco, suffered a reverse at Jaen that was almost as disastrous as his defeat at Sagrajas and constituted another triumph for the Almoravide arms that was to be sung by more than one of the Moslem poets.

Plainly, the whole situation in the Peninsula had undergone a radical change. Before, the weakness of the Taifas had allowed Ferdinand I, Sancho II, and even Alphonso VI, to pursue at will the old Leonese policy of subduing and exploiting the Moorish Kings. Then the Cid had helped Sancho and either withdrawn before Alphonso's approach or obeyed him as a vassal. But now the great Emir of the Faithful had appeared to drive the Taifa kinglets from their thrones, " as the sun ", in the words of Ibn Bassam, " puts the stars to flight ". The Almoravide armies, with their religious zeal, their strong, cohesive, warlike spirit, and their new tactics of mass formations manoeuvred by the beat of the drum, had paralysed all Christian action in the South. Alphonso's forces, accustomed to roam where they wished in Andalusia as if on a route march, never

sought to repeat, after the Jaen disaster, those incursions they had been wont to make once or twice a year before Sagrajas. To meet the Almoravides, the Emperor had need of leaders of intrinsic worth rather than men of the type of Garcia Ordoflez of high official rank alone. The Cid's presence on the field of the age-long battle was ever more urgent. But Alphonso was one of those who, ruling by virtue of office alone, lack the magnanimity to give way to those more adequately equipped to take command. He preferred to act as it suited himself, surrounded by men who suppressed their initiative, and so he insisted on boycotting the Cid, with the result that his lucky star was extinguished for ever by the Emir-al-Mumenin. True, in Alvar Hailez, the Cid's nephew, he possessed the next most capable leader in Spain ; true also that the King himself continued to fight the invaders with commendable determination ; but the only triumphs the Imperial armies now achieved were those of heroic tenacity amid misfortune. For the African invasion was proving itself to be an irresistible force for all except the Cid.

Nevertheless, Alphonso again tried the fortune of war in the East, but twice more the vainglorious Garcia Ordoftez was to balk the aims of his indomitable liege, once in 1094 against the Cid, and again in 1096 against Rodrigo's ally, the King of Aragon. So far as the Almoravides were concerned, as already indicated, Alphonso now restricted his operations to the defence of his own frontiers of Toledo and Coimbra ; and even there he suffered many serious reverses.

From now onwards, then, Alphonso was completely overshadowed by the Cid, a fact that is strikingly revealed in the chronicle of the Archbishop of Toledo, which makes no mention of any deed of his during the whole twenty-two years between the rout of Sagrajas and that of Ucles.

Henceforward, indeed, the King is only of interest to us for the disasters he suffered. And here it may be mentioned that Queen Constance died early in 1093 and was buried at Sahagun, the Cluniac monastery where she had often lived. The Cid now was thus without any advocate of importance at Court. In the same year, Alphonso married Bertha, another foreigner; but, as the lack of a male heir to the King seemed certain, his two Burgundian sons-in-law began to dispute the succession. At the suggestion of St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, however, they made up their quarrel and agreed to divide Alphonso's possessions at his death. Raymond was to be King but would cede Toledo to Henry or, if that were impossible, Galicia; the treasure of Toledo was to be shared, two-thirds going to Raymond and the remainder to Henry. And thus death was brooding over the court fifteen years before Alphonso died.

The Cid's anti-Almoravide Activities.

Consequent on the Emperor's withdrawal from Valencia, the two zones into which Al Andalus had been divided after Sagrajas, became more clearly defined than ever. The South-west was wholly in the power of the Almoravides and, immune from attack by the Emperor, was daily becoming more aggressive against the Christians. The East, on the other hand, was completely dominated by the Cid, who, full of confidence in himself, had unified and strengthened it, dispelling once and for all the aspirations of Sancho Ramirez, Berenguer and Alphonso.

And so it is that the figure of the Cid stands out in majestic isolation before the immense Almoravide Empire, defying Alphonso's victor and the irresistible Lamtuna generals, conquerors of so many Taifa kingdoms.

Rodrigo, then, having so laboriously built up his protectorate, was now faced with the still more arduous

task of preserving it and eradicating all Almoravide influence. As already pointed out, all malcontents in the East could only be regarded as so many more Almoravide partisans ; and rebellions had broken out in various parts of Saragossa on the strength, no doubt, of help to be given by some Almoravide general or other. For this reason the Cid considered his presence there most urgent and put off his return to Valencia (whence he had been absent for six months) until such time as he should have organized the defence of the Kingdom of Saragossa against the invaders. Mostain, fearful of suffering the fate of the other Taifa kings, lavished honours and resources upon the Cid, who spent three months or more fighting the Almoravide partisans and methodically overrunning the hostile regions, where he availed himself of the harvests and remained until early in October, 1092, to gather the vintage.[1]

And here we may interpose an incident, which, though slight in itself, is not without its significance. One of the Cid's knights was passing along a street in Saragossa, when he came across a Christian captive lying in a doorway, worn out and emaciated, his feet in chains. Deeply moved, the knight spoke to the man, who with much lamentation explained that he was Vellido of Palencia and had been captured when serving in King Alphonso's army, since when he had endured two years of slavery in Saragossa. The knight sought to comfort him by telling of how he also had suffered captivity but had been freed through the intercession of Santo Domingo of Silos. Whereupon the captive gave himself tearfully to prayer ; and that same night his guards got drunk, his chains were miraculously removed, and the holy Abbot of Silos led him out of the city a free man. This edifying scene helps us to understand how the fortunes

[1] *Hist. Roderici.* Ibn Bassam tells us that Mostain looked to **the** Cid for salvation from Yusuf.

and dangers of war fomented religious feeling, and not licence, amongst the knights who fought in Islamic lands.

And now the Cid's stay in Saragossa was nearing its close. While still in the midst of subduing the lands that had suffered from Almoravide contamination, a messenger arrived from Al-Kadir bearing evil tidings that called for his immediate return to Valencia.

PART V

THE CID DEFIES THE EMIR-AL-MUMENIN

CHAPTER XII

THE STRUGGLE FOR VALENCIA

I. VALENCIA IN REVOLT

Ibn Jehhaf conspires in Valencia.

THE Cid had been away from Valencia for nine months and, during his long absence in such troubled times, the aspect of affairs in the city had grown darker and darker.

Before his departure for Morella and Saragossa, the city had been pacified and half of it christianized. Without its southern walls lay the Mozarab quarter of Rayosa, where the Christians, of old subject to the Moors, lived around the church of San Vicente ; many other Mozarabs dwelt in the suburb of Ruzafa ; and in the northern suburb of Alcudia lived the Cid's followers, the forty Aragonese knights, and King Alphonso's bishop. Within the Moslem city Ibn al-Faraj collected taxes for the Cid and, as Al-Kadir's vizier, ruled supreme ; and in the surrounding villages various knights of the Cid governed and dispensed justice. But government was a difficult task, the successful performance of which depended on the organizing capacity of Rodrigo himself. His absence, therefore, was fraught with danger, particularly at a time when the Almoravides were approaching.

For the appearance in the South-east of Yusufs son, Ibn Ayesha, as conqueror of Murcia and Aledo, had aroused the enthusiasm of all true Moslems. This learned, just, and devout man, never wavering in his

resolve to fight the Christians, appeared as a potential saviour to those Valencians who were weary of Rodrigo and his feeble and now ailing tributary, King Al-Kadir; they " longed for Ibn Ayesha as the sick man longs for health ", and only a great fear of the Campeador restrained them from openly acknowledging him.[1]

The malcontents used to meet at the house of the Cadi, Jafar ibn Jehhaf, " The Knock-kneed ". This personage belonged to the highest Valencian aristocracy; his family, whose mansions formed one of the most central thoroughfares of the city, the " Street of Ibn Jehhaf " (so called even in the days of Jaime the Conqueror), was of pure Yemen stock and had settled in Valencia at the time of the Moslem conquest. Ever since then its members, among whom were many renowned for their wisdom and knowledge, had almost continually filled high offices in the city, especially that of Cadi. Emboldened by the Cid's prolonged absence, Ibn Jehhaf's circle spoke freely against the Christian and complained particularly of the vizier, Ibn al-Faraj, as being insufferable now that, since Al-Kadir's illness, he had become sole master of Valencia. Although the vizier was well aware of what was going on, he hesitated to punish the influential Ibn Jehhaf in the hope that the Cid's early return from Saragossa would promptly quiet the disturbing influences at work. But the Cadi's clique soon developed into an actual conspiracy, and Ibn Jehhaf, fearing the vizier, wrote to Ibn Ayesha at Murcia, offering to surrender Valencia to him, and at the same time persuaded the Cadi of Alcira to make a similar offer.

Ibn Ayesha, eager to seize so favourable an opportunity, set out for Valencia in September, 1092, and every fort on his line of march surrendered to him without offering the slightest resistance. The Ibn Betir, who

[1] **Ibn Alcama, in the *Cronica de* 1344, cap. 168. *Cronica Particular,* cap. 160.**

held Denia, abandoned the castle at the mere news of his approach and took refuge in Jativa, only to hand it over almost immediately to the Almoravides. His young sovereign, Suleiman ibn Hud, had already fled to his northern State of Tortosa ; Alcira surrendered as promised ; and, to crown all, when the news of the advance reached Valencia, barely five leagues from Alcira, the Cid's knights and those of Sancho Ramirez, together with King Alphonso's bishop, fled like a leaderless rabble, taking with them what possessions they could.[1]

The Almoravides before Valencia.

When he found that the Christians had deserted him, the vizier became greatly alarmed. He kept the wretched Al-Kadir, who, although convalescent, did not yet appear in public, informed of all that was happening, and the two agreed to have the royal treasure sent at once for safety to the castles of Segorbe and Olocau, on whose wardens they could rely. Then, having strengthened the garrison of the Alcazar with foot-soldiers and cross-bowmen, they wrote to the Cid at Saragossa begging him to return at the earliest possible moment.

Twenty days passed, however, without word of the Cid ; and then one October morning the Almoravide drums resounded near the Boatella Gate. Their thunderous roll, hitherto unheard in Valencia, left the citizens completely bewildered, filling some with hope and others with dread, and the sensational news that 500 Almoravide horse were beneath the walls spread like wildfire through the city. In fact, however, there were only twenty. Ibn Ayesha, unwilling to leave Denia or incur any undue risk, had ordered the Almoravide Governor of Alcira, Abu Nasir, to support Ibn Jehhaf in Valencia, and Abu Nasir had made bold to deliver the blow with only twenty

[1] **Ibn Alcama, in *Primera Cronica,* 565 b[24]-566 *a*[25] ; *Cronica de* 1344 ; *Crotuca Particular.***

Almoravides and twenty horsemen of Alcira wearing the same garb. The effect on the city is typical of the awe the Africans inspired wherever they went.

Ibn al-Faraj, in great alarm, held a hurried consultation with the King and forthwith ordered that the gates be defended and the walls lined with infantry and archers. He also sent a detachment of the bodyguard to summon Ibn Jehhaf to his presence. The Cadi, however, refused to open his gates till all his followers had gathered round him, when he led them to the Alcazar and, seizing the vizier, threw him into prison. In the meantime, the revolutionaries were driving Al-Kadir's soldiers from the towers and firing the gates they had been unable to open ; whilst the more impatient had lowered ropes up which the Almoravides were clambering and making their way over the walls.

Triumph of the Revolution,

When the victorious rioters attacked the Alcazar, the one thought of the faint-hearted King, rendered weaker than ever by his illness, was to escape in female disguise with the women of his harem, who were hastily preparing to quit the palace and elude the clutches of the mob. At the same time, along with his life he desired to save his remaining treasures and swept into a casket the most prized of his personal gems, treasures of ill omen, whose history had been and was yet to be bound up with many famous disasters. Clasped round his waist beneath his female dress, he carried the most precious of all his possessions, a girdle of diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds, which three centuries before had graced the Sultana Zobeida, wife of Haroun-al-Rashid and the beauty who, according to the *Arabian Nights,* had dazzled the whole of Baghdad with her daring fashions and fantastic luxury. In moments of peril thoughts take strange flights, and no doubt Al-Kadir saw

in fancy the sack of the palace of Baghdad, the murder of Zobeida's son, Sultan Al-Amin, and the looting of his treasures by the minions of the Caliph of Cordova. Might not the fate of Al-Amin be his, now that the Alcazar of Valencia was being similarly threatened ? On the fall of the Cordovan Caliphate, the coveted treasure had passed to Mamun of Toledo and his daughter-in-law, Al-Kadir's mother ; and so, the belt being thus doubly dear to him, he resolved to save it or die in the attempt. With this end in view he betook himself for refuge with a number of his women to a lonely house that stood hard by one of the baths of the city.

The rioters quickly stormed the Alcazar, killed the two Christians guarding the gate and one of the towers, and, having handed the fortress over to the Almoravide Governor of Alcira, set to pillaging the royal apartments.

Elated beyond measure by the success of his venture, Ibn Jehhaf now adopted a superior attitude towards his fellow-citizens ; for was not the whole populace with him, the Cid's vizier in prison, and the King a fugitive ? Success, indeed, caused greed and ambition to spring up in the mind of the Cadi like mushrooms after rain. Al-Kadir he eventually traced to his hiding-place and, on learning that the King had his jewels and Zobeida's fatal girdle with him, began to scheme how unknown to anyone he might possess himself of the treasure. As he soon found that this would be impossible to accomplish without bloodshed, he looked about for an accomplice and found his man in a kinsman of that former minister, Ibn al-Hadidi, whom Al-Kadir had done to death at Toledo thirteen years before.[1] Still athirst for his long-deferred revenge, this youth with some companions waylaid the King for a whole day and, when night fell, they set upon him and cut his throat. Part of the booty they

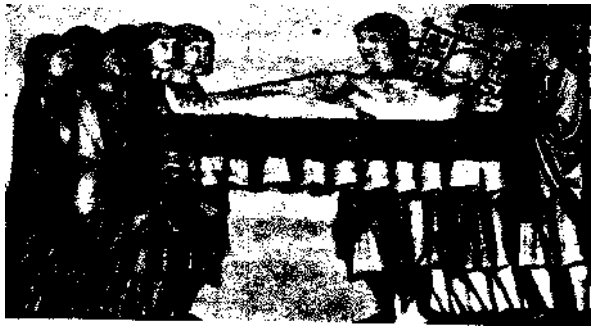
[1] *Vide supra, P.* **164.**

kept for themselves, but handed over the bulk, along with Al-Kadir's head, to Ibn Jehhaf, who duly hid the treasure and had the head thrown into a pond near his mansion.

When on the following day the headless, blood-bespattered body was found, not a soul thought of avenging the King or even looking for his assassin. A pitiless mob invaded the house where the murder had been committed and, throwing the corpse on the rough bed and covering it with a piece of torn matting, carried it to the outskirts, to bury the King amongst the dead camels, " like a malefactor, without a tombstone and without a mourner " (October 28, 1092). It was in Ramadan, the month of fasting and penitence, that Ibn Jehhaf rose to power by the deeds that have just been told

Ibn Jehhaf, the Usurper.

Valencia had now become a municipality, a sort of republic governed by the aljama or senate of notables, presided over by the Cadi. This, as a matter of fact, was the usual procedure in the Moslem cities of Spain when a throne became vacant. Both Seville and Cordova had been so governed on the fall of the Caliphate. In Seville, however, the Cadi, Ibn Abbad, had got rid of his colleagues and proclaimed himself a sovereign prince ; and Ibn Jehhaf was determined to follow his example. Having eliminated Al-Kadir and gained possession of much of his wealth, he was now in the grips of a vaulting ambition that led him to assume the airs of the King he hoped soon to be. He adorned his mansion more lavishly, surrounded it with guards day and night, and appointed secretaries both confidential and for State affairs. He rode through the streets escorted by a mounted bodyguard, admired by the townsfolk, and acknowledged by the women with that melodious " lu-lu-lu . . . ! " that is the burden of their festive



A GAMBLER BEING **CARRIED ON HIS BED TO BUR I AL**
(MS. of the Cantigas de Alfonso X, Escurial Library)



MOORISH ARMY IN RETREAT
(MS. of the Cantigas de Alfonso X, Escurial Library)

songs. Such attentions made a strong appeal to his vanity, and he tried to play the King, blind to the fact that such a dignity was beyond him. He failed to understand that it is one thing to settle disputes between litigants, interpret contracts, and examine witnesses, and quite another to command troops and make rapid and sound decisions on intricate problems of administration.

Ibn Jehhaf exaggerated his regal airs still more to vex and offend his cousin, Abdullah ibn Jehhaf, the chief judge of appeal. Though lacking in the higher qualities, the Cadi was astute, resourceful, and high-handed enough to get over momentary difficulties by making use of men and despising them at the same time. He scorned the Almoravide Governor, who lived in the Alcazar and to whom he owed the success of the revolt, excluding him from all affairs and grudging him even the necessary supplies. He was particularly overbearing towards the friends of the murdered monarch. The aged ex-King of Murcia, Ibn Tahir, who had treated Al-Kadir so generously in 1088, when Valencia was besieged by the King of Denia, was subjected to innumerable slights by the infatuated usurper, who saw a possible rival in each and every man. The old King, however, spoke his mind in satirical verse ventilating his accusations against Ibn Jehhaf : " Go slowly, O Knock-knees, for thou who hast murdered Al-Kadir and donned his mantle, art verily in danger. Thy day of reckoning will come, when thou shalt find refuge nowhere." And, indeed, it was not long before Ibn Jehhafs vain enjoyment of usurped pomp was overcast by a threat of retribution.

2. FIRST SIEGE OF VALENCIA

The Cid arrives before the City.

When the rebellion at Valencia broke out and the Cid learnt that his Castilians had evacuated the city, that the

Almoravides were advancing along the coast and overrunning the country, and that Al-Kadir was panic-stricken, he broke off his preparations in Saragossa and hastened to check the more immediate danger. On this expedition Mostain helped him with both men and money. It was not until he was nearing Valencia that a messenger brought the Cid the evil tidings of how the Almoravides had been admitted to the city and had killed Al-Kadir. Fugitives from the suite of the murdered King supplied later details and told how Al-Kadir's partisans had taken refuge in the neighbouring fortress of Juballa.

What could the Cid hope to do against that Yusuf who was Emir of all the Moslems of the Niger, the Sahara, Morocco, and Al Andalus, whose name resounded day by day from the minarets of 1,900 mosques and whose conquests included Granada, Malaga, Seville, Almeria, Murcia, Denia, and now, even Valencia? Was it not madness for him to attempt what the Emperor and Alvar Hafiez had failed to achieve at Granada, Seville and Murcia? So it seemed, and yet, no sooner did he hear of the loss of his eastern dominions than he resolved to march against his formidable enemy. Without waiting even to collect supplies, he raised his standard at Juballa, where, as he himself was wont to say, on the day of his arrival his food supply consisted of exactly four loaves. There he gathered together the fugitives from Valencia, who all swore to serve him; but the Governor, who held the castle for the Lord of Alpuente, Ibn Kasim, fearing that his cause was as good as lost, refused to admit him.

The Cid at once invested the castle and opened his campaign against Valencia. By way of a preliminary warning, he sent a scornful message to Ibn Jehhaf, taunting him with having kept the fast of Ramadan by assassinating his royal master, throwing his head into a

pond and his corpse on a dunghill; he demanded satisfaction for the death of the two Christian guards at the Alcazar at the time of the Almoravide irruption ; and he wound up by claiming the corn he had left in his granaries when he set out for Saragossa. Ibn Jehhaf replied that the corn had been stolen and had better be counted as lost, that the entire city was in the hands of the Almoravide Emir, and that he would be only too willing to use his influence with Yusuf, should the Cid desire to enter his service. This reply convinced the Cid that Ibn Jehhaf was unworthy of the dignity he had usurped ; instead of answering the charge of murder, he blandly advised Rodrigo to make terms with the Almoravide ! Although the wily Cadi ignored Yusuf 's soldiers, he was not above using them as a defence against the Cid's demands. Rodrigo retorted by swearing a most solemn oath that he would give him and his fellow-traitors no peace till he had avenged the murder of King Al-Kadir ;[1] and the war that followed (November 1, 1092) was ostensibly to achieve this object.[2]

A Faint-hearted Moslem.

The Cid at once began to raid the Valencian countryside and, when he commanded the wardens of the castles to provision his troops under pain of deposition, there was none that dared to disobey him.

The peace-loving and religious Ibn Labbun, that benevolent lord of Murviedro who in 1088 and 1090 had favoured Al-Hajib before Al-Kadir and Rodrigo, now anxious to preserve both his life and his castle, but fearing dishonour in this world and damnation in the next

[1] *Historia Roderici.* Ibn Alcama (in *Cronica Particular ; Cronica de* 1344 ; and *Primer a Cronica,* pp. 568-9).

[2] Ibn al-Alabbar assures us that the siege of Valencia lasted from the end of Ramadan of the year of the Hegira 485 to the 28th day of Jornada I, 487. See p. 807 of the Spanish edition of this book.

if he obeyed, also promised obedience to the Cid's orders ; at the same time, however, he sought the protection of Abu Merwan ibn Razin, Lord of Albarracin (Santa Maria del Oriente), to whom he offered his castle rather than make terms with a Christian. Accordingly, on November 23, 1092, twenty-six days after Al-Kadir's murder, Ibn Razin hastened from his mountains to the coast and took possession of the huge fortress of Murviedro, the defence of which was beyond the compass of the unwarlike Ibn Labbun.

Ibn Razin at once concluded a peace agreement with Rodrigo, by which he undertook to permit trading with all his castles and furnish the Cid with supplies. He then returned to his mountain domain, taking with him Ibn Labbun, with his harem, family, and other belongings. Ibn Labbun believed he had secured in exchange for his castle a safe income and the promise of a happy life in the mountain city of Albarracin, far from the hated Campeador and the princely pomp of Murviedro. But it was not long before Ibn Razin reduced his pension and began to subject him to humiliations, for which he sought consolation in verse :

> It is enough ; the world I leave for ever ;
> No longer will its vanities deceive me ; its bonds
> IVe broken ; my horizon now is but an orchard wall.
> Solace and friendship in books alone I find.[1]

Attacks against Valencia and Juballa.

Having thus brought all the castles into subjection, Rodrigo prepared for the siege of Valencia by raiding night and morning the area surrounding the town, plundering cattle and taking prisoners all except the peasants, whom his captains had orders not to molest, but rather to protect and encourage in their work, so that there might be food for all in due course. Faithful to the pact

[1] Ibn al-Alabbar, in Dozy, *Recherches,* 1849, PP- 369 and 524-31

with Ibn Razin, they sold all their booty at Murviedro, and the want from which the Cid's men had formerly suffered was soon changed into abundance.

So close was the siege of Juballa that none could now enter or leave the castle. Indeed, it was rumoured that the warden had secretly agreed to surrender to the Cid and only delayed doing so in order to save appearances ; but the fact remains that, in spite of shortage of food, the castle held out for eight months.

Meantime, for the defence of the capital Ibn Jehhaf had organized a corps of 300 horsemen composed of Al-Kadir's former vassals and Almoravide reinforcements from Denia, whose rations he took from the Cid's granaries and whose pay he drew, not only from the revenue, but from Al-Kadir's estate as well. This force was invariably worsted in its encounters with the Cid's raiders, and every day there was fresh lamentation in Valencia over the casualties being sustained.

Political Parties of Valencia. The Beni Wejib.

Notwithstanding the reinforcements sent by Ibn Ayesha, Ibn Jehhaf continued to ignore the Almoravide Governor, Abu Nasir, who, disgusted with this treatment, came to an understanding with the Beni Wejib, a noble Valencian family who were rivals of the Beni Jehhaf, though not of so old a lineage. The irreconcilable feud between the Yemen and Kaisi tribes dated from pre-Islamic times and manifested itself in a variety of forms in different parts of the Moslem world. In Valencia, the Beni Jehhaf were of Yemen origin, whereas the Wejib claimed to be Kaisis, although, seeing that Wejib was unknown amongst Arabic names, their claim was doubtful. When the revolution triumphed, Ibn Jehhaf dismissed many of the rival family from office, and this fact, combined with their religious traditionalism, caused them to turn naturally to the Almoravides, with whom

they formed a party that was perpetually murmuring and intriguing against the insufferable Cadi.[1]

Thus there were three political parties in Valencia : the Spanish or Christian party, most of whom had joined the Cid at Juballa ; the intransigent or Almoravide party under the Beni Wejib ; and the supporters of Ibn Jehhaf.

Duplicity of Ibn Jehhaf.

Seeing the Almoravide storm brewing, Ibn Jehhaf turned for salvation to the Cid and sought to make a bargain with him on the basis of the ejection of the common enemy from Valencia. He consulted with his prisoner, Ibn al-Faraj, with the result that, when Rodrigo was apprised of the Cadi's changed attitude, he made up his mind to use him for his own ends. In fine, he offered Ibn Jehhaf the crown and the same loyal support he had given Al-Kadir, if the Cadi would but get rid of the Almoravides. Ibn Jehhaf ignored the Cid's protestations of loyalty to the late King ; and, indeed, it was not to be expected that he would be unduly alarmed by them, seeing he had not even troubled to defend himself from the Cid's open accusation of murder ! After a further consultation with the former vizier he contented himself with replying that he desired to be Rodrigo's friend.

In pursuance of his plans he now began to do his utmost, without either showing his hand or giving offence, to get the Almoravide Governor to leave the city, by stinting his administrative allowances on the plea of a deplenished treasury. Just as he had got rid of Al-Kadir and thrown over the Cid with the aid of the Almoravides, so did he now seek to oust the Almoravides

[1] *Primera Cronica,* p. 569. Ibn al-Abbar, *Tecmila,* biogr. 2731 (Edit, of Centro de Estudios Historicos, *Miscelanea de Estudiosy Textos arabes,* 1915, pp. 352-3)

with the help of the Cid, whose former charges and threats he seemed to have conveniently forgotten. As Ibn Bassam says, in trying to play off one side against the other, the wily Ibn Jehhaf forgot a well-known fable : whilst two rams were fighting fiercely, a fox contentedly lapped up the blood that soaked their woolly heads ; and all went well until suddenly the rams caught him between their heads and killed him.

Whilst he was endeavouring to make life difficult for the Almoravides in Valencia, Ibn Jehhaf received several letters from Ibn Ayesha in Denia, urging him to send the murdered King's treasure to Morocco, to enable the Emir-al-Mumenin to send a large force to relieve the beleaguered city ; for in Yusuf's eyes the Cid's activities constituted an ever-growing danger. Ibn Jehhaf had no option but to gather the citizens together and discuss the whole question with them, when some showed themselves in favour of sending the treasure and others against. In the end, inconstant as ever, the Cadi decided to abandon his intrigue with the Cid and cast in his lot with Yusuf. Accordingly, after duly hiding the choicest of Al-Kadir's treasures, he prepared to send the remainder to Morocco. With the view of ingratiating himself with the Beni Wejib, who were Yusuf's strongest supporters, he placed them in charge of the convoy ; and to conciliate the vizier and bind him to the Almoravide cause, he set him free to accompany the expedition. As a precaution against the raiders, the convoy set out with the greatest secrecy ; but Ibn al-Faraj somehow contrived to advise the Cid, and the party had not gone far when the Christian knights fell upon them and plundered them of all they had.

The Cid builds a City at Juballa.

Rodrigo now went from one success to another. After a siege that had lasted for eight months, the castle of

Juballa surrendered, thus enabling the Cid to transfer his camp to the village of Mestalla over against Valencia (July, 1093). To pay the Cadi out for his treachery, he burnt all the neighbouring villages that belonged to the Beni Jehhaf, as well as the mills and boats on the Guadalaviar ; he also reaped the wheat crop and used the barley as forage for his horses. To an appeal from the Valencians that he should desist and allow the Almoravides to remain, he gave answer that they should have no peace until they had expelled the intruders. Whereupon the inhabitants, declining to give in, resigned themselves to their position and set about strengthening the fortifications of the town.

The Cid now prepared for a long siege, and at the foot of the castle of Juballa he started to build a fortified city with materials obtained from the houses and towers he had destroyed in the environs of Valencia. In the short space of a few weeks the whole work was completed, and a new town, boasting its own ramparts, churches, granaries, and so forth, had sprung into existence. The rapid growth of the town, indeed, was the wonder of the country-side, and people from all around flocked to it to participate in the manifold advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants. The very strength of its foundations spoke eloquently for the Cid's resolve never to abandon his designs on Valencia. Although Mostain had already used Juballa as an advanced base against Valencia, the Cid now enlarged it considerably for the same purpose. When it is remembered that at the time the usual method of attacking a walled city was to blockade it and lay waste the surrounding district, as witness Alphonso's six years' siege of Toledo, the utility of these fortified camps at once becomes apparent. The King of Aragon also built one for the investment of Saragossa in 1091 and another when operating against Huesca in 1094.

Mostain as Ransomer of Prisoners.

During the building of Juballa, a vizier from Mostain, with sixty horsemen, arrived at the Christian camp, bringing a plentiful supply of funds for the avowed purpose of ransoming Moslem captives. This, it may be mentioned, was a custom in Islam long before the Order of Mercy introduced it into Christendom.[1] On this occasion, however, the charitable overture was merely a pretext to cover Mostain's real object. His alliance with the Cid had been based on the presumption that Rodrigo would check the Almoravides, but Valencia he wanted for himself, and the ulterior object of the vizier's mission was to treat with Ibn Jehhaf for the surrender of the city and the discharge of the Almoravide soldiers until such time as it became certain that Yusuf was to come from Africa to clear up the situation. For his part, Mostain would relieve Valencia from the pressure of the Cid. But the vizier failed to impress either the Cadi or the Almoravide Governor with his proposals, so that all he gained was the ransom of so many captives to the enrichment of the Cid and an opportunity to witness the continued success of Rodrigo's arms.

The Cid attacks Two Suburbs of Valencia.

Two days after the vizier's arrival, Rodrigo stormed the northern suburb of Villanueva, putting many Moors, both Spanish and Almoravide, to the sword. The timber from the destroyed buildings was used to hasten the building of Juballa. On the following day, the Cid drove out of the adjoining suburb of Alcudia the Valencian garrison that had gathered there. In the *melee* his horse stumbled and threw him, but he quickly remounted and

[1] For cases of the redemption of captives *en masse*, see *Boletin de la Academia de la Historia,* XXI, p. 501, and XXXII, p. 105.

fought so fiercely, says Ibn Alcama, that the Moors were terrified at the havoc he played among them. Whilst the garrison were being hard put to it to defend the suburb, a company of Christian soldiers attempted to force the Alcantara Gate, but were kept at bay by a storm of missiles hurled from the towers by youths and even women, until the Moorish cavalry had time to come from Alcudia to their help, when the struggle near the bridge continued until noon. The Cid resumed the attack on Alcudia in the afternoon and after fierce fighting compelled the Moors to surrender. Having given guarantees for their safety, he took possession of the suburb the same evening and, after mounting a guard with strict orders that nobody was to be molested under pain of execution, he withdrew to his camp.

The next day Rodrigo called the inhabitants of Alcudia together and allayed their fears by promising to leave them their lands and the fruits of their labour, subject only to the payment of the tithes ordained by the Koran. To ensure fairness in the collection of these, he appointed a Moorish tax-gatherer, Ibn Abdus. For the rest, he treated the suburb as if it were a town, granting it a charter whereby anyone might come and live there in safety ; and so these conquered people were left to the enjoyment of their own homes and the new prosperity trade was bringing to the place.

The Valencians Surrender.

The conquest of these two northern suburbs completed the encompassment of Valencia. As nobody now could enter or leave the city, the besieged gave up all hope of relief, and many there were who regretted they had not given ear to the Vizier of Saragossa. The knights of the city received no rents from their lands, neither did the Almoravides, who were the most discontented of all. Ibn Jehhaf alone, in spite of having broken

his secret pact, still cherished the hope that he could save the situation and that all he had to do to gain the Cid's protection was to dismiss the horsemen of Yusuf. The whole question was deliberated at a public meeting, attended by the knights, the Almoravides, and the townsfolk generally, at which it was finally decided to come to terms with the Cid. According to an eye-witness, Ibn Alcama, this resolution was only adopted, however, in an effort to gain time and be left in peace, until Yusuf saw fit to pay heed to their supplications. Be that as it may, a message was duly sent to Rodrigo suing for peace, to which he replied that he was quite prepared to grant favourable terms on the condition, as previously stipulated, that the Almoravides should leave Valencia. This, as it happened, they were nothing loath to do, declaring that" it was the most fortunate day that had ever dawned for them ".

The terms of surrender, then, included the departure of the Almoravides without let or hindrance ; payment by Ibn Jehhaf for the grain the Cid had possessed in Valencia at the time of Al-Kadir's murder, and of the former weekly tribute of 1,000 dinars, with full arrears; the Cid's ownership of Alcudia by right of conquest; and the establishment of the Christians in Juballa during the term of the Cid's sojourn in those parts. Thus Valencia again became a tributary of the Cid as it had been in the days of Al-Kadir.

In fulfilment of the treaty, an escort of knights accompanied the Almoravides as far as Denia, and, in the meantime, the Cid withdrew his men to Juballa, leaving only a few Christians in Alcudia to assist the tax-gatherer. Ibn Jehhaf, for his part, took measures to discharge his obligations to the Cid by levying tithes on all the castles in the district. All this took place in the month of July, 1093, when harvesting was still in progress.

3. THE CID DEFIES YUSUF

Correspondence between Yusuf and the Cid.

The surrender of Valencia could not fail to provoke action by Yusuf, who, having acknowledged the supremacy of the Abbaside Caliph of Baghdad, had been proclaimed in every mosque of Islam ruler of Spain, the Moghreb, and the other territories under his dominion.[1] Islam and the Occident were now each represented by an outstanding personality : Yusuf the Saharan and the Castilian Cid stood face to face in the struggle between the two civilizations.

Shortly before the capitulation of the city, the Emir of the Faithful had written to the Cid from Morocco, sternly forbidding him to remain in Valencian territory. In reply Rodrigo sent him a letter brimming with scorn and indignation and at the same time wrote to all the emirs in Spain blazoning the tidings that Yusuf was afraid to cross the sea to relieve the city. That the taunt was true was seen when the army the great Emir had mobilized in Africa finally crossed the Straits without him.[2] Yusuf in very truth dreaded losing the laurels he had won at Sagrajas ; for, as he piously observed, " victories are the very special gifts of Allah, and the success I have gained has already been too great".

Rodrigo prepares to Resist.

But if Yusuf feared to tempt the fickle fortune of war, not so Rodrigo, to whom warfare was the breath of life. When he heard that the Almoravide army had landed, he made every preparation to resist the invaders. To impress upon the Valencians how little he feared Yusuf,

[1] Ibn Khaldun, transl, by Slane, *Hist, des Berberes,* II , p. 82, and *Protigomenes,* I, pp. 466-7.

[2] *Historia Roderici.* Yusuf's indecision is recorded by Ibn Alcama.

he relaxed the terms of the recent treaty so far as to promise them that, if the Almoravides could drive him out before the end of August, the Valencians would be free to serve the African, but if not, they would have to remain his own subjects. The citizens eagerly accepted the offer and forthwith wrote to Yusuf and the Almoravide emirs, urging them to send help before the end of August and offering the support of the whole city, which was ill disposed to recognize Rodrigo as its overlord much longer. Nowadays this offer of the Cid would seem fantastic, but it must be borne in mind that ever since biblical times it had been the custom, which the Cid was to follow on several future occasions, to give the besieged a chance to satisfy themselves of their helplessness or, what was tantamount to it, the injustice of their cause. For undeniable superiority was a proof of right in war as well as in single combat, and belligerents then, just as they are to-day, were ever anxious to vindicate their conduct in resorting to arms.

Although he left the Valencians to their own devices during August, the Cid thought it prudent to establish a group of his own partisans within the city against the arrival of the enemy ; and, working for a second time upon Ibn Jehhaf's self-interest, he formed a secret alliance with him, into which the Governors of Jativa and Corvera also entered. Having made these arrangements, he one day warned his followers to prepare for a night march to a destination of which he alone was aware, and led them into the mountains of the interior.

A Punitive Expedition.

As it turned out, the Lord of Albarracin had failed to pay the tribute due under his oath of vassaldom, which had been confirmed only ten months previously. He had also offered the Infante King Pedro of Aragon a large sum of money and, by way of hostage, a castle in

exchange for Pedro's help in his designs upon Valencia, which ever since its rejection of the Cid had been widely coveted and to which he, as Lord of Murviedro, considered he had a well-founded title. So far as Pedro was concerned, he failed to see in the agreement any breach of the alliance he had made with Rodrigo in the previous year.

Rodrigo, however, was determined to punish his vassal severely for his treachery. His sudden invasion took Albarracin completely by surprise, and many thousand head of cattle, sheep and horses, besides large quantities of corn, fell to the raiders. Many youths and women were also taken and transported with the booty to Juballa, with the result that the cattle and slave marts in the Valencia district were abundantly supplied.

The Cid, however, was not to go unscathed. One day, when accompanied by only five of his knights, he was surprised by a dozen Albarracin horsemen. In the ensuing skirmish two were killed on either side before the Cid succeeded in driving off his assailants, not without receiving a lance-thrust in the neck that left him so badly wounded that for a time his life was despaired of. Fortunately, however, the wound healed rapidly and, there being no sign of the Almoravides in August, the Cid was able, not only to convalesce, but spend September and October, 1093, in harrying Albarracin. He was confident that the Valencians would not go back upon their undertaking to accept him as their lord.

As early as 1089 Rodrigo had fortified the Valencia-Saragossa road at the " Poyo de Mio Cid ", which stood in the Jiloca valley in the north of Ibn Razin's territory ; he now occupied, in the southern part of Albarracin, the valley of the Guadalaviar, the river that waters Valencia and along whose bank runs the road, with its branches to Cuenca and Chinchilla, that leads to the city. The importance of this road lay in its utility to the Campeador

as a line of communication, and as such it had to be defended against the Almoravides, who were masters of Motamid's kingdom. Below Teruel, the river is so hemmed in by mountains that at some parts there is scarcely room for it to pass between the rocky hill-side and the river bank with its profusion of stout poplars and thick undergrowth of osiers and tamarinds. This strategic highway the Cid occupied with 300 knights, and a little below the narrows of Villel he built a great fortress, the memory of which lives on in the name of " Pefia del Cid " borne by the most picturesque crag in the neighbourhood.

Ibn Razin, subdued by the devastation of his lands and the strong military position of his aggressor, was ultimately compelled to renew his allegiance to the Cid, and both he and the Prince of Aragon helped to furnish Rodrigo with the means for maintaining his grip on Valencia, which was now in a dangerous state of unrest.[1] In fact, a confidential message from Ibn Jehhaf called the Cid away from Albarracin before he had time to complete his defensive preparations there.

The Cid returns to Valencia and occupies Villanueva.

Authentic information, it seemed, had been received at Valencia that the Almoravide army had at length arrived and was at Lorca, under the command, owing to the illness of Yusuf, of his son-in-law, Abu Beker ; and this had so emboldened the Beni Wejib and the other enemies of Ibn Jehhaf that he saw little hope of retaining his power in the city, unless the Cid returned at once to overawe the malcontents.

Taking time by the forelock, the Cid rushed to Juballa, where he held a hurried conference with Ibn Jehhaf and the wardens of the allied castles of Jativa and Corvera.

[1] ***Cronica Navarro-aragonesa, circ.* 1310 ; *Cronica de San Juan de la Pena* (1359).**

The three Moors showed themselves eager to confirm the alliance, but, when it came to a question of deeds, they flinched from measuring swords with the Almoravides ; they agreed, however, to do their best to intimidate Abu Beker, under the pretence of simply sending him information, by warning him that the Campeador had formed an alliance with the King of Aragon and that, if he, Abu Beker, came to Valencia, he would have to contend with 8,000 mail-clad Christian knights, the finest warriors in the world. If he felt equal to tackling them, well and good ; but if not, he would be ill advised to come to Valencia.

It will thus be seen that the Valencians were so many broken reeds. Even those most interested in supporting the Cid shrank from openly opposing the coming of the Almoravides, and the July agreement was already forgotten. In the circumstances it was impossible for the Cid to remain at Juballa, and he proceeded to make other dispositions to meet the coming attack. To disguise his real motives, he asked Ibn Jehhaf as a favour to allow him the use of the palace and grounds of Villanueva, a former pleasance of King Abd-el-Aziz and one of the most famous gardens in the world. There, he said, he would repair with a small suite for recreation, as occasion offered, and the rest of his followers he would quarter at Rayosa. Ibn Alcama maintains that the Cid's intention was to make the Almoravides think that the Valencians had invited him expressly to defend them. But, as a matter of fact, he was influenced as much by strategic considerations as by the moral effect on the Moors. For, in the first place, his knights in the Mozarab suburb of Rayosa would be in a position to guard the southern approaches against the first shock of attack ; and in the second, by holding the demolished suburb of Villanueva and the one he already occupied, Alcudia, he could, if the worst came to the worst, use the northern bank of the Guadalaviar as a last line of defence.

Ibn Jehhaf, after explaining to his friends that he could not refuse the Campeador's request, had a special gateway made, giving access to the gardens direct from the open country ; this was to replace the existing gate, which, giving as it did into very narrow streets, the Cid had no intention of using. Ibn Jehhaf then, without troubling himself about the Cid's intentions, invited him to a sumptuous festival and banquet at the palace and for a whole day awaited his coming. But he waited in vain, for the Cid, once again setting Ibn Jehhaf down as a fool, sent along a note in the evening apologizing for his unavoidable absence. Whereupon, Ibn Jehhaf, utterly crestfallen, made his way back to the city.

Meanwhile, Rodrigo had discovered that the Almoravide party was still a power in the city. The Beni Wejib in particular were loud in their protests against the offer of the ancient royal palace to the Christian, and only the fear lest the Cid should destroy their extramural estates restrained them from ousting Ibn Jehhaf from power. At all events, the Almoravides would soon turn up, and then . . . But they were so long in coming. Nevertheless, the hope that they would come sustained the citizens, although, indeed, each day brought a fresh disappointment.

The question over the palaces of Abd-el-Aziz had fallen into oblivion when one day the Cid appeared unexpectedly at Villanueva and occupied the gardens and neighbourhood, as a warning to all that the cession of the palace was not a question of amenities, but of co-operation in the defence against the Almoravides and the fulfilment of the terms of the July capitulation. Apart from this incident, Moor and Christian lived peacefully together both at Villanueva and Alcudia.

The Beni Wejib in Power. Violation of the July Treaty.

In due course Abu Beker recovered from the illness

that had delayed his advance at Lorca, and at length reliable news came to hand that he was marching on Murcia. This emboldened the Beni Wejib as much as it frightened Ibn Jehhaf, who, although convinced that fear of Rodrigo would still check the malcontents, deemed the moment opportune to justify himself in the eyes of his fellow citizens. He accordingly let it be known that the gardens of Abd-el-Aziz had only been lent to the Cid for his recreation and would be returned when requested ; that he wished to acquit himself of any obligation under the July treaty and that, as they mistrusted him, he intended to retire from public life, so that they would have to find someone else to collect the Cid's taxes in future. His hopes, however, were not to be realized. His words merely encouraged the already exultant Almoravide party, and they now began to clamour for the dismissal of Ibn Jehhaf and the appointment of Abu-l-Hassan ibn Wejib as Governor. This change was speedily carried into effect; and then, in violation of all their treaties with the Cid, they closed the gates and prepared to defend the walls of the city. Meantime, Ibn Jehhaf retired to his house and lost no time in strengthening his bodyguard (November, 1093).

Arrival of the Almoravide Relieving Force.

The Campeador at once renewed hostilities against the city, but it was not long before he received the alarming intelligence that the African army had forced the passes defended by the Benicadell castles and had already reached Jativa. The joy of their partisans within the city knew no bounds, for at last they were to be freed from the clutches of the Christian. So serious had the situation now become that Rodrigo pondered well the advisability of retiring, but on second thoughts he resolved to await the enemy in the suburb of Rayosa. In preparation for the fray, he destroyed the bridges of

the causeways and, by flooding the country-side with water from the canals, he rendered it impossible for the enemy to attack him except along one narrow strip of land.

When the news came that the Africans had arrived at Alcira, the Valencians, frantic with joy, rushed to the walls to scan the horizon for signs of their saviours and watch by night the twinkle of the numberless fires of the Almoravide bivouacs at Almuzafes, only three leagues away. And all the time the citizens prayed unceasingly for Allah's aid against the Cid and agreed in council to plunder the Christian camp and the stores and hostels of the suburb when the battle reached the city walls. The Cid's men in Rayosa also spent the night in prayer and making their final preparations for the impending battle. As the night wore on, the rain came down in torrents, the like of which had never been seen before ; and when day broke, the sky was still dark and threatening. When the Moors mounted their watch-towers to look out for the relieving force, to their amazement not a vestige of it was to be seen. At midday their anxiety gave way to sheer dismay when a messenger arrived with the tidings that the Almoravides were not to come after all. The fact of the matter was that the thought of meeting the Cid had scared them out of their wits and they had fled amidst the deluge and the darkness of the night.[1]

Their hopes crushed, the Valencian war party gave themselves up for lost. In the words of their historian, " they were as drunkards who understand not one another ; their faces grew black as pitch, their memories deserted them ; and they became as one that falls into the sea ". Beside themselves with terror, they listened to the threats of the Christians, who came to the walls to

[1] Ibn Alcama. *Hist. Roderici :* " exercitus Mohabitarum nimis pavens nocte per umbras fugit ".

throw in their teeth the ignominious flight of the Almoravides and revile the inhabitants for having broken the treaty ; and so heavily did their misfortune press on their spirits that not one among them even sought to reply.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CID SUBDUES THE REBEL CITY

I. VALENCIA LEFT TO HER FATE

The Cid presses the Siege more closely.

WHEN he had satisfied himself that the Almoravides had no intention of coming, the Cid returned to the palace gardens and gave orders for all the suburbs that had not been subdued to be sacked and the houses razed. The inhabitants fled to the city with such of their effects as they could carry, but there fell to the Christians large sums of money and quantities of corn and clothing that had been buried in the ruins. The city Moors, too, stole out to carry off the timber, and soon not a building remained around the walls except those within range of the defenders' arrows, and even these were eventually burnt down during the night.

Rodrigo now beset the city still more closely, completely surrounding it, and, though its defenders sallied out daily to give battle to the Christians, their achievements brought no credit to the Almoravide party. However, the Beni Wejib extracted some comfort from the letters that Ibn Ayesha wrote from Denia assuring them that, far from having fled, the Almoravides were preparing to return as soon as the roads were passable and the food-supplies sufficient. These and similar letters from Valencian Moors at Denia helped to maintain the Beni Wejib in power, and their party, swollen by the more

sanguine among the citizens, did not hesitate to accuse Ibn Jehhaf of having caused the Almoravides to retire by giving them a false impression of the factional strife within the city.

Meanwhile, the hardships of the siege increased daily. Food, especially meat, was at famine prices, one pound of beef costing four dirhems and mutton seven ;[1] and the sorry plight of the inhabitants contrasted strongly with the well-being of the Moors outside the city who, as arranged by Rodrigo, were now working the land and paying the rents to him. Alcudia was exceptionally prosperous. Under the charter the Cid had granted to it, this suburb had spread out until it now resembled a city ; and from all around the villagers came to buy and sell in the markets Rodrigo had established. He dispensed justice so fairly that none had any grievance against him or his officials, for he strictly observed the Moslem Law and exacted only the legal tithes, as the Almoravide historian himself admits. His policy in short was to show every consideration to those Moors who accepted the Christian protectorate while threatening to deal rigorously with those who espoused the cause of the African invaders.

And now, news having reached the besieged that Yusuf's army had re-embarked for Morocco, and not merely retreated temporarily, as Ibn Ayesha had tried to make out, the castle wardens came crawling to the Cid to confirm their pacts of obedience. This Rodrigo agreed to, receiving in return well-armed and provisioned infantry and cross-bowmen to help him against Valencia. " Now ", says Ibn Alcama, " the city was cut off from the entire Moorish race and stood alone amid a sea of death."

[1] A dirhem was equivalent to *is. 2d.*

Al-Wacashi and the Pacifists.

As the Almoravide or war party within the city lost ground, so the Spanish or pacifist party, who advocated immediate surrender, gained in strength. This party was led by an octogenarian fakir, venerated for his knowledge of theology, law, and history, who was named Al-Wacashi after his native village of Wacash (Huecas), near Toledo. In the course of his long life he had been Cadi of Toledo under Mamun, as well as an intimate friend of his compatriot Al-Kadir, and had been tutor to the Beni Abd-el-Aziz, descendants of Al-Mansur and the rulers of Valencia before Al-Kadir. Hence he prized the splendid traditions of the Moslem courts of Spain and by no means welcomed the Almoravide invasion which threatened to destroy them. He preferred the rule of the Christians, and his philosophical works on Divine Providence and the Koran had gained for him amongst the orthodox the reputation of being a free-thinker.

The aged fakir, who, besides being deeply learned in Arabic, was a versifier of the first order, one day ascended the topmost tower of the walls and delivered himself of an elegy on the gathering clouds of grief and death that darkened the Valencian sky. In the form of an allegory he foretold the doom of the city at the hands of the Campeador, " the fierce wolf " ; and the Moors who listened to the venerable seer, went away oppressed with grief and wept in secret over the fate of their city.

The Beni Wejib in Disfavour.

The general depression afforded Ibn Jehhaf considerable satisfaction, and he was not backward in pointing out that all the woes of the Valencians had sprung from their acceptance of the Beni Wejib, whom he described as lacking political ability and a sense of diplomacy.

These murmurs spread rapidly, and the discontent, heightened by the ever-increasing pressure of the assault and the growing scarcity of food, culminated in a mass meeting of the citizens, who with one accord repaired to the residence of Ibn Jehhaf to sue for pardon and seek his advice and guidance. But Ibn Jehhaf was averse to any precipitate action. He coldly excused himself on the plea that he was but one among the many who were sharing the same misfortunes and that, as it was impossible to advise a divided people, he could do nothing whilst the Beni Wejib had so many partisans. At the same time he let fall a hint that, if only he were Governor, there would be no more war with the Cid or, God willing, anybody else.

Satisfied with the course events were taking, he then opened negotiations with the Cid, suggesting a cessation of hostilities subject to the renewed payment of tribute by the Valencians. This proposal Rodrigo agreed to in substance on condition that the Beni Wejib were expelled. Ibn Jehhaf asked for nothing better, and at his request the Cid made these terms known to the people. He also advised them to accept Ibn Jehhaf as Governor and, in expressing pity for their misfortunes, declared that it was his desire to help and defend them as he had done in the days of Al-Kadir.

Ibn Jehhaf returns to Power. Fresh Negotiations.

Although Ibn Jehhaf succeeded by his persuasive words in regaining the governorship, he soon found that the proud Valencians were not to be readily reconciled to losing a family of the prestige of the Beni Wejib. Still, having committed himself to expelling them, he had no alternative but to send a body of soldiers to arrest in the first instance the ex-Governor, Abu-1-Hassan ibn Wejib, who, having received timely warning, had taken refuge in the stoutly walled house of a fakir. Ibn

Jehhafs men, however, fired the gates, and the crowd that had gathered, clambering up on the roofs, drove the fugitives into a corner by a volley of tiles. Abu-1-Hassan was soon captured and, after the rest of the family had been rounded up, they were all sent secretly at night to the Cid. When on the following day the news became known, the Almoravide supporters loudly condemned Ibn Jehhafs conduct, but, knowing he could count on the support of the masses, he was not greatly concerned.

The popular demand for peace was soon to be satisfied. When Ibn Jehhaf rode out by the Alcantara Gate to open negotiations with the besiegers, he was met by the Bishop of Albarracin and other Christian nobles, who duly escorted him to the gardens of Villanueva, where the Cid awaited them. Rodrigo made a movement as if to help Ibn Jehhaf dismount, then embraced him, and presented him with noble gifts. To the surprise of the Christians, Ibn Jehhaf did not make the customary counter-offerings, a fact that Ibn Alcama enlarges upon, taking delight in picturing the Bishop, the Cid, and his knights as fawning on the Moor in vain expectation of the desiderated gifts. Ibn Jehhaf doubtless did not observe the usual courtesy for the simple reason that he was not particularly anxious to come to any arrangement with the besieger.

Rodrigo opened the parley in a friendly spirit, suggesting to Ibn Jehhaf that, as he was now a king, he should discard his Cadi's cloak and assume regal attire ; and then, without further preamble, he mooted the question of the terms of peace. With his proposal that the treasury should be administered by his own tax-gatherer, Ibn Jehhaf at once concurred, for that had been the system in Al-Kadir's time. To prevent further treaty infractions, the Cid also stipulated that Ibn Jehhaf should hand his son over as a hostage, and once again the Cadi

did not demur but agreed to come and sign the treaty when it had been drawn up on the following day.

Ibn Jehhaf's Fresh Volte-face.

Ibn Jehhaf returned bitterly disappointed at finding his scheme of playing off his rivals one against the other frustrated by the Cid's determination not to be deceived again. As he was convinced that his sole strength lay in deceit, he decided after all not to surrender his son as a hostage, in spite of the fact that there was not a Valencian, even including staunch supporters of the Almoravides such as Ibn Alcama, who did not recognize the Cid's scrupulous justice towards the conquered Moors.

When he learned next day that Ibn Jehhaf had resolved to go back upon his word, the Cid's anger knew no bounds and he at once sent him a letter threatening him with vengeance and saying that never again would he believe a word he uttered. Rodrigo now began to treat the captive Beni Wejib with honour and, to demonstrate his power, ordered the officer who had taken them captive to leave Valencia and proceed to the castle of Alcala, an order that was forthwith obeyed (middle of January, 1094).

As for the Cadi, all the actions and threats of the Cid now left him unmoved. After all, the ends for which he had wished to use Rodrigo had already been served. He had first of all got rid of the Almoravides, and now the Beni Wejib had gone, leaving him the undisputed master of Valencia. The famine in the city and even his own fate did not trouble him at all. He was, indeed, a typical egoist who lived only for the present and was as regardless of the rights of others as he was of his own future, like that Ommeyad prince who, clinging to the throne of Cordova, foolishly besought the rioters who were threatening his life : " Obey me but for to-day, and to-morrow you may kill me." Ibn Jehhafs pride,

too, carried him away ; he despised everybody, was harsh to those who came demanding justice, and cared only for the retrieved pomp of kingship. In the privacy of his abode, he surrounded himself with musicians, poets, and scholars, who gratified his vanity by praising his compositions and apophthegms.

In the meantime the Cid each day pressed the siege still more closely, and the besiegers were now near enough to be able to throw stones over the walls and shower arrows upon the whole city. The gates were in danger. Near one of them the Cid had set up a siege engine which wrought considerable damage until it was put out of action by the city artillery. But there were no means of counteracting the ravages of hunger and privation. Donkey and mule flesh were now for the rich alone ; cats, dogs, and all manner of unclean animals had become so scarce that they were looked upon as a luxury by the ordinary citizen ; even a mouse could not be bought for less than a gold dinar ; and many of the wretched inhabitants were reduced to raking the city's rubbish heaps for the marc of grapes and other refuse that, washed, might serve to allay the pangs of hunger. The possessions of those who died of starvation were seized by Ibn Jehhaf, who, to satisfy his greed, laid all, high and low, friends and enemies, under arbitrary tribute to him. The knowledge of the prosperity and well-being of the Moors in Alcudia did not help to mitigate the anguish of the townsfolk, and, although their spirit was still upheld by the patriotism of the more determined, the aged Al-Wacashi was finding ever more fertile soil for his pacifist propaganda.

Mostain's Fair Words.

But now Ibn Jehhaf, who since his return to power had ceased to sympathize with the pacifists, attempted to hearten up the citizens by announcing that he would

seek aid from King Mostain of Saragossa, who had helped them once before in 1088 and would, he was positive, help them again. Although Mostain had then been associated with the Cid, the Valencians took heart of grace and indited to the King of Saragossa a most humble entreaty for help. And now a new and delicate problem presented itself. Should they address Mostain as " King " or " Lord " ? To call him " Lord " would imply recognition of an overlordship that Ibn Jehhaf would not admit. For three days the city fathers discussed this point and finally decided to entitle him " Lord " so that Mostain should feel the more obliged to come. Ibn Jehhaf bowed to the inevitable and despatched the message accordingly. He sent the messenger on foot, to admit of his outwitting the besiegers under cover of darkness, but assured him that he would be well received by King Mostain and given a mount on which to return.

Upon the courier's arrival at Saragossa, however, no one took any notice of him, and it was only when, after hanging about for three weeks and dreading to return without an answer, he took up his stand at the palace gates and rent the air with his piteous lamentations that Mostain condescended to give him a reply. In it he informed Ibn Jehhaf that, although he could not act without King Alphonso's sanction and assistance, he had already written to the Emperor and meanwhile the Cadi should defend himself as best he could, keeping him, Mostain, informed of the course of events. This reply, cold and belated as it was, only encouraged Ibn Jehhaf to indulge more than ever in his cruelty and callousness, in utter disregard of the morrow. All stores of food he now requisitioned, often without payment, for his servants, guards, and troops, leaving the owners a bare fortnight's supply. The other inhabitants were only allowed to buy provisions from day to day, and to

their complaints he replied that ere long the King of Saragossa would arrive with an abundance of food for all.

Clinging to this hope himself, the Cadi sent Mostain messages night after night, but the latter, knowing the Cid too well to come to any rash decision, contented himself with encouraging the besieged to hold on. When he considered that his overtures to Alphonso had had time to bear fruit, he informed Ibn Jehhaf that the Emperor was sending Garcia Ordonez at the head of a large contingent of horse and would follow in person, when all three would combine to raise the siege. Mostain also enclosed, for Ibn Jehhaf to show to the city magnates, a note in his own handwriting wherein he swore with mighty oaths that he felt their sorrows as his own and would not fail to help them.

No sooner had Mostain satisfied himself that Alphonso did not intend to support him, than he decided to carry on an intrigue within the city itself. Assuming the role of a mediator, but with the real object of getting into touch with Ibn Jehhaf, he sent an offering of rich jewels to the Cid, begging him, instead of maintaining the siege so rigorously, to come to terms with the Valencians. But the Cid would not allow the messengers to enter the city, and they were obliged to send a secret message to those within that either Rodrigo would comply with Mostain's requests or the latter would send a large force to drive him out of that country.

The Cid promotes a Bent Wejib Plot.

The Campeador, wearied with the prolongation of the siege, now resolved to precipitate matters. His Beni Wejib prisoners he had treated well and even honoured and offered them assistance. He now approached a member of the family who had not been expelled from the city, a powerful fakir, to whom he promised the

throne of Valencia and the district up to Denia, in exchange for his help. Ibn Jehhaf, however, soon discovered the intrigue and threw the fakir with his fellow-conspirators into prison. Nothing daunted, the fakir addressed himself to winning over his jailers, in spite of their being special favourites of Ibn Jehhaf, and succeeded in persuading them that he was actually plotting on behalf of Mostain. When night fell, prisoners and jailers marched to the Alcazar and, taking possession of it, proclaimed themselves : " For the King, the King of Saragossa ! " They at once despatched a crier to the tower of the Great Mosque hard by to convoke the people to the Alcazar ; but the citizens, panic-stricken, shut themselves indoors and, as the soldiers on the ramparts stuck to their posts and no one else answered the rebels' call, Ibn Jehhaf had little difficulty in suppressing the attempt and leading the ring-leaders captive to his house. The four accomplices of the fakir were summarily executed and the fakir himself sent as a prisoner to the King of Saragossa, in charge of the few cavaliers who still retained their horses, with the object of wiping out the bad impression the former messenger had caused ; the escort was to report to Mostain what had occurred and on no account to return to Valencia without him.

Superfluous Mouths.

By the end of April, 1094, the famine had become terrible. Wheat was now sold by the ounce, or at the very most by the pound, and then at seventy times what it had cost when the scarcity was first felt. Other foodstuffs were still scarcer ; the tendons of cattle fetched fabulous prices, as also did roots and grasses. The rich fed on cow-hides or broth made from them, as well as ointments and electuaries, but the poor were driven to eating the flesh of human corpses. The death-rate

was enormous, people falling dead in the street from sheer emaciation, and the open places within the ramparts were converted into graveyards, with ten bodies or more in every grave. Whenever the gates were opened, starving men, women, and children would rush forth, careless of what might become of them. Some of these the besiegers allowed to pass, others they killed or took captive. The prisoners were sold to the Moors of Alcudia each at the price of a loaf of bread, a pound of fish, or a jar of wine ; and, indeed, they were worth little more, for so famished were they that some of them died as soon as they were given food. The fittest were sold for export to Europe, to traders who flocked to those shores like vultures scenting from afar the carrion of war. Those who carried on this vile traffic were mainly *dawayir,* Moslem outlaws and renegades, who served the besiegers, as they had before served Alvar Hafiez, and proved themselves to be the most pitiless enemies of their countrymen.

The Cid could not interfere with his Moorish auxiliaries. Although he believed that the fugitives had been turned out in order to prolong the defence until such time as the Almoravides might return, he himself let them go scot-free or remain with his followers. At times he even seemed pleased that so many were abandoning the cause of the besieged.

At one of these moments he was approached by several fugitives of rank, who, feigning gratitude for having been spared, assured him that the garrison was so reduced and enfeebled that he might easily risk an assault. This advice, which no doubt emanated from the wily Cadi, the Cid took and forthwith launched an attack on the Culebra Gate. Here, however, the defenders were awaiting them in force and received them with showers of arrows and other missiles, each of which found its mark, Rodrigo, with some of his leaders, took

shelter in a bath near the walls, whereupon the Moors, plying the Christians with such lively volleys of projectiles as drove them back in disorder, poured through the gates and cut off the entrance to the bath. The Cid, however, contrived to escape by breaking through a back wall and rejoined his men as they retired in confusion. Here it should be noted that in ancient warfare, in contrast with modern, the armaments for defending and counter-attacking from the height of a fortress were invariably superior to those at the disposition of the attacking force. The Moslem siege-engines, for example, proved of little avail against the castle of Aledo, and those used by the Cid against Valencia were soon demolished by the artillery of the besieged. In short, blockade was the only effective means of reducing a walled city.

The Cid, indignant at the treachery on the part of men he had allowed to escape from starvation, decided to apply more rigorously the rules of what is now known as International Law. He sent criers to proclaim within hearing of the townsfolk that all fugitives must return to the city under pain of the stake, and that from then on anyone attempting to escape would meet with a similar fate. Nevertheless, the pangs of hunger continued to drive people out of Valencia, and in one day alone the Cid found himself obliged to burn seventeen of these wretched creatures in full view of the inhabitants ; others were torn to pieces by the mastiffs that kept watch with the sentries of the besiegers, and many more fell into the hands of the soldiers, who **hid** them, to sell the youths into bondage and keep the girls or hold them to ransom. Although Ibn Alcama roundly charges the Christians with these cruelties, Ibn al-Kardabus prefers to attribute them solely to the *dawayir,* who enslaved women and boys, tore out the tongues or gouged out the eyes of those captives who



TOWER OF ZORITA CASTLE, WHOSE GOVERNOR WAS ALVAR HANEZ

were not promptly ransomed, or threw them to the dogs to be torn to pieces.

Ibn Jehhaf decides to Surrender.

There now remained but four horses in the whole city, two of which belonged to Ibn Jehhaf and his son. Hunger and despair were every-where except in the Cadi's mansion. Nobody believed any longer in help from Saragossa or the Almoravides, and yet the blind self-confidence and ambition of Ibn Jehhaf did not desert him. In despair, the city fathers sought out the pacifist Al-Wacashi and implored him to use his powers of persuasion with Ibn Jehhaf and bring him to reason. The aged fakir, however, advised them first to unite in a public demonstration of protest against their terrible privations.

No sooner said than done. The people's sufferings were at last brought home to Ibn Jehhaf, and, stung by remorse, he humbly resolved to give a thought to the common good. The ground was thus well-prepared for Al-Wacashi's visit. After a lengthy discussion, Ibn Jehhaf granted the futility of awaiting succour any longer and, accordingly, fully aware that the Cid would never listen to him, he entrusted the task of opening peace negotiations to Al-Wacashi, the man who had publicly proclaimed the irresistible power of the Castilian warrior.

2. SURRENDER OF THE BESIEGED

Treaty of Surrender.

Al-Wacashi's first step was to send a message to Ibn Abdus, the faithful tax-gatherer whom the Cid had appointed at Alcudia and held in such esteem as disposed him to grant any favour his henchman might ask. This Ibn Abdus made several visits to the city and eventually arranged with the three representatives

nominated by the Cadi that the besieged should be allowed to send appeals to Mostain and to Ibn Ayesha at Murcia to come to the relief of Valencia within a fortnight and, failing their doing so, the city was to surrender on the following terms. Ibn Jehhaf would remain as Cadi and Governor, secure against any risk to himself, his wealth, wives and children; but the revenues should be administered by Ibn Abdus in the city as they were in Alcudia; the vizier should be one Musa, a Moor who had enjoyed Rodrigo's confidence in the days of Al-Kadir and after this king's assassination had awaited the Cid at Juballa; Musa would also be in charge of the city gates in command of a guard composed of Mozarabs; Rodrigo would remain at Juballa and would respect the Moorish laws, taxes, measures, and coinage. Both parties signed these preliminaries for the surrender on May 18 (?), 1094.[1]

The next day five prominent Valencians set out for Valencia, and five for Murcia. The latter, who had promised not to take more than fifty dinars each for their personal expenses, had already embarked in the Christian ship they were to take as far as Denia, when the Cid came down to the shore and ordered their baggage to be examined. Large quantities of valuables being discovered, some of which belonged to the messengers and the rest to merchants who were sending their riches ahead of them to Murcia, the Cid confiscated all except the fifty dinars he had agreed to allow each of the messengers.

Meanwhile, the situation in the city at once improved, for the people foresaw an end to their tribulations, and the hoarders of victuals now came out with their stocks, with the result that prices fell all round.

[1] **Allowing the** messengers ten days to reach Saragossa, **in addition to the fortnight** granted **and** the three days' grace, **this date agrees with the Cid's entry on June 15, 1094.**

The Valencians infringe the Treaty and Surrender at Discretion.

When the time allowed by the treaty had elapsed and there was still no sign of the messengers, Ibn Jehhaf would have had the people wait three days more, but they protested that they could hold out no longer ; and, at all events, the Campeador had warned them that if they delayed an hour beyond the time appointed for surrender, he would scrap the treaty there and then. Nevertheless, another day passed before the delegates came to surrender, and in consequence, Rodrigo refused to receive them ; whereupon, wearied to death of war, they threw themselves on his mercy and surrendered unconditionally. The Cid, however, moved to pity and true to his policy of tolerance to his Moorish subjects, promised to sign a treaty on the following day and, in admiration of their gallant defence, assured the Valencians that, after the city had been handed over, he would gradually introduce concessions on the lines of those he had granted in the cancelled treaty.

The City Handed Over.

The next morning, the capitulation was drawn up and signed by prominent men of the two faiths, Christian and Moslem, the terms providing that the lives and properties of those who surrendered would be respected and that Ibn Jehhaf should hand over to the Cid all the treasure that Al-Kadir had left.[1] When at noon the victorious army entered the city, the inhabitants crowded round the gates, their bones showing through their skins, and looking for all the world, as the Arab historian notes, like the dead arisen at the sound of the last trump. The first act of the Christians was to occupy the towers

[1] Ibn Alcama (in *Primera Cronica,* p. 587 b ; *Cronica de* 1344, etc) Also *Muluk-at-tawa'if.*

in spite of Ibn Jehhaf's protest that the treaty gave them no authority to do so. The Cadi's interpretation of the terms of capitulation, however, was that of one who has been vanquished without being disillusioned ; moreover, it should be remembered that even in the former and more favourable treaty it was laid down that the Cid was to have the custody of the gates of the city walls.

The Valencians themselves were more interested in buying provisions from the vendors who poured into the city than they were in the pretensions of their Cadi. Many, enjoying their new freedom, went to Alcudia to buy of the abundance of provisions obtainable there at the very lowest prices ; whilst the very poor flocked to the fields to gather vegetables and herbs ; and many died from sheer over-eating after so long an abstinence.

Thus it was on June 15, 1094, that the Cid took possession of Valencia, after a siege that had lasted for nineteen and a half months.

The Cid's First Concessions to the Conquered.

With the city towers secure in his hands, the Cid, at the head of his battalions, made his solemn entry into Valencia on the following day. His first act was to ascend the highest tower and take stock of the whole city and its surroundings.

While he was thus engaged, the leading Moors came to do him homage. Rodrigo received them with friendly courtesy and informed them that he had ordered all the tower windows overlooking the town to be blocked up, so as to shield the Moorish houses from the prying eyes of the soldiery. He added that he had garrisoned the towers with Mozarabs, not because his Castilians lacked discretion, but because the former, bred amongst Moslems, knew their habits better and also their language ; and he had ordered these guards to treat the

Moors with respect, make way for them in the streets, and greet them courteously.

The Moors were profuse in their thanks and expressions of gratification ; never, they declared to one another, had they seen a more noble leader or such disciplined troops. In point of fact, Rodrigo was granting them more than was laid down in the cancelled treaty. Such spontaneous concessions were in course of time embodied in agreements ; and it is on record that, as late as November, 1491, when Granada surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella, it was stipulated that " their Majesties order their Justices neither to permit nor cause any Christian to mount the wall between the Alcazaba and the Albaicin, lest he should see into the Moorish houses ".

Ibn Jehhaf 's Oath.

Having thus settled the military occupation of the city, the Cid went on to make further concessions concerning its government, as had been laid down in the original treaty : Ibn Jehhaf was to remain Cadi, and his person, family, and effects were to be respected, but now only on a certain condition.

When Ibn Jehhaf waited upon the Cid to affirm this pact, he thought to remedy his former lack of courtesy in not making the Cid the customary presents, by offering him large sums that he had extorted from those who had sold bread during the siege at exorbitant prices ; but the Cid, knowing the origin of the money, refused to accept it. As usual, the Cadi had misjudged his great enemy, and he little dreamed of the far more serious demand the Cid was now to make. For, when handing over to Rodrigo, as agreed, the treasures of Al-Kadir, he had retained one of great value (doubtless the girdle taken from the body of the murdered King); and this fact had reached the Cid's ears.

Now, the Cid had all along sworn to avenge Al-Kadir and, with many others, had accused Ibn Jehhaf of the murder. Accordingly, before recognizing him as Cadi, he felt bound to inquire into the matter; and, so that the proceedings should be as formal as the surrender of the city, he made Ibn Jehhaf swear before the principal men of both faiths that he did not possess the treasure and was innocent of the crime. This done, the Cadi was allowed to retain his post and all his possessions, on the condition that, should the girdle eventually be found in his possession, Rodrigo would withdraw his protection and, if he deemed it expedient, put him to death as a regicide.[1] This agreement was signed by the leading Christians and Moslems.

Truly, as Ibn Bassam declares, the Cadi little imagined how many trials and misfortunes fate had in store for him in consequence of the oath he had so rashly taken.

This pact of the Cid with Ibn Jehhaf served as a pattern in the years that followed for similar treaties, such as that made by Alphonso the Battler, of Aragon in 1115 at the conquest of Tudela and in 1118 at Saragossa, and that concluded in 1148 between Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona and Tortosa. In all three the first clause provided that the Cadi acting at the time of the conquest should remain in office, as also the viziers and the fakirs, and that the safety of their persons and property should be guaranteed.[2] Rodrigo, however, only confirmed the Cadi in office and appointed his own vizier. Again, whereas the capitulations of Saragossa and Tortosa merely required that the Cadi and

[1] The pact between Ibn Jehhaf and the Cid is mentioned, as having been concluded after the Christian occupation of Valencia, by four Arabic authors: Ibn Alcama, Ibn al-Abbar, Ibn Bassam, and the author of the *Muluk-at-tawa'if* or *History of the Taifa Kings.*

[2] Cf. J. Ribera, *Origenes del Justicia de Aragon,* Saragossa, 1897, pp. 398 *et seq.*

the viziers should be faithful vassals of the conqueror, to the Cid's pact, owing to the peculiar circumstances, was added the special proviso that the Cadi's security would depend on the truth of his declaration that he was innocent of the murder of Al-Kadir.

The Cid's Speech on the Government of the City.

Four days after the occupation, the Cid convoked an assembly of the city notables and castle wardens in the palace of Ibn Abd-el-Aziz, where he was staying. The meeting was held in a richly furnished hall, and the Cid delivered an address, which was carefully recorded by Ibn Alcama as containing, now that the original terms of capitulation had been annulled, the pacts and ordinances that were to form the basis of the future statutes of the city.

" I never had a kingdom," said the Cid, " nor did any of my line ; but ever since I came to this city she has been my pride ; I desired her and begged Our Lord to give her to me. Behold the power of the Almighty ! I began the siege of Juballa with four loaves, and now, by God's grace, I am conqueror and master of Valencia. If, then, I act justly and promote her welfare, God will leave her to me ; but, if I do ill out of pride or perfidy, well do I know He will take her from me.

" Henceforth, therefore, let every man return to his estates ; he that finds his garden, his vineyard, or his land vacant, let him enter upon it as formerly. And he that finds his estate occupied, let him pay to him in possession what it cost him to acquire and to work it, and then let him take it back, according to the Moorish law. And further, I command all tax-gatherers to collect no more than the tithe prescribed by your law."

This tithe, it should be noted, represented a great reduction in the excessive taxation that had been in

vogue. Alphonso had also essayed a policy of tax reduction to win the support of the Moors when oppressed by their Taifa kings. But the Cid confined himself strictly to the tithe, payment of which the Almoravides had reaffirmed as a religious duty ; and in the capitulations of Tudela, Saragossa and Tortosa the same respect is shown for Moslem law, the vanquished being restored to the possession of their estates upon simple payment of the tithe.

The Cid continued : "I will judge your suits on Mondays and Thursdays, but if your case be urgent, come to me any day and I will hear you ; for I spend not my time with women, drinking and singing, like your masters, whom ye cannot see when ye need them. I wish to judge all your affairs myself, be as a comrade to you, defend you as a friend defends a friend and a man his own kinsfolk ; I wish to be at once the Cadi who judges and the vizier who executes judgment; and whensoever ye may disagree I will dispense justice."

The Cid went on to contrast the virtues of the conquerors with the iniquities of the Taifa kings. It was his aim, he said, to be the guardian of the rights of the Valencians. He was already famous among Moslems for his scrupulous equity ; so that he offered them a recognized guarantee, when he appointed himself magistrate as well as supreme judge of appeal, combining the judicial and executive powers and becoming virtually their *sahibo-l-madalim,* an office that at the time was filled by Ibn Jehhaf's cousin, Abdullah, whom the Cadi once had scorned, but now held in esteem.

Referring to abuses of authority, the Cid continued : " I am told that Ibn Jehhaf has treated some of you unjustly by taking away your property, on the plea that during the siege you had sold bread too dear, to make offerings to me. I refused his gifts. Had I desired that wealth, I should not have waited for it to be offered

to me ; but God forbid that I should take anything from you by indirection ; whomsoever sold and dealt profitably with his own, may God give good of it! Now, therefore, let all from whom Ibn Jehhaf took anything, demand it of him, and I will see that he return it. The treasure the messengers carried to Murcia I took by right of war from men who had been false to their word. Yet, though I had a perfect right to it, I now return it to the uttermost farthing."

Having thus ensured his popularity by a display of justice and generosity and confounded the supporters of the Almoravides, who could not fail to admire his virtues, the Cid went on to add conditions. " But ye must bow to my ruling/' he declared, " in all such things as I shall tell you. Fail not to do so, nor disobey my commands ! Keep strictly whatever pact ye make with me and abide by whatsoever I ordain, for I love you and desire your weal." The Moslem historian does not say what the Cid commanded, but it is easy to guess. The underhand plotting that was constantly going on between Moors who had been reduced to subjection and the Almoravides constituted a grave menace, especially at a time when the Africans were at the height of their power. There can be no reason to doubt that the Cid stipulated that the Valencians had in future to abstain from courting foreign intervention. Ibn Alcama does not admit this, because it does not suit the doctrine he is continually expounding in his work, that all the troubles of the Moors sprang from their dealing with the Christians instead of trusting to the Almoravides. Nevertheless, confirmation of the existence of such a proviso is to be found in the capitulation of Tortosa and in its prototype, that of Saragossa, a clause in each of which expressly laid down that the Cadi, the fakirs, and all the citizens must remain loyal to the rule of the conqueror ; and, as will be shown, it is probable that the capitulations

of Saragossa were based on the statute the Cid granted to Valencia.

After deploring their misfortunes and professing his anxiety to remedy them, Rodrigo went on: "Had ye begun by doing what ye did in the end, ye would not have been reduced to the extremity of having to pay a thousand dinars for a *cahiz* (about twelve bushels) of wheat; but now I will see that ye get it for one dinar. Go, therefore, and till your lands in peace; and know that, to save you from molestation, I have forbidden my people to enter your city whether to buy or to sell; they shall market in Alcudia. It is also my command that none shall bring in any Moorish captive, neither man nor woman, and, if anyone disobey, ye shall forthwith free the captive and slay the captor, nor fear any punishment for the deed." In thus forbidding the presence of Moorish slaves within the city, the Cid gave further earnest of a respect for the Moslems that was to be reflected later in the treaties of Tudela, Saragossa and Tortosa.

In conclusion, he informed them that, since the capitulation in May, in which he had promised to stay at Juballa, had been invalidated, he decided now to live at Villanueva and Alcudia, but to have a residence at his disposal in Valencia near one of the city gates.

This discourse finished, the Cid's listeners returned to Valencia and their castles highly satisfied with the promises he had made; even the most timid now felt reassured, and only the intransigent friends of the Almoravides refused to allow that such excellent intentions either could or should succeed.

Summary of the First Statute of Valencia.

The provisions for the government of Valencia, laid down by the Cid in his speech and in his treaty with Ibn Jehhaf, are historically important as being more generous

to the conquered than those formerly enacted at, for example, Coimbra and Toledo ; indeed, his system of administration was to serve as a model to his immediate successors in the Reconquest.

Nevertheless, the regime outlined by the Cid during these first few days of control could not endure. Two major flaws are at once obvious. In the first place, the fact that, owing to the division of Valencia into three parties, the Spanish, the Almoravide, and the opportunist, the Cid himself had been led to assume the post of supreme judge, had given great offence to the conquered. And in the second, in his pursuit of a policy of benevolence, he had left the Valencians in unconditional possession of their city and Great Mosque, and this his own men could not but consider as carrying benevolence to excess.

In even the least provocative clauses of the treaty there were sufficient grounds for dispute.

A Thorny Question.

The new charter having come into force, Ibn Abdus, the tax-gatherer at Alcudia, at once organized the city treasury.

But, to the intense satisfaction of the Almoravide party, as Ibn Alcama relates, when the Moors returned to their estates, those who found them occupied (and they, taking into consideration the length of the siege, would be the majority), were unwilling to reimburse those in possession for the cost of purchase and upkeep, with the inevitable result that trouble arose on every side. Some of the Christians in possession had received these very estates direct from the Cid as their year's pay ; others had actually paid a year's rent; and, to crown all, 1094 had been a lean Year, which made adjustment between the victors and conquered more difficult than ever. The less reasonable among the Moors

sought to ignore the indemnity payable to the Christian holders and, whether moved by a spirit of rebellion or whether trusting to the Cid's generosity, on the following Thursday they laid their claims before him at Villanueva.

No sooner had they stated their case, however, than Rodrigo dispelled their illusions by recalling to them that the terms of the pact did not exempt anyone from the payment of burdens due to the war. "What would ye have me do with my followers? Without them I should be as one who, having his right arm, lacked his left; like a bird without wings; like a soldier without sword or lance. Thus, my first care must be for mine own people, so that they may receive their reward and they and I be the better protected."

Now convinced of the unpalatable truth, such Valencians as had sufficient means recovered their estates by arrangement with those who had worked them during the two years of war; and we know that they retained possession of them even after the subsequent disturbances, paying the tithe ordained by the Campeador.

Others, either less substantial or less accommodating, in spite of the leniency shown by the Cid when he began his sway, emigrated with their whole families, some for economic and others for religious reasons. And here it should be borne in mind that a Moslem was practically forbidden by his Faith to live under the dominion of a Christian prince.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ALMORAVIDES REPULSED

I. THE FIRST ALMORAVIDE DEFEAT

Dona Jimena's Journey.

NOW that the long war had at last come to an end, the Cid had an opportunity to send for his wife and three children, Diego, Christina and Maria. History relates that Jimena and her children accompanied the Cid on his second exile, when he fought in the regions of Denia and Valencia ; and there is no doubt that Jimena resided in Valencia itself after the conquest. Thus, bearing in mind that the Spanish *jongleurs* are to a great extent historians, we may readily accept the early poet's account of the journey Dona Jimena now made to join her husband. Only in the *Poem* are we privileged to hear an echo of the private life of the men of those days and discover precise details of the country through which the journey was made and in which the Cid of history was operating. We propose, therefore, to give a summary of verses 1308 to 1600 of the *Poema del Cid* and would remind our readers that the ancient minstrels wrote to entertain as well as to instruct the public (" ad recreationem et forte ad informationem ").

Great was the joy among the Christians when My Cid took Valencia and his ensign floated above the city walls. Men who had enlisted in his army as foot-soldiers, now became knights, and of gold and silver

there was such an abundance that all his vassals grew rich, both those who had gone into exile with him and those who had since joined him. Of the new knights, when they were duly enrolled and counted, Rodrigo found to his intense satisfaction that there were 3,600. " Thanks be to God and Our Lady ", he exclaimed to Alvar Hanez. " How much smaller was our force when we left Vivar for exile ! "

The Cid despatched Alvar Haftez, escorted by 100 knights, with a message to King Alphonso and a present of 100 horses that had been captured from the Moors ; he also sent 1,000 marks of silver, 500 of which were to be given to the convent of Cardena. (The minstrel may have been mistaken in the messenger's name, although it is quite possible that Alvar Hanez was actually at Valencia at the time.)

When he arrived in Castile, Alvar Hafiez traced King Alphonso to Carrion and, meeting him as he was coming from Mass, fell at his feet and told him of the conquests of Valencia, Juballa and Benicadell, " the rock-fortress " ; and then, as a sign of these victories, he presented the monarch with the 100 swift and powerful horses, each fully harnessed. " My Cid, the Campeador, kisses your hands and begs you to accept this gift; he calls himself your vassal, and you his liege lord." [1]

The astonished King crossed himself : " By St. Isidore, I am right pleased to hear of such goodly victories of the Cid, and gladly do I accept these steeds he sends me." But the King's pleasure was not shared by Garcia Ordofiez, who bitterly exclaimed : " It looks as if not a man has been left alive in Moorish lands, when the Cid is allowed to do just as he pleases there."

Not only did the King accede to the request of Alvar

[1] *Poem*, verses 1308-39. That the Cid did acknowledge himself to be Alphonso's vassal after the conquest of Valencia is confirmed by Ibn Alcama.

Hafiez that Dofia Jimena and her children be allowed to leave the Cardena convent and join the Cid, but he ordered them to be supplied with provisions whilst within his dominions and given an escort as far as Medinaceli, after which it must be left to the Cid to provide for their safe conduct through Moorish territory.

There were great rejoicings at the convent when the messenger arrived. Springing from the saddle, Alvar Hafiez went direct into the church in accordance with custom, to give thanks to St. Peter for a safe journey. He then turned to the ladies, saying : " Your servant, Dona Jimena. May God deliver you and your daughters from evil. My Cid greets you from Valencia, where I left him both well and affluent. The King grants you leave to go to Valencia, which is now your inheritance. If the Cid see you there safe and sound, his happiness will be complete." Dofia Jimena replied : " God grant that it may be so ! "

Many knights now came from different parts to Cardefia, all eager to join the Cid at Valencia, and soon the number of the escort had grown from 100 to 165.

Alvar Hafiez handed over the 500 marks to the abbot and with the remaining 500 bought the best apparel he could find in Burgos for Dofia Jimena, her daughters, and her women. The abbot bade a sad farewell to those whom he had sheltered from the King's wrath and instructed in the holy psalms. " God guard thee, Alvar Hafiez ! Kiss the Cid's hands for me and tell him never to forget this holy house, so that he may prosper all his days."

Spurring their steeds forward, the company set out and, after five days' journey, arrived at Medinaceli, where they waited. This, Alphonso's frontier city, stood surrounded with well-turreted walls upon the broad summit of a hill and was a strong fortress that had more than once changed hands during the wars with the Moors.

The news of their coming having reached his ears, the Cid sent his nephew, Pedro Vermudez, and other kinsmen with 1oo men, all armed cap-k-pie, to meet them. Vermudez had instructions to halt at Molina, where " my good friend Ibn Galbon will accompany you with 1oo horse, and at Medinaceli you will find my wife and children. Bring them hither. I will remain here where my duty lies."

At Molina the party was hospitably received by Ibn Galbon, who, not content with supplying the 1oo horse asked for, placed 200 at their disposal. Whereupon the whole cavalcade set out for Medinaceli.

When Alvar Hanez, from the heights of the town, saw the great clouds of dust rising above the summits of the frontier hills and the large body of armed horsemen heading for the city, he jumped to the conclusion that they were hostile Moors, and great was his fear for the safety of the women, until the mounted scouts informed him that they who appeared came from the Cid and the Lord of Molina.

Alvar Haiiez at once went down to the banks of the Jalon to receive them, and with him there rode 100 knights gaily attired as for a festival, with their shields slung from the left shoulder, lances with bright pennons in their right hands, their steeds bedecked with silken trappings and bells jingling in merry harmony. On reaching the river bank, they at once began to disport themselves, throwing their spears into the air and careering about on their horses.

When the Valencian party arrived, they all bowed to Alvar Hanez, and Ibn Galbon embraced him, kissing him on the shoulder as is the Moorish custom : " A happy day to thee, Alvar Hanez ! Thou bring'st these ladies to my lands, which will be a source of pride to me for all time. I shall honour the wife and children of the Campeador, for, such good fortune has the Cid

that, e'en though we wished him ill, we **could not harm** him ; in peace or war, he will e'er have part of what is ours, and blind indeed is he who does not see it."

Alvar Hafiez replied with a smile : " Ibn Galbon, thou'rt a loyal friend to the Cid. If God will that I reach Valencia and my eyes see him even as my heart desires, thou wilt lose naught by what thou hast done. And now let us betake ourselves to the repast that awaits us."

They went up the hill together to Medinaceli, and Alvar Hanez dispensed to all the generous hospitality that the King's representative had provided for the occasion. It was an honour to My Cid, far away in Valencia, that those festive banquets should be held at Medinaceli by the King's command.

At daybreak, after hearing Mass, they set out, each of the principal knights mounted on his palfrey, his baggage-mule carrying his arms and equipment behind, and on his right, his charger, ridden or led by his squire. The 200 Christian knights and the 200 of Ibn Galbon went together down the slopes of Medina, forded the Jalon, and ascended the Arbujuelo valley, from the highest part of which they caught their last glimpse of the towers of that great stronghold on the Castilian frontier; they left King Alphonso's dominions and entered the dense juniper shrub that covers the Tarance uplands. Keeping a careful guard over the ladies and ever on the alert for a surprise attack, they at length arrived in the Luzon district, which, though nowadays bare, was then a mass of pine and oak trees. After a long day's ride of nine leagues, they reached the flourishing town of Molina, and there Ibn Galbon saw to it that all their needs, down to the very horse-shoes, were supplied at his expense. Nor did the Moor leave the ladies until they had reached Valencia.

They were still three leagues from the great city when

the Cid learnt of their approach and sent other 200 knights to meet them. Giving orders for the guard at the gates of the walls to be doubled, he then mounted his horse Babieca and rode out beyond the environs. When he saw his wife approaching, he leapt off his steed and ran towards her. Whereupon Dona Jimena dismounted and threw herself at his feet. " Good, my Lord ; lucky the day thou girtest on thy sword ; thou hast freed me from a sad life. Behold ! I have come with thy daughters. Thanks to God and to thee, they are good maidens and now grown up." The Cid embraced his wife and daughters. Happiness too great for their hearts to hold overflowed in tears. And all around them rose the joyful shouts of their followers as they disported themselves on the shingle of the river bank, flourishing their arms and hurling spears and darts at the wooden targets they had improvised.

And now the priests, Mozarab as well as Castilian, came out in procession to greet the ladies, after which Rodrigo, leading them to the city, addressed them thus: " Dona Jimena, my beloved and honoured wife, and ye, my daughters, who are my heart's delight, welcome to Valencia and behold the heritage I have won for you ! " From the topmost tower, with shining eyes they drank in the magnificent panorama that lay before them, the compact houses of the city, the lively green of the countryside, the blue sea in the distance ; and they thanked God for this precious gift He had bestowed upon them.

The poet does not mention the Cid's son, who was now nineteen. For the young Diego that promised land of chivalry was soon to become a sepulchre—the sepulchre of one more fallen in the endless crusade.

The Almoravides make Fresh Progress in spite of Alphonso.

In the meantime, Alphonso was steadfastly pursuing his imperialistic policy. Though he had failed to stem

the Almoravide tide in the Kingdoms of Granada, Malaga, Seville and Murcia, he scored an easy success in Badajoz, where, Motawakkil, in return for his protection against the Almoravides, ceded to him on April 30, May 6, and May 8 respectively of 1093 Santarem, Lisbon and Cintra, which were placed under the government of the Emperor's son-in-law, Raymond of Burgundy. Alphonso, however, proved powerless to defend Badajoz, and in 1094 it surrendered to the Africans, under Syr Ibn Abu Bekr, the conqueror of Seville and Cordova. Motawakkil was killed, and shortly afterwards Lisbon fell, following a battle in which vast numbers of Christians were slaughtered or taken captive (November, 1094). The whole of Al Andalus was now under the Almoravide yoke with the exception of the eastern part, which was under the Cid's protection, to wit, Valencia and the three Kingdoms of Saragossa, Tortosa and Albarracin.

Shut out from the Moorish West, Alphonso again turned his attention to affairs in the East, where the Emir of Huesca provided him with an excuse for intervening by soliciting his help against Sancho Ramirez of Ar agon, in exchange for his acceptance of Alphonso as overlord. The Emperor, unmindful of the aid Sancho had lent him against Yusuf at Sagrajas and in the defence of Toledo, collected an army and prepared to invade Navarre from Alava. But Sancho Ramirez hastened against him with so great a force that the Castilians retired without striking a blow, whereupon the King of Aragon forthwith laid siege to Huesca (May, 1094).

The Cid renews his Alliance with Aragon.

A few days after beginning the siege of Huesca, Sancho Ramirez fell sick and died in his camp near the city at the age of 52 (June 4, 1094).

The assembly that met to administer the oath to the

new King, Pedro I, strongly advised him to renew the alliance his father had formed with Rodrigo, whose conquest of Valencia at this moment had caused a stir throughout the country. The friendship of the knight of Burgos to Sancho and his son had been apt to waver, and so the magnates considered it would be prudent to confirm the treaties with Rodrigo before continuing the siege of Huesca against the King of Saragossa, who apparently was as friendly as ever with the Cid.

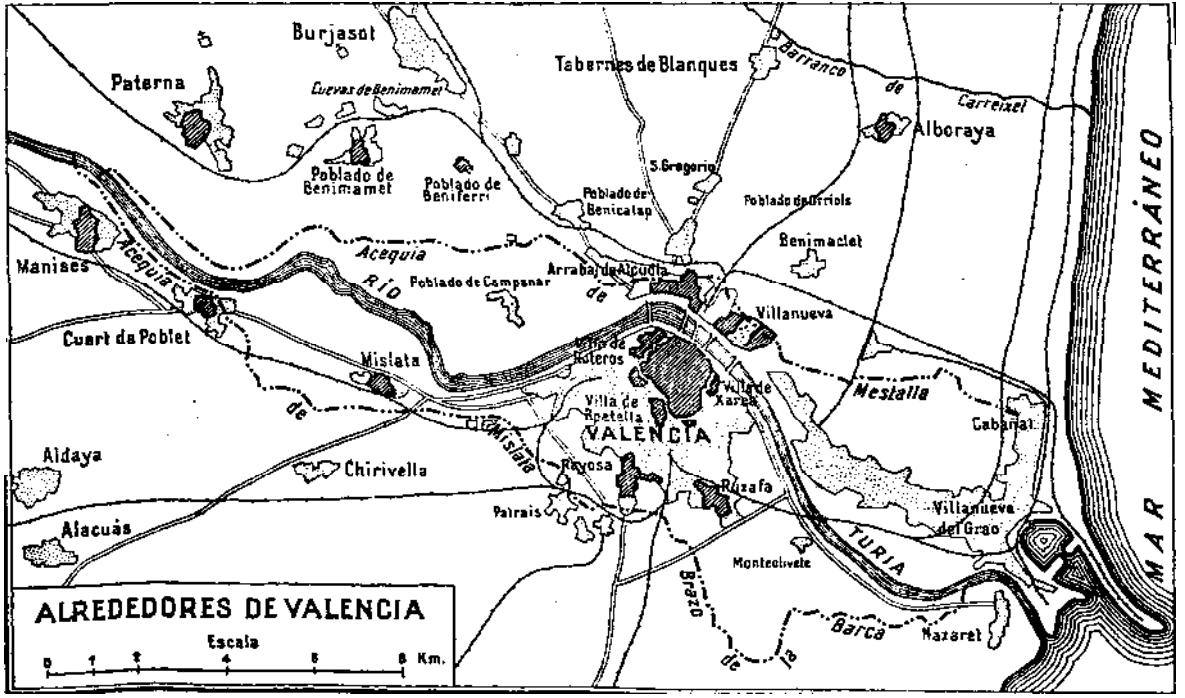
The new King accepted the advice and arranged a meeting with the Cid at Burriana, where they signed pacts of mutual aid against all enemies, after which each returned to his newly acquired realm.

Battle of Cuarte.

According to Ibn Bassam, the news of the fall of Valencia filled every Moor in Spain with grief and humiliation. To Yusuf himself it was a bitter disappointment ; and he determined to recover the city at all costs. To that end he appointed a nephew, Mohammed, General in the Peninsula and entrusted him with the task of reducing the city and bringing the Cid in chains to him.

The Cid's forces were small indeed when compared with Yusuf's, and little or no help was forthcoming from King Pedro, who had his hands full at Huesca. Mohammed, on the other hand, had 150,000 horse and 3,000 foot, between Africans and Andalusians, at his disposal when he encamped on the Cuarte Plain, a league to the west of Valencia. This plain, called the " Cuarte " because it began at the fourth milestone of the old Roman road leading from the Bab-el-Hanesh or Gate of the Snake, is by its fertility, particularly in carob beans, well suited to the maintenance of cavalry.[1]

[1] There is also a village, Cuart de Poblet, lying in the north-east of the plain at a distance of a little over 4 km. from Valencia.



SURROUNDINGS OF VALENCIA

Over and above, however, all the Moors in the vicinity came forward with barley and food supplies, which they either sold or gave away to their liberators. As a matter of fact, the Cid never could count on the loyalty of the Valencian Moors, who, far from being resigned to their subjection, supported every attempt of the Africans to extend their dominion.

The huge Almoravide army now began its attack on the city, and each day the fighting was renewed with unabated vigour ; filling the air with their deafening yells, the invaders showered arrows on the houses and tents ; and everywhere the dauntless Cid was to be found, encouraging his men, in the words of the Christian chronicler, by the natural fortitude of his heart and urging one and all to keep on praying to the Almighty for help. For ten days this desultory fighting continued, and then the Almoravides, encouraged in the hope of taking the city by the purely defensive tactics of their enemy, concentrated their entire forces and were advancing to the assault, when of a sudden the Cid sallied forth with all his men and, amidst the war-cries of both sides, took the besiegers completely by surprise by the boldness and impetuosity of his attack. A tremendous struggle ensued, but the superior discipline and armament of the Cid's troops prevailed, and soon the Moors took to flight, the Christians falling fiercely on their rear and inflicting terrible losses upon them (December, 1094).

A document drawn up by the Cid's clerics some three years later describes this victory as having been won in a moment with incredible speed and very few casualties on the part of the Christians.

While some of the Cid's men pursued the fugitives, others attacked the Cuarte camp and captured a great number of the enemy, with their wives and children.

The fame of this great victory spread to the neigh-

remnant of the Moorish host had taken refuge, barely a hundred out of the many thousands who had fought that day. Sated with slaughter, the Cid returned to his wife and daughters, his helmet gone, the hood of his coat of mail thrown back and the linen under-cap pushed over his brow. His sword was dripping with blood, which had run up the blade to the hilt and along his arm up to the elbow. On meeting his womenfolk, who had come out to meet him, he drew rein : " I bow to you, ladies ; great honour have I gained you. Defending Valencia for you, I have won this battle. God willed that the Moors should bring us so great a prize in honour of your coming. See the bloody sword and sweating steed ; thus are Moors vanquished on the field. Pray to God that I may live yet a while, and ye shall gain much honour, and many vassals shall kiss your hands." So speaking, he sprang to the ground, and they knelt before him : " We are thy servants." Together they entered the Villanueva Palace to seek repose on the luxurious divans. . . . Great was the rejoicing throughout those Moorish halls.

Meanwhile, the officers entrusted with the division of the booty drew up a list of the tents, arms, and costly raiments ; to number all the horses in full harness that were running loose about the country, each in itself worth a mint of money, was impossible. The Moors of the district had also helped themselves to a considerable quantity of the spoils ; and the Cid's share of the horses came to 1,000. Amongst the booty were many fine tents with richly-wrought tent-poles. That of the Almoravide leader was an oval tent, supported by two elaborate wooden poles, adorned with gold ; this the Cid, forbidding anyone to touch it, decided to send to Don Alphonso with 200 horses as a token of his victory and a thank-offering for the King's hospitable treatment of Dofta Jimena on her journey to Valencia.

The minstrel, always more observant than the Latin chronicler, calls attention to the Almoravide drums, whose thundering roll seemed to rend the earth asunder. Before the battle, newly-arrived Castilians, who heard the drums for the first time, stood amazed, and Dofia Jimena and her womenfolk were filled with dread, until the Cid assured them that within a fortnight he would lay the drums at their feet, so that they might see for themselves what they were, and then hang them as a votive offering before the altar of the Virgin. What neither the minstrel nor the chronicler tells us, however, is how Rodrigo so effectively frustrated those drum tactics that had proved the undoing of Alvar Hafiez and Alphonso and his Burgundian sons-in-law. The Valencian clergy are content to say that the battle was won by Divine help ; but we do not know what new formations, what new charging movements or wheeling tactics the Campeador had devised to inflict this crushing defeat on Yusuf's hitherto invincible troops.

2. AL-KADIR AVENGED

Inquiry into Al-Kadir's Death.

Now free from the Almoravide menace, the Cid deemed it his imperative duty to bring to justice the assassins of Al-Kadir. The Vizier Musa, ever faithful to the murdered King; the Spanish Moslem party, especially those who had fled at the time of Ibn Jehhafs revolution; and those who had sided with the Cid from the beginning of the investment and had witnessed Rodrigo's oath against the regicides ; all desired to see the fulfilment of that oath, which, they felt, would give them the moral support they needed against the Cadi's party and the Beni Wejib, from both of whom they had suffered great persecution. Moreover, many suspected Ibn Jehhaf of the crime, and among these the

Cid himself was numbered. In fact, it was with ill-concealed reluctance that he kept the Cadi in his post; the man's company was repugnant to him ; we know he thought him a fool, unworthy of the position he held ; and he could not rest satisfied with the Cadi's denial of guilt until he had brought the culprit to book.

The inquest could not begin until the corpse had been found, as also the famous girdle of the Sultana Zobeida and the other jewels said to have been stripped from Al-Kadir's body. When Ibn Jehhaf in the first instance denied his guilt, suspicion centred on the castle of Olocau, to which Al-Kadir, at the approach of the revolution, had sent much of his treasure. Now, as this castle had rebelled against the Cid, to satisfy his doubts, he took it by storm and shared out fairly with his followers all the treasures belonging to Al-Kadir upon which he could lay his hands. But the wonderful girdle did not appear and, his doubts having vanished, the Cid soon discovered that Ibn Jehhaf was indeed the culprit.

The Cid throws the Cadi into Prison.

Accordingly, one day at the customary audience at the Villanueva Palace, the Cid asked the Valencian Moors to hand Ibn Jehhaf over to him ; " for it is common knowledge", said he, " that he killed your lord the King, and no traitor should live amongst you to sully your loyalty by his treason ; see to it then that ye obey my command ! "

Under the pact signed by the notables of the two faiths, Ibn Jehhafs perjury concerning the private treasure freed the Campeador from respecting the dignity of the Cadi and gave him the right to try him. But the Moors, and not Ibn Jehhaf's friends only, were taken aback at this request, in spite of their knowledge of the Cadi's guilt.

Thirty city magnates met to discuss the matter and

asked the advice of Ibn Abdus as one of their own faith. His counsel was to hand over Ibn Jehhaf and thereby gain the favour of the Cid. He reminded them that, though in the time of their King, they had been oppressed by the Christians, they had found Ibn Jehhaf a still harsher master, and it were better to have the Cid as lord than the Cadi. Finally, playing upon their religious susceptibilities, the wily Moor told them that the Cid, who was now fifty-two years old, was worn out and could not live much longer, and at his death they would become masters of the city. This advice was favourably received by the magnates, who forthwith informed the Cid that they were prepared to accede to his wishes.

Disturbances in Valencia. The Cid occupies the Alcazar.

Having arrived at this decision, the magnates sent an armed party to the Cadi's house, which, in spite of a stout resistance, was duly stormed, and Ibn Jehhaf, his son, and many followers were captured and dragged before the Cid. This occurred on February 10, 1095, after the Cadi had ruled under the Cid for eight months.[1] Ibn Jehhaf was thrown into prison, and all those suspected of being his accomplices in the murder were also arrested.

Owing, no doubt, to the disturbances to which these events gave rise in various quarters, the Cid now considered it advisable to insist upon fresh guarantees of safety. Accordingly, on the occasion of the next visit to Villanueva of the city notables, he informed them that he would grant them every favour they asked within reason, but on condition that he should live in the Alcazar and his soldiers occupy all the forts. The Valencians, dissembling their chagrin, promised to obey

[1] **From the end of Jornada I in the year 487 to the Ist of Saphar 488. *Muluk-at-tawaHf.***

whatever he chose to command. The Cid thereupon assured them that he would maintain them in all their religious rites and customs and in that regard they had but to ask and he would grant their request. They, for their part, must acknowledge him as sole overlord, while retaining possession of their lands and houses as formerly upon payment to him of the customary tithe and no more. Satisfied with the assurance that their rights and customs were to be respected and they would retain their mosques, the Moors were well pleased and at once put forward the following petitions: They desired that Musa should continue as their vizier and that Al-Wacashi should be appointed Cadi. He would judge the whole Moorish population and thus, as they eagerly urged, save the Cid the trouble of doing so every day. The Cid took the delicately veiled hint and, abandoning the idea of dispensing justice himself, appointed Al-Wacashi Cadi, whereupon the magnates took their leave and returned to the city highly satisfied.[1]

The Cid made his state entry into Valencia with his standard unfurled before him and his arms borne on pack-mules behind his charger; around him, with lances erect and in faultless formation, rode his knights, one and all in merry mood. Rodrigo went straight to the Alcazar, leaving his followers to seek their quarters in the fine houses near by, and soon the Cid's ensign was flying from the topmost tower of the palace.

The Cid was now as much master of Valencia as Alphonso was *of* Toledo, for in both cities the Moors retained their rights and customs; in each, too, the conqueror occupied the Alcazar *(prasidium civitatis)* and a royal park on the outskirts of the city.

[1] Ibn Alcama, in the Castilian chronicles. Yacut, in his *Geography,* speaking of the Toledan village Wacash, confirms the Castilian chronicles, saying: " Al-Wacashi was living at Valencia when the Christians seized the city, and he became Cadi over the Moslems at that time."

Thus, after eight months, the first statute conceded by the Cid to Valencia began to be restricted through force of circumstances.

The Prisoners. Ibn Jehhaf Convicted.

Among the prisoners taken before the Cid's occupation of the Alcazar, was the old ex-King of Murcia, Ibn Tahir. A letter he wrote on February 26, 1095, gives a vivid impression of the grave situation in Valencia at the time.

" We have become prisoners ", he wrote, " through misfortunes hitherto unparalleled. Oh, if thou could'st but see Valencia ! May Allah turn the light of his countenance upon her ! Could'st thou but see what fate has done to her and her inhabitants, thou could'st not but weep at the misfortune that has defiled her beauty and eclipsed her moon and stars. Ask me not about my afflictions or my despair. Now must I pay ransom after having undergone the most terrible sufferings, from which I have barely escaped alive. My only hope is in the mercy of Allah."

In the end, however, Ibn Tahir was freed, possibly because of his former friendship with Al-Kadir, and the admonitory verses he had written to the haughty Cadi: " O Knock-knees, the day will come when thou shalt get thy deserts." And now that day had indeed come.

Ibn Jehhaf was taken to Juballa and put to the torture to make him confess his crime and the whereabouts of the stolen treasure. Two days later he was brought back to Villanueva, where the Cid bade him write out an inventory in his own hand of all he had, so that he might acknowledge possession of Al-Kadir's most treasured effects, which had not yet been recovered. Ibn Jehhaf set down in detail the precious jewels (in-

eluding, as we shall see later, the Sultana's girdle), the rings and other riches robbed from Al-Kadir at the time of his assassination. He also entered among his private property a great quantity of rich apparel, household valuables, and monies due to him ; but of the gold and silver coin he made no mention whatever.

When he read the inventory and noted the omission, the Cid was furious and made Ibn Jehhaf swear before the Moorish magnates that he possessed only what he had declared. At the same time, he caused a search to be made in the houses of Ibn Jehhaf's friends, who all, either through fear or to gain the Cid's favour, handed over considerable quantities of treasure which the ex-Cadi had given them to hide under promise that he would share it with them if he could extricate himself from his present predicament. A servant also reported a store of gold, pearls, and precious stones that had been buried under Ibn Jehhafs house.

A relic of the lust for wealth that had consumed such heroes of an earlier and more barbaric age as Walther and Sigurd, had now taken possession of the Cid. This, perhaps, was inevitable at a time when war was waged, not, as it is today, to establish sources of indefinite wealth by annexing industrial regions, colonies rich in raw materials, or markets for the finished product, but rather to gain the available wealth an enemy would carry with him, lay under tribute weaker races, and seize castles, like Polop and Olocau, that were known to be replete with treasure. It is understandable, then, that the Cid could not forgo the treasures of Al-Kadir and Ibn Jehhaf; and now that the latter, convicted of regicide and perjury, had fallen into his hands, by all the laws of war his great wealth became the property of the Christians.[1]

[1] Cf. *Hist. Roder.*, " Thesaurum qui fuit regis Alcadir . . . cum suis bona fide divisit."

Execution of Ibn Jehhaf.

Having been found guilty, Ibn Jehhaf was taken with the other prisoners to the Alcazar, where the Christians and Moors, in particular those before whom he had falsely sworn, were assembled ; and the Cid, from his regal dais, called upon the Cadi Al-Wacashi and the chief Moors to judge according to their law the penalty due to one who had murdered his lord and committed perjury. The Cadi decreed that he should be stoned to death. " That is our lawful sentence," the Moors confirmed, " but do ye as ye deem best; nevertheless, we would beg mercy for the son, a child guiltless of his father's crime." In deference to their wishes, the Cid pardoned the son, on condition that he left the city, and condemned Ibn Jehhaf to the stake. The session ended, the Moorish elders kissed the Cid's hands and feet in gratitude for the mercy he had shown to the son. Nor was he undeserving of gratitude, for in those days when faithful vassalage was the foundation of society, no punishment could be too severe or cruel for the traitor vassal; as a rule, the whole family of one conspiring against the King was put to death and the traitor's house razed to its foundations.[1]

Ibn Jehhaf was taken to the outskirts of Valencia and buried up to the arm-pits in the ground, when bundles of wood were placed around him and ignited ; as the fire spread, the condemned man drew the bundles nearer to end his sufferings, and, exclaiming " In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Pitiful," he gave up the ghost (May, 1095).

Although the Cid had done his legal duty as overlord, in avenging a faithful vassal, his severity was impolitic. By his suffering and death, the criminal became invested with a new dignity. Now that he was dead, even his

[1] *Fuero de Cuenca,* XL1II, 9 and XII, 2.

adversaries lauded him, and Ibn Tahir forgot his former enmity towards the usurper. He lamented him in a flood of rhetoric, calling him the shield of the defenceless, forgiver of offences, and benevolent governor, as, indeed, he had been towards the end of his government. His selfishness and ineptitude were forgotten, and even his greatest enemies paid tribute to the resigned death of one they had despised in life. " May Allah," said Ibn Bassam, " in recording his last sufferings amongst his good deeds, regard them as sufficient to blot out his former sins." Ibn Jehhaf dead could be more dangerous to the Cid than Ibn Jehhaf alive. The smouldering embers of Moslem rebellion now had the memory of a martyr to fan them into flame.

3. THE CID, MASTER OF VALENCIA

New Attempts by Yusuf. Rebellion of the Vdieticians.

The many who had prospered under Ibn Jehhafs despotic rule and the uncompromising followers of the Beni Wejib, representing a body that must have outnumbered the Castilian's supporters, naturally manifested their indignation at the Cadi's punishment. Trusting to Yusuf 's immense power, the Spanish Moors were not prepared to resign themselves to foreign domination ; they continued to hope for deliverance by the Almoravides, who for their part lost no opportunity of intermeddling with affairs in the two great cities recently captured by the Christians. We have already mentioned that Toledo was attacked by Yusuf in 1090 ; and it is known that there was a rebellion there supported by the Almoravides in IIIo.[1] But Toledo mattered less to Yusuf than Valencia, which had been but recently torn from his grasp. As Ibn Bassam says, " Valencia was a

[1] Cf. F. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Los Mudejares de Castilla,* 1866, p. 65, and on p. 85 for another rebellion in 1225.

mote in Yusuf 's eye that robbed him of all ease ; it was constantly in his thoughts and on his tongue ; his one aim was to recover it, and he sent troops and money for that to be done ; but the results he achieved were negligible."

It was shortly after the Cadi's execution that the Valencian Moors, whether supporting a rally of the Almoravides after their defeat at Cuarte or acting on the initiative of the late Cadi's partisans, backed by Yusuf, broke out into open revolt, in suppressing which the Cid's troops had virtually to recapture the city, sacking and burning as they advanced. These are, according to Al-Makkari, the events to which the contemporary poet, Ibn Khafaja of Alcira, refers in his verses : " O hapless city, O noble palace, swords have flashed in thy courtyards ; thy magnificence has been consumed by poverty and fire ; thy people have become the puppets of misfortune." The rhetorical lament of Ibn Bassam also appears to refer to these happenings in 1095 : " How many sumptuous retreats, whose beauty neither sun nor moon could rival and whose privacy none dared violate even in thought, saw their mystery profaned by the Campeador ! How many enchanting maidens, with cheeks of blood and milk and mouths of coral and pearl, were wedded to the lance-points of the tyrant and trodden under foot by his insolent mercenaries ! "

In connection with this revolt and the new occupation of the city, several prominent Moslems were punished,and by command of the Cid the talented poet and former secretary to the Valencian viziers, Abu Jafar al-Batti, was burnt.

The Rebels evacuate the City.

Having subdued the rebel city, the Campeador summoned the leading Moors to the Alcazar and from his dais addressed them thus : " Good citizens of the Valencian *aljama,* ye well know how I helped and defended

Al-Kadir, your lord, and you also whilst he lived; ye saw how deeply I felt his death and how I strove to avenge it, suffering the severest privations to gain this city. Now that he is dead and God has willed that I be lord of Valencia, I want her for myself and for those who helped me win her, subject to the overlordship of Alphonso of Castile, my liege lord, whom God preserve for many years. Now are ye all in my power to do with as I will. Easily could I take your all, your persons, your women, and your children; but it is not my wish to do so. I desire rather and command that those among you who have always been loyal, remain with your folk in Valencia, and in your own homes; but ye shall not possess more than one beast, and that a mule, and one man to serve you, nor shall ye use weapons save when I so ordain. Let all others leave the city and abide in the suburb of Alcudia, where I lived afore. I desire you to have your mosques in Valencia and Alcudia, your fakirs, your laws, your Cadi, and your vizier, whom I have appointed. Ye shall retain all your lands, paying me the tithe of the fruits thereof, and I will administer justice and mint such coin as I please. Those who wish to remain under my rule, let them remain! Those who do not, let them go whither they will, though taking naught with them, and I will grant them safe conduct."

The Cid then determined which Moors were to remain in their homes, and the disloyal remainder at once began to evacuate the city with their families and settle in Alcudia. As they went out, the Christians who had been inhabiting the suburb came in; and so great was the exodus that it took two whole days to effect the change of dwellings. It was about this time that Al-Wacashi, either from sheer disgust at what had taken place or weighed down by his seventy-eight years of age, resigned the post of Cadi and retired to Denia, where he died soon afterwards, on June 23, 1095.

The Great Mosque turned into a Church,

The Cid's power in Valencia was further consolidated by the occupation of the Great Mosque and its conversion to Christian uses. This was done almost at once, in 1096,'whereas the Emperor Alphonso took much longer—until December 1102—to christianize the Great Mosque of Toledo. A fakir with his disciple was praying and reading the Koran in the Toledan Mosque, when the Christians entered in large numbers to carry out the necessary alterations on the Sanctuary. The fakir continued his devotions uninterrupted to their end, when he prostrated himself and, weeping bitterly, left the temple for ever.[1] This was the ultimate fate of the conquered mosques, for the tolerance of the conquerors could not last indefinitely. Of what happened in Valencia we have no record ; we only know that the Moslems did retain possession of other mosques within the confines of the city.

The Final Statute of Valencia.

The occupation of the Great Mosque two years after the surrender of Valencia marks the conclusion of the series of concessions and restrictions made by the Cid. We can now estimate the actual position of the Moors.

When Ferdinand I made his conquests in Portugal, he reduced the Moors of Cea and Lamego to servitude and, after taking away their homes and riches, banished those of Coimbra *en masse,* with but the barest necessities for the road. The rigours of Al-Mansur's campaigns were then still fresh in men's minds, and bordering on those conquered territories were Galicia and the Bierzo country, whose dense Christian populations were in urgent need of fresh lands for expansion. Lacking those ideal and material incentives, Alphonso VI treated the

[1] Al-Makkari, transl, by P. de Gayangos, II, p. 264.

conquered of Toledo very differently, when he entered the city by force more of circumstances than of arms after a practically peaceful surrender. He allowed the Moors to retain their mosques, houses and estates, though it is true, he himself occupied the Alcazar. The Cid, however, although he had had to starve Valencia into submission, was even more lenient towards the conquered than Alphonso ; he left them not only their houses, mosques, and estates, but also the Alcazar ; they had not, as in Toledo, to pay the heavy taxes levied by the Taifa kings, but simply a tithe, and over and above they had all their customs, and even their coinage, respected. These ordinances or pacts established by the Cid immediately after the surrender, were inspired by a new policy of the greatest benevolence and were characteristic of the man. He wanted the city Moors and the Christians of the suburbs to live in harmony as his common vassals, to whom, without any confiscations, he would dispense scrupulous justice from Alcudia.

But this first policy whereby Moors and Christians were to live peacefully side by side, broke down when the circumstances changed. No sooner did the Almoravides become masters of the Spanish Moors than the racial character of the strife was accentuated, and the persecution of the Mozarabs inflamed religious hatred. The system of vassaldom without confiscation had to be restricted in Valencia, and even the Cid, in the later minor conquest of Murviedro, reverted to the harsh methods of Ferdinand I, depriving the Moors of their houses and lands and expelling them. This system of confiscating and dividing the Moorish estates among the victors was to be generally followed in the conquest of great cities by Jaime I of Aragon and St. Ferdinand of Castile, in the thirteenth century.

But, between the regime of absolute respect and freedom initiated by the Cid and the confiscatory capitu-

lations ruling in the thirteenth century, there is the intermediate or transitional system in vogue during the twelfth century, which should be noted as being the fruit of the Campeador's experience in his conquests and, to a lesser extent, of the experience of Alphonso VI. Both Valencia and Toledo show that the Moors under Almoravide influence could not be relied upon to live in harmony with the Christians; hence the restrictions imposed, to a different degree, in either city. First, the Cid finds it necessary to occupy the Alcazar and other fortifications; then, the Valencian Moors have to evacuate their houses within the walls and remove to the suburbs; later, the Cid takes possession of the Great Mosque (as does Alphonso) and claims the right to mint money. In all other respects the Campeador confirms the concessions made to the Moors at the beginning of the occupation: possession of their estates, taxation reduced to the tithe, enjoyment of their own religion, laws and customs; and he even adds to the dignity of the office of Cadi, waiving his right to administer justice himself, as he had at first ordained.

Guided by these facts, Alphonso the Battler granted, at Tudela in 1115 and Saragossa in 1118, capitulations that are practically a copy of the final statute of Valencia and partly of that of Toledo; and the example he thus set was followed by the Count of Barcelona at Tortosa in 1148. Those twelfth-century capitulations leave the conquered Moors their Cadi and other magistrates, but require of them an oath of allegiance; they leave them their estates, subject to the tithe; they respect their laws and customs, but forbid captives to be kept within the city, just as the Cid had ordained in Valencia. But, though they allow these privileges, as the original concessions of both the Cid and Alphonso VI had done, they do not provide for the expulsion of the Moors and the seizure of the great mosques in a violent and

irregular manner, as at Valencia and Toledo, but at the end of a clearly defined period : a year after the surrender the Moors are to leave their houses and Mosque and go to live in the suburbs. According to these capitulations of the transitional system, the Moors of Tudela, Saragossa and Tortosa found themselves, a year after surrendering, in the same position as the Valencian Moors two years after their surrender, but with the advantage, thanks to experience and consequent foresight, that matters had been arranged pacifically in each of the towns in question. The Cid had been driven to forbidding the Valencians the use of arms ; the Moors in those other cities were allowed to carry them. He had also to prohibit the Valencians who wished to emigrate from taking their wealth with them, though he granted them safe conduct. Those of Tudela, Saragossa and Tortosa were allowed to leave with all they possessed.

To explain the influence which it is claimed the Cid's example had on these twelfth-century capitulations, it is necessary to mention that Alphonso the Battler in his youth stayed at Valencia with the Cid and more than probably discussed the state of the subject Moors with him. These discussions may well have supplied the inspiration for the Tudela and Saragossa capitulations, the latter in turn being imitated at Tortosa by Ramon Berenguer, a son of the Campeador's son-in-law.

4. FRESH VICTORIES AND CONQUESTS

Garcia Ordonez defeated at Alcoraz.

The Cid's success in capturing Valencia after nineteen months' siege will be better appreciated if it is borne in mind that the Aragonese King, though confronted by a less formidable foe than the Almoravides, took no fewer than thirty-one months to reduce the smaller town of

Huesca. In 1095 Pedro I had enlarged the fortifications built by Sancho Ramirez over against Huesca and hence called " Poyo de Sancho " ; from these he fought the city, which in the autumn of 1096, after two and a half years' siege, was on the verge of surrendering.

Mostain again thought of invoking Alphonso's aid and begged help from the Counts Garcia Ordofiez and Gonzalo Nunez, who, being his neighbours, were on terms of special friendship with him. Garcia Ordofiez brought Mostain some 300 knights and many Christian foot ; Gonzalo Nunez did not go in person, but sent a large body of men. So vast was the combined force that set out from Saragossa that it covered five leagues of road, the vanguard passing Zuera as the rearguard was still leaving Saragossa. When they reached Alcoraz, one hour from Huesca, Garcia Ordofiez sent Pedro a warning to abandon the siege if he would escape alive.

Thus Ordonez, already the " evil enemy " of the Cid, also became that of Pedro of Aragon ; and this helps to explain the solidity of Rodrigo's alliance with Pedro, which was based on common interests in the East and directed against the same enemies in Moorish lands and Castile. This alliance, whose object was to furnish mutual aid against all comers, may have led the Cid to send a contingent to the siege of Huesca.

Pedro also received unexpected reinforcements. Several Aragonese suddenly arrived at his camp with large companies of well-equipped soldiers. Fortuno, an exiled vassal, also came from Gascony with 300 foot and ten loads of maces, which the King accepted, thereby revoking the banishment. The enthusiasm of the Aragonese was the deciding factor in the battle, and Mostain suffered a crushing defeat, leaving thousands of dead on the field of Alcoraz (November 18, 1096). Once again Alphonso had occasion to see the frail support for his imperial policy he had in Garcia Ordofiez,

who had not dared to aid Mostain against the Cid and, having now done so against Pedro I, had been taken prisoner and owed his life to the compassion of the victors.

Huesca Reconquered.

Huesca surrendered at discretion to Pedro on November 26, eight days after the famous victory. From the first the vanquished Moors suffered a harder lot than the Valencians. King Pedro, with his nobles of Navarre and Aragon, at once had the Mosque consecrated, calling it in his pride of conquest, the " finest consecrated to Christianity in all Spain " (December 17). The houses and estates he distributed among the victors, one of whom was the devout Mozarab Pedro, a native of Almeria, who, receiving his portion as a vassal of Sancho Ramirez, immediately willed houses, lands and vineyards to the Mozarab church in Huesca, which even then bore the name of " St. Peter the Old ".

Pedro I comes to the Cid's Aid.

Whilst they were busy organizing the conquered city, a messenger arrived from the Cid begging for help against a new Almoravide invasion of the southern district of Valencia. The nobles of Navarre and Aragon, weary after the long siege and the recent battle, were unwilling to go ; but King Pedro, whose open-handedness and loftiness of purpose were to be admired even more than his tireless energy, spurned the idea of breaking faith with the Cid and so far failing in his duty to God as to leave the greatest Christian knight to his fate. Accordingly, in the presence of his whole Court, he promised the Campeador's messenger that within twelve days he would be at Valencia. Suiting the action to the word, he left an adequate garrison at Huesca and, setting out for the south-east at the head of a

detachment of his recently victorious troops, he reached his destination before the appointed time. He was accompanied by his brother, who was later, as King Alphonso the Battler, to conquer Tudela and Saragossa. Alphonso, who had commanded the vanguard at Alcoraz, was now to learn at the Cid's side how to treat the conquered Moors and gain his first experience of the Almoravide tactics, which in course of time were to cost him dear at Fraga. The Aragonese in helping the Campeador foresaw the danger the African invasion meant to their own frontiers.

Relief of Pena Cadiella.

The Cid received his royal guest at Valencia with the highest honours, and together they led their combined forces to raise the siege of the castle of Pena Cadiella ; for if the Almoravides of Denia succeeded in forcing the Benicadell range, which was protected by the castle, it would be impossible for the latter to hold out.

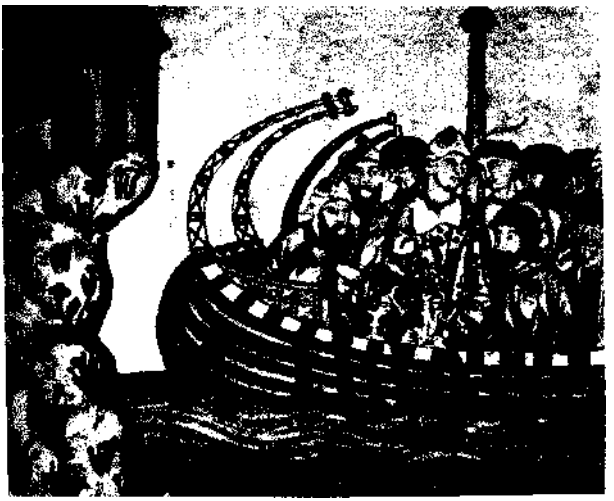
The Cid chose the shortest route to Pefia Cadiella, that via Jativa, but when he neared this town he encountered Yusuf's nephew Mohammed (the same whom he had defeated at Cuarte) at the head of 30,000 well-armed Almoravide and Andalusian horse. South of Jativa the hills close in on the valley and for about half a league there is barely room for the river and Roman road to pass. As the Almoravides held the heights dominating the road, an advance by the Christians was extremely risky. Nevertheless, the Cid advanced. The Moors yelled their war-cries from the hills as the Christians passed, but refrained from giving battle either, it may have been, because the Cid had occupied some strong position, or, as is more likely, because they wanted to lure him into the heart of the mountains. Be that as it may, the relieving force arrived intact in the Albaida valley and soon collected an abundance of grain and live-

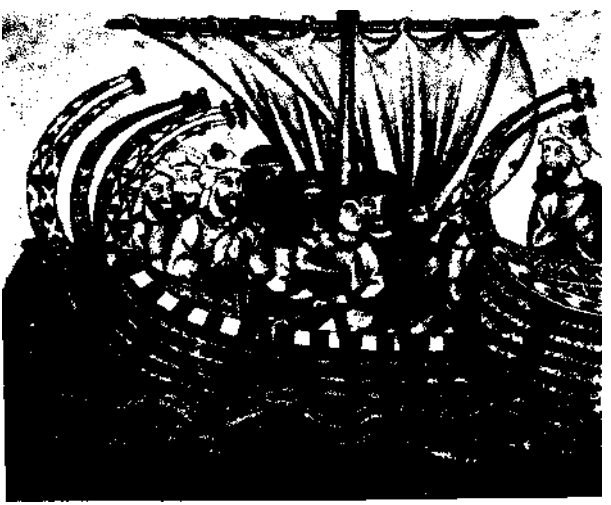
stock with which they provisioned the castle of Peila Cadiella.

Battle of Bait en.

For the return journey to Valencia the Cid chose the longer route, so as to avoid the Jativa defile and the enemy army. Along with King Pedro he, therefore, made his way seawards and encamped before the heights of Bairen. Here also the passage is precarious. The ruined castle of Bairen occupies the heights, and its walls and towers descend the slopes right to the very road, which runs pressed between the hillside and the marshes of the coast. For today the whole coast of this region is a marshy plain that is devoted to the cultivation of rice and sugar-cane ; but in the Cid's time the sea, which each year recedes more and more from the Valencian coast, must have almost reached the road, for in the thirteenth century galleys could sail up to the " Rabita," or monastery of Moorish warrior monks, of Bairen.

When they arrived at the most dangerous part of the narrow pass and were making for the Cape and fortifications of Cullera, which they could already descry on the horizon marking the beginning of the clear road to Valencia, they found themselves confronted by Mohammed with all his army drawn up for battle. The Moslems had pitched their camp at the foot of Mt. Monduber, which rises to a height of 2,755 feet and whose foot-hills skirt the highway on the west. From these hills the Moors attacked the Christians with every kind of projectile, whilst on the east cross-bowmen aboard the African and Andalusian ships lying in the creeks swept the road with their missiles. Thanks to the co-operation of the fleet, indeed, the pass was more completely closed than that of Jativa had been, and the Christians were filled with dismay. But, black as the





MOSLEM VESSELS
(MS. of the Cantigas de Alfonso X, Escurial Library)

outlook was, Rodrigo sensed victory. Donning his mail and mounting his war-horse, he set about rallying the wavering squadrons. " Hearken, my followers and allied knights ! Let each of you bear himself in the field like a man. Fear not their numbers. Smite them with right good will. For, of a surety, Christ hath delivered them into our hands this day."

Once again the Cid's presence had its magical effect; confidence in their leader took the place of fear and all plunged into the fray. At noon, Pedro and Rodrigo, with the main body, attacked with such impetuosity that the Moslems gave ground, broke and fled in all directions. The rout was comparable with that of Cuarte. Many were put to the sword or met their death in the River Jaraco ; but the greater part were drowned in the swamps and the sea whilst attempting to reach the fleet. The booty taken by the Christians was considerable and consisted chiefly of horses, mules and all the arms of a well-equipped force (January, 1097).

After resting several days at Valencia, the Cid set out with Pedro for the shores of Castellon in the north, where the castle of Montornes, one of the fortresses held by the King as rearguard posts against the Almoravides, had rebelled. This castle the allies now besieged and, having reduced it to submission, King Pedro and his brother Alphonso returned to their States, and the Cid to Valencia. Here there had been fresh disturbances, owing no doubt to the Almoravide advance, and in March and April many Moors were compelled to flee for their lives.

Disaster of Consuegra.

Meanwhile the Emperor Alphonso was less fortunate in his defence of the Toledan frontier. For the fourth time Yusuf had crossed the Straits, whence he proceeded to Cordova with the object of attacking the Toledan region. Alphonso, no doubt with the army with which

he had intended then to attack Saragossa and such reinforcements as he could collect, went to meet him. The Cid sent his son Diego, now twenty-two years old, with a large following, but he himself stayed in Valencia for the reason given by the ancient minstrel on another occasion :

> I will abide in Valencia, that hath cost me so dear.
> 'Twere madness to leave her unsupported now.

The Emir, fighting shy of a further encounter in person with the Christian Emperor, entrusted the expedition to Mohammed ibn al-Haj, who soon found himself in command of a powerful army of Almoravides and Andalusians. " If God wills that they be defeated," said the pious and cautious Yusuf, " I remain behind as a mantle to cover their retreat."

The rival armies met at Consuegra, and once again the Almoravide tactics prevailed. " The Almighty ", as the *Kitab al Iktifa* puts it, " threw the Christian vanguard into confusion," and the Moslems completely routed them. The Cid's son was slain. This disaster occurred on the Virgin's Day, Saturday, August 15, 1097. Alphonso took refuge in Consuegra, which the Moslems invested for eight days before they retired.

The ever-generous King of Aragon, overlooking Alphonso's ill-advised interference at Alcoraz, gathered a force in September to help the Emperor repel this invasion of the Toledan area. But now a fresh reverse was suffered. Before returning to Africa, Yusuf despatched his son, Ibn Ayesha, towards Cuenca, in the vicinity of which he inflicted a severe defeat on Alvar Hafiez, sacking the Christian camp and capturing considerable booty.

Fresh Almoravide Invasion of Valencia. The Disaster of Alcira.

The victorious Ibn Ayesha now attacked the Cid's domains. Despite the Bairen rout, the Almoravides

could not forget Valencia, the " mote in Yusufs eye " ; and at Alcira, Ibn Ayesha met and almost annihilated a division of the Campeador's army.

The Cid's grief when he learnt the news nearly proved fatal. This disastrous defeat, coming after the rout of the King and that of Alvar Hafiez, and above all the loss of his son, weighed on his soul as if he were paying in sorrow for a lifetime of prodigious victories. His son's death not only meant the failure of his line through future generations, but was an irreparable social loss that deepened his despair. In those days the family was not merely an intimate domestic circle but was essentially an organization for mutual help against aggression from without and a guarantee, in particular, of that vengeance that any outrage demanded. It is this aspect that absorbed the ancient ballad-monger when he depicts the grief of an aged father seeking on the field the body of his beloved son.

> Accursed be the woman that bears an only son.
> For should his foeman slay him, to avenge him there is none.

The Cid takes Almenara.

But the Cid was still of an age to avenge his son's death. One day while he was reconnoitring the Valencian region, with a view to determining the disposition to be made for its defence, the news was brought to him that the Almoravide warden of Jativa, Abu-1-Fath, had left his castle for Murviedro, the great fortress that had surrendered five years previously to Ibn Razin and, following his lead, was at the moment hostile to the Cid. On receipt of this news, Rodrigo marched on Murviedro, causing Abu-1-Fath to withdraw and seek safety behind the fortifications of Almenara. The Cid, however, followed and, after three months' siege, took the town, turning out the inhabitants but allowing them to depart unharmed (December, 1097). As a thank-

offering for his victory, he started to erect a church to the Virgin and then left Almenara, giving out that he was going to rest in Valencia.

The Cid before Murviedro.

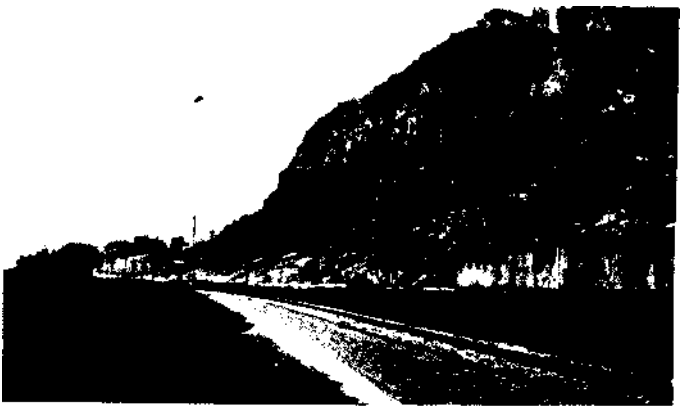
But when the Christian army arrived beneath the shadow of the massive, thousand-year-old towers and ramparts of Murviedro (Muro Viejo) that had witnessed the wars of Iberians and Carthaginians, the Campeador, gathering his leaders around him, announced his intention of not returning to Valencia until he had seized the great fortress and celebrated mass within its walls.

Without more ado, he at once laid siege to the city and fortress that had proved so untrustworthy and assailed them persistently with every kind of weapon and engine of war. All communication with the outer world was soon cut off, and at the councils of the besieged confusion reigned. " What can we do ? " they asked of one another. " If we surrender, Rodrigo will drive us out as he did the Moors of Valencia and Almenara. If we hold out, it will not be long before we perish of hunger, with our wives and children. Oh, who will deliver us from the tyrant's clutches ? "

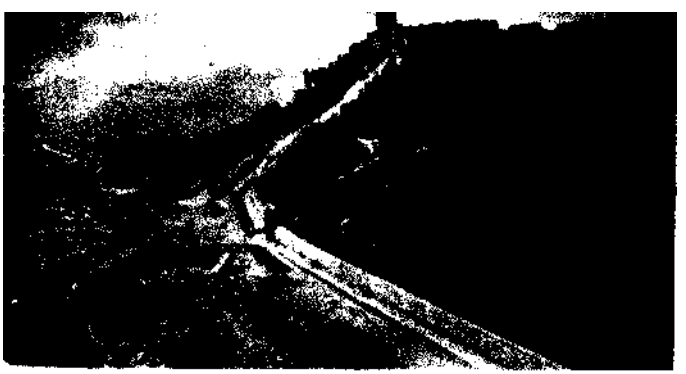
As the siege continued with increasing rigour, the fighting grew fiercer and fiercer, and at last the besieged were compelled to open negotiations for a truce, during which they might send out appeals to succour. The Cid, who was ever ready to give his enemies an opportunity to convince themselves of their helplessness, recognized that Murviedro, the key to the Moslem area of Valencia, was worthy of a respite ; and, feeling sure that this would be of no avail, he granted them thirty days, from April I to April 30, 1098.

The Time allowed for Help.

The Moors hastily despatched messengers to Yusuf,



BAIREN CASTLE, WITH THE ROAD AND RAILWAY NOW RUNNING AT THE FOOT, HEMMED IN BY THE MARSHES



PARTIAL VIEW OF THE CASTLE OF MURVIEDRO

his son, and other Almoravide princes, as also to King Alphonso, Mostain of Saragossa, Ibn Razin (who, as owner of the castle, was most bound to come to its aid), and the Count of Barcelona. Alphonso replied that he had rather Murviedro belonged to Rodrigo than to any Moor. Mostain, whom the Cid had threatened with death if he made a move to help the besieged, urged them to take heart and put up a stout fight, but declared that he himself was not disposed to give battle to so invincible a warrior as the Cid. Ibn Razin was also prodigal of good advice and trusted they would resist the invader as best they could. The Almoravide governors answered in more hopeful terms ; they would all rush to the help of Murviedro ; but first of all Yusuf, without whom a combat with the Cid was not to be thought of, must come from oversea. What Yusuf's answer was when he was asked to come is not known, but it is notorious that the last thing the Emir wanted to do was to meet Rodrigo, on whom he devoutly called down the curse of Allah. Finally, the Count of Barcelona also replied. This was not the Cid's old enemy, Berenguer, who had fled to the Holy Land, but his nephew, later to be known as Ramon III, "the Great". This youth, with all the enthusiasm of his sixteen years and on the strength of a goodly sum from Murviedro, replied : "Know, though I dare not fight Rodrigo, I will lay siege to his castle of Oropesa, so that when he comes to relieve it you may obtain supplies." And he forthwith led his forces against the castle. But the Cid ignored the diversion ; and on the mere rumour of his approach, one day Ramon hastened home, fully satisfied that he had done his part in affording relief to the beleaguered city.

Murviedro finally surrenders at Discretion.

When, at the expiry of the truce, the Cid demanded

the surrender of the stronghold, the besieged implored him to grant them twelve days' grace on the plea that all the messengers had not yet returned. This Rodrigo agreed to do. At the end of the second respite (May 12), still hoping against hope, they begged to be allowed to surrender at discretion on Pentecost (May 16), if no Moorish king had come to their aid by then. Not only did the Cid consent to this arrangement, but actually granted them until St. John's Day to evacuate the fortress and city with their women, children and belongings, a concession for which the Moors were effusive in their thanks.

On the appointed day (June 24, 1098), the Cid, after sending a body of knights before him to ascend the hill and occupy the extensive fortifications, entered the fortress in triumph and had Mass sung in one of the principal squares, where later a church to St. John was built. When the booty came to be collected, it was found that, contrary to orders, several Moors had remained in the city and had not only abstracted property belonging of right to the victors, but sent a considerable quantity of riches to the Almoravides " to the dishonour and injury of the Cid". Being unable to make restitution they were deprived of all they had and sent as prisoners to Valencia.

Now that he was master of Murviedro, the Cid could rest satisfied that his Valencian possessions were secure.

PART VI

MY CID OF VALENCIA

CHAPTER XV

THE COURT OF THE CID

i. THE BISHOP OF VALENCIA

The Mozarab Bishopric,

WHEN the Cid had consolidated his power in the East by the capture of Murviedro, he set about the reorganization of the Christian community of Valencia by restoring its bishopric. From the earliest times the Valencian Mozarabs had had a bishop at the head of their clergy, and in 1087 there is record of a Bishop of Valencia who died at Bari when leading a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[1] The fact that he carried as a relic an arm of St. Vincent, the martyr, points to the Church of St. Vincent, in the suburb of Rayosa, as having been the Mozarab centre at Valencia. In 1090 the Cid, as already mentioned, imposed a tithe for the Mozarab Bishop, who left Valencia, however, when Ibn Jehhaf revolted.

The Archbishop of Toledo and Don Jeronimo.

The Cid was anxious to raise Mozarab Christianity from the low level to which it had sunk, and like Alphonso, though for stronger reasons, turned to the Cluniacs for help. He asked the advice of Bernard of Sedirac, the Cluniac monk whom he had known, at the Council of Burgos in 1080, as Abbot of Sahagun and later as Archbishop of Toledo and who, seeing

[1] Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes,* 1903, p. 663.

writer and the solemn joy with which he penned them. The autograph itself is the only relic that has come down through the centuries of that invincible hand that stemmed the Almoravide flood, determined frontiers and kingdoms, and set bounds to the despotism of kings and nobles.

2. THE MAGNATES

The Castilians.

This is the only deed granted by the Cid at Valencia that is now in existence. Of the witnesses to it we know nothing and can only conjecture, in the absence of patronymics, that they were not knights, but clerics. In this connection, it should be noted that the *Historia Roderici* religiously avoids ever mentioning any of the Cid's captains ; but, as in doing so it is merely conforming to the servile custom set by the old royal chronicles of ignoring all except the supreme personage, this must not be accepted as a reason for assuming, as some have done, that Alvar Hafiez, for example, did not attend his uncle in exile, either at the outset or later at Valencia.

Once again we must turn to the old *Poem* for further information. There we find that the Cid's Court at Valencia was composed of Bishop Jeronimo, Alvar Hanez, and the " many whom the Campeador had taken under his wing " ; that is to say, it was formed around the nucleus of the family retinue. This most intimate group of faithful vassals shared with their lord his joy when successful in war, his resentment at insults received, and his responsibility for decisions taken. Even on the question of the marriage of his daughters, the Cid consulted his nephews, Alvar Hanez and Pedro Vermudez, before Jimena. And when malicious rumours were spread at Court concerning the cowardice of his first sons-in-law, the Cid suppressed them as reflecting on the whole

AUTOGRAPH OF THE CID

house. To the list of members of the "mesnada" furnished by trustworthy poets, historical records add a further name, that of Martin Fernandez, Governor of Pefia Cadiella, who, to judge by his patronymic, must also have been a Castilian.

Aragonese and Portuguese.

Not that the Cid's Court was by any means exclusively Castilian. From Ibn Alcama we learn of the forty Aragonese knights, who garrisoned Valencia along with the Castilians during Ibn Jehhaf's revolt, and from the old *Poem,* of the Aragonese lord of Estada, Galind Garcia, who shared with Alvar Salvadorez the custody of the city. Coincidences such as this, combined with the fact that of twenty-eight Christian knights appearing in the *Poem* twenty-four actually were living in the hero's time and nothing to the contrary is known concerning the other four, tend greatly to strengthen our faith in the veracity of the poet.

The same confidence may, therefore, be placed in his statement that the Portuguese knight, Martin Mufioz de Montemayor, was a follower of the Cid. Documents attest to the fact that Mufioz did exist and tell us something of his life. He was a son-in-law of the Mozarab wazir, Sisnando, first Count of Portugal, and was made Count of Coimbra when Sisnando died in 1091. But, as early as February 1094, he was replaced by King Alphonso's son-in-law, Count Raymond of Burgundy. By August 1094, Martin Mufioz was merely the Governor of Arouca. That he became a malcontent, doubtless on his expulsion from Coimbra, is shown by the fact that his name does not appear in royal charters ; nor, indeed, is anything known of him until IIII, after the Cid's death, when he is found fighting on the side of the King of Aragon against Alphonso's daughter Urraca, widow of that same Count Raymond. It would be only natural

for Martin Muiloz, after being superseded in 1094, to leave Portugal and throw in his lot with the hero whose determined siege and conquest of Valencia gained for him the admiration of the whole of Spain.

The Moors.

The Cid's suite also included several Moslems who are known to us through Ibn Alcama. Chief among these was Musa, the vizier of the city, who had been the Cid's factotum since the days of Al-Kadir. Later there appeared Ibn Abdus, the tax-gatherer at Alcudia and Valencia, who managed the Cid's revenues so successfully and knew how to keep on friendly terms with both Christians and Moors. The other high officials, from the Cadi downwards, would also appear at Court, from the time of the obnoxious Ibn Jehhaf to that of his successor, the more attractive Al-Wacashi. The extent to which these Moors imparted an Oriental touch to the life of the Christians of Valencia we shall see presently.

3. THE CID'S DAUGHTERS

The Bridegrooms of Carrion : Poetry and Fact.

Whereas the *Historia Roderici* does not even mention the Cid's daughters, their marriage forms the main theme of the early *Poem,* to which we are bound to turn for any information about the hero's private life.

But, although the *Poem* is historical at bottom and in its general texture, with its episodes woven around real persons, who lived more or less as depicted, on this particular point it would appear to part company with history. The tale of how the Infantes of Carrion, the brothers Diego and Fernando Gonzalez, wedded the Cid's daughters, only to abandon them later and be branded as " infamous " at Alphonso's court, bears the imprint of fiction. Nevertheless, it is actually founded

on fact. For I have been able to verify that the Infantes of Carrion, whom the historians dismiss as imaginary or, at the best, anachronic figures, not only existed but belonged to the same generation as the Cid's daughters.

Two brothers, Diego and Fernando Gonzalez, frequently appear among the witnesses to charters and as regular followers of Alphonso's Court between 1094 and 1105 ; they are generally found in the company of Pedro Ansurez, Count of Carrion, of Garcia Ordcnez, Count of Najera, and of Alvar Diaz, three noblemen who, according to the *Poem,* were the leaders of the Carrion party. In the charters these two young brothers are referred to as " sons of a count " and as belonging to the King's suite, " de schola regis "[1] There can be no doubt that they are the two brothers, Diego and Fernando Gonzalez, of whom the ancient poet says that " they form part of the Court " and are " of the stock of the Counts of Carrion ", being " sons of Gonzalo Ansurez " and so nephews of Pedro Ansurez, whose name appears along with theirs in the documents. The minstrel, in accordance with the practice of the time of dubbing all young noblemen " Infantes ", calls them " Infantes de Carrion ".

The poet speaks of these Infantes as though they were well-known personages and, when he has occasion to introduce another brother, takes it for granted that the relationship is too familiar to his audience to require any explanation on his part. In like manner, he refers to the famous Leonese Count, Pedro Ansurez, as belonging to the clan of Carrion, without troubling to indicate that he was the uncle of the three brothers. Nor were any such explanations really necessary ; for no family was better known to Moor and Christian alike than the Beni-Gomez. And yet, barely forty years after the death of Rodrigo, the minstrel covers this noble

[1] **See R. Menendez Pidal, *Mio Cid,* pp. 556 and 801.**

family with ignominy by exposing their despicable behaviour towards the Cid. Surely it is highly improbable that a poem, essentially historical, could come to be so universally known and believed, even to the point of being embodied in the general histories of the nation, if its account of the doings of the Beni-Gomez were a mere figment without any foundation whatever.

The Outrage at Corpes.

The ancient *jongleur,*—whose tale is worthy of attention, if only because it reveals the true social status of the Cid,—tells how these two young courtiers and scions of that great family coveted the wealth of the Cid after he had won Valencia and begged the King to arrange alliances between them and the Cid's daughters. Greed is their only motive, for their noble descent leads them to look down upon the Cid as a mere hidalgo or *infanzon,* whose family had lived quietly and unassumingly at Vivar on its estates. The Campeador, for his part (although Jimena herself was the great-granddaughter of a king), recognizes the great honour being shown to his daughters by the proposal; but he is also aware of the arrogance of the Infantes and is displeased at their following the royal Court, the stifling atmosphere of which he knew by experience. In short, the Cid would have preferred husbands of a different type for his daughters ; and so, when he meets the King on the banks of the Tagus, he seeks to evade the royal design with the plea that his daughters are still too young to marry ; in the end, however, he submits to the wishes of the King.

Whereupon the Infantes there and then exchange swords with the Cid, in token of relationship, and the King himself, acting as if the brides were present, declares according to rite that he takes them by the hand and gives them away as lawful spouses to the Infantes. As the Cid is loath to hand them over in

person, Alvar Haftez goes to Valencia and there, in the name of the King, repeats the ceremony that the monarch had symbolically performed.

As time went on, the Infantes proved to be cowards and unworthy of associating with the Cid's vassals, either at Court or on the field of battle. Bitter resentment being thus engendered in their hearts, they set to scheming how they might dishonour the hero. To this end they secured permission to take their wives to Carrion, under the pretext of putting them in possession of the properties settled on them, and duly set out from Valencia. No sooner did they enter Castile and reach the dense oak-woods of Corpes near the River Douro, however, than they turned upon the two young women and, after mauling them with their horses' girths and their spurs, left them to their fate. Bleeding and insensible, they were found by their cousin, Felez Munoz, who, covering them with his cloak, bore them on his horse out of the lonely wood, first to the settlements on the Douro, and then to San Esteban de Gormaz. There they were kindly received by Diego Tellez, a henchman of Alvar Hanez, who cared for them until they had recovered and were able to return to the Cid.

Diego Tellez, thus casually mentioned by the *jongleur* , is a further link connecting the poetic tale with history. For, fleeting as his appearance is, this vassal of Alvar Haftez, like the main figures in the *Poem,* did actually live in the time of the Cid and at the very spot mentioned by the poet. We know, indeed, that he was Governor of Sepulveda, not far from either San Esteban de Gormaz or the castle of Peftafiel, which was held by Alvar Hanez.[1] Thus once again it is proved that this poetry was forged in the fire of history.

The *jongleurs* tale, therefore, even if it is partly invented, is worthy of our attention, and this it continues

[1] *Cartulario de San Millan,*1930, p. 266.

to hold with a lively description of the session of the royal Court at which the Cid obtained satisfaction for the insult. Whether the scene as described took place at all, is open to doubt; but, if it did, it can hardly have ended in so complete a humiliation of the nephews of Pedro Ansurez and Garcia Ordoftez. However, the description is of interest to us as providing an accurate picture of the customs of the time.

The Cid having complained to the King, who was responsible for the unfortunate alliances, Alphonso convokes his magnates for the trial of the case at Toledo. There the Campeador appears, accompanied by Bishop Jeronimo and a hundred of his chosen vassals. The Infantes come with their father, Gonzalo and their uncle, Pedro Ansurez, as also Garcia Ordonez, Alvar Diaz and a strong band of followers, their intention being to set justice at naught by force of arms. But the King immediately proclaims peace between the rival parties and swears by St. Isidore of Leon that he will banish any who may attempt to defeat the ends of justice by resorting to arms. Then he names the " alcaldes " or judges who are to try the case and who, according to custom, are all counts and include the King's sons-in-law, Raymond and Henry. The Cid's first request is for the return of his swords " Colada " and " Tizon " ; and, this being allowed by the judges, the Infantes hand over the precious weapons. Next the Cid asks for the return of his daughters' dowries, and again his request is granted. Finally, he challenges the Infantes as traitors for having abandoned their wives. To this Garcia Ordonez and others of his party reply that men of such proud descent as those of Carrion would never desire, even as paramours, the daughters of a mere miller, like the Cid. But when several vassals of the Cid also accuse the Infantes of treachery, the King decides that three of these vassals shall fight the two Infantes and their

brother. At this juncture two messengers appear on behalf of the heirs to the Kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon to beg the 'Cid for the hands of his daughters. As before, the Cid leaves the decision to the King, who authorizes these new and much more brilliant marriages. The Cid, having obtained complete satisfaction, then returns to Valencia.

On the date fixed by the King, the Infantes fight their challengers in the Vale of Carrion and, to the chagrin of their whole party, are defeated. It should be noted that the King had no judicial sentence pronounced either after the hearing or on the field. The role of the judge in legal procedure of Germanic origin was, as has already been shown, confined to determining the form the ordeal was to take. It was the ordeal alone that decided the case. Trial by battle having been chosen in this instance, the Infantes, on falling to the ground, utter the formula : " I am defeated," and the arbiters confine themselves to saying : " That we hear." In other words, the vanquished, in acknowledging defeat, pronounces his own sentence of infamy, and the arbiter is merely a witness to his confession.

The Corpes Outrage in the Light of History.

Although the second marriage of the Cid's daughters is a subject of minor interest to the *jongleur,* the single line he devotes to telling us that the new suitors were Infantes of Navarre and Aragon comes very near the truth ; for, indeed, one of them was an Infante of Navarre and the other, a Count of Barcelona whose son became a sovereign Prince of Aragon. It is then but reasonable to assume that the details given of the first marriage, which constitutes the main theme of the *Poem,* are even still more accurate.

The first sons-in-law the *jongleur* mentions by name, and, obscure as these names are, we have been able to

verify them by documents. The desertion of the brides in the oak-wood of Corpes would be known to the *jongleur,* living forty years after the Cid's death, through a tradition current at San Esteban de Gormaz ; and, as the chief person in that tradition, one Diego Tellez, has been shown to be real, the tradition itself can hardly have been altogether fabulous. As the minimum of truth to be attributed to the Corpes story, it may be admitted that the Cid, through his family, suffered some grievous slight at the hands of the Beni-Gomez. Perhaps the negotiations were entered into for a marriage between Rodrigo's daughters and the nephews of Pedro Ansurez. For at one time Ansurez had been a friend of Rodrigo's and as such acted as trustee for Jimena's marriage settlement in 1074. When the Cid attacked La Rioja in 1092, however, Pedro Ansurez was allied with Garcia Ordofiez against the exile ; and they were still allies when the *jongleur* presents them to us at the Court of Toledo. He also mentions Alvar Diaz among the Carrion following, a fact he could not have obtained from the chronicles, which make no mention of any such magnate ; and yet today we know that this information was correct, for the records show that Alvar Diaz was the brother-in-law of Garcia Ordonez. Thus the *Poem* proves to be essentially true in its account of the relationship between the main characters and the friendship and hatred in turn they showed to the Campeador.

But if, as I believe, there were matrimonial negotiations between the Beni-Gomez and the Cid, these can hardly have taken place after the Cid had seized Valencia and established his fortune ; but rather at some earlier time, when the alternating favour and displeasure of the inconstant monarch would cause the hero to be held now in honour, now in contempt by such courtiers as Garcia Ordonez and Pedro Ansurez. Thus, during

a period of prosperity in the Cid's affairs, followed by one of disgrace, say in 1089, it is much more likely that a match was made and rudely broken off than that a marriage was actually contracted and ruptured in the violent manner suggested. Moreover, the poet is surely exaggerating when he declares that the Infantes were vanquished and branded as traitors in the King's presence, for both the brothers continued to follow Alphonso's Court. He also exaggerates when dealing with other points unfavourable to his hero's enemies, as when he says that Count Garcia Ordonez eventually came to be held in less esteem by the King than the Campeador.

Finally, the fact that the Infantes of Carrion were alive when the historical wedding of the Cid's daughters took place, is no argument against the general veracity of the *Poem.* It is quite possible that they did enter into a previous marriage with the Infantes and that the union was dissolved, for divorce was easy at that time. Indeed, the daughter of the famous Castilian Count, Fernan Gonzalez, had three husbands and was left a widow by none of them.

Christina and Ramiro of Navarre.

The Cid's elder daughter, Christina Rodriguez, married Ramiro, an Infante of Navarre who was a grandson of King Garcia of Atapuerca and son of the Ramiro who was treacherously slain at Rueda. Generally, like Jimena, the wife was of higher rank than the husband, and, if here the position is reversed, it is because of the great power and prestige attained by the Cid. As the Kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon were then united, Ramiro was lord of Monzon, in Aragon. The date of the ceremony is unknown. According to the *Cronica de San Juan de la Pena,* the Infante had gone to live with the Cid at Valencia before the marriage, but that chronicle is very ill informed about the whole matter.

Both the old *Poem* and, on the strength of later poems, the *Cronica General* aver that the two daughters were married on the same day. If this is so, the marriage must have taken place in the last two years of the Cid's life. Further on it will be seen how Christina's son became King of Navarre.

Maria and Ramon Berenguer the Great.

The Cid's second daughter, Maria Rodriguez, married the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer I I I the Great, whom in 1098 we found engaged in hostilities with the Cid at Oropesa. He was then sixteen years old, whereas Maria would be eighteen or nineteen. Ramon the Great, " most gentle, generous, and renowned for his prowess in war ", must have negotiated the alliance shortly after that campaign ; for the Cid died in the following year, and it is unlikely that the wedding would take place after his death. By this marriage the Count no doubt sought to establish those claims to Moorish lands that his uncle, Count Berenguer, had been forced to waive in favour of the Cid, but which Ramon had renewed when receiving tribute from Murviedro in exchange for help against the Campeador. Records, dated 1103, show Maria Rodriguez as Countess of Barcelona, the wife of Ramon the Great. They likewise mention two granddaughters of the Cid, who were born at Barcelona and will be referred to in a later chapter.

4. LIFE AT THE CID'S COURT

Luxury in Dress and Decorations.

The *Carmen Roderici,* in one of its picturesque descriptions, has shown us the hero on the field of battle, distinguished by the diadem of electron round his helmet and the fiery dragon blazoned on his shield ; and the

Poem depicts the dress he wore at court. Among the knights who appear at the King's Court magnificently arrayed in coloured robes and fur cloaks, the Campeador, " he of the great beard ", is an outstanding figure, and his dress is described in detail: hose of good material; elaborate shoes ; a shirt of the finest linen, embroidered in gold and silver at the neck and cuffs ; a rich tunic of ciclatoun, interwoven with gold ; and, over this, the garment that specially distinguished him, a red pelisse with gold borders ; then, over all, his priceless mantle. There is nothing Oriental about this dress. Although the costly, gold-woven cloth called ciclatoun would come generally from the East, the material was in use throughout Europe.

Orientalism, as is only natural, is more in evidence in the furniture of the Valencian Alcazar. The fame of the Cid's chair of carved ivory, which had belonged to the grandson of Mamun of Toledo, was sounded in our chronicles for many centuries, and the early poem describes the halls of the Alcazar as having been adorned on solemn occasions with " precious seats " and hangings of purple cloth and samite. These fabrics, the poet points out, covered not only the walls, but the floor as well. Mural tapestries were quite common in the west, but carpeting the floor was a Moslem and Peninsular custom that only spread to the rest of Europe as a result of the crusades. As late as the thirteenth century, the carpets used by a Toledan prelate travelling to London were a subject of wonder.[1] The Cid may have had a predilection for fine tapestry. Ibn Alcama also dwells on the rugs and coverings that decked the dais on which the Cid sat to receive the nobles of Valencia ; and the Latin chronicler singles out from among the hero's gifts to the Cathedral of Valencia two silken tapestries, richly embroidered in gold, to remark that

[1] Mateo de Paris, *Historia major Anglice*, edit, of 1664, fol. 611b.

the like had never been seen in that opulent city. No doubt they were oriental fabrics from Al-Kadir's treasure that had once adorned the Toledan Alcazar and had been brought to Spain, like the famous girdle of the Sultana Zobeida, after the sack of the Abbaside Palace at Baghdad.

The Sultana's Girdle.

The most striking example of oriental luxury at the Cid's court was the girdle of the Sultana Zobeida, the tragedies attending which from the eighth to the fifteenth century are known to us. When Ibn Jehhaf was put to death and the riches he had accumulated by regicide and extortion were divided among the Christians, Al-Kadir's personal jewels fell to the Cid. At any rate, the precious girdle that had once clasped the Sultana's waist in the Palace of Baghdad, now served to gratify the vanity of Jimena, the noble Asturian.

When she ultimately left Valencia, Jimena took the precious belt with her to Castile, where, in some way unknown to us, after having dazzled in turn the Abbasides of Baghdad, the Ommeyads of Cordova, and the Beni Dsi-1-Nun of Toledo and Valencia, it came to shed its lustre in the palace of the Queens of Castile. There, just as it had affected Ibn Jehhaf, it excited the greed of another notorious seeker after wealth, the Constable, Alvaro de Luna. Upon the execution of the once all-powerful Constable in 1453, King John II had a search made, as the Cid had done, for hidden treasure and eventually discovered, buried between two columns of the Alcazar at Madrid, the great treasure of the old Kings of Castile, chief among which was the "loin-girdle, of solid gold and studded with pearls and precious stones, that once belonged to the Cid Ruy Diaz".[1]

[1] *Cuarta Cronica,* in *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos,* CVI, 1893, P- 137-

This furnishes unexpected evidence that the Cid did actually find the girdle among Ibn JehhaPs possessions, as both Ibn Alcama and Ibn Bassam have already led us to infer.

That is the last appearance of the fascinating girdle whose story evokes so many tragedies. We do not know for how long afterwards it continued to excite the greed of men and the vanity of women or what became of it. It may indeed have been that this matchless gem of the East ultimately fell into the hands of some base robber who broke it up for his own ends and so destroyed its sinister spell for all time.

Festivities and Sports.

Just as oriental refinement enlivened sober Castilian luxury in decoration, so, no doubt, it left its imprint on life in general at the court of the Cid. And yet there is nothing oriental about the military games, for instance, in which the knights, according to the old *jongleur,* were wont to indulge on festive occasions at Valencia ; displays of horsemanship and of skill in the use of arms, especially the lancing and breaking of wooden targets, were, indeed, of common occurrence throughout Europe. This target-breaking and the distribution of gifts among the guests are the only festive events he mentions in describing the wedding of the Cid's daughters ; but, as the poet is invariably restrained in his descriptions, it may be assumed that, during the fortnights festivities, there was a greater variety of amusements to entertain the many knights who, according to the *Poem,* came from Castile. Nor can these have been the only guests, if we are to believe the descriptions given in other early poems, which make mention of the many nobles who attended on similar occasions from various Christian lands, as far away as Gascony. The barons of those days were more given

to travel and display than those of later periods, and the same may be said of the Moslems. The wedding of the daughter of the King of Valencia with Mostain, heir to the throne of Saragossa (a match which nourished Mostain's ambition despite his fear of the Cid), was attended by emirs, viziers, and men of learning from all over Moslem Spain, and the " shower of rejoicings perfumed with delight " left no time even for sleep. The later poets who recast the *Poema del Cid,* realizing the necessity of amplifying the meagre descriptions of the original, add that there were public banquets, bullfights, and many minstrels in attendance. And this there is no reason to doubt, for bullfighting was a Spanish sport far earlier than the Cid's time, and minstrels had long been in existence.

Music and Literature.

The minstrels had already made music and literature a feature of festive gatherings at baronial courts by singing, in particular, short heroic poems on historical subjects. By the time the Cid came to rule at Valencia, the *Romanz del Infant Garcia,* telling of the death and avengement of the last Count of Castile, some seventy years before, would no doubt be current. Another of the old-time songs was the gest known as the *Infantes de Salas,* which accurately describes the humble position of the Christians of the tenth century in relation to the Cordovan Caliphate, a subject that no minstrel posterior to the Cid and the Almoravide invasion could have conceived. With the coming of the Cid, epic poetry acquired fresh vigour ; the almost servile attitude to Cordova was dropped, and the conception of war against the Moors as a struggle for Hispanic unity, revived. At the same time, all idea of the hatred and revenge that inspired the older poems referred to, as well as those of other countries, is, under the influence of the

heroic example set by the Campeador, abandoned as archaic.[1]

None of the popular poems of the eleventh century have come down to us in their original form, owing to the fact that the vernacular literature of Spain, like that of Italy, had not then reached the stage at which literary history began. The loss of so many of the earlier works is to be attributed to a great extent to the change from the Toledan to French handwriting that took place at the end of the century.

Of the literary works in Latin, a very few, thanks to the careful guardianship of the monks, are extant. They are mostly lives of saints and tales of miracles in prose ; epitaphs and eulogies of great personages in verse ; poetic disputations in scholastic vein ; and, relics of earlier epochs, the works of several classical authors and tales of the youth of Pyrrhus, the Trojan War, and so forth. Thus the deeds of the Hellenes, the comeliness of Paris, the strength of Hector and Achilles, and the piety of Æneas were common topics among the Spanish knights and friars.

One of these learned works, the *Carmen Roderici,* was written about the Cid himself. The poet explains that he chose this subject, not only because he was sick of the worn-out themes of the Trojan epic, but also because of the greater living interest attaching to the story of the Campeador. Yet even he can think of no more suitable images than Paris and Hector when he attempts to describe the handsome and warlike appearance of the hero when armed and ready for the fray.

The poet, who was probably a cleric of the county of Barcelona, addresses himself to the Christians of Valencia or the Leridan borderland, who felt quite safe as long as the Castilian was there to protect them. In Sapphic verse he recounts the famous fights of the

[1] See R. Menendez Pidal, *Poesia juglaresca,* 1924, pp. 145, 313-24.

Campeador and dilates, with even greater accuracy, upon his struggle with Berenguer, who, as the murderer of his brother, was repugnant to the majority of the Barcelonese. As the poem was written for the scholar, the learned poet, in calling on the common people to hearken to his tale, " hoc carmen audite ", is but imitating the *jongleurs,* who were wont to gather the crowd around them in the public squares with the cry of " Oit varones una razon . . . " From this it may be inferred that the bards used to sing of the deeds of the Cid in Romance during his lifetime. In those days they were the newsmongers of border warfare, as they still were in the fifteenth century when they sang of the deeds of the conquest of Granada. A century and a half before the appearance of the *Carmen Roderici,* during the renaissance of letters under Otto the Great, a German had written the *Waltharius,* a poem, also in Latin, founded on a national tradition dating some 500 years back—a further proof that, whereas Spanish epics have always lived in the present, those of other countries have invariably been based on legend.

Extent to which the Cid fell under Moorish Influence.

Apart from the *jongleurs* and the clerics, who recited to him in Romance and Latin respectively, the Cid would also be entertained by Moslem men of letters and, indeed, by Moorish bards as well. Of one thing we are certain : his love of action and glory preserved him from the seductive charms of the Arab singing girls, to whom the conquerors of Barbastro had fallen so easy a prey ; and this he had not neglected to point out to the Valencian Senate in an attack on the Taifa kings : " I have never withdrawn to sing and drink with women as do your lords and masters."

Nor did the Cid affect other Arabic customs, like his great friend King Pedro of Aragon, who invariably

signed in Arabic. At the same time, it was inevitable that the Christians should feel strongly the influence of Moslem culture, which was so superior to their own in both learning and art; and the Cid, living, as he had done, for seventeen years among the Moslems, would have proved strangely unreceptive had he merely taken on externals, such as a love for displaying his conquered wealth. Ibn Bassam assures us that the Cid was deeply interested in Arabic literature, in which he would have been initiated at the brilliant Court of the Beni Hud. Later, in the Alcazar of Valencia, the Cid found an abundance of literature, for Al-Kadir had been a great bibliophile and had carried his arbitrariness to the length of confiscating the entire library of the learned Mohammed ibn Hayyan, which alone consisted of 143 loads of books.

The Ci(Ts Reading.

The Jesuit Masdeu must have had a very hazy idea of the Middle Ages, if he actually believed that the Cid was but an ignorant marauder. For we know that the hero not only was learned in the law but could interpret the Visigothic Code. Further, Ibn Bassam tells us that he had the deeds of the Arabs read out to him, which is a most useful piece of information, inasmuch as it proves that the great lords of the eleventh century already practised the custom common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of being entertained during meals and leisure hours by the recitation of great feats of arms or the singing of gests by the *jongleurs.* Ibn Bassam adds that, when they were reading out the tales of the great warriors of Arabia and came to the story of Mohallab, the Cid was transported with admiration. As a matter of fact, he saw much of his own life reflected in those tales of the first century of Islam. For had not the great captain of Basra, the saviour of Iraq after

nineteen years of desperate warfare, won through when all seemed lost ? Had not Mohallab suffered from the envy of the Ommeyad Governors of Iraq, even though he had been able to count upon the esteem and support of the Caliph ?

CHAPTER XVI

LAST DAYS

i. END OF THE SEIGNIORY OF VALENCIA

Some Sayings of the Cid.

POSSIBLY it was in Arabic literature that the Cid came across the story of how the last King of the Goths lost Spain. The hero's proud boast, recorded by Ibn Bassam, that " a Rodrigo lost this Peninsula, but another Rodrigo shall regain it ", has already been quoted. The more malicious Ibn Alcama attributes to him a similar phrase, which, he infers, was inspired by mere personal ambition : " I will subdue all Andalusia ; though, like King Rodrigo, I be not of royal stock, I too shall reign and shall be King Rodrigo the Second." In this connection, although several Arab historians assert that King Rodrigo was not of royal descent, all the Christian chronicles that have come down to us are either silent on the point or claim that he was descended from former kings. It is possible, however, and even likely, that the Cid obtained his information from some now lost Latin or Mozarab legend ; for the Arab historians themselves admit that it was in Christian books they read that King Rodrigo was not of royal lineage.

Ibn Alcama records other sayings which seem to indicate that the Cid claimed equality with men of royal rank ; but the most vainglorious of all appears in the *Poem,* where the Campeador, in addressing Bishop

Jeronimo and the knights of his retinue, declaims : " Thanks be to God, I who was poor now have treasure, land and estate. God grants me victory in every battle, and all men hold me in awe. In the mosques of far Morocco they nightly dread my assault; but without my moving from Valencia they shall pay tribute to me or to whomsoever I may appoint." The fact is, the Almoravides were completely cowed; even Yusuf had been obliged to put up with dictatorial letters from the Cid. But the fire of the hero's energy was soon to be extinguished, before the aims on which it fed had been achieved.

Death of the Cid.

A short life had been prophesied for the hero five years before by his tax-gatherer, Ibn Abdus. Although at that time the Cid had yet to win his greatest victories, the sagacious Moor had already perceived the wastage brought about by ceaseless action, the loss of vital power being consumed by his enthusiasm and everlasting struggle against enmity and hatred. Moreover, the physical resistance of the Cid had been undermined by his grave illness at Daroca, the terrible wound he had received at Albarracin, and the other accidents that had befallen him in his constant and fearless exposure to danger.

Rather less than a year after the capture of Murviedro, the Cid died at the early age of fifty-six at Valencia, his own conquest, on a Sunday, July 10, 1099. On the death of their lord, kinsmen and vassals gave vent to bitter and unrestrained grief. In those days, when society was based upon ties of kindred and vassalage and all events were invested with the importance of dispensations of Providence, the expression of grief assumed proportions that to us are inconceivable. The men beat their breasts, rent their garments, and tore out their

hair; the women scratched their faces until the blood flowed, and covered their foreheads with ashes ; and the weeping and wailing went on for many days.

The chronicle of the monastery of Maillezais in Poitou bears witness to the significance attached to the death of the Cid when it refers to it as an event that resounded throughout the two mediaeval worlds : " In Spain, at Valencia, died Count Roderick, whereat there was great lamentation among the Christians and exceeding joy among the Paynim ".

The Reconquest and the Crusades.

The death of the Cid cast a gloom over Christendom in the midst of the triumph occasioned by the success of the first crusade. That great expedition against Islam in the East, which was a pendant to and, partly, a consequence of the war waged by Alphonso VI and the Cid against the Almoravides in the West, had just then reached its climax. Urban II, who had done so much to promote the crusade, died in the same month as the Cid, and that very year Godfrey of Bouillon founded the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the heart of Islam, just as the Campeador had established his Valencian seigniory a few years earlier. But, if the Kingdom of Jerusalem, supported as it was by the united efforts of all Christendom, was destined to be ephemeral, what could be expected of Valencia, whose very existence depended on the energy of the Castilian exile ? And yet, thanks to the Cid's solid organization of his difficult conquest, Jimena was able to maintain it for nearly three years after her husband's death.

Unfortunately, there was no crusade in Spain to give an impetus to the work begun by the Campeador. Fashion, sustained by the profound religious attraction of the Holy Land, decreed that the knights of Spain should make for Syria, away from the task that lay at

hand but had lost the lure of novelty. Even King Pedro of Aragon took the vow, with the intention of going to Jerusalem in 1101, at the very time his friend's widow was in need of aid to defend the Christian outpost at Valencia against the attacks of the Almoravides. Indeed, so great was the interest aroused in the Holy Land that the popes had repeatedly to remind would-be crusaders from Spain that, in the eyes of God, the age-long struggle in the West was as meritorious as the new crusade in the East.

Jimena defends Valencia,

It appears that Jimena received some aid from her son-in-law, Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona, though she by no means lacked confidence in her own resources. On May 21, 1101, Jimena, in intercession for the souls of her husband and son, as also for her own salvation and that of her daughters and sons-in-law, confirmed in her own handwriting the Cid's endowment to the cathedral and added a tithe of the honours, towns and castles they and their descendants then held or later, with the help of God, might win on land or sea. Although her husband had accustomed her to dream of fresh conquests, it is more than likely that this further grant was made at a time of great danger with the view of imploring divine aid ; for the deed was granted in May, and within five months the Almoravides were at the gates of the city.

Yusuf, who had never abandoned the project of wresting Valencia from the Campeador, now sent a strong army under the Lamtuna leader Mazdali, who appeared before the city in October, 1101, and laid close siege to it for seven months. Jimena resisted until her resources were exhausted, and then sent Bishop Jeronimo to beg assistance of Alphonso. On receiving his cousin's message, the King at the head of a large army hastened

to Valencia and at once raised the siege. Jimena made due obeisance to her deliverer and former enemy and besought him to succour the Christians in the whole region; but the King, who could find none amongst his captains capable of holding so isolated a post, decided to abandon the city he had for so long aspired to wrest from his vassal. Freed at last from the envy that had obsessed him during the lifetime of the Cid, Alphonso had come to realize his inability even to keep the gift the conqueror's widow had offered him.

Valencia Abandoned.

The Christians of the city took all their portable wealth with them. Jimena and the Cid's knights carried away Al-Kadir's treasure and the great booty won at the conquest, a large part of which passed into the possession of the King; at all events we know that the Sultana's girdle and the swords of the Cid were preserved amongst the crown jewels of Castile. The evacuation of Valencia took place between May 1 and May 4, 1102. Although some of the Cid's followers, left to shift for themselves, may have held out at different spots, most of the Christian knights left with Alphonso's army for Toledo, bearing with them the Campeador's body for burial in Castile, whence the hero had been exiled by the very monarch who now repatriated his mortal remains. After the evacuation, Alphonso ordered that the city be set on fire and, when Mazdali appeared on the following day, he found it a heap of smouldering ruins. In Mazdali's wake came many noble Moslems who had emigrated rather than live under Christian rule.

Two months later, the city still lay in ruins. Ibn Khafaja of Alcira, who had formerly lamented its conquest by the Campeador, now celebrated in song the calamities of a war that had brought to a happy end the

hateful period of the Cid's victories. The old ex-King of Murcia, Ibn Tahir, writing to a friend, expresses his delight at the recovery of the great Moslem capital:

" The city has been covered by the polytheists with a black mantle of ashes ; her heart beats painfully beneath the smouldering embers. But her beauty remains ; the luxuriant gardens, the fertile vale, fragrant as musk and bright as gold, washed by the limpid river. The Emir of the Moslems will see to her restoration, and at night she will again be decked with jewels and ropes of pearls."

2. EPILOGUE

The Campeador's Family. Jimena.

The Cid's knights fulfilled their last duty as vassals by escorting home the body of their liege lord. Jimena had him buried at the monastery of Cardena, which she lavishly endowed for the repose of his soul.

Jimena survived the Cid for about fifteen years, living no doubt in retirement at the monastery of which her husband had been counsel and protector and wherein she had spent part of the darker years of exile. Alphonso's palace could have offered her little attraction. Like the wife of Garcia Ordonez, she was the Emperor's cousin, but the enmity between the husbands must have extended to the wives, seeing that whereas the one is highly extolled in public records, the other had actually suffered the indignity of imprisonment. In 1113, we find Jimena selling one of the properties settled on her by the Cid. The deed was executed at Cardena in the presence of the monks, the Bishop of Burgos, several counts, and her brother-in-law, Muno Gustioz. It was, no doubt, this same Muno Gustioz who, with his wife, Aurovita, accompanied her on her journeys through Castile. After 1113, nothing more is heard of Jimena. She was buried at Cardena.

The Royal Houses of Spain and France.

A grandson of the Cid, by his daughter Christina, did actually become a king through a strange combination of circumstances. His father, the Infante Ramiro, lord of Monzon and grandson of the Navarrese King Garcia of Atapuerca, was the nephew of that Sancho on whose death in 1076 the greater part of the Kingdom of Navarre had been united with Aragon under Sancho Ramirez. The two sons of Sancho Ramirez, Pedro the friend of the Cid, and Alphonso the Battler, reigned one after the other both in Navarre and Aragon, but left no children. On Alphonso's death, however, shortly after the great Almoravide victory at Fraga (1134), the Navarrese decided to separate from Aragon, and, the Infante Ramiro having died in the meantime, they chose as their king his son by Christina, Garcia Ramirez, who was at the time in his seigniory of Monzon attending the council the Aragonese had convoked to elect a king. Thence he was led away secretly by the Navarrese envoys to occupy the throne of Pamplona, where he reigned as Garcia Ramirez, the Restorer, from 1134 to 1150.

Through him, the blood of his grandfather, the Cid, flowed into the royal house of Navarre, as also the house of Castile. In 1140, his army and that of Alphonso V I I of Castile were drawn up to give each other battle when a treaty of peace was signed and subsequently ratified by the betrothal of the young Princess Blanca, daughter of Garcia and great-granddaughter of the Campeador, to Sancho, the young son of the Castilian Emperor. This betrothal, which, naturally, was bruited abroad, no doubt inspired the verses of the *Poem* :—

Behold the honour that cometh to him that was born in lucky hour ! Today the Kings of Spain are his kinsfolk.

Two years later, in 1151, the wedding of Blanca with

Sancho III, the Desired, of Castile, was celebrated, and from this union was born Alphonso VIII of Castile, through whose daughters the Cid's descent, not only continued to reign in Castile and Leon in the person of St. Ferdinand III, but also passed into the royal house of Portugal through Alphonso III and into that of France through St. Louis.

Lineage of the Counts of Barcelona and Foix.

The Cid's other daughter, Maria, bore to Ramon Berenguer III, the Great, two daughters. The elder, believed to have been called Maria, was sacrificed to her father's ambition. In 1107, at the tender age of six or seven, she was wedded to the old Count Bernard of Besalu, to whom she brought as dowry the county of Vic, and in return Bernard appointed his father-in-law heir to the county of Besalu in the event of his leaving no male issue by his young wife. When Bernard died childless in 1117, Ramon Berenguer incorporated Besalu into the county of Barcelona.

The second daughter of the Count of Barcelona and Maria Rodriguez was named Jimena (Eissemena), after her grandmother. About 1117, she married Count Roger III of Foix in France and gave birth to Roger Bernard, later Count of Foix, and a daughter, who was given the strange name of Braidimene, to be in consonance, doubtless, with her mother's and great-grandmother's name of Eissimene.

Maria Rodriguez, the Cid's daughter, died at a comparatively early age in 1105, before either of her daughters were married. In 1106 her widower, Ramon Berenguer III, is found married again with Almodis; and by a third wife, Dulcis of Provence, he had a son who succeeded to the county of Barcelona as Ramon Berenguer IV; but, on his betrothal to the two-year-old daughter of the King of Aragon, "the Monk", he became

Prince of Aragon and the forbear of the later Kings of Aragon.

The Friends and Rivals of the Cid.

Bishop Jeronimo, on reaching Leon after the abandonment of Valencia, sought of his countryman, the King's son-in-law Raymond, who at the time was Count of Galicia, Zamora and Coria, and received from him on June 22, 1102, the new bishopric of Salamanca, which city had then been repeopled for the second time. When he arrived at his new diocese, the Bishop, unable to forget the stirring days of Valencia, expressed a wish to be buried at Cardena by the side of the Campeador ; but he lived on for many years and, on his death in 1120, was interred in his cathedral at Salamanca.

Alvar Hafiez, the Cid's nephew, who had so often fought and lost against the Almoravides, shared in the disaster of Ucles in 1108 and, presumably as a result of this defeat, lost his domains at Zorita and Cuenca. He was then made governor of Toledo and immediately afterwards was called upon to defend his charge against the new Almoravide Emir, Ali, in 1109. Two years later, he succeeded in temporarily recovering Cuenca, but was killed in 1114 in a campaign with the Segovians in defence of the rights of his Queen, Urraca, daughter of Alphonso V I , against the partisans of Alphonso the Battler, of Aragon.

Pedro Ansurez handed over the governorship of Zamora, which he had held so long, to Count Raymond of Galicia and received, no doubt as compensation, that of Cuellar, Madrid and Simancas. In this capacity, from 1095 onwards, he did much to attract settlers to and enlarge Valladolid. He did not achieve distinction in war ; at any rate, he is not mentioned in the chronicles, as Alvar Hafiez and Garcia Ordofiez are, as being one of Alphonso's leaders. He died at a great age in 1118 or 1119.

Alphonso and Garcia Ordonez.

King Alphonso continued to offer a stout resistance against Yusuf, the second Al-Mansur, but as before he proved to be no match for the Almoravides with their superior tactics. To the reverses inflicted upon Raymond of Burgundy at Lisbon in 1094, upon Alphonso himself at Consuegra in 1097 and, later in the same year, upon Alvar Hanez at Cuenca, must be added two important battles lost in defending the Toledan region, one by Henry of Burgundy at Malagon in 1100 and the other, by Garcia Ordonez at Ucles.

To this favourite he had entrusted the bringing-up of his only son, Sancho, whose mother was the Moorish Princess Zaida, and it was while in charge of Sancho that, in 1108, Garcia Ordofiez was sent on the expedition to Ucles against the fresh Almoravide attack. Here Garcia Ordonez atoned for his many failures by the sacrifice of his life ; at Ucles he died as an " ayo " should die, covering the boy prince with his shield, when the Moors were attacking them on every side. As a consequence of this defeat, the whole dowry of the Princess Zaida fell into the hands of the very Almoravides whom Motamid had sought to thwart when he bestowed the hand of his daughter upon Alphonso. The King died of grief a year after the death of his only son.

As king, Alphonso VI was by no means a mere figurehead who received credit for what his subjects did in the ordinary course of their duties. That he gave his blood and his only son in battle is proof in itself of the lofty view he took of his own responsibilities. As a ruler, he gave a great impulse to the renovation of Spain ; as a warrior, he was indefatigable ; as a man of the world, he had that happy combination of qualities that go to make one of fortune's favourites and incline the majority of men to fall in readily with his wishes.

The commotion caused by the regicides of Castile and Navarre, the blunders of the King of Toledo, the vain repentance of the Kings of Seville and Badajoz for having brought over the Almoravides, all turned to his advantage. There was, however, another side to his character. Having been brought up as a spoilt child by his parents and sister, he was both selfish and self-worshipping. His arrogance irritated the Andalusian kings to the point of driving them into the arms of the Almoravides. Again and again he showed ingratitude for the steadfast support of the King of Aragon. Above all, he betrayed the customary defect of the despot, the tendency, for his own convenience and peace, to appoint nonentities to positions of trust both in his harem and in his council of state. The hecatomb of Ucles was but the crowning humiliation in the series of disasters with which he paid the price of his unreasonable dislike of the ever victorious Cid and his preference for the habitually vanquished Garcia Ordofiez.

The Workings of Envy.

Alphonso's preference for the inefficient and his rancour towards the Cid can be explained neither by the cunning intrigue of Garcia Ordonez nor by any shortcomings on the part of the Cid, whose exceptional gifts a capable ruler would have made use of at all costs. The only explanation forthcoming is that the monarch, who so proudly styled himself " Emperor, by the Grace of God, of all the Spanish peoples ", was, by the same divine dispensation, poor-spirited enough to allow his mind to become clouded with envy, a charge that was brought against him in no less than three records of the time.

To form an estimate of Alphonso's inferiority, a keen sense of which may well have tormented him, and of his real achievements, we may conveniently divide his

long reign into three periods and so present a triptych of his life.

On one panel of this triptych, showing the events of the first six years of his reign, the figures of Sancho II and the Cid stand out strongly as they wrest the throne from Alphonso by their victories. His envy, according to the marginal record at Silos, led to the fratricidal war and the murder of Sancho.

The middle panel depicts the fourteen years of Alphonso's imperial glory. Having got rid of Sancho and treacherously imprisoned his other brother, Garcia, he was in a position to give free rein to the fruitful activity that ended in the conquest of Toledo. The Cid was given no part in these enterprises and later was banished for no other reason, as we are told by the *Historia Roderici* and the *Carmen,* than the envy of the King.

The third picture is overshadowed by the disasters suffered in the last twenty-three years of his reign. The succession of defeats and territorial losses from the rout of Sagrajas onwards proves that Alphonso was incapable of coping with the new conditions of warfare imposed by the organizing genius of the Almoravide leader. From this sombre background the Cid steps forward to champion Christianity and immediately devises the military and political means to win and hold conquests in the teeth of the great African conqueror's opposition.

It will be seen that the elimination, by death or banishment, of the two outstanding figures in the first and third periods was necessary to enable the jealous mind of the King to enjoy the glory of the intermediate period. This jealousy led him to hate and combat all excellence in others. Although a man of great parts and energy, he could not rest content with that reasonable measure of egotism that acts as a spur to altruistic action, but must needs allow his egotism to grow into a disease

of the mind. This swelling of the ego, like a fatty degeneration, affected his heart and deprived him of all power to feel either admiration for Sancho and the Cid or pity for his brother Garcia.

So long as he met with no great difficulty in his enterprises, he did not notice the harm he suffered by his choice of Garcia Ordonez in preference to the Cid. His own resources were enough to carry him along the smooth path that led through the Taifa kingdoms ; but when, at the age of forty-seven, he was called upon to face the rugged strength of the Atlas, his inordinate vanity hampered him and finally left him helpless for the remaining twenty-three years of his life. His vanity, indeed, had led to the restoration of Islamic power in Spain by the Almoravides ; his blind jealousy deprived him of the only man capable of withstanding the invasion.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HERO

I. AN HEROIC CHARACTER

History and Poetry.

AS an epic hero the Cid stands in a class by himself. History has little or nothing to say about the protagonists of the Greek, Germanic or French epics. From the ruins revealed by learned excavators we know that the Trojan War was an event that actually took place at Troy, so that the excavations confirm and illustrate the veracity of Homeric poetry. But we shall never know anything about Achilles, nor, for that matter, about Siegfried, whom we can only suspect to have been an historic personage, as Giinther, the King of Burgundy, at whose Court Kriemhild's husband loved and died, undoubtedly was. The historians of Charlemagne assure us that Roland, Count of Brittany, really existed ; but beyond this fact all we know of him is his disastrous end. Those heroic lives will for ever remain purely in the region of poetry and intangible for the purpose of historical analysis. The Cid, however, is a hero of a very different type. From the height of his idealism he descends with a firm step on to the stage of history to face unflinchingly a greater danger than had ever beset him in life, that of having his history written by the very people on whom he had so often waged war and by modern scholars who as a rule show even less understanding than the enemies he humiliated.

For the Cid, unlike the other heroes, did not belong to those early times when history still lagged far behind poetry. The broad stream of poetic creation along which Achilles, Siegfried and Roland glide, may be likened to a mysterious Nile whose sources have never been explored ; whereas the epic river of the Cid may be traced to its earliest origins, to the very heights above their confluence, where poetry and history rise. Philological criticism enables us to explore primitive history and takes us back to the poetry of the hero's own age, the works inspired either by his deeds or by a vivid recollection of them. This contemporary poetry, which has come down to us about the Spanish hero but not about the others, may help to complete our historical knowledge of the heroic character, just as, when it agrees with the records, that poetry has helped us to establish the facts of the hero's life.

Renan is utterly mistaken when, in docilely acknowledging the divorcement by Dozy of the poetic from the historic Cid, he considers that " no other hero has lost so much in passing from legend to history ". For the truth is that history and poetry, if taken to mean duly documented history and primitive poetry, show rare agreement in characterization, in spite of the fact that on no other epic hero has the light of history shone more relentlessly. Often, indeed, the character of the real Cid is found to be of greater poetical interest than that of the traditional hero. Legend achieved much that is of poetic value, but it left unworked many veins that appear in the rock of the hero's real life in the rough, natural state in which the beauties of nature occur.

The Heroic Age.

Much has been written about the " heroic age " and the society and culture of those barbaric and lawless times, when pride in personal glory and lust for wealth

overruled all other feelings. Yet to my mind, the heroic age, in the widest sense of the term, is distinguished by one essential characteristic only, and that a literary one ; it is the age in which history habitually takes on a poetic shape, the age in which an epic form of literature arises to supply the public want of information about events of general interest either of the time or the recent past. This epic form of history, of course, only appears in primitive times, before culture has reached the stage of producing erudite works in prose; as historiography advances, the epopee loses its pristine vigour.

But in Spain, the scene of the last heroic age of the western world, that age coincided with the historic age, and epic poetry continued to be the vehicle for conveying the news of the day down to the time of the Cid despite the fact that history had already reached a fair stage of development. Thus, in view of the difference in time and circumstance separating the heroic age of Spain from that of other countries, it is not to be expected that the mind of the Campeador would work in unison with that of Beowulf. And so it is that we do not claim to have discovered in the Cid *the* heroic, but merely *an* heroic, character. Our main interest will lie in obtaining a close view of a hero, the last hero to cross the threshold from the heroic to the historic age.

Loyalty and Patriotism.

The most modern trait in the character of the hero, who lived during this period of transition, is his loyalty. His is not the loyalty of a vassal in the rude heroic ages to the lord for whom he fought; it is the loyalty of a vassal to a king who persisted in persecuting him, a virtue that none of the other persecuted heroes of epic poetry possessed. The Cid of reality, though exiled, remained true to his king ; though grossly insulted by

Alphonso, he bore with him and treated him with respect. According to law, he owed no fealty to the King, and yet his loyalty was unswerving. Though the King was openly hostile to his occupation of Valencia, he placed the city, to use his own phrase, " under the overlordship of my lord and king, Don Alphonso ". These words are recorded by the Arab historian and are echoed in the old *Poem*, where Alvar Hafiez is sent by the Cid to offer the conquered city to the King in spite of his having obstinately refused to lift the ban of exile.

This attitude would be incomprehensible if, as is possible, we were to assume that the motives of the Spanish hero were purely personal.[1] True, all heroes, whether of Greek, Teutonic, or Romance poetry, act under the impulse of personal honour and glory ; indeed, the personal motive is so strong that, in the French epic, notwithstanding the highly developed national spirit, the hero who rebels against the King when offended by him, is constantly glorified. But if, on the other hand, the Cid of poetry is on all occasions respectful towards his royal persecutor, it is because the longed-for pardon means reconciliation with " fair Castile ", which he puts before his personal pride. The King and his country, his native land, to him are one and the same thing. And so the Cid of history appears eager and, at times, over ready to be reconciled with Alphonso and at the same time distrusts Berenguer and is slow to accept his proffered friendship.

The fact that, contrary to the custom established in the law and poetry of the time, neither the Cid of history nor the Cid of fiction makes war on his king but remains loyal to him, shows the extent to which the hero subordinated personal motives to love of country, thereby betraying a spirit practically unknown to the

[1] This is the point of view lately adopted in the fine *Spanische Brie* by K. Vossler.

in order to overcome the Almoravides, in promoting the reform of the clergy, or in revolutionizing, as he actually did, heroic poetry.

A Dispenser of Justice.

The Cid's detractors paint him as a mere outlaw, a bandit who knew no honour; but both the Arab and the Latin historians agree with the early poets that his whole career was governed by his attitude to the law. Here again we find the Cid combining the characteristics of the two epochs, the heroic age and the chivalrous age that followed it.

When the chivalrous ideal had been perfected and formulated, it was held to be the duty of a knight to defend the rights of the weak, with the result that a knowledge of legal matters became a knightly accomplishment. Chivalric literature, from its birth to its death, bears this out. Old Gonzalo Gustioz of Salas, in enumerating the attainments of his deceased son, speaks of him as " learned in the law and fond of judging ", and the last perfect knight, Don Quixote, also acts as a judge and shows that he possessed a thorough knowledge of the law.

The Cid on several occasions gave evidence of this knightly accomplishment: when acting as counsel for the monastery of Cardefta; as judge at Oviedo, where he interpreted Gothic law and inquired into the authenticity of a deed; and again when drawing subtle distinctions in the drafting of a fourfold form of oath. The Cid of poetry likewise pleaded his cause with skill and method before the court of Toledo.

The Cid always applied the law, according to its loftiest conception. In his youth, as champion of Castile, he fought out the legal duel against Navarre, and at Santa Gadea he exacted the oath, no doubt in the same capacity. Later, when aggrieved by Alphonso, as

an exile, he had two legal courses open to him, to make war on his sovereign or to seek reconciliation. He chose the second course throughout. Availing himself of the means afforded by mediaeval law for regaining royal favour, he twice hastened to the aid of his king ; on a third occasion, he attempted to clear himself by the ordeal of a legal oath. It is only when all these attempts at reconciliation have failed and he has been made to suffer fresh and more grievous wrongs, that he exercises his right to make war on the King's lands ; and, when this time comes, the heavy hand of the Campeador achieves what his moderation had steadfastly failed to do. But to call the Cid an enemy of his country, as Masdeu and Dozy call him, is simply absurd.

Owing to this failure to recognize his two distinct lines of conduct, the Cid's relations with the Moors have also been misunderstood. His attitude to the Spanish Moslems may be summed up in his own declaration : " If I act lawfully, God will leave me Valencia ; but if with pride and injustice, I know He will take her away from me." Even the usually malevolent Ibn Alcama admits that the Cid dealt very fairly with the Valencians. But when, in their anxiety to remain under Islam, the Moors of Spain called in the Africans, the Cid perforce took up a different stand : thenceforth the war could only end in the expulsion of the invader and the complete submission of the Spanish Moors.

The contrast between these two lines of conduct is most pronounced during the Valencian revolution, when on the assassination of his protege King Al-Kadir, the city was handed over to the Almoravides. The Cid launches forth on the siege of Valencia, his greatest military enterprise, as an act as much of justice as of policy, and he determines not to rest until he has punished the regicide and driven out the African intruders. On the expulsion of the Almoravides and the

surrender of the city, he begins by treating the Valencians with benevolence ; but, when he finds that they continue to intrigue with the Africans, he ceases to respect Moslem law and resorts to the mailed fist of the conqueror. His detractors attribute this change of conduct to mere arbitrariness, but the fact remains that it was based on political justice.

Unconquered.

Although poetic exaggeration clothes all heroes in the mantle of invincibility, it is surprising to find that, so far as the Cid is concerned, fact agrees with fiction.

The fame that the Cid enjoyed amongst his contemporaries is expressed in the name of *Campeador* or " victorious ", given him by Moors and Christians alike ; in the phrase " invictissimus princeps " used in the Valencian charter ; and in the " invincibilis bellator " of the *Historia Roderici,* which adds that he " invariably triumphed ". Further, the *Poema de la conquista de Almeria,* composed in Latin some fifty years after his death, says of the hero : " . . . of whom it is sung that no foe ever overcame him ".

Ibn Bassam himself emphasizes the Cid's extraordinary victories, typical instances of which were the combats at Tamarite, where he overcame odds of twelve to one, and at Zamora, where alone and unaided he defeated fifteen knights. But the exceptional superiority of the Campeador was never more patent than when he tackled the Almoravides as an entirely new and hitherto invincible military organization. He alone, at Cuarte and Bairen, was successful against the invaders, routing their armies and taking a great number of captives ; he alone was able to conquer Valencia, Almenara and Murviedro in spite of their determined opposition. This contrast is in itself sufficient to bring out in full relief the military genius of the ever victorious Cid,

At times the hero found himself in situations so desperate that to all others everything seemed lost,when of a sudden his keen vision would descry the hidden opportunity that led to success. In emergencies such as a surprise attack by night he would tremble with excitement and grind his teeth ; whenever there was the prospect of a battle his heart would leap with joy (" gaudenter expectavit "). The poet is at one with the historian when he tells of the hero's fierce glee on sighting the imposing array of the Almoravides : " Delight has come to me from overseas."

The Cid's infallible tactics on occasions struck panic into his enemies. Latin and Arab historians relate how the host of Garcia Ordonez at Alberite, the mighty *mehalla* of the Almoravides at Almuzafes, and the knights of Ramon Berenguer the Great at Oropesa were all routed without daring even to face the Cid. The battle of Cuarte also suggests panic among the enemy. Legend seized upon this terror-striking ascendancy of the hero to suggest that no Saracen could meet the eye of the Cid without trembling.

Heroic Energy.

The Cid's chroniclers narrate the personal share he took in all his enterprises. The extent to which he exposed himself upon the field of battle is shown by the many mishaps he suffered and the narrow escapes he had. In the sphere of government, he assumed many duties ; he administered justice at Valencia several times a week and he it was who exposed the bad faith of the envoys sent to Murcia. His extraordinary powers of organization are seen in the rapid rise of Juballa from a smouldering ruin to a flourishing city and in the way he rebuilt and enlarged the suburb of Alcudia.

His prodigious and unremitting energy enabled him to master the highly complex problems of Eastern Spain

that had baffled the Emperor, Alvar Hanez, the Kings of Aragon, Saragossa and Denia and the Counts of Barcelona. In face of their futile claims, he established and tenaciously maintained his protectorate over the coveted and disunited region. When his work had been twice undone, he patiently built it up again in spite of seemingly insuperable difficulties presented, in the first place, by the jealous rage of Alphonso and, in the second, by the ambition of Yusuf.

It savours of madness that a single man, unsupported by any national organization and lacking resources even for a day, should appear before Valencia determined upon restoring a rule that had been overthrown this second time by an enemy who had proved irresistible to the strongest power in Spain ; that he should dream of doing what the Christian Emperor had failed to do, and in the teeth of the Moslem Emir's opposition. That memorable day in October, 1092, when he pitted his will-power against all the chances and changes of fortune, marks the zenith of heroism.

From which it may be gathered that, even more noteworthy than the Cid's activity and success, is his exceptional firmness of purpose. Indeed, when he first left for exile, he conceived a plan of action in the East and to its execution he devoted the rest of his life.

Ten years after the hero's death, Ibn Bassam, in a passage vibrant with mingled hate and admiration, pays the highest tribute to the superhuman energy of the Campeador :

" The power of this tyrant became ever more intolerable ; it weighed like a heavy load upon the people of the coast and inland regions, filling all men, both near and far, with fear. His intense ambition, his lust for power . . . caused all to tremble. Yet this man, who was the scourge of his age, was, by his unflagging and

clear-sighted energy, his virile character, and his heroism, a miracle among the great miracles of the Almighty.''

Thus, like Manzoni in his famous ode on the death of Napoleon, the Moslem enemy bowed reverently before a creative genius that bore the imprint of God.

2. THE CID'S ACHIEVEMENTS

" *Nemo propheta acceptus est in patria sua."*

The Cid was first active in promoting the aims of Castile against Leon and Navarre. His action was decisive at a critical period of Spanish history, for thanks to his victories as the ensign of Sancho II, the political hegemony passed from Leon to Castile.

King Sancho and his ensign made an admirable combination : the king, exuberant and ambitious, his vassal restrained and capable. Together, they set out to change the map of Spain. And, although the course of history is shaped more by collective than by individual effort, had this happy association not been brought to an untimely end by the murder at Zamora, it may safely be assumed that the African invasion would have been stayed and the Reconquest expedited by further immediate successes such as Coimbra, Coria and Toledo. This was clearly seen by the men of the time, to whom the hero's exile appeared a grave blunder on the part of the monarch. This feeling is voiced in the famous line of the old poem : " Lord, how good a vassal, were but the liege as good ! "

But the King was not the only one to blame. When Alphonso was enthroned in Castile, the barons curried favour with him and turned against the Cid, refusing to admit the exile's worth. Rejected by Castile, the Campeador had to seek an outlet for his energy elsewhere. After great pains, he succeeded in forging an alliance, first with the Count of Barcelona, and after-

wards, with the King of Aragon. Thus, his sometime opponents, the Catalans and the Aragonese, came to appreciate the hero before Alphonso and his Castilians.

Literature bears out this shifting of the Cid's activity and fame. As Du Meril and Mila indicate, the earliest known song of the Cid, the *Carmen Roderici* is of Catalan and not of Castilian origin. Later, and working on independent lines, I proved—I think, conclusively—that the second poetic record, the *Poema del Cid,* was not of Old Castilian origin either, but was composed in the " extremaduras " or borderlands of Medinaceli by a *jongleur* whose pronunciation was different from that of the Castilians. Now, on deeper research into the historical sources (and again independently of the former investigations) I find to my surprise that the first historical text, the *Historia Roderici,* is also foreign to Castile. It was written on the borderland between Saragossa and Lerida, the scene of the Cid's activities in the second part of his life ; and the author even accuses the Castilians of being envious of the hero and incapable of understanding him.

The important inference to be drawn from these facts is that admiration for the Cid was first awakened, not at Burgos, but in the more distant lands of Saragossa and what was later known as Catalonia, on the borders of that eastern region which he had made safe during the latter years of his life. It was during these years that Castile, which had witnessed his first exploits, yielded to the all-absorbing character of the Emperor, and the less pliant spirits of Burgos, such as Martin Antolinez, chose to follow the Cid into exile. Thus it came about that officially Burgos only recognized the heroism of her son after his fame had reached her from abroad. True, indeed, it is that " no man is a prophet in his own country ", except he be some local celebrity, quite unknown outside his own narrow circle.

The Cid, the National Hero.

The idea of a united Spain, which apparently obsessed the Cid, was, as has been shown above, not of Castilian, but of Leonese origin. A change came, when a new conception of nationhood arose in the minds of Basques and Castilians, to take the place of the Leonese imperial idea, and for this change the Cid was largely responsible.

If we were to take the usual view that the idea of Spanish unity was purely Castilian, we should have to regard the Cid, as Masdeu and his followers did, solely from a Castilian angle, and, like them, we should fail to understand him. It may be true that he is the hero of Burgos, but his heroism is displayed in non-Castilian as well as Castilian aspects, and it is wrong to regard these as antagonistic. Unquestionably the Cid was the first to abandon the already worn-out idea of a Leonese empire and embrace the new Castilian aims that were to usher in the modern Spain. But when Castile, after the assassination at Zamora, bowed to King Alphonso of Leon, the Cid was compelled to strike out in a fresh direction ; and it was as an exile that he outstripped his own country in fighting for the national ideal.

In spite of many vicissitudes, the Cid embodied that ideal throughout his exile, from the time when he withdrew before Alphonso, who was working for the old Leonese empire, to the time when he broke the force of the African invasion in campaigns that were frowned upon by the King of Leon and Castile.

The exclusion of the Cid from the Court and Castile served but to accentuate his position as a truly national figure ; and it is significant that he should have had fighting side by side with his Castilians, the Asturian Muno Gustioz, the Aragonese knights of Sancho Ramirez and Pedro I, and the Portuguese followers of the Count

of Coimbra and Montemayor. This co-operation in the common cause is recognized by the early *Poem* :

> How well he fights in saddle set in gold,
> My Cid, the mighty warrior, Ruy Diaz ;
> Martin Antolinez, the worthy Burgalese,
> Muno Gustioz, brought up by him,
> The good Galin Garcia, of Aragon,
> Martin Mufioz, the count of Mont Mayor !

These lines, brief as an heraldic motto, are to Spaniards what Homer's list of ships was to the Hellenes. The fact that knights from so many parts of the Peninsula fought under his banner renders the Cid's campaigns real campaigns of Spain, and, despite the envy of the barons of Burgos, of Castile as well.

But, neither love of his home land nor his wider patriotism made the Cid narrow-minded. The appointment of a Cluniac monk to the see of Valencia shows that he welcomed western ideas as an influence that would lift Spain out of her former isolation. Such an attitude on the part of the most typical hero of Spain may give food for thought to those who, in a spirit of bigoted nationalism, would close the door to all foreign influence as being detrimental to " the descendants of Pelayo and the Cid ".

My Cid of Valencia.

The Cid was extolled, not so much for promoting Castile's hegemonic aspirations, as for his conquest of Valencia. In the early *Poem* he is frequently alluded to as " My Cid, who won Valencia ".

Dozy, in an access of Cidophobia less virulent than usual, sought to belittle this conquest by saying : " The Cid took the proud and rich city of Valencia, but what advantage did the Spaniards gain from its capture ? The Cid's followers certainly won a great deal of booty, but Spain won nothing; for the Arabs regained the

city on the death of Rodrigo." [1] Nevertheless, although he never amended the passage, the author seems to have been so convinced of its absurdity that he deleted it from the second edition of his work (1881, I I , p. 202).

In the first place, the conquest of Valencia set a great example of heroic effort. According to the Aragonese historian, Zurita, it was the most extraordinary achievement ever performed in Spain by anyone but a king. He adds that, even had the King of Castile, the most powerful monarch in Spain, engaged his whole forces in the effort, he would have found it extremely difficult to conquer so populous a city in the very heart of the Moorish country. Alphonso did, in fact, throw his whole strength into the attempt, and failed.

In the second place, Dozy, in likening the conquest of Valencia to a mere marauding expedition, is greatly in error. It was far different from the conquest of Barbastro, where the troops of the papal standard-bearer abandoned themselves to plunder and sensuality. The Cid's work was one of reconquest, and he carried it out after the manner of the Spanish kings ; he reorganized the lands that he had won, restored the ancient bishopric, and established himself in the city with his family. Had he been granted the normal span of life, Castile would have seen her dream of consolidating her hold upon the old Carthaginian Province realized, and there would have been a totally different distribution of the realms throughout the Peninsula.

In spite of the hero's premature death, the results of the conquest were highly important. An extraordinary revival was then taking place in Islam. Whilst the Turks in the East were routing the Byzantines and, having captured their Emperor, were depriving him of provinces as large as Spain, the Berbers in the West were defeating and driving back the Emperor of Leon.

[1] *Recherches,* 1849, P.652.

Once again, as in the early days of Arab expansion, the Mediterranean was assailed at either end, but Europe saved the situation by the agency of the Cid in the West and the crusaders in the East.

The anxiety of Urban II at the Almoravide invasion of Spain has led to the belief that the crusades were originally planned by the Pope, in ignorance of the divided state of Islam, as a military diversion. However this may be, there is no denying that, whereas the Turks were causing concern in the East alone, the Almoravides were reckoned a powerful danger to Europe, as was proved by the great French expedition to the Ebro valley in 1087. IT is clear also that the Cid, in founding his Valencian principality amidst the Moors, anticipated what the crusaders did at Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa and Tripoli. True, the Valencian principality did not long survive its founder ; but then those other Christian principalities were also ephemeral and only lasted longer because the crusaders had all Europe behind them, whereas the Cid could not even count on the help of his king. Moreover, the crusaders established their States in opposition to emirates that were considerably smaller than the Taifa kingdoms, and they soon succumbed when confronted by a coherent power such as that of Saladin ; nor could the united forces of England, France and Germany, even under leaders like Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus, regain Jerusalem or Edessa. The Cid, on the other hand, built up and held his dominions in the teeth of the bitterest opposition on the part of the Taifas and Yusuf ibn Teshufin, one of Islam's greatest conquerors and head of a huge empire, then at the height of its power. The comparison remains striking even when other factors, such as the distance of the crusaders' field of operation, are taken into account.

Finally, the dominion of the Cid at Valencia was of

more immediate importance to Europe as a dam against the Almoravide flood. It is significant, though the fact has hitherto passed unnoticed, that both Ibn Bassam and the *Historia Roderici* agree that his conquest of Valencia stemmed the African invasion and prevented it from reaching the most outlying Moslem Kingdoms of Lerida and Saragossa. That was the spring-tide of the invasion and, had it flooded the Ebro basin, Aragon and Barcelona, being much weaker states than Castile, would both have suffered a greater disaster than Sagrajas. The threat of invasion held out by Alphonso VI as a warning to the French barons, might then have been fulfilled. Indeed, the German historian, V. A. Huber, though unaware of that warning, stresses the importance of the conquests by the Cid as a barrier protecting, not only Spain, but the whole of Western Europe from the Moslem peril. And from all accounts that seems to have been the general impression at the time.

3. EXEMPLARINESS

The Poetic Tradition.

It is extraordinary how the memory of the Cid lived on in the minds of men, and the influence of that memory was undoubtedly great.

Above all, the Cid was a perennial theme of poetry. Whilst still alive, he inspired the *Carmen Roderici* the survival of which from the wreck of the literature of that time suggests the possibility that other contemporary poems existed which have since been lost. The *Poema del Cid* appeared soon after, at a time when Romance was still too humble a vehicle for great literary conceptions ; and it was the Cid's ideals, already deeply rooted in the spirit of the nation, that lifted the language to heights hitherto unknown and made this poem the expression of the ideas and aims of the whole of primitive Castile.

Then followed one after another the Spanish epics, which, breathing the loftiest national spirit, sang of the Cid down to the fifteenth century. And then the ballads, in which the hero was sung in the most vigorous traditional poetry ever known and which for hundreds of years were recited by all classes and are still echoed in the popular songs of today current from Galicia and Catalonia to Tangier and Chile. The story of the Cid was dramatized in the classic, neo-classic, and romantic theatres of Spain and has been revived on the modern stage. There is no epoch in our literary history that cannot show some important work on the hero, so that it may be truly said that the tradition of the Campeador forms part of our national inheritance.

Not only did the Cid cause in his own country an efflorescence of poetry such as no hero of any other nation has ever done, but later he fired the imagination of foreign poets. Crossing the Pyrenees, he reigned supreme in French tragedy, and Corneille was followed by Victor Hugo, Leconte de Lisle and Heredia. Beyond the Rhine, Herder's verses rendered the love-story of the Cid and Jimena as famous as the tragic tale of Siegfried and Kriemhild. In England, we might mention the short poems of Lockhart and Gibson and the longer poetical narratives of Southey and Dennis ; in Italy, the romances of Monti ; in Denmark, the fragments composed by Carl Baggers . . . and a last voice in the concert of nations reaches us from the antipodes, where the Tagals also have their poem *Buhay ni don Rodrigo at ni dona fimena.*

The Historical Tradition.

When the Cid dies, prose histories of his life, beginning with the *Historia Roderici,* make their appearance. Half a century later the deeds of the Cid had become inextricably interwoven with Spanish history ; and thence-

forward the chronicles, whether compiled in La Rioja, at Leon or Toledo, in Aragon or Portugal, contained extensive records of the knight of Vivar; in fact, the Castilian chronicles devoted more pages to him than to the most famous kings.

Like the *Historia Roderick* these general histories show the Cid as a loyal vassal, but they emphasize in their simple language his qualities in war and the extraordinary powers of one who solely by the strength of his mighty arm rose from the condition of a persecuted knight to be the most powerful man on earth who acknowledged a king; and this opinion of the Cid even his detractors hold.[1]

His exemplariness and power to inculcate his ideas upon others is epitomized in the passage from the chronicles where the hero had Martin Pelaez, a knight from the Montafta district, eat at his table and out of his plate so as to teach him courage. For the Cid, to quote the saying of the sixteenth-century Toledan, Juan Rufo, was esteemed above all as a " professor of courage ", which epithet was the remote origin of " professor of energy " applied to Napoleon; and he continued to be a shining example of valour to the succeeding generations. The thought of the Cid stirred Jaime I of Aragon when, in the final struggle for Valencia, he wielded Tizon, the sword the hero had won on those very plains from the Almoravide leader Bucar, and which the Aragonese conqueror held to be " fortunate for all that girt it on ". Nor was it the knights alone, but the whole people, who felt the lingering influence of his inspiration. The miracle of the hero's bones stirring in the tomb on the eve of the battle of Las Navas was duly proved, and not a Spaniard but felt them come to life again at every moment of glory or danger to the nation.

[1] Dozy, *Recherches*, I I, 1881, p. 205.

Foundations of his Exemplarity.

The chronicles, then, leave us in no doubt that the Campeador was a mighty man of war; but the poets showed a keener insight than the chroniclers into the other sides of the heroic character. Hence the interest that for so long centred round the explanation of how he came to be celebrated in song and win an admiration from his contemporaries that amounted to hero-worship.

Dozy, and after him Renan, held that the Cid was a subject welcome above all others to the Castilian poets because he fought his Leonese king, as did Bernardo del Carpio and Fernan Gonzalez, whom the poets also extolled. But this opinion is vitiated by Dozy's false chronology of the poems on the Cid. We now know that the *Mocedades de Rodrigo* is among the last poems of this cycle and thus gives a much later conception of the hero than the *Poema del Cid,* a single verse of which, " I would not fight against my lord Alphonso," is sufficient to expose the fallacy of the Dutch orientalist's argument.

Wilhelm Grimm, the early romanticist who applied so much profound thought to epopee, held that every historical circumstance leading to the formation or reformation of the national consciousness of a primitive people also produces an epic ferment. Charlemagne created France and lived for many centuries in French poetry ; the Cid for the first time ensured the safety of Spain against Arab conquest and by so doing endowed her with a national poetry. This view contains much truth, apart from one important reservation. It is not success that gives an epic character to great enterprises, much less is it the duration of their effects. Neither is any man a hero by virtue of the permanence of his conquests or his work. In this respect he may be surpassed by any humble general or magistrate to whose

lot it falls to carry out enterprises that succeed as inevitably as the ripe fruit falls from the tree. Alphonso VI, Alvar Hanez, the Beni-Gomez, and the Counts Henry and Raymond of Burgundy, by conquering Toledo and holding it in spite of heavy reverses, achieved more lasting success than the Cid; yet, although they all were important parts of the complicated machinery of the State, none are now known beyond the purview of historical erudition. The Cid, on the other hand, outdistanced them all from the very moment that official organization turned him adrift. The same banishment that deprived him of all royal support conferred full individuality upon him; the adversity of exile brought out the full force of his personality that made him a poetic inspiration, and epic poetry chanted the hero, not so much for safeguarding the nation against its enemy, as for the prodigious personal effort he put forth on its behalf.

There remains the view held by Menendez Pelayo, that the Cid was of an heroic type because of his ungovernable and haughty temper, his use and misuse of force, and his very human failings. But Menendez Pelayo had in mind the Cid of the *Mocedades* and was still under the influence of Dozy; and, although we quite agree that a paragon of virtue would be a very uninspiring subject for an epopee, we do not admit that those vicious traits were possessed by the real Cid of early epic poetry.

And so, in seeking to account for the Cid's extraordinary vogue in poetry, one cannot point to any single cause, for the simple reason that heroism is too complex a subject. That security from Islam, as mentioned by Grimm, was essential to their very existence, the people would grasp immediately and nothing more natural than that it should be stressed in all historical and poetical records of the Cid; but his claim to be considered a

hero also rests on foundations still more firmly embedded in the heart of the nation and mankind.

Right, not Might.

We have already pointed out how concerned the Cid was that the law should at all times be observed. That this alone surrounded him with a halo in the eyes of the people is shown by the fact that the most artistic episodes of the two principal early poems are based on a lofty conception of the law.

The final scene of the *Cantor de Zamora* depicts with great dramatic effect the taking of the oath at Santa Gadea. If there the Cid imposed his will upon Alphonso VI, it was not in defence of any personal right or privilege, such as so many mediaeval barons exacted of their king, but to protest against the usurpation of the throne and insist upon the fulfilment of the laws of succession. This scene, therefore, endured, not because of the events that gave rise to it, but because of its capital importance in characterizing the hero. As late as that tragic period of transition from the last century to the present, Joaquin Costa, while denying the Cid of armour and Tizon for fear lest his memory should again plunge Spain into warlike adventure, did not hesitate to invoke the Cid of Santa Gadea and would gladly have seen every Spaniard equally solicitous to uphold the law and at the same time demand satisfaction from his rulers.

The *Poema del Cid* presents the great scene of the Cortes at Toledo, where, in striking contrast to the general custom of mediaeval epic, the Cid is shown forgoing vengeance in favour of the legal satisfaction afforded by the court. In my work, *Poema de Mio Cid*, I have pointed out the revolution that choice occasioned in the poetry of the time. There can be no doubt that it reflects the real outlook of the Cid and reveals in him the moral characteristics that inspired the poets.

Moderation.

It is astonishing to find moderation poetized as a characteristic of the most redoubtable of warriors ; and yet, not only did he always subordinate his own strength to the law, but he knew how to temper justice with mercy.

The *Poema del Cid* shows a keen perception of the value of this self-restraint as a poetic theme and even suppresses the traces of violence to be found in the hero's true character. The Cid of fact, who waives his right as a nobleman to fight against his lord, provides one of the main inspirations of the poem : the loyalty of the hero, despite the unjust harshness of the monarch. Even with the great insult still smarting in his brain, the Cid speaks " well and in measured language ". In this connection, the *Poem* again strikes a singular note ; for, whereas the Spanish *cantares* and French *chansons* glorify the rebel exile who rode rough-shod over all who came his way, the *jongleur* of the Cid, true to the grave conception of life held by his hero, sought ideality in another direction and produced an exile of perfect bearing, moderate at all times, and showing the greatest respect for those social and political institutions that might well have trammelled his heroic energy. The hero and his poet, in imbuing the epic with this ideal, show themselves to be far ahead of their time. For centuries nobles continued to take private vengeance and make war upon their king and country, and the poets kept pace with them by singing of the violence of their heroes and even inventing, in the *Mocedades,* an insolent and overbearing Cid.

Again, the Cid of the *Poem* forbears to insist on his rights as a victor ; witness his treatment of the Count of Barcelona. Anxious to make a good impression on the vanquished Moors, he treats them with generosity,

" lest they speak ill of me ", and, when he leaves them, they are sorry to lose his protection :

" The Moorish men and maids
Bless him and wish ' God speed '
But, must thou go, My Cid ?
Our prayers do thee precede."

How different a character from the Charlemagne of the *Chanson de Roland* who calls for the conversion of the Saracens by fire and sword !

The high principles of the Cid, especially at a time of resurgence of spiritual values, are thus one of the main reasons why he was sung, both at home and abroad. Already in the second half of the twelfth century German poets (informed no doubt by pilgrim *jongleurs* from Compostela) had made an obvious copy of Rodrigo de Vivar in the figure of the margrave Ridiger, who was later embodied in the *Nibelungenlied* as a model of chivalry, brave, triumphant, and loyal: Riidiger, the good, the true, the noble, who gave his life fighting for his principles against an overwhelming force.[1]

" *Comites domuit quoque nostros"*

Further evidence of the base upon which the idealization of the Cid as a hero rests, is furnished by the *Poema*

[1] Rodrigo and Rudiger have many points in common. To begin with, the names are similar. Rudiger was not German, but came from a southern country ; he was married to a kinswoman of his king, had lived in exile and rendered great service to a foreign king. Further, he had dwelt in Moorish lands (" ze Arabi in dem lande ", *Biterolf*, 8958) ; he was distinguished by his valour, loyalty and generosity. He was, too, a friend of Walter of Spain. Cf. B. Q. Morgan's article *Ruedeger* in *Beitrage zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur*, Halle, 1912, XXXVII, pp. 325-36 and 564. This is a most convincing work that has not been sufficiently appreciated. That the Cid enjoyed great fame far beyond the confines of Spain is shown by the notice of his death in the *Chronicon Malleacense* ; and it should also be remembered that by the middle of the twelfth century descendants of the Cid were reigning at a number of European Courts.

de la conquista de Almeria, written about 1150, when the early gests appeared. The author, after extolling the Cid's invincibility, proceeds to show that he used his strength, not only against the threat of foreign danger, but also against the intrigues of the counts at home :

> ipse Rodericus, mio Cidi saepe vocatus,
> de quo cantatur quod ab hostibus haud superatur,
> qui domuit mauros, comites domuit quoque nostros [1]

The banishment of the Cid furnishes a typical instance of the instability of the social fabric. The age produced the man required, but Society banned him from his natural sphere. A really invincible captain had arisen in Spain, only to find his efforts frustrated by the antagonistic counts of Najera, Oca and Carrion ; he could obtain neither the co-operation of the Count of Barcelona to help him dominate the East, nor that of the Emperor of Leon to prevent the disasters of Sagrajas, Jaen, Consuegra and Lisbon.

So far as the Cid was concerned, envy acted as the most powerful dissolvent of the social bonds. The Cid was envied by many of his peers and even by his kinsmen ; he was envied by the greatest men at Court, even by the Emperor himself; one and all, they rejected him from motives of pure spite to, as events soon proved, their own detriment. The charge of m-*vidta,* so often preferred by the Latin historian, connotes a lack of vision : " castellani invidentes ". Such an *in-vidente* was Alphonso, who found it convenient to promote Garcia Ordonez in preference to the Cid ; such also was the Count of Najera himself, who supplanted one who was better than he ; such, in short, were all the counts whom the Cid had to subdue. Thus, the

[1] " That Roderick, often known as " Mio Cid ",
Of whom 'tis sung, none ever him o'ercame,
Who Moors and also our own counts subdued."

phrase of the *Poema de la conquista de Almeria,* " comites domuit nostros ", acquires a general significance by extolling the Cid as the hero of the struggle with the jealous nobles.

In face of this blind, malignant envy, the Cid showed neither discouragement nor rancour. When exiled, he sought no direct vengeance, however much he was entitled to do so ; nor did he, like Achilles, sulk in his tent and hope for the defeat of his detractors. On the contrary, he repeatedly went to the help of the King who had exiled him and, in spite of a series of rebuffs from his countrymen, took the only dignified course left open to him ; he withdrew his invaluable energy to a distant field where envy and mortification could not reach him, but where he could still co-operate, whether they wished it or not, with his backbiters.

The Cid and his Country.

The Cid sought and found his support among the enthusiastic and loyal countrymen of the outlying districts and in the spirit of comradeship he instilled into the motley crowd that flocked to his standard ; courteous towards the humble, he showed himself as deferential to his cook, when the occasion demanded, as he was firm, though respectful, in the presence of the Emperor of the two religions. In the midst of that strange host he displayed his heroism, and no sooner had he conquered a kingdom than he presented it to his unjust sovereign, by recognizing " the overlordship of his King, Don Alphonso ". In seeking reconciliation with the King and humbling himself before him at Toledo in a scene to which the early poet attaches capital importance, the Cid reaches the apogee of heroism by achieving a victory over his own unruly spirit. Though his great victories had rendered him immune from his enemies, he indulged in no vain contempt, but was willing to efface himself

before his mean and little-minded opponents, for he desired no more than to take the place in the social order allotted to him, as it is to every man, however eminent. Far from thinking that the sole purpose of things is to pave the way for the superman, he felt that the strongest individuality would be nothing were it not for the people for whom it exists.

The contemporaries of the Cid pointed to his readiness for conciliation and his public spirit as essential features of the heroic character. Nowadays, and especially since the black year of 1898, how many are there who, feeling themselves cut adrift from the body politic, instead of being irresistibly drawn back to it, do their utmost to bring it into disrepute, as if they took a delight in rending their own flesh. This unedifying attitude has become the fashion amongst our intellectuals and, having spread to the people at large, has led to the proud despotism of the governors and the placid resignation of the governed, as if neither had at heart the interests and welfare of their country.

The Moral

The link of idealism that bound the hero to his country and which the Pyrrhonism and Cidophobia of the last century sought to break, must remain intact. If we but keep the Cid before us as an example, the nation may yet be guided in the future, as it has been guided in the past, by the simple words in which the anonymous poet and patriarch of our literature expressed the mystic union of the hero with his Spain :

> Honour comes to all through him
> Who in a happy hour was born.

The historic life of the hero will stand for all time as an example exhorting us to order our own lives on principles of maximum effort, unwavering justice, and moderation ; it will always demand of us that daily,

humble, and anonymous heroism that is the only sure foundation of a nation's greatness and without which the most resplendent deeds are unavailing. It will always point out the surest paths along which personal ambition may be led to subserve the collective ideals of that group of the human race to which we belong and within which our brief life assumes the aspect of being eternal.

Mediaeval writers were wont to append a word to each tale pointing out its moral. I have endeavoured to do the same to my history of the Cid.

PART VII
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM MEDIEVAL TO MODERN SPAIN

I. THE MIDDLE AGES

The Roman and Islamic Worlds.

IN a brief survey of the following centuries on the lines of historical thought as traced above, we are led by Masdeu's statement that the Cid was semi-Islamized to dwell awhile upon the peculiar position that the Spain of olden times occupied in the western world.

It has been said that there was no such period in Spain as the Middle Ages[1] and, as the same has been said of the Scandinavian countries and of the Byzantine Empire, it shows how restricted the term has become and how indefinite is the period in general history it purports to mark. The fact is, the term, which in the seventeenth and following centuries was held to cover the history of all mankind between antiquity and modern times, now has a narrower meaning involving time more than space and is now considered to apply only to the history of three or four countries.

As a matter of fact, the " Middle Ages " in both its wider and its narrower application is an unsatisfactory term. When applied to the history of the world, it is meaningless. Even the *orbis terrarum* of the ancients did not represent an entity in itself, but comprised, in

[1] Victor Klemperer, *Gibt es eine spanische Renaissance,* in *Logos,* Tubingen, XVI, 1927, p. 133.

addition to the *orbis romanus*, other orbs independent of one another, though perhaps not quite so isolated as many modern historians would have us believe. On the other hand, to limit the use of the term to three countries is to deprive it of all value so far as history in general is concerned ; for a division into periods, to have any hope of being universally accepted, must apply to at least one of the several worlds that have a culture of their own, though linked to other neighbouring orbs.

But, accepting the term " Middle Ages " as denoting a purely western phase intermediate between antiquity and the Renaissance, are we to believe that Spain lived outside the mediaeval world ?

During the period from the fourth to the seventh century, which we have called the Christian-barbarian era, Spain lived on as an important member of the Roman world and gave to that world an emperor like Theodosius, a poet like Prudentius, a historian like Orosius, whose works were widely read in the centuries that followed, and a writer like St. Isidore, teacher of all the mediaeval generations. Not until the eighth century, when the entire Roman orb underwent a change, did Spain take up her peculiar position in the West.

The rising tide of Islam then overflowed the whole of the southern part of ancient Rome, including the greater part of Spain ; and, absorbing Persia and part of India in the East, welded them into the most powerful civilization of the time. The two parts of Spain whose interplay may be said to characterize every epoch of her history, then fell further asunder than ever. The South, which had developed a higher civilization while the Mediterranean was the hub of the universe, was practically cut off from the Roman world, and it devolved upon the more backward North to uphold Romanity in the Peninsula, with the consequences for the national character that will be referred to later.

Southern Spain.

The fact that Southern Spain should have suffered invasion from both Asia and Africa might be regarded as decisive in separating her from the mediaeval West. But the invasions of the Syrians, Persians, Arabs and Berbers in the eighth century were purely military and not comparable either in magnitude or recurrence with those of other parts of Europe by whole peoples from Asia : Huns, Avars, Bulgars and Hungarians. Accordingly, the great majority of the Moslem population of the caliphate of Cordova was Spanish by race, and even the children of an oriental father might have a Galician, Catalan or Basque slave as a mother. This has served to explain the Cid's tolerance towards Islam and his uncompromising opposition, with all its momentous consequences, to the African policy of the Almoravides. Though the Africo-Asiatic elements became concentrated in the extreme south of the Peninsula as the Reconquest made headway, yet even the Moriscos of Granada before their expulsion, as the African Ibn Khaldun observed, differed widely from their racial brethren from beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, possessing " a litheness, a vivacity, and a quickness in learning to be sought for in vain amongst the Moroccans ".[1]

In fine, Spain acted as a shield to Western Europe against the military invasions from the south-east of the Mediterranean, in the same way that the Slavs and Byzantines defended Eastern Europe against the national invasions of Asiatic races. But, whereas in Eastern Europe the invaders remained, some to become Slavs and others to rule over the country they had conquered, in Spain comparatively few were absorbed in the population, the majority being finally expelled from the country.

[1] *Prolegomenes,* transl. Slane, I, p. 179.

Northern Spain.

When in 1002 Northern Spain eventually emancipated herself from Islam, she applied herself to the task of restoring her weakened links with the rest of Europe. The liturgy, clergy, monasteries, handwriting—all her institutions and customs were reformed in the time of the Cid and brought into line with the standards prevailing in Western Europe. This great change was helped forward by the influx of knights, clerics, burghers and settlers from beyond the Pyrenees, who filled the places of those inhabitants of Castile and Leon who had moved southwards. In Spain, as throughout mediaeval Western Europe, men lived under the guidance of the Church, with the difference that in Spain the Church's influence was more profound and undisturbed. Mediaeval Spain differed from France, just as France differed from Italy and Germany ; but with Spain the main difference lay in her proximity to Islam.

2. SPAIN, A LINK BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The Importance of Islam in the Middle Ages.

It is at last beginning to be recognized that, just as the great achievements of antiquity were due to the Greeks, so the cultural progress of the Middle Ages was due to the Moslems, particularly from the eighth century to the twelfth, when Arabic, and not Latin, was the medium of that progress.[1] That being so, any wider view of history must necessarily embrace the Middle Ages as essentially a Latin-Arabic epoch.

Christendom and Islam, being face to face with one another all along the Mediterranean, could not have been such strangers as is generally believed. The religious thought of Mahomet could no more have been

[1] G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science,* Baltimore, 1927, p. 16.

begotten without close contact with Asiatic Christianity than Abbaside civilization without the influence of Byzantine culture. And in the same way it is impossible to imagine the other end of Europe as having been completely cut off from Islam, if only for the reason that the western world owed its position as a separate entity largely to the new conditions brought about in the Mediterranean by Arab expansion.[1] It must also be borne in mind that if, in point of culture, Eastern Christendom gave Islam far more than it received, in the West it was just the reverse. If Europe is not to be considered as sunk in supine indifference, she must on the face of things be given credit for having shown interest in the achievements of the Arabs ; and, indeed, contact and permeation were responsible for many historical phenomena that were not recorded at the time. The far-reaching influence of Islam on European philosophy and romance has long been known. It has now been proved, as the result of further study, mainly by Spanish Arabists, in the fields of philosophy, poetry, music and architecture, that it even extended directly to St. Thomas and Dante. In the face of this, it is surely surprising to find so many writers on mediaeval Europe ignoring the importance of the contact between the two civilizations.

Toledo and Sicily,

This interplay was naturally strongest where the two worlds overlapped, and the outstanding example was that of the conquered Moslem who won over the conqueror, in the same way, more or less, that Greece captivated Rome, and Persia captivated Arabia. The Cid would have been a barbarian had he not responded to Moslem influence at Valencia by becoming steeped in Arabic

[1] *Vide* H. Pirenne, *Les villes du Moyen Age,* Brussels, 1927. In his article, *Mahomet et Charlemagne,* quoted in that work, he goes so far as to say: " Charlemagne sans Mahomet serait inconcevable ".

literature. Similarly, the two principal reconquests of the eleventh century—Sicily, recovered by the Norman princes, and Toledo, by the Castilian King—became active centres for the diffusion of Moslem culture. This was particularly evident towards the middle of the twelfth century. Roger II resembled an Oriental emir both in the privacy of his palace at Palermo, which he transformed into a harem, and in public when he appeared under his state canopy after the manner of the Fatimite caliphs or presided over a meeting of his academy, at which Christians vied in learning with Moslems, such as the Andalusians, Abu Salt of Denia and Al-Idrisi, great-grandson of a king of Malaga. It was at this time, too, that Archbishop Raymond of Toledo began the translation of a large number of Arabic works, assisted by an Englishman, a Dalmatian, an Italian, and other foreigners who had come to drink at the well of Moslem learning ; and such was the stimulating effect of their labours that, according to Renan, the introduction of these translations from the Arabic marked a new epoch in the history of mediaeval learning and philosophy.

As time went on, the influence of the Toledan school continued to predominate. Michael Scotus, availing himself of translations made at Toledo, in the words of Roger Bacon " magnified the Aristotelian philosophy " in the schools of the West and found a warm welcome at the Sicilian Court of the Emperor Frederick I I , which also was largely Islamized. Similarly, it was on the strength of his translations of Alfarabius, Aristotle and Averrhoes, executed at the chapel of La Santa Trinidad at Toledo, that Hermann the German gained the patronage of Manfred, King of the two Sicilies and " Sultan of Nocera ", who in the Saracen colony there, close to Naples, rigidly adhered to the exotic customs of his father, the Emperor Frederick.

Toledo was thus the meridian of Western culture, just

as it became the geographical meridian when Alphonso X, the Wise, had his famous astronomical tables calculated from the longitude of that city. The death of this learned monarch, who had gathered Christian, Moslem, and Hebrew scholars around him and himself took an active part in their work, marks the end of this glorious and fruitful period, at the very time when Roger Bacon was proclaiming the need of studying Arabic lore as being incomparably superior to the Latin : " Latini nihil quod valet habent nisi ab aliis Unguis."[1]

Western culture, fundamentally scholastic, cannot be understood if the thirst for Moslem learning, which was an essential factor in the progress of scholasticism, is not borne in mind. That encyclopaedic work of Alphonso the Wise, the *Grande e General Estoria,* is one of the grandest works of its time, in respect, not only of the scale on which it was planned, but of the freedom with which it draws upon Arabic and Hebrew, as well as Latin, authors ; it is, indeed, more fully representative of the best mediaeval learning than the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais.

Toledo and Sicily, then, were both active in transforming Western thought, but with the difference that the courts of Roger, Frederick and Manfred were Islamized to an extent that scandalized Christendom, whereas Toledo was more of an intellectual centre. The Cid also read Arabic books, but he despised the enervating delights of the Moorish courts. The hold that the mediaeval Church had over him made him more truly an occidental of his day than the Norman King or the Hohenstaufen emperor.

Religious Feeling and Intolerance.

Here we meet with a feature which runs like a streak through Spanish history, to wit, the religious feeling

[1] ***Vide*** **M. Asin,** ***Abenmasarra,*** **pp. 121-9.**

and ascetic spirit that have rendered Spain great or little, according as they were devoted to the glory of God or to the ends of the Church, as they aimed at a virtuous moderation or a mere lowering of the vital instincts. Not, of course, that asceticism was practised to the extent of excluding all the joy of living that was to be the basis of the eudemonism of the Renaissance. Although we know nothing in this respect about the Cid, Alphonso X at once sang the praises of the Virgin Mary and composed sensual verses to La Balteira ; and, in the fourteenth century, Castile produced the Rabelaisian Arcipreste de Hita, whose work is one long panegyric upon passionate love, though presented under the cloak of the Catholic Faith, just as Boccaccio labelled his libertine stories " cose cattoliche ".

It has been said that the religious feeling of mediaeval Spain was exacerbated by the struggle against Islam. But, far from finding in religion a spirit scorched by the hot winds of the African desert, we see that it is precisely in the Middle Ages that it shed most of its racial intolerance. After the Cid, upon whom the vanquished Moors showered blessings, and Alphonso, " Emperor of the Two Religions ", there came kings, like St. Ferdinand, who claimed to be " Kings of the Three Religions ", even though, as the change in the title shows, the Saracens had lost their former numerical preponderance and become the equal of the Jews. War was waged upon the Moors for the harm they did and not from any religious motives ; for, in the words of Don Juan Manuel, " Jesus Christ never ordered anyone who refused to follow Him to be killed or persecuted, for He would have no unwilling disciple."[1]

The sturdy spirit of intolerance, deep-rooted in the Spanish people, was used as a political expedient by Ferdinand and Isabella, when Islam had lost all in-

[1] *Libro de los Est ados,* I, 30, p. 2940.

fluence ; though useful then in bringing about that national cohesion that led to success abroad, it is now a motive of internal strife hampering the progress of the nation.

3. THE RECONQUEST

New Policies in the Eleventh Century.

The Kingdom of Asturias and Leon aimed at restoring the Visigothic Kingdom of Spain, as Navarre sought to re-establish the boundaries of the old province of Tarragona. But in the eleventh century this traditional policy became impracticable owing, in the first place, to the dismemberment of Leon by Sancho el Mayor and Ferdinand I and, in the second, to the Cid's forestalling Navarre at Saragossa and Leon at Valencia. New kingdoms arose, and the old idea of Imperial Leon to achieve the Reconquest single-handed gave way to a less rigid scheme of Peninsular union, depending for its success on the participation of these kingdoms in the common task. Their joint action took two forms, namely, the sharing out of the Moorish lands as spheres of reconquests, and co-operation among the different kingdoms.

Ferdinand I had already assigned to each of his sons a Moorish kingdom as a sphere of influence. Later, the Cid carved out a sphere for himself and, to maintain his conquest, made war on the Count of Barcelona and the King of Aragon and brought them to terms. Similarly, in the twelfth century, the kings of Portugal, Leon, Castile and Aragon delimited their respective zones of reconquest by solemn treaty.

The kingdoms also frequently co-operated in the task of reconquest. The Cid, for example, obtained the help of the King of Aragon, and Jaime I, that other champion of the Hispanic ideal, urged his reluctant subjects, " for the sake of Spain ", to aid Castile against the Moors of Granada and Murcia. Nor was a common danger

of invasion the sole motive for this co-operation; for the Navarrese King, in spite of his rivalry with Castile, joined forces with her at Las Navas, though Navarre was 250 miles from the Saracen border.

Nevertheless, the common danger of the Almoravide invasion, when the Spanish Moslems threw in their lot with the Africans, undoubtedly precipitated the change of feeling that had become general by the end of the eleventh century. The Cid was foremost in recognizing the need for a barrier zone against the invaders ; and he it was who formed the closest defensive alliances ; who was most decisive in determining the character of the new war and in excluding the Berbers as enemies of the race ; and who, finally, most loftily reasserted the ideal of Spanish unity claiming to be sole champion of the cause King Roderick had lost.

Now that Leon could no longer aspire to restore the ancient Visigothic kingdom, the new kingdoms looked upon the Reconquest as a kind of crusade, distinguishing Spain from her sister nations. According to the *Historia Silense*, written shortly after the death of the Cid, the Saracen invasion was a divine punishment for the iniquity of the last generation of the Goths ; yet God chastens but to save and it is He who helps the Spaniards to deliver the Holy Church from the power of Islam ; they have no other helper ; " not even Charlemagne helped them, for all he achieved in Spain was the defeat inflicted on him by the men of Navarre in the Pyrenees, a defeat which remains unavenged to this day ". Here we have an expression of an exaggerated national spirit, and this slighting reference to the aid Spain received from Western Europe calls for further examination.

Western Crusades.

Charlemagne and Louis the Pious cherished the avowed aim of " freeing the Spanish Church from the

Saracen yoke " by incorporating Spain under the celestial guidance of St. Martin within the Empire. To this end, between 778 and 827, they sent more than a dozen expeditions across the Pyrenees and reconquered the Spanish March. But, when the Carolingian power declined and the Cordovan caliphate grew to splendour, the Spanish border was neglected. In the eleventh century, however, the campaigns were resumed on the initiative, no longer of the Empire, but of the Papacy, which was striving for political supremacy, and also in response to the call of a Spain that was preaching a holy war of Christendom as a counter-stroke to the holy war of Islam. These western crusades before those of the East petered out at Barbastro (1064) and Tudela (1087), and their political aim aroused a national protest in which the Cid was doubtless concerned. Nevertheless, they went on until the beginning of the thirteenth century, though still without any striking or permanent results.

The French *jongleurs* exaggerated the expeditions of the eighth and ninth centuries when they asserted that Charlemagne had liberated nearly the whole of Spain from the Saracens. In the same way, a learned Frenchman exaggerated the second crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries by representing that the Reconquest was almost as much the work of France as of Spain.[1] According to him, these second crusades in Spain were as important as those to the East and have only fallen into oblivion because they were not so skilfully recorded as the crusades to the Holy Land. But, seeing that these Peninsular crusades were fought at the very gates of France, it would seem as if they had been forgotten, not fortuitously at all, but because of their relative unimportance. We know now how abortive the three expeditions in the lifetime of the Cid were alone.

[1] **Boissonnade,** ***Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland,*** **1923, p. 487.**

The Carolingian expeditions found an echo in the royal chronicles and heroic song owing to the service they rendered to the Empire and, to a lesser extent, Christendom ; the Eastern crusades occupied the attention of the ablest historians and were celebrated in both epic and lyric poetry, inasmuch as the recovery of the cradle of Christianity was a subject that gripped the whole of Europe ; as for the French expeditions to the Peninsula in the time of the Capets, it is unlikely that either historians or poets gave them a second thought. Modern French critics incline to the opinion that all the poems on the Carolingian theme were inspired, not so much by the more momentous campaigns of the days of Charlemagne, as by the insignificant expeditions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; but, if that is really the case, it is hard to understand why there are no *chansons de geste* about these later expeditions.

The reason of their insignificance is not far to seek. The Papacy, with Spanish interests antagonistic, was not strong enough to form a Patrimony of St. Peter, as Charlemagne had formed the March ; moreover, as the whole country had already been staked out by Spaniards, foreign lords could hope for no territorial gains, and booty alone could not compensate for hardships in the war of Reconquest, that were greater than those the foreigners were accustomed to. That they found campaigning in Spain extremely difficult is known to us through records of the early twelfth century, when the *Historia Silense* repeatedly compares the hardy warriors of " bellatrix Hispania " with the sybaritic French knights, who preferred to compound with the infidels rather than fight against them.

In vain did the Gascon Marcabru, along with other poets living near the Spanish frontier, censure the effeminacy and indolence of the French barons—" mol jazer e suau dormir " ; in vain did he point to Spain

as to a water wherein to cleanse their souls of sin and a land where God could be served better than in far Damascus. From start to finish the crusades in Spain were feeble movements and so subordinate to Spanish action as to lack any individuality whatever.

The Spaniards, left to their own resources, were well aware that the Reconquest was a duty towards Western Christendom and therefore considered themselves, as Don Juan Manuel puts it, as " martyrs of war ".* Another Provencal poet, Gavaudan, acclaims this European mission on the occasion of the Almohade invasion of Spain : " Through our sins the Saracen power waxeth stronger ; Saladin has captured Jerusalem, and the King of Morocco threatens to reach Provence. German, French, English and Breton crusaders, let us hie to Spain, before our turn comes ! We raised a barrier of Portuguese, Galicians, Castilians, Navarrese and Aragonese, but it has been broken down by the Moorish dogs."

There then came to Spain the greatest expedition of all, a force reckoned by the Archbishop of Toledo at 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot, only to confirm how thankless a task crusading in the Peninsula was. Despite the solicitude of the King of Castile for their welfare, no sooner had hostilities begun than they tore the cross from off their clothing and ignominiously returned to their homes, leaving the Spaniards to fight the decisive battle of Las Navas alone (" soli hispani ").

But the exaggeration by a learned Frenchman of the part played by these crusaders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries need not blind us to the fact that on certain occasions their help was more than acceptable ; and the chronicler's statement that the expulsion of the infidel was an exclusively Spanish undertaking for the benefit of all Christendom, is only interesting as show-

[1] *Libro de los Estados,* I, 30 and 76.

ing how the old conception of the Reconquest as the historic mission of Spain grew stronger from the twelfth century onwards.

The Eight Centuries.

In Chapter II we have alluded to the tendency to belittle the Reconquest; and, indeed, some Spanish writers regard the length of the struggle with Islam as a proof of lack of energy rather than of dogged perseverance. But, of these so-called " eight centuries ", two and a half should be discounted, that is to say, from 1250 to 1492. Then Granada meant nothing in Spain beyond a menace to the Christians on its borders and only survived because of the indifference of Castile. Therefore, the real struggle between Spain and the Moslem invaders lasted five centuries, of which only two, from 1045 to 1250, were actually devoted to the Reconquest. This was not an excessive time to rout the Moslems, considering that Spain stood alone against the might of Islam, then in the full flush of its power and at the apogee of a civilization superior to any other in the world.

Besides, the Reconquest should be considered, not from the Peninsular point of view alone, but in relation to the world struggle between Christendom and Islam. It should also be borne in mind that the reaction of the great Byzantine Empire to the first Arab onslaught at the other end of the Mediterranean was much feebler, in spite of the power of that empire and the temporary support Europe gave to the crusades. The Seljuk and Ottoman invasions, though no more serious than those of the Almoravides, Almohades and Beni Merin, which were finally overcome in 1340, were renewed throughout the fourteenth century. This difference is no doubt due to the Turks having greater vital energy than the Berbers, and the Byzantines less than the Spaniards ; but, when

all allowances have been made, the fact remains that the Eastern front gave way, whereas in the West Castile drove Islam out of its last stronghold of Granada. After eight centuries, the contest between the two great world forces was decided at the gates of Europe, the Bosphorus and Gibraltar, with most disproportionate results for the great empire of the East and the little kingdom of the West. And, to crown all, Spain had eventually to go to the aid of the threatened eastern front at Lepanto and Vienna.

The Reconquest is the most valuable contribution made by any one nation to the cause of Christendom in its struggle against Islam, a struggle that in both its material and its spiritual aspects filled and characterized a great part of what are called the Middle Ages.

4. THE SPANISH KINGDOMS

Decline of the Leonese Empire.

In Chapter II we observed on a surprising recurrence of the political conditions of ancient Spain. Just as the Visigothic kingdom had been shaken by the opposition of the Basques and Cantabrians, so the neo-Gothic kingdom, or empire of Leon, suffered at the hands of Navarre and Castile.

The story of the opposition of Navarre and Castile is that of the collapse of the unitarian or imperial policy of Leon. Castile, led by Fernan Gonzalez and Sancho Garcia, harassed Leon ; Sancho el Mayor, master of both Navarre and Castile, proclaimed himself anti-emperor ; the Basque dynasty in Castile, in the persons of Ferdinand I and Sancho II, who was assisted by the Cid, scored a signal triumph over the Leonese tradition. Castile, far from " making " Spain, as has been said, had, down to that time, been doing her best to unmake her, or at any rate the Spain of Leon's aspirations.

When, after the regicide at Zamora, the Cid ceased to be the standard-bearer of Castile, the imperial idea again came to the fore, and Alphonso VI was better able to substantiate his claim to be " imperator totius Hispaniae ". Not only had he won over Castile to the Leonese policy, but the Count of Barcelona and the King of Aragon now looked upon him as their overlord, and all the Moorish kings paid tribute to him. But this supremacy was short-lived. One disaster after another at the hands of the Almoravides saw Alphonso's power rapidly dwindle ; and, with the proud boast that he would recover what the King of the Goths had lost, the Cid, a minor noble of Castile, dared to snatch from the Emperor of Leon the Gothic banner symbolic of the Empire. A generation later, when, in 1135, Alphonso V I I was crowned Emperor at Leon, the imperial idea was once more expressed in a yet more ambitious form, for he claimed supremacy over part of Southern France as well. But this was the last flash from the embers of imperialism.

Through the insignificance of the later Carolingian emperors, the conception of the unity of Western Christendom had been lost sight of, and this rendered it possible for the idea of a Leonese empire to arise early in the tenth century. That idea could flourish only as long as the Peninsula was more or less cut off from the West. But, when Spain re-entered Europe, it was found that the Leonese idea, so strongly combated at home by Castile and the Cid, was incompatible with the spirit of the time abroad. The revival of Roman ideas had strengthened the mediaeval conception of the Christian world as governed by an immutable and perfect system, in which, at the head of the political hierarchy stood the German Emperor, and at the head of the ecclesiastical, the Pope. Two emperors, like two popes, meant schism ; and, when Roman ideas struck fresh root in Spain, the Leonese empire was doomed.

When, on his death in 1157, the last emperor left Leon to his second son, he was actuated, not by favouritism, as Ferdinand I had been, but by a determination to subordinate the old imperial capital to Castile and aggrandize Castile at the expense of Leon. Castile, now undoubtedly the most powerful state in Spain, having undone the work of Leon, forthwith addressed herself to reconstructing the national unity upon a new and Castilian basis, which was to form the foundation of modern Spain.

" *The Five Kingdoms of Spain"*

The disintegrating tendency that in France led to the formation of the great feudal states reached its height in the Peninsula at the death of Alphonso VII in 1157. Thenceforward, the spirit of unity among the Peninsular states was to spring, not from any political dependence, however slight, but from common traditions, ideals, and interests. In the absence of all political organization, that unity was expressed by the collective term, " the five kingdoms of Spain ", which was used by the poets, chroniclers, and notaries of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The disintegration in question no doubt delayed the Reconquest and accentuated the separation between the regions of the country, but it allowed more play to initiative. No other country can show a group of states with so many historic achievements to their credit as these kingdoms could boast at the end of the fifteenth century : Castile, from the time of the Cid onwards, the protagonist of the Reconquest, leader of Peninsular culture, and ruler of islands both African and American ; Aragon, with her conquests in Greece, Sicily and Naples ; Portugal, with her daring explorations in Africa, Asia and America. These little kingdoms fill more pages in history than space on the map of Western Europe, and, as time went on and they became united,

their influence was to extend over and pervade the history of the whole world.

5. CASTILE AND SPAIN

The Nobility of Leon and Castile.

Although Castile, by dint of the hegemony she wielded, imprinted her characteristics upon the history of Spain, these are not all to be found equally marked in the various kingdoms. Some of these characteristics were mentioned in Chapter II ; and here we need only refer to one, viz. the large number of lesser nobles, contrary to the general belief that the Castilian nobility ranked higher than that of Leon.

Acts of hostility to the King are perhaps the only hint the chronicles give us of the strength of the baronage. Thus, the immediate submission of Castile to Alphonso on the death of Sancho II points to the absence of great lords accustomed, like the Galician counts, to rebellion and capable of upholding their Castilian claims against the new King. The only attempt at protest against the Leonese King, when the oath was imposed at Santa Gadea, was conducted by the Cid, who was a lesser noble. No family in Castile owned so much land as the Beni-Gomez, who was still strong enough in exile to support the Zamoran rebellion. Garcia Ordonez received his countship from the King, and his domain was not only smaller than that of the Beni-Gomez, but had to be created for him outside Castile. Thus, the Castilian nobility is represented in our history by the lesser lord of Vivar, and the Leonese nobility by the great lord of Carrion.

Again, when Alphonso V I I came of age in 1126, he had to subdue the Galician counts, who were allied to the great Count of Portugal, and wage a regular war against the Count of Asturias ; and in Leon, Pedro

Diaz carried on a bitter feud, in which captured knights were condemned to perform menial tasks or be yoked to the plough with an ox and eat out of a manger. In Castile, on the other hand, the principal family, represented by the brothers, Counts Pedro de Lara and Rodrigo Gonzalez, did not dare to engage in open warfare against the King, and in Castile it was only the lesser nobles, anonymously described by the historian as " viros bellatores Castellae ", who actually fought for or against the sovereign.

The Tenure of Land.

The great seigniories and pre-feudal institutions appeared in Spain at the end of the ninth century and developed in the course of the tenth. In this respect Spain was several centuries behind France, which is explained by the fact that in Spain the requirements of reconquest and repopulation produced a greater number of free men. This difference was more marked in some regions than in others. In Galicia, the land passed largely into the hands of the bishops, the monasteries, and the magnates, and the peasantry were left with the minimum of freedom ; Leon occupied an intermediate position ; whereas in Castile small landowners were the most numerous. Jimena's marriage settlement shows us the patrimony of a Castilian *infanzon*—which in the eleventh century was to become immune from servitude—as composed of very few townships entirely his own, most of them being shared with some other landlord or small owners. And the rural population of Castile retained its liberties by assuming the protection of a lord of its own free will.

Castile and Ar agon.

Farther East the number of free men decreased ; and in Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia we again find tenure

of land by servitude prevalent. As late as the fifteenth century, the Catalan " payeses " were subject to the vexatious " jus primae noctis ", and their wives obliged to wet-nurse their master's child without payment and at the risk of leaving their own child to die. Evidently the power of the nobles was greater in the eastern kingdoms than in the centre.

So far, we have compared Castile mainly with Leon and shown that it was the more democratic of the two ; but, after they had become united in one State in the later Middle Ages, another standard of comparison has to be sought, and this may be found in a saying of Ferdinand of Aragon.

Referring to the difference in his subjects, this first King of a united Spain said, " To organize Castile and disorganize Aragon would be to ruin them both." The reference to Aragon meant that there society was better organized into classes ; the nobles, for example, were more powerful than in Castile and even than in the old Kingdom of Leon, and were imbued with a stronger feeling of caste. The lack of any sharply defined social order in Castile meant that it was the masses, rather than any organized bodies, which operated. The prevalence of lesser nobles, small landowners, and free men —the blend of yeoman, knight, and noble—led to a blurring of class distinctions. Thus, in Aragon the Cortes were dominated by the nobles, who stood united in defence of their own interests ; whereas in Castile, slack as their administration was, the municipalities had sufficient strength to efface the nobility. But, although King Ferdinand, like a good Aragonese, applied to Aragon the positive, and to Castile the negative, expression, he yet valued the Castilian lack of organization and was careful not to destroy what he knew to be the foundation of her brilliant leadership of Spain.

The very absence of any highly organized social system

in Castile conduced to action on the part of the masses. The crowd is ever ready to act on the initiative of its leaders, and when the leaders are uninfluenced by class interests they are free to direct the aims and aspirations of the people towards loftier ends. Accustomed to collective effort, Castile showed a readier understanding than the other kingdoms of the interests of the nation as a whole and was in a position to lead Spain, both when re-establishing the idea of Spanish national unity in the later Middle Ages, and when laying the foundations of the Spanish world-empire. Guided by her jurists and theologians, she set the standard of effort in the vast enterprises of the nation, not with the object of requiring sacrifices from the other regions, but because she was ready to bear the burden herself when Aragon refused to contribute her due share or proved rebellious.

" *Old Castile " and the New Castiles.*

It may appear arbitrary to attribute to Castile throughout the succeeding centuries qualities that she was found to possess in the time of the Cid, seeing that Old Castile yielded pride of place to New Castile after the conquest of Toledo by Alphonso VI, and to the Newest Castile after St. Ferdinand had taken Seville. Still, the collective note struck by Castile had its echoes, however faint in parts, all over the Peninsula. Castile, in showing social and political equality earlier than Leon, did but anticipate, at a time of baronial predominance, a condition that was to become general in the whole of Spain ; for Leon soon followed suit and became so merged in Castile as to be hardly distinguishable from her. Nor did Aragon, for all her social differences, stand apart for long. This process of assimilation is best illustrated by the effects it had on the language; Castilian, as a rule, merely represents an earlier develop-

ment of forms contained in embryo in the languages of Leon and Aragon and brought to maturity under the stimulus of the other dialect. In short, Castile's sole claim to distinction—admittedly a strong one—lay in the fact that it was far more progressive than the other kingdoms.

Apart from these general, fundamental characteristics, there were, of course, innumerable differences. When the southern regions again began to take an active part in the affairs of Christian Spain, the preponderance alternately of North and South, though these no longer represent antagonistic worlds, is none the less perceptible and should be borne in mind when an explanation is sought of the distinctive features of the different epochs of our history. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the stream flowed in one direction only, and it was then that Northerners like the Cid invaded and transformed Andalusia. Later, New Castile was invaded by people from the North and the South, who reformed both the country and themselves. Southern influence has frequently predominated ; Northern, very rarely. As a whole, the North only intervened in the eighteenth century when it brought about the reaction that followed the decadence of the seventeenth. It may be that the North will again intervene to lead the way towards the New Spain of the twentieth century.

6. ADVENTURE AND CULTURE

First-fruits.

The Cid, achieving as he did the seemingly impossible, stands as the triumph of will-power ; and in this respect also he is pre-eminently typical of his countrymen, one of the outstanding characteristics of whom is eagerness to act instead of hesitating. It is to this attribute, in-

deed, we owe all our achievements in discovery as well as in literature and industry.

The circumstances of history, which are as much external accidents as the results of impulse from within, helped to stimulate the race to deeds that called for the exercise of will-power. The constant strife and transmigration, which were inevitable concomitants to the Reconquest, inured the Spaniards to the hardships of world-wide adventure. Their successes in history make an extraordinary story: the obdurate defence of the West against Islam ; the expansion through Greece, Sicily and Naples, where for many centuries Italian culture and Spanish energy went hand in hand ; the geographical discoveries that began in the fourteenth century and ushered in the modern age ; the colonization of the two hemispheres ; the gigantic crusade of the Counter-Reformation ; and, finally, the War of Independence.

We have seen the Cid anticipate Geoffrey of Bouillon in founding a Christian principality as an outpost among the paynim. We may take it that it was precisely in the same way that Spain forestalled the other nations in those great undertakings and reaped the first-fruits from them.

Later Fruits.

So much for adventure. It was a different matter in the spheres of culture, where the quieter activity of the intellect came into play and the fruits, as a rule, came late, when their season in other western countries had already passed.

This is due to the same innate propensity mentioned above, linked with the chain of historical circumstance. Southern Spain, whose civilization had been higher throughout antiquity, lost practically all its Romanism after the Arab invasion ; and it fell to the Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques—the very last, and least, to

become Romanized among the Peninsular peoples—to direct Roman culture in the North and replant it in the South.[1] The balance fell in favour of action as against culture ; and when in the eleventh century, after 300 years of isolation, the ruder North emancipated itself from all Moslem influence and Spain re-entered the concert of western nations, she is found to be more backward than her Christian neighbours, a condition to which her traditionalism contributed. We find, for example, Sancho el Mayor and Ferdinand I dividing up their kingdoms in the eleventh century as if they were patrimonies, a practice that had been abandoned in France by the ninth century. We have also seen how Spain lagged behind France in the organization of her baronial institutions.

Although the lateness of such manifestations is at times immaterial, more often it is detrimental and occasionally —and there are very significant instances of this in Spanish history—it is beneficial. One such tardy manifestation of positive value is the appearance of the Cid as an epic hero. He is the last hero who fully deserves the title ; the last to fill the pages of national poetry. None of the neighbouring countries could show in the eleventh century an epic poetry woven around a hero of the time, whereas Spain was then still living in the last heroic age of the western world and, therefore, could produce at a relatively advanced stage of civilization the gest of the Cid, which is so modern and revolutionary as an epic and has such exceptional value in history and poetry.

Many other instances might be quoted where the use of archaic forms, living on in an atmosphere of traditionalism, produced similar excellent and novel results. Almost all the intellectual activity of Spain in her golden

[1] Some of the consequences of this state of affairs are shown by me in *Bulletin Hispanique,* XX, 1918, pp. 207 *et seq.*

age was devoted to the development of ideas that in the northern European countries had attained their zenith in the Middle Ages and assumed a fresh and unexpected value when reshaped by Spain in a more modern atmosphere. From the conception of a universal empire allied to the Church, from the Society of Jesus, the new mysticism of Santa Teresa and St. John of the Cross, and the new scholasticism of Vitoria and Suarez that was the forerunner of modern international law, down to the chivalric novel, the ballad, the drama,—all were instances of a reflorescence that was the more luxuriant in that it came at a later time.

All this output of our golden age, as has already been said, is not independent of the Renaissance, but it is a renaissance of a peculiar kind, profoundly mediaeval for all its modernity. Profoundly mediaeval ; for, though tradition had struck deeper root in Spain than elsewhere, much of the mediaeval outlook persisted throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, contrary to the cut and dried notion that the Renaissance brought about a complete revolution in men's outlook on life. And yet highly modern ; for, if Spain cultivated mediaeval survivals, it was to fertilize them with the thought of modern times.

Needless to say, the Renaissance, like the Middle Ages, was not the same in Spain as in Italy or France. Restrained by traditionalism, it entered less fully into the new currents of thought and was not borne so far by them. But in other respects it produced fruits of universal value, which were admired and imitated by the other nations. Symbolical of all those fruits is that first novel from which the modern novel sprang, the masterpiece of fiction that has carried its gospel to all the nations in their own tongues and which, at bottom, is but a tale of mediaeval adventures, that were yet modern enough to exert a profound influence

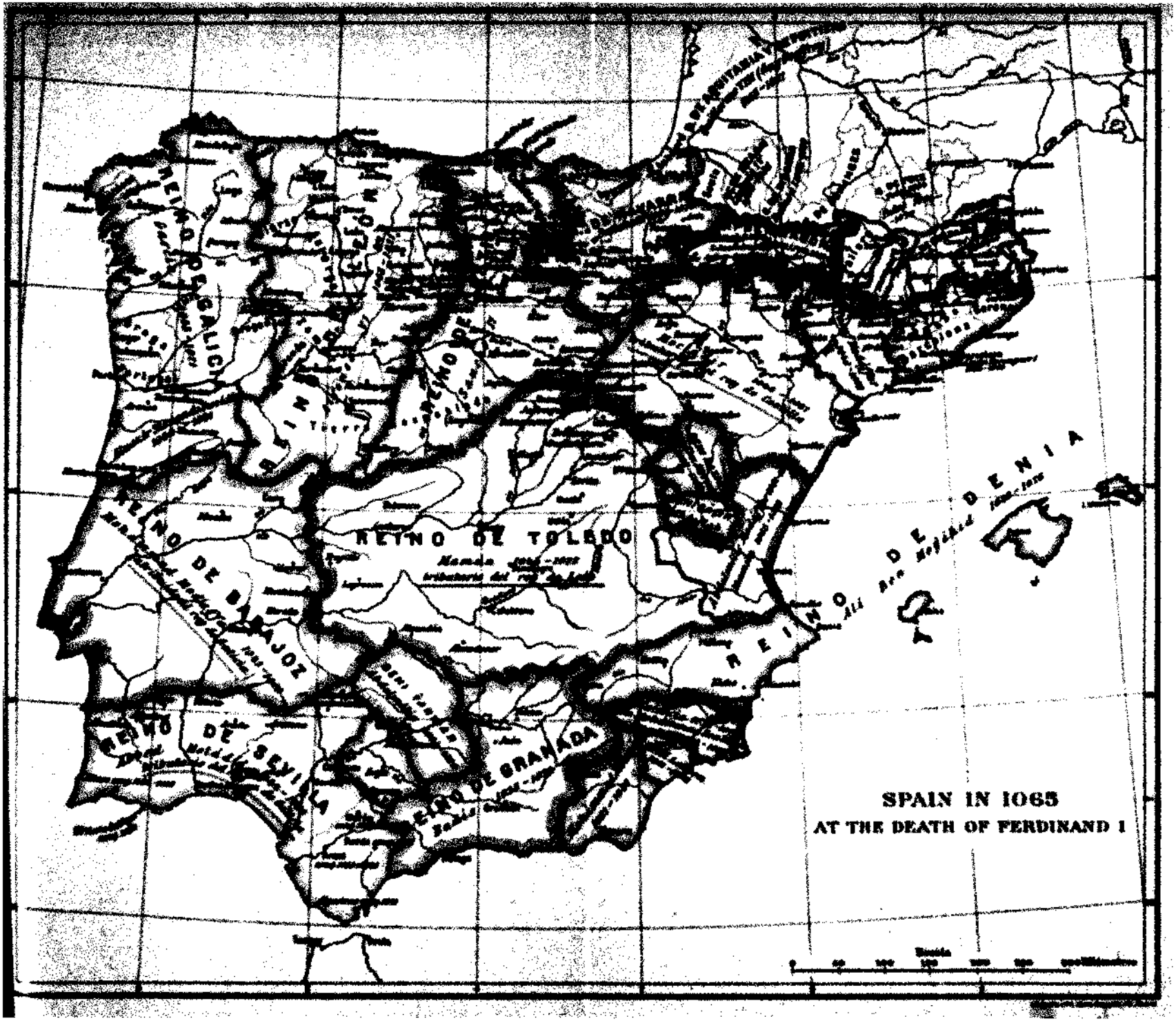
upon the new conception of life that came in with the Renaissance.

It was the traditionalism of Spain that made it possible for the Knight of La Mancha to win his victories in the Europe of the seventeenth century; it was the same traditionalism that gave strength to the Knight of Vivar to bring glory to Spain in the eleventh.

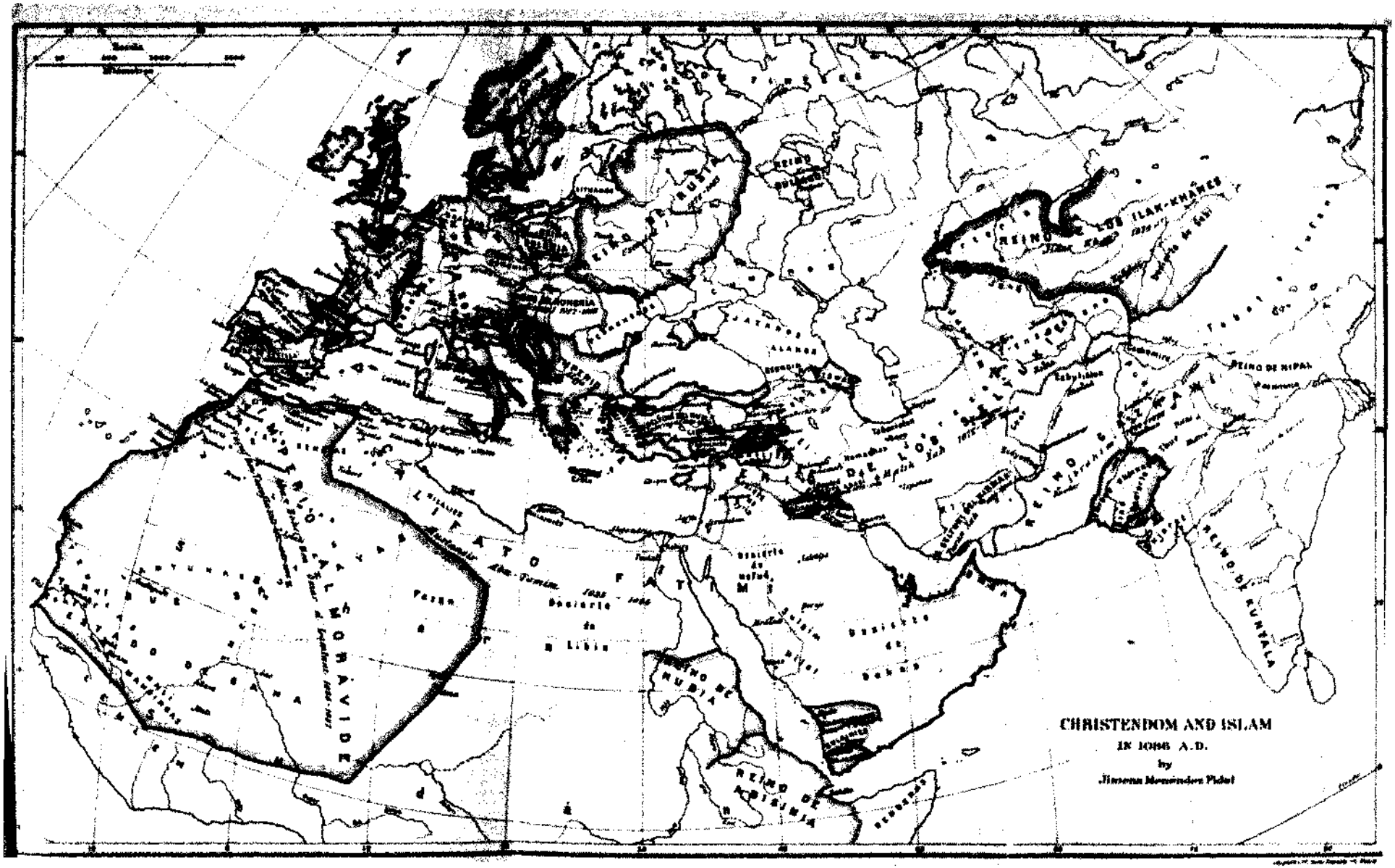
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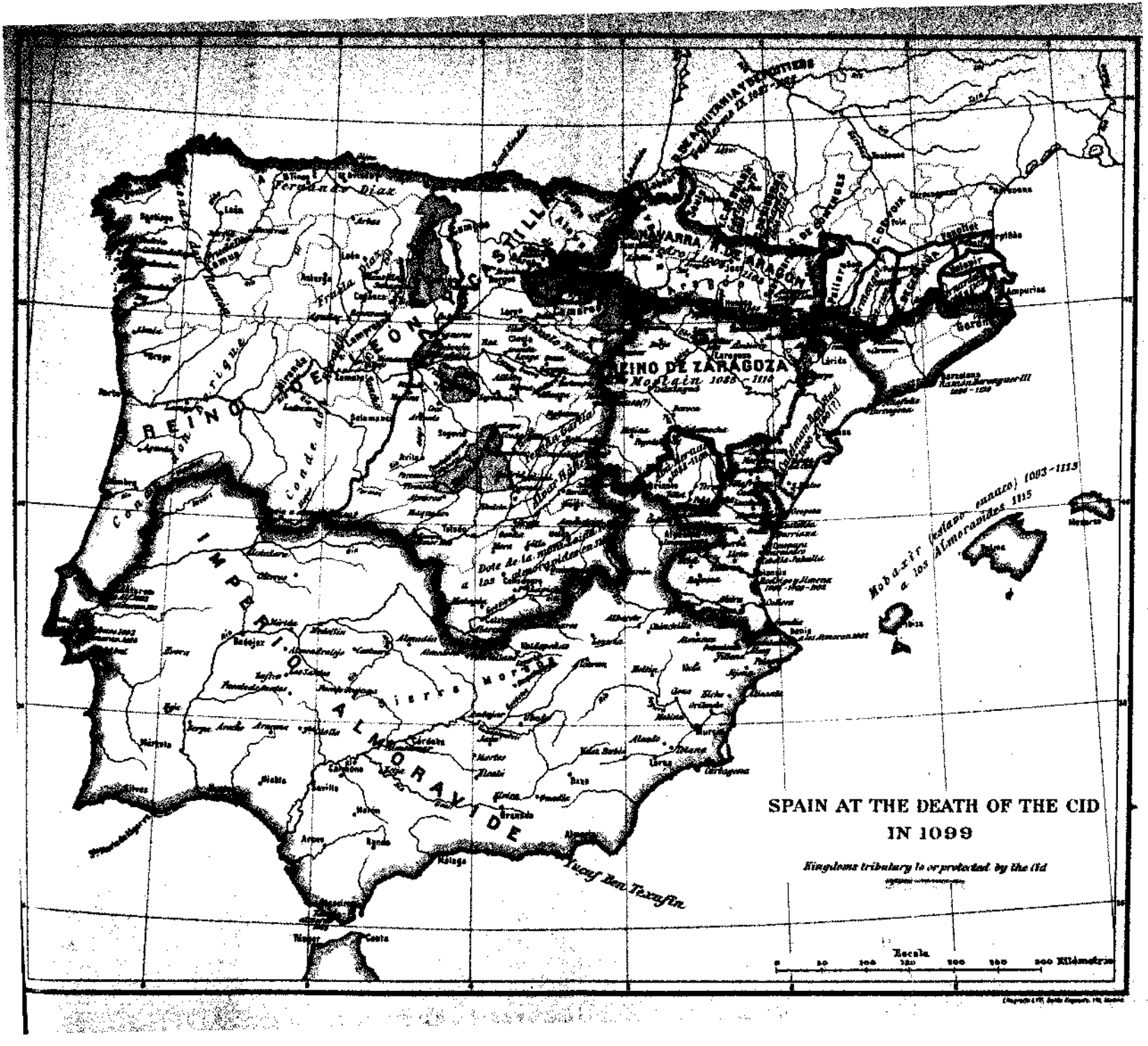

REINO DE LEON
REINO DE TOLEDO
REINO DE DENIA
REINO DE SEVILLA
REINO DE BADAJOZ
REINO DE GRANADA
SPAIN IN 1050
IN THE CID'S CHILDHOOD
TAIFA KINGDOMS

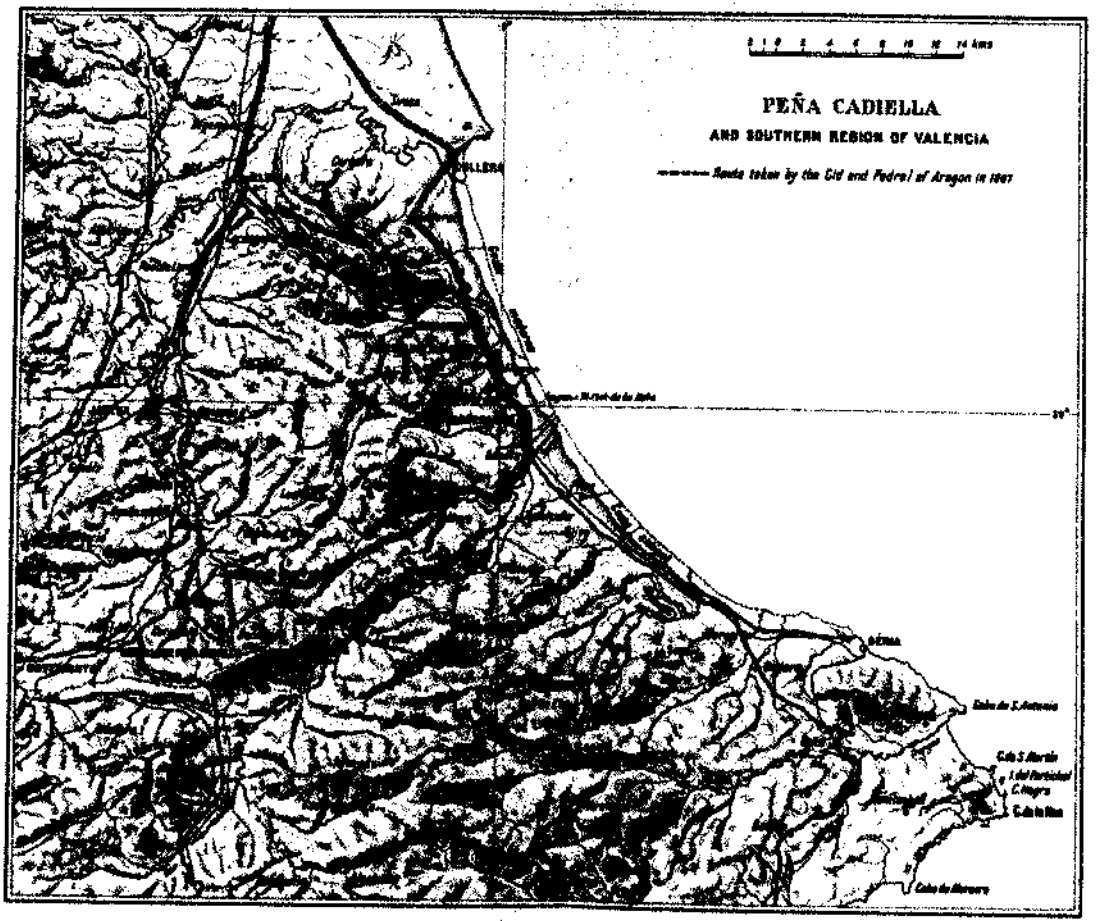

REINO DE TOLEDO
REINO DE BADAJOZ
REINO DE SEVILLA
REINO DE GRANADA
REINO DE VALENCIA
REINO DE DENIA
SPAIN IN 1065
AT THE DEATH OF FERDINAND I


REINO DE LEON Y CASTILLA
REINO DE ZARAGOZA
REINO DE BADAJOZ
SEVILLA
Almería
SPAIN IN 1086
AFTER THE FALL OF TOLEDO
THE LEONESE EMPIRE
before the battle of Sagrajas


CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM
IN 1086 A.D.
by
Jimena Menendez Pidal


SPAIN IN 1091
Kingdoms tributary to or protected by the Cid
REINO DE BADAJOZ
Omar Motawakkil
REINO DE ZARAGOZA
Mostain Ben Hud
REINO DE LEON
Alfonso VI
CASTILLA
Berenguer II
Abdállah Almortada 1076 - 1093
Conde Martin Muñoz 1091 - 1093
Tierra repoblada por Alfonso VI
Santiago
Lugo
Astorga
Zaragoza
Barcelona
Tarragona
Valencia
Denia
Toledo
Córdoba
Sevilla
Granada
Málaga
Almería
Murcia
Cartagena
Mértola
Tánger
Ceuta
Ampurias
Narbonne
Palma
Ibiza
Menorca
Escala
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 Kilómetros


SPAIN AT THE DEATH OF THE CID
IN 1099
Kingdoms tributary to or protected by the Cid
REINO DE ZARAGOZA
Moktain 1038 - 1110
Mohammed (estado unanse) 1093 - 1115
a los Almoravides 1115
Yusuf Ben Texufin
Escala
Kilómetros


0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 kms
PEÑA CADIELLA
AND SOUTHERN REGION OF VALENCIA
Route taken by the Cid and Pedro I of Aragon in 1087
Cabo de S. Antonio
Cabo de Nao

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