the virtuous, the theologians, Imáms, Muezzins, and others, were involved in the same common ruin. 6

Suleymán advanced upon Cordova, of which he took possession, without resistance, about the end of the fourth century [of the Hijra]. Al-muhdi fled to Toledo, whence he implored and obtained the assistance of the son of Alfonso for the second time. 7 That prince gave him the help he desired, and accompanied him to Cordova. After defeating his enemy at ‘Akbatu-I-bakar, near Cordova, Al-muhdi regained possession of his capital, which he entered without opposition. After this, Suleymán and his Berbers left Cordova, and scattered themselves over the plains, plundering the inhabitants, and committing all manner of depredations, until they retired to Jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras). Thither they were followed by Al-muhdi with his Christian auxiliary, the son of Alfonso; but this time the Berbers were victorious: Al-muhdi and the Christians were completely defeated, and were obliged to fall back upon Cordova, whither they were immediately pursued by the victor.

On his arrival at Cordova, Al-muhdi took Hishám Al-muyyed-billah out of confinement, showed him to the people, and made them swear allegiance to him, laying down all the power he had usurped, and reserving nothing for himself except the office of Hájib [chamberlain]. This, however, was of no avail to him: Suleymán and his Berbers soon appeared before the walls of Cordova, and the citizens, fearing his vengeance, instigated the servants of the palace and the eunuchs of Hishám against Al-muhdi, whom they represented as the only cause of their troubles and dissensions. Upon this, one of the eunuchs of the palace, named Wádheh Al-ámid, having with the assistance of his friends surprised Al-muhdi, put him to death, and restored his master Hishám to his liberty, assuming for himself the charge of Hájib.

Thus perished Mohammed Al-muhdi at the end of the year 400 (August, A. D. 1010), and after a reign of about ten months. He is represented by the historians of the time, as a man of depraved morals, a tyrannical ruler, and a blood-shedder. Ibn Bessám says that he had a garden in which the heads of his enemies were fixed on stakes sunk in the ground. The following verses were composed by a poet of those times:

"Our Mahdí (director) has appeared, but [instead of peace and justice] he
brings us vice and folly.
He has made the wives of the Moslems common to every one; and what
was sacred before, is no longer so under his rule.
Indeed, those who were hornless yesterday, will to-day see their heads
ornamented with horns." 8
During the reign of this Sultán, and that of his rival Suleýmán, the city of Cordova was often exposed to the ravages of an undisciplined soldiery; and the palaces of Az-zahrá and Az-záhirah were completely destroyed. "It is a fact well worthy of remark," says the historian Ibnu-r-rakík, "that [in the course of twenty-four hours] from Tuesday the 15th of Jumáda-l-akhar (A. H. 399), at the hour of noon, to the following Wednesday, Cordova was taken, Az-zahrá destroyed, a Khalif [Al-muyyed Hishám] deposed, and another Khalif [Al-muhdi] appointed in his stead; the power of the Bení ’Amír was overthrown, and their Wízír, Mohammed Ibn ’Askaléjah, slain; armies of citizens were raised, the succession of the Wízírs was destroyed, and others occupied their places; but the most remarkable fact is, that all this was accomplished by ten men, who were either sellers of charcoal, or butchers, or dung-carriers, and who served in Al-muhdi’s army."

Al-muhdi was a man of very dissolute morals, of little or no talent [for the administration], but exceedingly cruel and revengeful. When Al-mansúr usurped the power of the Bení Umeyyah, and, as above related, slew or exiled all the members of that family who stood in his way to the throne, he spared this Al-muhdi, owing to his imbecility and the little consideration which he enjoyed among the people; and yet this very man, whom Al-mansúr had not thought worthy of his notice, was destined to overthrow his well-consolidated power, to destroy all that he had founded, and, in short, to become the heir of his riches and his power. No human wisdom or prudence can prevent the fulfilment of fate; no mortal creature can resist the immutable decrees of the Almighty, whose will must needs be obeyed.

Al-muhdi was a tolerable poet. One night, as he was drinking with some of his guests, a page of his presented to him a branch of myrtle; upon which Al-muhdi uttered extempore the following verses:

I am presented with a tender branch of sweet-smelling myrtle, whose soft undulations may be compared to thy lion-like gait; Which resembles thee in gracefulness of step, as thou resembllest it in fragrancy."

The siege of Cordova continued with unabated vigour, the inhabitants not being able to gain any advantage over the troops of Suleýmán, until at last, the fields, the farm-houses, and the lands round Cordova having been either wasted or set fire to by the besiegers, the scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the capital, and the besieged began to despair.

In the mean time Al-musta’in pressed the siege more closely than ever. In order the sooner to accomplish his purpose, he sent to the people of Alfonso, inviting
them to come to his assistance with their troops. Hishám, on the other hand, dispatched his Hájib, Wádheh, to the same quarter, to persuade the Christians not to grant this request, promising, if they would withdraw their forces from his enemy, to put them in possession of the fortresses which Al-mansúr had reduced on the frontiers of Kashtellah (Castilla). Upon these conditions Alfonso refused to send the auxiliary troops which Suleymán requested: that chief, however, persevered in his undertaking; and, after a protracted siege, during which the poor people of Cordova were exposed to all the horrors of a famine, he became at last master of the capital on Monday the 6th of Shawwál of the year 403 (April 20, A. D. 1013). A general massacre ensued; the Khalif Hishám was secretly put to death [by the command of the victor], the houses of the inhabitants were sacked and profaned, their women and daughters insulted, wealthy families reduced to poverty, magnificent buildings razed to the ground. There was, in short, no excess of which the infuriated Africans were not guilty on this occasion. Doctors, theologians, Imáms, Kádís, men distinguished by their virtues, or eminent for their piety and their learning, were involved in the general massacre. Among the victims of that disastrous day, the celebrated traditionist and learned divine, Abú-l-walíd (Abú Mohammed) ‘Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Ibn Nasr Al-azdí Al-kortobí, better known under the surname of Ibnu-l-faradhí, was one. This eminent man was versed in various sciences, such as traditions, biographical history, and chronology. He was well acquainted with literature, as appears from the numerous works which he wrote, such as “the lives of Andalusian divines and other men of science,” which we ourselves saw and read in Western Africa,—a work admirable for its arrangement and unique in its kind, the same to which an appendix was written by Ibn Bashkúwál, under the title of Kitábu-s-silah (the book of the joining). He also left a very fine work on that branch of the science [of genealogy] called Al-mokhtalef wa-l-mutalef, or, what is different and alike in the patronymics of men; an excellent history of the Andalusian poets, and several other productions of equal merit. Ibnu-l-faradhí was born on Tuesday, the 21st of Dhí-l-ka’dah, of the year 351 (December, A. D. 962). At the age of twenty-one, he quitted Andalus for the East, made his pilgrimage, and visited most of the large cities in Syria and Egypt, where he met the most eminent professors of the time, and studied under them. He then returned to his native country, where he obtained offices of trust, and was at last appointed Kádí of Valencia. Happening to be at Cordova on the day that Suleymán took that capital by storm, his house was attacked by a party of Berbers, who put him to death. They say that his body lay for three whole days in the court of his house, and was at last privately interred without any ceremony, and without having the funeral service said over it.
Having rid himself of all his enemies, Suleymán imagined that his empire was consolidated and his power strengthened. But he was mistaken; new competitors started up, and he had soon to contend against the very Berber chiefs who had contributed everywhere to his accession. The Berbers and the African slaves possessed themselves of large towns and populous districts; as Bádís Ibn Habís of Granada, Al-birzálí of Carmona, Al-yferaní of Ronda, and Harzún of Sherish (Xerez). Andalus was in course of time cut up into fragments and small principalities, the command of which devolved upon men of the lowest rank in the state, as Ibnu 'Abbád, who rose at Seville; Ibnu-l-afttas, at Badajoz; Ibnu Dhí-n-nún, at Toledo; Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at Valencia; Ibn Húd, at Saragossa; and Mujáhid Al-ámirí, at Denia and the [Balearic] islands. But we are rather anticipating the narrative of events.

Among the Berber chiefs who followed the party of Suleymán Al-musta’in-billah, there were two men of the posterity of 'Omar Ibn Idrís; their names were Al-kásim and 'Alí. They were the sons of Hamúd, son of Maymún, son of Ahmed, son of 'Alí, son of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Omar, son of Idrís, son of Idrís, son of Hasan, son of Huseyn, son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. (May God dispense his favours to them all!) Their ancestor was that same Idrís who, in order to escape the vengeance of Hárún Ar-rashíd, the 'Abbásside, had fled from the East and taken refuge among the Berbers of Africa; in which country he founded a powerful and extensive empire, making war against that Khalíf, as did also his son [Idrís], who inherited his empire and built the city of Fez.

'Alí and his brother Al-kásim arrived in Andalus, as before related, during the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr, who employed them in his armies. Having distinguished themselves in several encounters with the Christians, they were gradually promoted, until each obtained the command of a considerable body of troops of their nation. When the civil war, which the judicious historian Ibnu Khaldún has justly designated under the epithet of “Berberiyyah,” (that of the Berbers), broke out at Cordova, 'Alí and his brother Al-kásim played an active part in all the transactions of the time, helping with the troops under their command to overthrow the power of the Bení 'A'mir, and to place Suleymán, of the race of Umeyyah, on the throne. With a view to reward the services of his partisans, and the more to strengthen his power, Suleymán divided among the Africans the command of his armies and the government of the provinces of his empire. Thus he gave to 'Alí Ibn Hamúd the government of Tangiers, Ghomárrah, and other places in Africa, where that chieftain ruled as master, although he acknowledged himself the vassal of Suleymán.

In the course of time, however, finding that the governors of the provinces had
every where revolted against Suleymán, 'Alí also shook off his allegiance to that Sultán, and began to entertain projects of personal aggrandisement. It is related that the Khalif Al-muyyed Hishám was very much addicted to astrology and the science of divination. One day as he was employed in his favourite pursuits with one of his courtiers, he discovered that the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah would soon become extinct in Andalus, and would be replaced by another dynasty, of which a man of the posterity of 'Alí Ibn Abí Talib, and whose name began with the letter 'ayn ('A), was to be the founder. Accordingly, when in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1013) Suleymán took Cordova for the second time, and, as before related, confined Hishám to a dungeon, the latter having heard that there was among the Berbers an officer named 'Alí, who was said to be the descendant of 'Alí Ibn Abí Talib, he dispatched him a secret message thus conceived: "Thou shalt certainly become king of this land; for my heart tells me that I shall soon die by the hands of this man (meaning Suleymán): should such be my fate, I intrust my revenge to thee." To the above circumstance, it is said, was owing 'Alí's determination to rise in arms against Suleymán, and to dispute the empire with him; others attribute to him different motives. Be this as it may, after appointing his son Yahya to command in Africa during his absence, 'Alí crossed over to Andalus, where, being soon after joined by Khayrán, the Scavonian [governor of Almeria], he gave out that he was come to revenge the murder of his lawful sovereign Hishám. No sooner, however, was Suleymán informed of his landing, than he hastened against him at the head of his best troops; but after several sharp encounters with the troops [of 'Alí and Khayrán], he was at last completely defeated in the plain of Talikah (Italica), close to Seville, himself and his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán falling into the hands of the victor; who, on his arrival in Cordova, which made no resistance, caused them both to be beheaded together with their aged father, Al-hakem. Thus died Suleymán Al-musta'in-billah, after a reign of upwards of three years, counting from his first entrance into Cordova. 17

On his obtaining possession of the throne, 'Alí took the surname of An-násir 'Alí is proclaimed at Cordova. lidín-illah (defender of the faith). One of the first acts of his administration was to check the licentiousness of the African soldiers, who, under the preceding reigns, had been suffered to commit all manner of ravages, and to indulge their wicked propensities on the peaceable inhabitants of Cordova. He succeeded by his salutary rigour in re-establishing discipline among the Berbers, and justice shone as bright as ever. He used on given days to sit at the gate of his palace to administer justice and redress the wrongs of those who complained to him. On such occasions, numbers of Berbers would be brought before him accused of various offences, and, if convicted, he would have them instantly beheaded before his own eyes,
and in the presence of their tribes, their relatives or friends. The following anecdote, which we transcribe from the work of a trustworthy writer who was an eye-witness, will give an idea of the exemplary justice which 'Alí dealt among the Berbers. "As 'Alí was once riding out of one of the gates of Cordova, called 'Báb 'A'mir [the gate of 'A'mir], he met a Berber on horseback, who carried on the saddle before him a load of grapes. Having made him stop, 'Alí inquired where and how he had procured the grapes. 'I seized them like a man,' was the Berber's answer. Upon which, 'Alí caused him to be immediately beheaded, and directed that the head of the delinquent should be placed over the grapes on the horse's back, and then paraded through the streets of the capital, as a warning to the other soldiers of his nation.'"

For eighteen consecutive months did this Sultán persevere in the right path, administering justice with an even hand, and governing his subjects with moderation and wisdom, until; having learned that the Andalusians, who could not tolerate his rule, had raised up Al-murtadhi Al-merwání in the eastern provinces, with the design of re-establishing the sovereignty of the house of Umeyyah, he changed his conduct entirely, and laboured to depopulate Cordova and to exterminate its inhabitants. Accordingly, he relaxed in his severity towards the Berbers, and things soon resumed their ancient course. The chief inhabitants of the place were every where insulted, and their houses plundered; the magnificent buildings erected by the Bení Umeyyah were either entirely demolished or gutted of all their valuables, and the ruin of the city proceeded with as much rapidity as it had before done in the worst times: the rich citizens were forcibly dispossessed of their wealth, and men remarkable for their piety or their learning subjected to all manner of indignities. The tyrant went so far as to impose heavy tributes and other illegal taxes, and, in order to raise money, he seized on the persons of several wealthy inhabitants, and confined them to prison, until they should pay the exorbitant sums he demanded as their ransom: he did more; when, after paying the required money into his treasury, the friends and relatives of the prisoners appeared in front of the gaol with led horses to convey them to their respective dwellings, he issued orders for the confiscation of those, and the prisoners were compelled to walk home. Among those who suffered on this occasion was Abú-l-hazm [Jehwar], who became in after-time King of Cordova, was succeeded by his son [Abú-l-walid], and was the founder of a dynasty which has been included by the historians in the number of the petty dynasties of Andalus.

These and other excesses, of which 'Alí was guilty, alienated from him the good-will of the people, and revolt succeeded revolt in the provinces. At last
Khayrán, the Sclavonian governor of Almeria, who was one of the staunchest partisans of the Bení Umeyyah, seeing the people of Cordova disposed to shake off the oppressive yoke of 'Alí Ibn Hamíd and his Berbers, raised the standard of revolt at Almeria, and caused 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed [Al-murtadhi], a prince of that family, to be proclaimed throughout the districts of his government. Having then sent his letters to all those governors and chiefs who were known to be secretly attached to the cause of the Bení Umeyyah, he prevailed upon some of them to join his banners, and, having collected considerable forces, marched against the capital.

No sooner was 'Alí apprised of that formidable insurrection, than he hastened to take every measure to crush it in its birth; but whilst he was preparing to march against his enemies, he became the victim of treason. He was assassinated whilst in the bath by some of the Sclavonian pages who had formerly belonged to the household of the Bení Merwán. This event took place about the beginning of Dhí-ka' dah of the year 408 (A.D. 1017). The Sclavonians who perpetrated the deed were three in number: when they saw that 'Alí was dead, they hastened to a place of safety within the palace, which was known only to them, and hid themselves in it. When his death became public, the people of Cordova were highly rejoiced. The duration of 'Alí's reign is generally computed at two years, but, according to the statement of an historian who verified the fact, he only reigned twenty-one months and six days. Notwithstanding his foreign origin, and his possessing none of those brilliant qualities which draw forth the admiration and praise of the people, 'Alí had many accomplishments which revealed his noble descent and the hereditary virtues of the race of Háshim.

Among the poets attached to his court, the most celebrated were Ibnu-l-khayyát Al-kortobí, 'Obádah Ibn Mái-s-samá, and Ibn Derráj Al-kastálí (from Cazalla). 'Obádah, who was well known to profess the doctrines of the Shiites, composed a very fine ode in praise of 'Alí, from which the following two verses are taken:

"Your ancestor 'Alí began in the East what another 'Alí has accomplished in the West.
"Let then all invoke the favours of God on him, and salute him; for his is the empire by right divine." 19

The two following are the composition of Ibn Derráj:

"O Sun on the decline! the deep sorrow [on thy countenance] is, no doubt, caused by the thought of thy sad [approaching] fate.
"Intercede for me with the son of the intercessor; bear my message to the son of the messenger [of the Almighty]." 20
After the death of 'Alí, his brother Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, who was governor of Seville, was raised to the supreme power. This Al-kásim was ten years older than his brother; both were the sons of Hamúd, by the same wife, a descendant also of the house of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. 'Alí had left two sons: one, named Yahya, whom, as before stated, he appointed governor of Tangiers, Ceuta, and other districts in Africa; the other, called Idrís, who was governor of Malaga at the time of his father's death. The eldest, Yahya, was undoubtedly entitled to the throne; his father 'Alí having, besides, designated him for his successor: but the affections of the Berbers were greatly divided; some inclining to the son, some to the brother, of their late sovereign. However, the greater number leaned towards Al-kásim, owing in the first place to his being older than his brother 'Alí, when the latter took possession of the throne, and, secondly, to his being near Cordova at the time of 'Alí's death, whilst between them and Yahya there was an intervening sea. They therefore sent messengers to him, to offer him the throne. When the messengers arrived in Seville, they hastened to the palace, and communicated to Al-kásim the news of 'Alí's death, and the wish of the troops that he should succeed him. At first, Al-kásim showed no joy whatever at the intelligence; he feared, no doubt, that the whole might be a stratagem of his brother to ascertain his feelings towards him; he therefore hesitated to accept the throne offered to him, and retained the messengers near his person until he verified the truth of the matter. He then marched without delay to Cordova, where he was proclaimed [by the troops] six days after the death of his brother. 

Al-kásim's administration was mild and just; only that, knowing that some of the Berbers were secretly inclined to favour the claims of his nephew Yahya, the governor of Ceuta, to the throne, he intrusted the defence of his person to the African black slaves, of whom he bought a large number, forming them into a body-guard, and intrusting to them the government of the provinces and the command of his armies. The Berbers, however, took offence at this, and in course of time forsook his cause entirely.

Meanwhile the people of Andalus, who detested the rule of the Bení Hamúd, the descendants of 'Alí [Ibn Abí Tálib,] owing to their deriving their chief support from the Berbers, in whose hands the country actually was, were flocking from all parts to swell the army of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-merwání, who, as related, had been proclaimed in the eastern provinces. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the son of Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-I-malek, son of the great 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidin-illah, ninth Sultán of the race of Umeyyah. On the day of his proclamation he had assumed the honorary surname of Al-murtadhi (the accepted). When the people of Cordova and other principal cities heard of this rising, their
rejoicing was extreme; for all were anxious to see the rule of the Bení Merwán re-established in Andalus. Being joined by the forces of several petty kings, who hastened to acknowledge him as their sovereign, Al-murtadhi marched upon Cordova. Among his allies on this occasion were Mundhir At-tojibi, Lord of Saragossa, and Khayrán Al-‘ámirí, the Slavonian, Lord of Almería. There came also with him some auxiliary troops which the King of the Franks had sent him. Hearing of the approach of Al-murtadhi to his capital, Al-kásim went out to meet him with his Berbers. It happened, however, by some strange coincidence, that Mundhir and Khayrán, though still following the party of Al-murtadhi, were not on very good terms with him at the time, and by no means so well disposed in his favour as they had been at first. "Methinks," said one of them to the other, "that Al-murtadhi does not put on the same face now "that he sees himself at the head of a powerful army, as when he was weak "and needed our assistance. "Be sure this wily man is meditating some treason "against us." Upon this, Khayrán wrote to Záwi Ibn Zeyri, of Senhájah, one of the most brave and enterprising Berber chiefs in Andalus, who, during the late civil commotions, had made himself master of Granada and the surrounding districts, where he ruled independently, offering, if he would attack Al-murtadhi on his road to Cordova, that he himself, and Mundhir, with the troops of the Thagher (Aragon), and the freedmen and adherents of the Bení ‘A’mir, who were always hostile to the Bení Merwán, would immediately desert his cause, leaving him to fight his own battle with the partisans of his family. To this proposition Záwi readily assented, and the plan was concerted between them.

However, on his arrival before the walls of Granada, Al-murtadhi wrote a letter to Záwi, calling upon him to take the oath of allegiance, and promising him great rewards if he would join him with his forces. The letter having been read to Záwi, who, being a Berber, was not well versed in the Arabic language, he directed his secretary to write on the back of it that chapter [of the Korán which begins thus]: "Iá ayyoha-l-káfirüna." (O ye, the unbelievers!) On the receipt of the letter, Al-murtadhi wrote him another, thus conceived: "Beware! for I am marching "against thee with a host of the bravest warriors of this country, and assisted "by the Franks." And he closed his letter with the following verse:

"If thou be one of us, I can announce to thee prosperity and success; if "the contrary, thou wilt soon experience every calamity."

When the letter was read to Záwi, he ordered his secretary to turn it over and to write upon the back of it the whole of that chapter [of the Korán] which begins thus: "The emulous desire of multiplying riches and children employeth you "until ye visit the grave." On the receipt of this message the indignation of
Al-murtadhi was roused to the highest pitch: so great was his desire of revenge, that he instantly abandoned the expedition he had concerted, and, instead of marching upon Cordova, the seat of the empire, as he had intended, he deviated from the road, and went to attack Záwi in Granada, believing that he could annihilate him in one hour. The hostilities, however, continued for some days, until Záwi wrote to Khayrán to remind him of his promise, and to say that the time was come for him to accomplish his treason and forsake the cause of Al-murtadhi. Khayrán's answer was thus conceived: "I have delayed [the execution "of my plans] in order that thou mightest appreciate the extent of our courage, "and the irresistible fury of our attacks; but when thou next seest us encamped "close to him, charge him with thy cavalry, and we shall then take to flight "and desert him." It was done as agreed on between them, and on the morning of the next day Záwi made a desperate charge, at the head of all his cavalry, on the troops of his adversary. Al-murtadhi withstood the attack with his wonted bravery; but no sooner had the engagement commenced, than he saw the banners of Khayrán, Mundhir, and the other chieftains of the Thagher, turn away from the field, and he was left to fight single-handed against the troops of Záwi. The contest could not last long; after the slaughter of the greater part of his devoted followers, Al-murtadhi was compelled to take to flight, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he escaped from the field of battle. The unfortunate prince remained for some time in concealment; but Khayrán having sent spies after him, he was discovered and put to death at a place in the neighbourhood of Guadix, whither he had gone for the purpose of crossing over to Africa, and being secure. His head was brought to Almeria and presented to Khayrán and Mundhir, who had by that time reached that city.
CHAPTER III.

Yahya, the son of 'Alí, revolts against his uncle—Marches to Córdova—Takes possession of that capital—The Berbers desert his cause—Al-kásim regains possession of Córdova—The people rise against him, and expel him from the city—Al-kásim goes to Seville—The inhabitants declare against him, and shut their gates—He takes refuge in Xerez—Falls into the hands of his nephew—Is sent prisoner to Málaga—Al-mustad'dh'her, of the house of Umeyyah, is proclaimed at Córdova—He is put to death, and succeeded by Al-mustákff [Mohammed III.]—Yahya marches to Córdova, and takes it—The citizens proclaim Hishám Al-mu'tadd, of the house of Umeyyah—They depose him—Death of Yahya.

After the battle in which Al-murtadhí was defeated, the whole of Andalus submitted to the Berbers, and their rule was firmly established throughout the country. Al-kásim caused the tent of Al-murtadhí, which, together with other spoils, had fallen into the hands of the victor [Záwi], to be pitched on the bank of the Guadalquivir at Córdova, as a sign of the victory he had just gained over his enemy. Thousands of people went out of Córdova to see it, and manifested their sorrow by deep sighs escaping from their bosoms.

It was on this occasion that the poet 'Obádah Ibn Mái-s-samá-who, as before stated, was a partisan of the house of 'Alí, recited before Al-kásim that ode of his which begins thus:

"Thine is the victory; Khayrán has gone his way; and God has secured the empire to the descendant of his messenger."

The affairs of Al-kásim went on their course; he appointed and removed [governors], spoke and acted, until his nephew Yahya, the son of 'Alí, threw off the mask of obedience, and aimed at depriving him of the empire. It happened thus: Yahya, who, on the death of his father 'Alí, was governor of Ceuta, wrote from that town to the principal Berber chiefs in Córdova, saying, "My uncle has deprived me of my father's inheritance: not satisfied with this, he has also deprived you of the governments and offices won by your good swords, and given them to his black slaves. I am coming among you to claim the throne of my father. Once in possession of it, I will reinstate you in the full enjoyment of your rights."
"of all your rights and privileges, and will reduce the black slaves to their former "condition." The Berbers having agreed to espouse his cause on these conditions, Yahya collected all the vessels he could find in the ports of his dominions, besides those sent him by his brother Idris, Lord of Malaga, and, having crossed the sea, landed at that port at the head of considerable forces. Whilst there, he received letters from Khayrán, Lord of Almeria, reminding him of the alliance which had once existed between the writer and the father of Yahya, to whose elevation he had contributed, and asking for his alliance and friendship. But his brother Idris said to him, "Place no confidence in Khayrán; he is an artful man and a traitor." —"Well, if it be so," replied Yahya, "we must manage him so as to make his arts and his treasons useful to ourselves." However, Yahya, relying on the promises of the Berbers, determined upon attacking his uncle in Cordova. Having sent his brother Idris to Africa, to govern there in his absence, he placed himself at the head of whatever forces he could collect, and proceeded by forced marches to the capital. Al-kásim did not wait for the arrival of his nephew. Knowing that he could place no reliance on his men, he left his capital secretly and at night, accompanied only by five trusty servants, and arrived in Seville, where he was well received by the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád. The departure of Al-kásim took place on Saturday, the 28th of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year 410 (Sept. 1, A.D. 1019). Soon after, his nephew Yahya entered Cordova, and was proclaimed by the Berbers, the black slaves, and the inhabitants of the place, on Saturday, the first of Jumáda-l-akhar (Oct. 3, A.D. 1019) of the same year. On his taking possession of the throne, Yahya assumed the surname of Al-mu'tali (the exalted). Being proud of his noble origin, since he was descended on his father's side from 'Alí [Ibn Abí Tálib], and his mother also was a descendant of Fátimah, the daughter of the Prophet, Yahya began to treat the great men of his court with utter disregard, never admitting them to his presence, and passing his time in the society of low and contemptible men. This made the chiefs of the Berbers averse to Yahya; they complained loudly of his ingratitude, and clamoured for the fulfilment of those conditions on which they had consented to support his claim to the throne, one of which was that he should immediately recall the immunities and privileges granted to the guard of black slaves [during the preceding reigns]. This Yahya immediately granted; but the disaffected, not being satisfied with the above concession, now made such exorbitant demands, that the treasury would have been drained and the royal power seriously impaired, [had Yahya acceded to their wishes.] The black slaves, moreover, not considering themselves safe in Cordova, fled to his uncle Al-kásim in Seville; their example being soon followed by all those among the Berbers and Andalusian officers who were offended
at his behaviour, or who had in any measure been wronged by him. In addition to this, it must be said, that not one of the petty kings of Andalus followed the party of Yahya; the greater part still continued to have the khotbah said in his uncle's name, and a few remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah, for whom and in whose name they pretended to hold their governments. So that, in point of fact, the power of Yahya did not extend beyond the walls of Cordova, and he soon came to the conviction that should his uncle march against him, he could not defend his capital, and he would inevitably fall into his hands. About the same time Yahya received the intelligence that the city of Malaga, where his brother Idrís commanded in his name, was on the point of renouncing his rule; for, whilst Idrís was at Ceuta, of which city he was also governor, the inhabitants of the former place, profiting by his absence, had sent a secret message to Khayrán, inviting him to take possession of the city; which that chieftain was preparing to accomplish. All these considerations induced Yahya to abandon his capital: he accordingly left Cordova at night, and fled to Malaga with a few trusty followers.

No sooner had Al-kásim heard of his nephew's abandoning Cordova, than he marched to that place from Seville. He re-entered his capital without opposition, and the khotbah was again recited in his name on Tuesday, thirteen days before the end of Dhi-l-ka'dah of the year 413 (Feb. 10, A.D. 1023). Al-kásim, however, did not long enjoy peace after his restoration; new discords and civil wars breaking out throughout Andalus. The black slaves, it is true, were, to a man, ranged under his banners; but the greater number of the Berbers were attached to his nephew; whilst a third party was formed at Cordova who wished for the restoration of the dynasty of Umeyyah, and expected anxiously the rising of some member of that family. The plans of the latter, however, did not then meet with success; and the consequence was, that fresh dissensions and deplorable calamities ensued. Al-kásim ordered a most scrupulous search to be made throughout his dominions for all the surviving members of the family of Umeyyah, who, in order to avoid the persecution, were compelled to fly to the provinces, and take refuge in farms and country-houses under various disguises.

In the mean while his nephew Yahya was not inactive. Having fitted out an expedition in Malaga, he besieged and took Algesiras, which still held out for Al-kásim. His brother, Idrís, likewise took possession of Tangiers, a city which Al-mámún [Al-kásim] had fortified with the utmost care, and wherein he kept his treasures. Some time after this, dissension having broken out between the Berbers and the citizens of Cordova, they came to blows in the streets. The latter being in greater number, Al-kásim and his Berbers were compelled to evacuate the place, and to pitch their tents in a field to the west of the city. From that place the
Berbers made most desperate assaults on the city for a period of fifty consecutive days; but the Cordovans built up with masonry the gates of their city, and made a most vigorous defence from the top of the walls. At last, seeing the siege protracted, and provisions growing every day more and more scarce, the Cordovans decided to make a last effort to drive the enemy from their walls. Having opened one of the gates, they made a simultaneous and determined attack upon the besiegers, who were utterly defeated, God Almighty being pleased to grant the citizens of Cordova a very signal victory over their enemies. This took place on Thursday, twelve days before the end of Sha'bán of the year 414 (November 2, A. D. 1023). After this defeat, Al-kásim’s army dispersed. The black troops followed him to Seville, but the Berbers joined his nephew Yahya in Malaga.

On his departure for Cordova, Al-kásim had left a son of his named Mohammed to command in Seville, assisted by the counsels of two Wizírs whom he appointed. One of these was Mohammed Ibn Zeyri, one of the principal Berber chiefs; the other, Mohammed Ibn ’Abbád, then Judge and afterwards Sultán of Seville, and the grandfather of Al-mu’tamed Ibn ’Abbád, so celebrated in the annals of Andalus. Ibn Zeyri being an influential man among his countrymen, the Berbers, and being besides very ambitious, aspired to the supreme power; so the inhabitants declare against him, and shut their gates. Accordingly, when Al-kásim with the relics of his army appeared in sight of Seville, the two chieftains shut the gates of the city in his face. Al-kásim then tried to force the entrance; but he was repulsed, and several skirmishes ensued, in which both blacks and Berbers fell in great numbers, Ibn ’Abbád smiling internally and rejoicing all the time to see the two parties destroy each other. At last Al-kásim, despairing of gaining possession of the city, sent in messengers to propose that if his son Mohammed and his family were safely delivered into his hands, he would immediately raise the siege and retire elsewhere. These terms being accepted by Ibn Zeyri, his son and family were suffered to quit the city, and Al-kásim marched to Sherísh (Xerez). Scarcely, however, had Al-kásim had time to establish himself in that fortress, when his nephew Yahya left Malaga at the head of considerable forces and besieged him in it. Al-kásim defended himself with great courage for twenty consecutive days, during which time a great number of warriors fell on both sides. At last the contest ended in favour of Yahya; for the citizens of Xerez, unwilling to bear any longer the hardships of the siege, surrendered their city to him; upon which the blacks fled in every direction, and Al-kásim and his son Mohammed fell into the hands of their incensed relative. This happened in the year 415 (beginning March 14, A. D. 1024).

They say that Yahya had upon a former occasion taken his most solemn oath that, were his uncle to fall a prisoner into his hands, he would immediately put him
to death, and thus deprive him of all chance of getting possession of Cordova a third time. He nevertheless postponed the execution of Al-kásim until he should take the advice of his counsellors to that effect. Having done so, he was recommended to spare the life of Al-kásim, but to confine him in a dungeon within his own castle at Malaga, that he might in future be safe against his attacks. They say that whenever Yahya was intoxicated, which was of frequent occurrence, he being very much addicted to drinking spirituous liquors, he always showed an inclination to order his uncle's execution; but that his guests never failed to implore his mercy, and to remind him that his enemy was now under his power and could nowise escape. They say also that Yahya saw frequently in dreams his own father, 'Ali, who forbade him to put him to death, saying, "Al-kásim was my elder brother; he used to be very fond of me when I was a child, and whilst I commanded in this country I always found him obedient to my rule. By "Allah! have mercy on him!" Yahya therefore refrained for some time; but having afterwards received information that Al-kásim was tampering with the guards of his prison, with a view to effect his escape and take up arms against him, he had him strangled in his prison, thirteen years, or thereabouts, after his falling into his hands, that is to say, in the year 427 (beginning November 4, A.D. 1035), although there are not wanting historians who assert that he died a natural death. But to return.

After the retreat of Al-kásim and his Berbers from before the walls of Cordova, the inhabitants of that capital remained for nearly two months without a leader, deliberating among themselves whom they would choose for their sovereign. At last, on Tuesday, the 15th of the month of Ramadán of the year 414 (Dec. 1, A.D. 1023), three princes of the race of 'Umeyyah presented themselves as candidates; namely, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Hishám, and brother of Mohammed Al-muhdí, formerly Khalif of Cordova; Suleymán, son of Al-murtadhí, and another one. At first, Suleymán counted the most votes, and it is even stated that the deed of inauguration was drawn in his name, as was customary on such occasions, and that he was publicly proclaimed through the streets of Cordova; but the party of 'Abdu-r-rahmán having prevailed, Suleymán and the other candidate kissed his hand in token of obedience, and he was proclaimed under the name of Al-mustadh'her (he who implores the assistance of God). Immediately after this, Al-mustadh'her ['Abdu-r-rahmán IV.] rode to the royal palace, taking with him his two cousins above named, whom he caused to be imprisoned.

Al-mustadh'her had, on his accession to power, raised several of his partisans to the highest rank in the state, admitting them to his privacy and treating them...
with a familiarity and friendship quite unprecedented. In the number were, Abú 'A'mir Ibn Shohayd, celebrated for his courage and military virtues; Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm, well known for his satirical and controversial writings against the Ulemas of various religious schools; and his cousin 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Hazm Al-ghazzáh, a youth of very loose morals. This gave offence to the Sheikhs, the Wizírs, and other influential citizens: upon which, Al-mustadh'her threw himself for protection into the arms of the Berbers, to whom he granted new immunities and privileges. But whilst Al-mustadh'her passed his time with Ibn Shohayd and the two Ibn Hazm, engaged in literary pursuits and in writing poetry, the discontents took advantage of the state of things, and began to excite the lower classes of Cordova against him, by representing him as a frivolous man who spent his time with poets and sycophants. This they failed not to accomplish, the people of Cordova being then in a state of the grossest ignorance.

There were at the time in the prisons of Cordova several criminals whose detention was deemed necessary [to the welfare of the state]. Among the rest was one named Abú 'Imrán, whom Al-mustadh'her caused to be set at liberty against the advice of one of his Wizírs, who urged him strongly to keep him in prison. Al-mustadh'her, however, disregarding all warning, caused the prisoner to be liberated. This Abú 'Imrán was the cause of Al-mustadh'her's ruin; for he, and all those who came out from prison, began to plan his destruction, and to substitute perdition for his joy, taking as a pretence to make partizans among the people, that Al-mustadh'her neglected his affairs of government and passed his time with literary men and poets, as his low inclinations prompted him.

A conspiracy was accordingly formed, with the assistance of the Berbers, the object of which was to deprive him of the throne, and to appoint a relative of his, named Mohammed, in his stead. He was assassinated in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year in which he had been raised to the Khalifate, after a reign of forty-seven days, he being then in the twenty-third year of his age. When God Almighty has decreed that an event shall happen, there is no mortal who can prevent its fulfilment!

Mohammed was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah, whom Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir caused to be put to death, because he was planning a revolt against the Khalif Hishám. On his accession to the throne Mohammed took the surname of Al-mustakfi-billah (he who is contented with God). His reign, however, was not of long duration; for, sixteen months after his elevation to power, in the year 416 (A. D. 1025), Yahya Al-mu'tali, who, since the defeat and capture of his uncle Al-kásim at Xerez, had ruled undisturbed over Malaga and Algeciras, marched his army to Cordova, and entered that city without opposition, the Khalif
Al-mustakfi being compelled to fly to the Thagher, where he died soon after. This Al-mustakfi was the father of the celebrated poetess Waladah, to whom Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún dedicated his risaleh. Ibn Bashkwál says, that she was the most eloquent woman of her age, and that in point of learning and taste she rivalled the best poets of her father's court. The histories of the time are filled with entertaining anecdotes respecting this princess; but as we intend to treat of her elsewhere, and to transcribe largely from the works of Al-fat'h, Ibn Sa'id, and Ibn-l-abbár, who have all written her life, we need not relate them in this place.

She lived to a great age, and died on the second day of Safar of the year 480 (May 8, A.D. 1087), although there are not wanting authors who place her death in 484, (A.D. 1091). She was equally celebrated for her chastity as for her beauty, and she never married.

But to return to our account of the Sultáns of the house of 'Ali. No sooner had Yahya entered Cordova, than, leaving a general of his named Ibn 'Ittáf, to govern in his name, he quitted that capital and retired to Malaga, where he began to make preparations for the ensuing campaign against Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád, Lord of Seville. Soon after, however, in 417, (beginning Feb. 21, A.D. 1026) the inhabitants of Cordova rose against their governor and his Berber troops, fought with them in the streets, and ultimately expelled them from the capital; after which they appointed a prince of the race of Umeyyah, named Hishám, brother of the deceased Al-murtadhi, to administer their affairs. This was done by the advice of the Wizír Abú Mohammed Jehwar Ibn Mohammed, at that time the most influential person in Cordova, and one in whom the people of all classes placed their confidence.

As Hishám was then at Lerida, in the Thagher (Aragon), with Ibn Híd, a message was sent to him, offering him the crown, and inviting him to repair to Cordova. Hishám accepted the invitation, and assumed on the occasion the surname of Al-mu'tadd billah (he who is prepared in God). This happened in the year 418 (beginning Feb. 10, A.D. 1027). Hishám at first did not proceed to Cordova, but remained for three years in the Thagher (Aragon), going from one place to another. At last, civil war having broken out among the petty chieftains, who about that time began every where to show symptoms of independence, it was agreed among them that Cordova should [notwithstanding their pretensions] continue to be the capital of the Mohammedan empire in Andalus. Hearing of that determination, Ibn Jehwar and the citizens of Cordova entreated Hishám to come among them; which he did, about the close of the year 420 (Dec. A.D. 1029). Hishám was a mild and enlightened ruler, and possessed many brilliant qualities; but notwithstanding all that, some time after his entrance into the capital, the volatile and degenerate citizens of Cordova
They depose him.

Death of Yahya.

grew discontented with his rule, and he was deposed by the army in 422 (A.D. 1031). Hishám left the capital and retired to Lerida, where he died in 428 (A.D. 1036). He was the last member of that illustrious dynasty which had ruled over Andalus and a great portion of Africa for a period of two hundred and eighty-four years, counting from the accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., surnamed Ad-dákhel, in 138 (A.D. 756). There is no God but him! He is the Almighty!

Meantime Yahya had not given up all hopes of regaining possession of his capital, or chastising the rebellion of Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád, who, as before related, had declared himself independent in Seville. He therefore kept his army continually in motion, besieging either the one or the other of those cities, until the people of Cordova agreed to submit to him, and give him possession of their castles and cities. In this manner Yahya's power increased; but having, in the year 427 (beginning Nov. 4, A.D. 1035), marched against Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád, Lord of Seville, he was assassinated near Carmona by some of his own men, at the instigation of that chieftain.
CHAPTER IV.

Andalus divided into petty kingdoms—Kings of Malaga, of the family of Idris—Kings of Algeziras—of Granada—Cordova—Seville—Toledo—Saragossa—Badajoz—Valencia—Murcia—Almeria—The Balearic Islands.

We have already alluded in several chapters of this work to the deplorable revolution and disastrous events by which the mighty power of the Bení Merwán was overthrown, and their extensive dominions in Africa, as well as in Andalus, became the prey of ambitious chieftains, thus affording an opportunity to the cruel enemy of God to attack in detail the divided Molems, and to expel them at last from those countries which they had so long held in their power. We shall now proceed to give a rapid sketch of each of those dynasties which built their power on the ruins of the Khalifate.

And, first, the Bení Hamád. After the death of Yahya Al-mu’tali, who, as related, was assassinated, in the year 427 (beginning Nov. 4, A.D. 1035), by some of his own followers, the army sent for his brother, Idrís Ibn ’Ali, who was at that time in Ceuta, and proclaimed him Amíru-l-múmenín (Commander of the Faithful) and Sultán of Andalus, with the surname of Al-mutáyyed-billah (the confirmed by the grace of God). Idrís was immediately proclaimed in Ronda and its dependencies, in Almeria and Algeziras, as well as in his own family dominions of Ceuta and Tangiers, which he intrusted to the care of his own nephew, Hasan, appointing a eunuch named Najá to administer his counsels. Idrís’ first care was to revenge his brother’s death. Having sent an army to make war against Abú-l-kásim Isma’il Ibn ’Abbád, the father of Al-mu’tadheh Ibn ’Abbád [who reigned afterwards in Seville], after some sharp encounters the head of his enemy was brought to him in the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A.D. 1039). Idrís, however, did not long enjoy his victory; he died two days after the head of his enemy was laid at his feet.
After the death of Idrís, the army proclaimed his son Yahya, who did not, however, assume the command; for another party having inaugurated Hasan, son of Al-mu'ṭali, he [Yahya] took refuge in the fortress of Komāresh (Comares), where he died in the year 434 (beginning Aug. 20, A.D. 1042); some say that he was secretly put to death by the eunuch Najā. According to the historian Ibn Khaldūn, it happened thus: "On the death of Idrís, Ibn Bokennah, who was one of his Wizirs, contrived to have himself proclaimed at Malaga; but no sooner did Najā, the eunuch, who was then at Ceuta, hear of it, than he crossed over to Malaga, bringing with him Hasan, the son of Yahya Al-muta'li, whom he caused to be immediately proclaimed by the citizens and the army under the name of Al-mustanser-billah. When Najā saw his master's authority fully established in Malaga, he returned to Ceuta, of which city Hasan had granted him the investiture, as well as of all his other possessions in the country of Ghomārah. Hasan died in the year 434 (beginning Aug. 20, A.D. 1042), from the effects of poison ministered to him by a daughter of his uncle Idrís, in revenge for the death of her brother [Yahya Ibn Idrís], whom that monarch caused to be put to death on his accession to the throne." "On the death of Hasan," says Ibn Khaldūn, "Najā again crossed over to Malaga, with the intention of having himself proclaimed by the troops. During his absence he trusted the government of Ceuta and Tangiers in the hands of a Slavonian eunuch, in whom he placed all his confidence. He set sail and landed in Malaga, where he so far succeeded in his ambitious designs as to usurp all the authority in the state. He was, however, soon after assassinated by the Berbers, who appointed to the vacant throne another son of Yahya Al-mu'ṭali, named Idrís. Ever since the death of his brother Hasan, Idrís Ibn Yahya had been confined in a dungeon at Malaga." No sooner had the Berbers put to death Najā, than they took Idrís out of prison, and, after some previous negotiations, they proclaimed him under the name of Al-'dil-billah (the exalted by the grace of God) on Thursday, six days before the end of Jumāda .EXTRA of the year 434 (Feb. 6, A.D. 1043). His authority was immediately acknowledged at Granada and Carmona, the khotbah being said in his name in the mosques of those places. This monarch is the one alluded to and praised in a kassidah, composed by Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mokéná Al-fondákí, a native of Lisbon, and one of the poets mentioned in the Dhakhírah (the hoarded treasure) by Ibn Bessám. This poem, of which we gave some extracts in the first book (vol. i. p. 100), is well known throughout the West, and begins thus:

"Lightning flashes in the ethereal regions, and thy eyes are bathed in tears.
"It's naked swords sport about as freely as the twisted snake in the hands of the players.

"If the voice of thunder at times speaks a lover's complaint, mine heart too has its sighs and its lamentations."3

Idris was dethroned in the year 438 (beginning July 7, A.D. 1046), and succeeded by his cousin Mohammed, the son of Idris Ibn 'Ali, who took the surname of Al-muhdi (the directed), and died in the year 444 (beginning May 2, A.D. 1052).

He was succeeded by his nephew Idris, son of Yahya Ibn Idris, who, upon his accession, assumed the title of Al-muwaffek-billah (he who prospers by the grace of God); but he was not proclaimed Khalif in the mosques. After a reign of a few months, his cousin Idris Al-‘ali, the same prince alluded to in the above poem, who, since his dethronement, had lived in the castle of Comares, marched to the capital, Malaga, and, having taken possession of it, gave it to his slaves to plunder, in revenge for the injuries he had received at the hands of the inhabitants, most of whom quitted that place and went to settle elsewhere. Al-‘ali died in the year 446 or 447 (A.D. 1054-6).4

After him reigned Mohammed, son of Idris,5 who, on his accession to the throne, assumed the surname of Al-must‘ali-billah (the exalted by the grace of God). This monarch was dethroned by Bádis Ibn Habús, King of Granada, who, in the year 449 (beginning March 9, A.D. 1057), marched against him and took possession of his capital, Malaga. After the loss of his kingdom, Mohammed retired to Almeria, where he led a private life, until in the year 456 (beginning Dec. 24, A.D. 1063),6 the citizens of Melilla invited him to come among them; this he did, when they elected him for their sovereign, and he ruled over them until the year 460 (Nov. 10, A.D. 1067), when he died.7

During these events the city of Algesiras and the neighbouring districts were of Algesiras. Under the sway of princes descended also from the family of Hamúd. When Al-kásim, as before related, fell into the hands of his nephew Yahya, and was by him confined to a dungeon in Malaga, a son of his, named Mohammed, was made to share his captivity. This Mohammed, having some time after succeeded in making his escape, fled to Algesiras, of which city, as well as the surrounding districts, he made himself master, assuming the surname of Al-mu’tassem-billah (he who looks to God for protection from sin). Mohammed maintained himself in possession of his states, until he died in the year 440 (beginning June 15, A.D. 1048). He was succeeded by his son Al-kásim, who took the surname of Al-udthik-billah (he who trusts in God), and reigned until the time of his death, which happened in the year 450 (beginning Feb. 27, A.D. 1058), when the city of Algesiras fell into the hands of Al-mu’tadhed Ibn ’Abbád, King of Seville; and Malaga into those
of Habús, who was the enemy and the rival of Al-mu'tadh. In this manner was the dynasty of the Sherífs, sons of Hamúd, overthrown in Andalus, after some of them had assumed the title of Khalif, as before related.

About the same time that the Bení Hamúd established themselves in Malaga, a Berber chief, named Záwi, was founding a kingdom in Granada. This Záwi was the son of Zeyri, son of Munád, of the tribe of Senhájah. His kunya or surname was Abú Mothna. He went to Cordova during the administration of Al-mansúr with three of his nephews, named Habús, Mäkesen, and Habásah, and a body of Zenátah, whom Al-mansúr took into his service. Záwi having distinguished himself in war against the Christians, Al-mansúr gave him the command of a body of African troops, and appointed him one of his Hájibs, or chamberlains. When Mohammed Al-muhdi, after the assassination of Abdu-rrahmán Ibn Al-mansúr, usurped the royal power, Záwi, with the rest of the Berber troops, embraced the cause of Suleymán, and assisted him in getting possession of Cordova, which was taken by storm on Monday, the 6th of Shawwál, A. H. 403 (April 20, A. D. 1013), and its unhappy inhabitants subjected to all manner of cruelties practised upon them by a brutal and ferocious soldiery. It is related, that on this occasion Záwi found in one of the palaces at Cordova, called Al-jodrá, the head of his father, Zeyri Ibn Munád, who had been put to death during the Khalifate of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billa H, and that he gave it to his soldiers to have it properly buried.

During the civil wars which broke out in Andalus after the death of Suleymán, Záwi retired to Granada, of which city and its districts he had been appointed governor by that Sultán, and strengthened himself in it. We have related elsewhere (p. 235) how when Al-murtadhi, of the house of Umeyyah, requested Záwi to make common cause with him against 'Alí Ibn Hamíd, the Berber chief refused his application, attacked him on his road to Cordova, and put him to death. In the year 410 (beginning May 8, A. D. 1019) Záwi crossed over to Africa, leaving in command of Granada a nephew of his, named Habús Ibn Mäkesen Ibn Zeyri, who took possession of Cabra, Jaen, and other places, and became in time one of the most powerful monarchs of Andalus.

Habús died in the year 429 (beginning Oct. 13, A. D. 1037), and was succeeded by his son Bádís [Ibn Habús], surnamed Al-modhaffer (the victorious), who acknowledged himself the vassal of the Bení Hamúd of Malaga, and said the khotbah in their name. Shortly after his accession, Bádís had to defend himself against Zohayr, the Sclovonian King of Almeria, who invaded his dominions at the head of considerable forces; but Bádís marched against him, defeated him, and put him to death. This happened in Shawwál of the year 429 (July, A. D. 1038). Mo-
hammed Al-birzalî, Lord of Carmona, having been attacked by the King of Seville, solicited the aid of Bâdis, who, joining his forces to those of Malaga, commanded by Ibn Bokennah, defeated and slew Isma'il, the son of that monarch, and sent his head to Idris [Al-mutáyyed]. Bâdis likewise made war on Al-kâdîr Ibn Dhí-n-mún, King of Toledo; and in the year 449 (beginning March 9, A. D. 1057), perceiving the weak state into which his neighbours, the Beni Hamûd, had fallen, he took possession of Malaga, which he added to his own dominions. According to Ibnu-l-askar, Bâdis died on the twentieth of Shawwâl, A. H. 469 (May 16, A. D. 1077), after a long and prosperous reign. Ibnu-l-khattâb says that Bâdis was the first [king of his race] who surrounded Granada with walls, and built its kassâbah and a palace for his own residence.

He was succeeded by his grandson 'Abdullah, son of Balkîn,14 surnamed Al- Cordova. modhaffer (the victorious), who intrusted the government of Malaga to his brother Temûm. 'Abdullah reigned undisturbed over Granada and the neighbouring districts until the year 483 (beginning March 5, A. D. 1090), when he was deprived of his kingdom by Yûsuf Ibn Tâshefûn, the Almoravide, as we shall describe hereafter. It has been related above (p. 243) how the inhabitants of Cordova, after shaking off the yoke of the Benî Hamûd, appointed a prince of the race of Umeyyah, named Abû Bekr Hishâm, son of Mohammed; son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmân An-nâsir, to rule over them; and how, after administering the affairs of the state for nearly three years with great justice and moderation, the inconstant citizens of Cordova deprived the monarch of their choice of his power, and expelled him from their city. As there remained no other member of the house of Umeyyah to whom they could offer the throne, the people of Cordova met together, and determined upon giving the command to Abû-I-hazm Jehwar Ibn Mohammed, a man of much wisdom and experience, who had once been Wizâr of the Benî Umeyyah under the administration of the Benî Abî 'A'mîr. Jehwar at first assumed no other title than that of Wizâr of the Benî Umeyyah. It appears, even, that with a view to reduce to obedience the petty rulers of Andalus, he pretended that Hishâm Al-muyyed-billah was still living; and, having caused prayers to be said in his name, he wrote to the Kâdî Ibnu 'Abbâd [Mohammed], King of Seville, to Al-mundhir, King of Saragossa, and to Ibn Dhí-n-mún, King of Toledo, inviting them to send in their allegiance to Hishâm, and to acknowledge Cordova as the capital of Andalus. None, however, listened to his words; upon which, Jehwar, perceiving that his stratagem produced not the desired effect, published that Hishâm was dead, and usurped the royal power. He governed, however, with great moderation and justice, although his rule was scarcely obeyed beyond the walls of Cordova. At his death, which happened in the month of Safar, 435
(Sept. or Oct. A.D. 1043), Jehwar was succeeded by his son, 'Abú-l-walid Mohammed, who followed in the steps of his father, until, broken down by infirmities and old age, he abdicated in favour of his son, 'Abdu-l-malek. This latter did not long enjoy his power; for soon after his accession he lost his life and his throne, as we shall relate hereafter.15

Among the most celebrated petty dynasties of Andalus was that of the Bení 'Abbád, Kings of Seville and Al-gharb (Algarve), one of whom was Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, whose fame spread widely both in the East and West, and whose deeds are recorded in the Kaláyid and the Dhakhírah, in a manner that leaves nothing to desire. The historian, Ibnu-l-lebbánah,16 has said that there never was a dynasty which more resembled the powerful one of the Bení 'Abbás of Baghdád in extent of generosity and the number of their virtues; and under that impression he composed that celebrated work of his, entitled Al-'itimád fi akhbár Bení 'Abbád (the support: on the history of the Bení 'Abbád). We have already quoted (vol. i. p. 395) two verses composed by an African poet in derision of the dynasty of 'Abbád:

"Among the things which make me dislike Andalus are the names Al-mu'tadhe and Al-mu'tamed [assumed by its rulers];
"Names of kings whose dominions are not in that country. It is, indeed,
"like the cat, in the tale, trying to swell himself into a lion."

But there can be no doubt that the poet who wrote these verses entertained a bad feeling towards Andalus in general, or that dynasty in particular; for the works of poets and historians abound with anecdotes indicative of the splendour and magnificence with which the kings of Seville surrounded their courts, the boundless prodigality with which they rewarded authors and poets, and the love and enthusiasm which they themselves showed for the sciences.

The founder of this dynasty was Mohammed Abú-l-kásim, Kádí-l-jam'ah (supreme judge) of Seville. He was the son of Isma'il, son of Karís (or Koraysh),17 son of 'Abbád, son of 'Amru, son of Aslam, son of 'Amru, son of 'Ittáf, son of Na'ím, of the tribe of Lakhm, of the posterity of An-no'mán, son of Al-mundhír Ibn Mái-s-samá, the last King of Hírah. The first member of that illustrious family, who settled in Andalus, was 'Ittáf, who entered that country in the suite of Balj Ibn Beshr, the Syrian, in the year 123 (A.D. 741). 'Ittáf was originally from a pretty town called Al-'arish, situated on the skirts of the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. He settled at Yaumeyn, a town in the district of Toshénah [Tocina], belonging to the jurisdiction of Seville. The first individual of the family who attained any celebrity was Isma'il, son of Koraysh, surnamed Abú-l-walíd, who became Sáhibu-sh-shorttah to Hishám Al-muuyyed-billah, and filled for some time the functions of Imám at Seville.18 At his death, his son
Mohammed, surnamed Abú-l-kásim, succeeded him in some of his offices, and became at last Kádí and Wízír of Seville. We have elsewhere related (p. 240) how, when in the year 414 (A. D. 1023) Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd appeared before the walls of Seville, flying before his nephew Yahya, the inhabitants of that city determined upon shutting their gates in the face of that Sultán, and administering their affairs by themselves independently of the Bení Idrís; for which end they appointed a council composed of three individuals. The Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád was one of them; but being an ambitious and shrewd man, and possessing great influence in Seville, he succeeded in getting rid of his colleagues and usurping all the power to himself. After slaying Yahya Ibn 'Alí, who was besieging him in Seville, the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád imagined that he could not effectually consolidate his empire and expel the Idrísites from Andalus, unless he succeeded in uniting under one common standard all the partisans of the house of Umeyyah. For this end he procured a man resembling in age and appearance the Khalif Hishám, (murdered during the civil wars of Cordova,) and, causing the khotbah to be said for him in all the mosques of his dominions, assumed the title of Hájib (chamberlain), and professed to reign in his name. After this, the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád sent his son Isma'il against Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-bírzálí, Lord of Carmona and chief of the Berber party in those parts; but Mohammed, having called to his assistance the Berbers of Granada and the Bení Idrís of Malaga, Isma'il was defeated and put to death in A. H. 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039).

The Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád died on Sunday, one day before the end of Jumáa, the first, of the year 433 (January 23, A. D. 1042). He was succeeded by his son Abú 'Amru 'Abbád Fakhru-d-daulah (glory of the state), who, upon his accession to the throne, assumed the surname of Al-mu'tadhéd-bíllah (he who implores the assistance of God). This 'Abbád was a powerful prince, who reduced under his sway the greater part of Andalus. He took Cordova from the Bení Jehwar, and also made extensive conquests in Al-gharb (the western districts). The poet Ibnu-l-lebbánah describes Al-mu'tadhéd in the following words: "Al-mu'tadhéd Abú 'Amru 'Abbád was a prince whose life was to his enemies what fetters are to the feet of the prisoner; whose sword never ceased spilling blood and taking away souls. Such, indeed, was the number of his victims, that he actually had before the door of his house an enclosure filled with the skulls of the slain, the spoils of prince and subject. There was nothing Al-mu'tadhéd liked so much as to look at this enclosure, and he used to spend the greater part of his time gazing at it; he would often weep and feel compassion for his victims. Such anecdotes are related of his cruelty, that it is better that they should be kept away from human ears and not brought to light."
Al-mu'tadhed was a good poet. The two following verses, which he composed when the city of Ronda fell into his power, are remarkable:

"Thou shalt be strengthened, O Ronda, and made a bulwark to our empire.

'We will soon provide thee with spears and sharp-edged swords.'" 23

Al-mu'tadhed Ibn 'Abbád died in Jumáda, the second, of the year 461 (May, A.D. 1069), after a prosperous reign of about twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by his son Abú-l-kásim Mohammed, surnamed Al-mu'tamed 'ala-illah (he who relies on God), who was then twenty-nine years of age, having been born at Beja, in Al-gharb (Estremadura), in 432 (beginning Sept. 10, A.D. 1040).

The Kádí and learned theologian Abú Bekr Ibn Khamís ['Abdu-l-jabbár As-sikílí], when he comes to treat of the Bení 'Abbád, says as follows: "Such were the brilliant qualities of Al-mu'tamed, that, although his praises are in every body's mouth, yet enough cannot be said of him to do him justice. I will now relate some of his adventures, to which I will add some of the poetical compositions which I have read of as attributed to him; for he was as well versed in literature as he was excellent in poetry. His name was Mohammed, and his kunya or surname Abú-l-kásim, like his grandfather the Kádí [Abú-l-kásim]."

He assumed the supreme power after the death of his father, Al-mu'tadhed.

Alluding to this event, a poet, named Al-hoṣrí, has said:

'Abbád is dead, and yet a noble shoot remains of the parent tree.

'Abbád therefore is alive, only that the dhàd [of Al-mu'tadhed] is turned into a mim [Al-mu'tamed].' 24

"Al-mu'tamed," says the historian Ibnu-I-Iebbáníah, "continued to reign in prosperity until the year 475 (beginning May 31, A.D. 1082). In that year the Jew, Ibn Shálíb, came to Seville with a number of Christian knights, for the purpose of receiving the yearly tribute which Al-mu'tamed was in the habit of paying to Alfonso. The Jew and his suite alighted at one of the gates of the city, whither, after they had made known the object of their visit, the Sultán immediately sent them the money required, by one of the high officers of his court. The Jew, however, refused to receive it, saying, 'I will not take this money; I will take nothing but pure gold, and next year we will not be satisfied with any thing short of the whole wealth of the country.' 25 The money was accordingly returned to Al-mu'tamed, who was no sooner acquainted with the Jew's insolent speech, than he ordered some of his guards to drag the Jew and his suite to his presence, and to cut the strings of the tent wherein they were. His commands being executed, and the Christians brought before him, Al-mu'tamed ordered that the Jew should be nailed to a stake, and his companions sent to prison.
"When the accursed Jew heard his sentence pronounced, he said to Al-mu'tamed, "Thou wilt not do this, for I will redeem myself with my weight in gold;" to which Al-mu'tamed replied, 'By Allah! wert thou to give me possession of Africa and Andalus, I would not take it [as a ransom for thy life].' The Jew was accordingly nailed to a stake, [and the Christians of his suite sent to prison].

The news of this occurrence soon reached the ears of the Christian [king], who wrote immediately to Al-mu'tamed, demanding the release of his prisoners; a request which was readily granted.

"However, the Christian [king] swore to assemble an army as numerous as the hairs upon his head, and such as would enable him to penetrate to the Straits of Gibraltar. This was about the time when the commander of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, was occupied in the siege of Ceuta; upon which Al-mu'tamed [fearing lest Alfonso should put his threat into execution] crossed over to Africa, and had an interview with the Amír of the Almoravides, who promised him his help. Al-mu'tamed then returned to Andalus, and stimulated the Moslem rulers of that country to make war against the infidels. Then came the landing of Yúsuf [with his army], and the celebrated campaign of Zalákah, in which the unbelievers were most completely defeated; after which, Yúsuf returned [to his African dominions]. He came a second time, when Al-mu'tamed began to suspect that his intention in taking possession of the country was to seize on the nut and leave the shell; and he was not mistaken; for Yúsuf had formed the design of depriving the rulers of Andalus of their states, for which end he began to plan all manner of stratagems. He sent from Ceuta to ask Al-mu'tamed to give up to him the city and port of Ježíratu-l-khadhré (Algesiras); a request which Al-mu'tamed refused to grant him under various pretences. However, in the twinkling of an eye, one hundred sail made their appearance before Algesiras; upon which Yezíd, son of Al-mu'tamed, who commanded there, let loose some pigeons to apprise his father of the occurrence. Al-mu'tamed then ordered him to give up the island; which he did, Yúsuf soon after taking possession of it. This was not the first time that Yúsuf had done so; for it is asserted that, whenever he crossed over to Andalus, he insisted upon being made the master of that place, and that even when he crossed for the first time, he would not embark until Al-mu'tamed had agreed to put him in possession of that port, as a security to himself. It is also asserted that Yúsuf did this at the instigation and by the advice of some Andalusians.

"After this, Yúsuf determined upon making war against the rulers of Andalus, and dispossessing them one by one of their states. To this end he sent from Africa bodies of troops under the command of officers of his court, with instruc-
tions to besiege them [in their capitals]. In this manner he sent [an army] to
besiege Al-mu'tamed in Seville. It must be observed that the inhabitants of
that city were tired of that prince's rule, and that the love which they had
always professed for the Bení 'Abbád had been changed into hatred and contempt,
owing to several reasons, but chiefly because Al-mu'tamed was well known to
indulge in many reprehensible excesses, such as the drinking of spirituous
liquors, and listening to music and the singing of female slaves. About this
time, therefore, the generality of the people of Seville wished to get rid of
Al-mu'tamed as soon as possible. When Al-mu'tamed saw himself reduced
to the last extremity, he sent to implore the assistance of the Christians; but
the general of Yúsuf having detached a division of his army to attack them
on the road to Seville, they were defeated and their designs frustrated. After
this, Yúsuf equipped a fleet in Africa, and sent it to blockade Seville, the siege
of which was pressed with more vigour than ever. All this time Al-mu'tamed
was plunged in pleasure, and had intrusted the government [of his kingdom]
to his son Ar-rashíd; the consequence was, that, when he least expected,
the Almoravides were within Seville. At last, hearing that the enemy were
already in possession of part of the city, Al-mu'tamed awoke from his dream,
and roused himself up from his intoxication. He mounted a horse, armed
himself with a scimitar, and, dressed as he was, without any defensive armour,
he rushed, followed by a few slaves, upon the Almoravides, who had just pene-
trated into Seville by the gate of Al-faraj (Bábu-l-faraj). Advancing upon a
drum which they had with them, he cut it in twain with his scimitar, and then
[sword in hand] he attacked the enemy, who fled before him in great confusion,
throwing themselves down from the top of the ramparts. Al-mu'tamed remained
on the spot until the gate was built up; alluding to which, these two verses
were composed, which begin thus:

' If the people have plundered the enemy.' 26

When the breach had been repaired and the gate stopped, Al-mu'tamed went
to inspect the rest of the fortifications. When he arrived at the gate of the
dyers (Bábu-s-sabbághín), he found his son Málek stretched dead upon the
ground; and having implored the mercy of God upon him, he retired to his
castle. Affairs soon grew worse, and the enemy entered the city on every
side; upon which, Al-mu'tamed, having previously asked security for himself
and those who were with him, surrendered himself to the general of the Al-
moravides, who furnished him with vessels to cross over to Tangiers. Al-mu'tamed
was there met by a poet named Al-hosrí, who had some time previous written
and dedicated to him a work containing selections from the best poets. Al-hosrí
was very far from imagining that he would ever see Al-mu'tamed in such a spot and in such a plight, and presented the book to him. Al-mu'tamed took it into his hands, and said to the poet, 'Lift up that rug, and take whatever thou mayst find under it; by Allah! I have nothing else to give thee.' Al-hosri did as he was directed, and found a quantity of gold. After this, Al-mu'tamed was conveyed to Aghmat, where he was kept prisoner for the rest of his days. He died in 488 (A.D. 1095). Al-mu'tamed had several sons, four of whom held "empire, namely, Al-mamun, Ar-rashid, Ar-radhi, and Al-mu'tamed."

One of the most powerful among the petty dynasties which rose out of the ruins of Toledo, of the Khalifate was that of the Beni Dhí-n-nún, kings of Toledo, in the northern Thagher. This family were at one time in possession of a powerful empire, and their ostentation and luxurious habits reached an extreme point. From them were named the nuptial feasts known in the West as the Pâdûru-ah-dhâmánt (the wedding-feasts of the Bení Dhí-n-nún), and which, owing to their magnificence and the profusion and splendour with which they were attended, have become as proverbial among the people of the West as the nuptials of Burän are among the Eastern people. The first sovereign of this family, who reigned in Toledo, was Isma'il, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmân Ibn 'Omar Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the descendant in a right line from Ass-amh Ibn Dhí-n-nún, a Berber of the tribe of Howárah, who was present at the conquest of Andalus. He was succeeded by his son Yahya, surnamed Al-mamun, he who gave the entertainments above alluded to, and became in time one of the most powerful among the petty kings of Andalus. This Al-mamun had some communication and dealings with the tyrant Alfonso, which are well known. He took Cordova from the hands of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, and killed Abú 'Amru, the son of that monarch, as we shall hereafter relate. He also gained possession of Valencia, and deprived Ibn Abi 'A:mir of the sovereignty of that place. During the reign of a grandson of this Al-mamun, by name Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the tyrant Alfonso took the city of Toledo from the Moslems; for, finding his own power increased through the extinction of the Khalifate, and perceiving the weak and helpless state to which the Arabs had been reduced by their sins, he overran and plundered the flat country, and so pressed Al-kádir that he obliged him to surrender his capital, Toledo, in the year 478 (A.D. 1085), on condition, however, that he should assist him in gaining possession of Valencia; which he did. There is no power or strength but in God, the Great! the High!

At the time that the power of the Beni 'A'mir was overthrown in Cordova, Saragossa, and the usurper Al-muhdi was reigning in their room, Al-mundhir Ibn Yahya At-tojibí, a descendant of the Tojibites, who played so distinguished a part during
the reign of 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed, was governor of Saragossa. At his death he was succeeded by his son Yahya, who was soon after dethroned by Suleymán Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, who took the surname of Al-musta'in (he who expects the assistance of God).

The most renowned princes of this dynasty were Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Húd, surnamed Al-muktadir-billah (the powerful by the grace of God), son of the preceding, who died in A.H. 474 (beginning June 10, A.D. 1081), and his son, Abú 'A'mir Yúsuf Al-mutamen (the trusty). The latter was so much addicted to the study of mathematics, that he composed, among other works on that science, one entitled Kitábu-l-istikmál wa-l-mandáhir (perfection and observatories). He died the same year that Toledo was taken (A.H. 478, A.D. 1085), and was succeeded by his son Al-musta'in Ahmed, who lost the battle of Huesca in 489 (A.D. 1096). After the death of this prince, who fell a martyr for the faith in an engagement with the Christians in sight of Saragossa, in 503 (A.D. 1110), his son 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed Al-mutamen (the trusty), succeeded to the kingdom of Saragossa. The Christian king [Ramiro] having taken from him his capital in 512 (A.D. 1118), he was compelled to retire to a strong fortress in his dominions, where he maintained himself until he died. He was succeeded by his son Seyfu-d-daulah (the sword of the state), who fought many a hard battle with the Christian tyrant, until he made an agreement with him, and removed with his family to Toledo, where he died.

Among the verses of Al-muktadir some have been preserved in which he praises two palaces which he had erected in his capital; one called Kasru's-sorúr (the abode of joy), and the other Mejless adh-dhaháb (the gilded hall). During the sway of the Almohades, a prince of this family, named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, raised the standard of revolt, and made himself master of the greater part of Andalus; but enough will be said of him in another part of this work.

The city of Badajoz and its district fell likewise to the share of a powerful family, who maintained themselves in possession of their usurped dominions until the arrival of the Almoravides. It was formerly in the hands of Shabúr, a eunuch of the Bení 'A'mir, who, immediately upon the assassination of 'Abdu-r-rahmán and the dethronement of Hishám [by Mohammed Al-muhdí], declared himself independent, assuming the title of Hájib (chamberlain) and the surname of Al-mansúr. At his death the government of Badajoz and its districts passed into the hands of Al-mudhaffer [Mohammed Ibn Al-afttas], the author of the work entitled Al-mudhafferí, in fifty volumes. He was succeeded by his son 'Omar, surnamed Al-mutawakkel-billah (he who relies on