God), who was put to death, together with his two sons, by the general of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, the Almoravide. In commemoration of that unfortunate event, Ibn 'Abdún wrote his celebrated elegiac poem, the beginning of which we have given elsewhere (vol. i. p. 62): it is one of the finest poems that ever was written.

Valencia and the surrounding districts were in the hands of Abú-l-hasan 'Abdu-l-valenciana. 'aziz Al-ma'áférí, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and grandson of Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr. He was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed Al-mudhaffer,36 who was deprived of his kingdom by his father-in-law, Yahya Al-mámnún, King of Toledo.

Murcia was in the mean while under the sway of a family called the Bení Táhir, Murcia. who ruled undisturbed over that city and the neighbouring districts for a period of several years, until they were finally dispossessed of their dominions by Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville.

Almeria was governed in succession by a great number of princes. The first Almeria. was the Scalonian eunuch Khayrán, who, as before stated, had been governor of the province during the administration of the Hájib Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr, and who, at the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, raised the standard of revolt against the sovereigns of the house of Hamid. At his death, which happened in 419 (beginning Jan. 30, A.D. 1028), Khayrán was succeeded by another Scalonian eunuch, named Zohayr,37 who added to his dominions the city of Xatiba and other populous districts. This Zohayr was slain in 429 (beginning Oct. 13, A.D. 1037), in a battle fought under the walls of Granada with the troops of Baidis, King of that city. At his death, the kingdom of Almeria passed into the hands of Dhú-l-wizaratayn Abú-l-ahwass Ma'n Ibn 'Samádeh, who bequeathed it to his son Mohammed Abú Yahya. This was an enlightened and excellent monarch; he governed his states with great wisdom and justice, until the arrival of the wearers of the veil (Almoravides), who, having laid siege to his capital, took it from his son Ahmed, he himself dying during the siege.

The [Balearic] islands were governed by Mujáhid Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ámirí, surnamed Abú-l-jiyúsh (the father of the army) and Al-muwaftek (he who prospers by the grace of God), a mauli of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-mansúr. At the death of his master, Mujáhid kept possession of Denia [of which city he was governor], and became in time King of the Balearic38 islands. He was an undaunted warrior and an experienced sailor. He used to keep a considerable fleet always ready for sea, with which he made descents on the coast of Afranj (France), and Antalíah (Italy). As long as he lived, no Christian vessel dared bear the waters of the sea of Shám (Mediterranean).

Al-homaydí says that Mujáhid was born at Cordova, where he filled offices

CHAP. IV.]

DYNASTIES IN SPAIN.

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of trust. "After the assassination of his patron 'Abdu-r-rahmán, when the civil " war broke out in Andalus, and the armies of the contending parties disputed " with each other the possession of the provinces, Mujáhid, with a number of " his followers, repaired to the islands to the east of Andalus, which are fertile " and extensive. These he subdued, keeping the inhabitants under his obedience. " From thence, having equipped a fleet, Mujáhid sailed to Sardinia, a large island " of the Rúm, which he almost entirely conquered. This happened in the year " 406 or 407 (A. D. 1015-17). Soon after, however, discord broke out among " his men; upon which the Rúm, having received re-inforcements, attacked Mujáhid " and sank some of his ships. In order to save the remainder, Mujáhid set sail " against the advice of experienced mariners, and the consequence was that the " greater part of his vessels were either dashed against the rocks or lost at sea."— " I was told," says Al-homaydí, "by Abú Mohammed 'Ali Ibn Ahmed [Ibn " Hazm], who held it from Abú-I-fotúh Thábit Ibn Mohammed Al-jorjání, who " accompanied Mujáhid to the conquest of Sardinia, that the latter entered with " his fleet a port against the advice of Abú Kharúf, the chief of the sailors, " who warned him not to go in. Scarcely, however, had the fleet entered the " bay, when a storm arose, which scattered and separated the vessels of the " Moslems, and cast them on shore, where the Christians were lying in wait; " so that they had nothing to do but to slay and make captives of the Moslems] " at their pleasure." "

Mujáhid returned to the Andalusian [or Balearic] islands, and some time after " took possession of the city of Denia, 39 wherein he fixed his residence until he died " in 436. After the death of Mujáhid, his son 'Ali succeeded him in his dominions; " but soon after a freed slave of his father, named Mubashsher, 40 took possession " of the [Balearic] islands and reigned over them under the name of Násiru-d- " daulah. It was in the days of the latter that the Christians made a descent on " the island of Mallorca, and subjected it to their rule, although it was recovered " not long after by the Moslems. 'Ali, however, continued to rule 41 over Denia " and the neighbouring districts until he was expelled by the Almoravides. " Besides the above-mentioned chieftains, who divided among themselves the " inheritance of the Bení Umeyyah, there were many other governors who assumed " the sovereignty in the small districts and towns over which they ruled. Such " were Habíb, a Slavonian eunuch, brother of Shábúr, King of Badajoz, who ruled " for some time over Tortosa and the adjacent districts. " That portion of Andalus known under the name of As-sahlah was erected into " a kingdom by Dhú-r-riyásateyn 'Abúd 42 Ibn Razín, a Berber chief attached to the " party of the Bení 'A'mir. There was also a King of Liblah (Niebla) and the
Island of Saltis in the western part of Andalus ["Abdu-l-'aziz Al-bekri"], and a King of Carmona [Al-birzálí], and Kings of Ronda, Huesca, Xatiba, and other cities; but as all these petty sovereigns were generally more or less dependent on the more powerful states of Andalus, with which their own dominions became in time incorporated, we shall not stop to give an account of them.
CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Asturian kingdom—Progress of the Christian arms—Taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI.—Conquests of Sancho I. of Aragon—Battle of Paterna—Taking of Barbastro—Massacre of the inhabitants—Excesses committed by the Christians—Barbastro retaken by the Moslems—Ambitious projects of Alfonso—His insolent request—Al-mu'tamed puts to death his ambassador—Alfonso prepares to revenge the outrage—Marches against Seville, and besieges it—Al-mu'tamed decides on calling Yusuf to his aid—Sends him an embassy—Account of Yusuf Ibn Tashfin—His negotiation with the rulers of Andalus—His answer to the ambassadors of Al-mu'tamed.

We have already stated, on the authority of several historians, (p. 34,) that the first Christian who, after the conquest of Andalus by the Arabs, collected his countrymen round him and showed symptoms of resistance, was a barbarian named Beláy (Pelayo), from among the people of Ashturish (Asturias) in Galicia, who, during the administration of Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakeñ, the second governor of Andalus, fled from Cordova, where he was retained as a hostage for the security of his countrymen, and repaired to his native mountains. This event took place six years after the conquest of Andalus, that is to say, in the year 98 of the Hijra. The Christians [of those parts], having taken up arms with him against the lieutenant of Al-horr, expelled him from the country and became masters of it. The historian 'Isa Ibn Ahmed Ar-rází relates this differently. He says: "In the days of 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, [governor of Andalus,] there rose in the land of Galicia a contemptible barbarian whose name was Beláy (Pelayo), and who was the first among the Christians to show signs of resistance. This man began to stir up the Franks to keep the Moslems out of those districts which remained still in their hands, a thing for which they had never yet shown any inclination. The Moslems at that time were the masters of [almost] all Andalus, and they had expelled the Christians [from those districts formerly occupied by them]. They had pushed their conquests as far as Ariúnah (Narbonne), which they took, and they had also reduced the city of Banbilúnah [Pamplona] in Galicia; so that there remained nothing [in the hands of the Christians] but a ridge of mountains, to which they had fled. Here a prince, named Beláy (Pelayo), also took refuge with three hundred followers, whom the Moslems ceased not to pursue and to attack, until the greater part..."
"of them died of hunger, and Pelayo remained with only thirty men and ten
women, whose sole food consisted of honey which they gathered in the crevices
of the rock. In this manner they supported themselves, until information [of
their existence] was brought to the Moslems, who despised them and said,
‘What are thirty barbarians? They cannot but be destroyed, and we shall
be rid of them;’ and yet their strength and numbers have since increased in
such a ratio that it can no longer be concealed. This Pelayo died in the year
133, (beginning August 8, A. D. 750,) after a reign of nineteen years, and was
succeeded by his son Fáfilah (Favila), who reigned two years. Fáfilah was
succeeded by Adefonsh, son of Beytro or Pedro (Alfonso el Católico), the
progenitor of the [royal] family of the Alfonso,9 who are now reigning, and
who have retaken what the Moslems had conquered of their country.”

So far Ar-rázi, whose narrative we have somewhat abridged. Other historians
state that the number of Christian kings who reigned in Andalus [since the rising
of Pelayo], to the end of An-násir’s reign in 350 (A. D. 961), was twenty-two.
The historian Al-mes’údí, after relating the disastrous battle of Šamúrah (Zamora)
which, as is well known, was fought in the days of An-násir, says as follows:
“This victory gave to the Galicians and Basques the superiority over the Moslems,
as they took from them many towns on the frontiers of Afranjah (France), such
as the city of Tarkúnah (Tarragona),4 which was lost to the Moslems in the year
330, (beginning Sept. 25, A. D. 941,) and other important towns and castles, which
had been in their hands [since the conquest]; so that at the moment we write,
in A. H. 336, (beginning July 22, A. D. 947,) the Moslem frontier on the eastern
side of Andalus is the city of Tortúshah (Tortosa), and on that part of the
coast of the Mediterranean which is in the vicinity of Tortosa going towards
the north, the cities of Afraghah (Fraga), on the great river [Ebro], Léridah
(Lerida), and, lastly, Balaghi (Balaguer).”

Most of the conquests made by the Christians were, however, recovered under
the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr, who not only defeated the infidels
wherever he met them, but took also Barcelona in the East, and Santiago in
the West, both courts of their proudest kings. But alas! during the civil wars
into which Cordova was plunged soon after the death of Al-mansúr,—when the
parties contending for power scrupled not to implore the assistance of the
Christians, and to admit them into the capital,—the cruel enemy of God again
raised his head with pride and exultation, and began to attack the Moslems, whose
weakness and folly he had witnessed. The division, too, of Andalus into several
petty kingdoms, which followed immediately after the overthrow of the house of
Umeyyah, afforded the Christians considerable facilities to execute their wicked
designs; for, whilst they united their forces, and even invited the people of distant nations to share in the attack, the Moslem rulers [of Andalus] saw with perfect unconcern, perhaps with secret joy, the dominions of their neighbours or rivals exposed to all the devastations of the Christian foe.

About the year 467, (A.D. 1074,) Adefunsh (Alfonso VI.), son of Ferdeland (Fernando), united under his rule almost the whole of Christian Andalus. Being a man of great resolution, and well acquainted with the pitiful state of Mohammedan affairs, he formed the design of subjecting the whole country to his detestable rule; and for that purpose began to attack all those among the rulers [of Andalus] who refused to pay him tribute. Accordingly, he invaded the dominions of the King of Toledo, and, after seven years' siege, made himself master of that capital in the year 474 (beginning June 10, A.D. 1081). There are, however, various dates given for the loss of that city; some authors saying that it happened in 474 (A.D. 1081), as above stated; whilst others assert that it surrendered to the Christians on the 15th day of Moharram of the year 478 (May 12, A.D. 1085). Ibn Khallekán, [in the life of Yusuf Ibn Táshefín,] says, in the new moon of Safar of the same year [478] (May 28, A.D. 1085,) after a long siege; Ibn 'Alkama, on Wednesday the 20th of Moharram, A.H. 478 (May 17, A.D. 1085); and he adds that the battle of Zalákah was fought the year after. Be this as it may, certain it is that the King of Toledo at the time was Al-kádir-billah [grand-] son of Al-máman Yahya Ibn Dhí-nún, who, in return for the capital of his dominions which he gave up to Alfonso, received from that monarch the promise that he would help him to get possession of Valencia; which he did.

"Toledo," says one of the historians [of Andalus], "was a very ancient and strongly fortified city, full of primeval buildings of the time of the 'Amalekites (Phœnicians or Carthaginians), who were its founders. It is situated on the banks of a large river called Tajoh (Tagus), has a kassdábah or citadel of marvelous strength, and a bridge of wonderful structure, consisting of only one arch, through which the stream passes with great rapidity and force. Close to the banks of the river is a ndúrah or water-wheel, rising to the height of ninety cubits, by means of which the water of the river is made to ascend to the bridge, and is from thence conveyed, by means of subterraneous pipes, to the city, for the use of the inhabitants." In times of old, Toledo was the court and residence of the ancient monarchs of Andalus; it was there that the enchanted palace was, which the Gothic kings warned each other not to open, until Roderíc opened it and found inside the picture of the Arabs, as we have related elsewhere (vol. i. p. 262).

After the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, and when the governors, chiefs,
and other influential men of Andalus divided among themselves its provinces; Toledo and the neighbouring districts were occupied by the family of Dhí-n-nún; one of whom was Yahya Ibn Isma'il, surnamed Al-mámún, who became in his time one of the most powerful kings of Andalus. He not only took Cordova from the Beni 'Abbád, but made himself formidable to the other kings of Andalus by his power and his resources.

Ibn Bedrún, in his commentary upon the 'Abdáníyyah, speaks of a palace built at Toledo by this Al-mámún [Yahya] Ibn Dhí-n-nún, in the construction of which that monarch is reported to have lavished his treasures. He made a lake, and in the middle of the lake a kiosk [of crystal], to the top of which the water of the lake was made to ascend by geometrical art, and then fall down on all sides to mix itself with the water underneath. The pavilion was therefore enclosed within a shower of limpid water, which, being constantly renewed, was kept always cool, and Al-mámún would sit inside the pavilion without the water touching him; he could, moreover, have wax-tapers lighted within, if he chose. One day, as he was sitting in this pavilion, he heard a voice, saying,

"Thou hast erected everlasting palaces: but thy dwelling in them will be of short duration."

"The arák affords sufficient shade to the traveller who is daily exposed to the rays of a scorching sun." 5

Some time after this adventure Al-mámún fell ill and died.

Al-mámún was succeeded by his [grand-]son, Yahya Al-kádir, under whose reign, as above stated, Toledo was reduced by Alfonso. It is generally related, that the Christian king remained for seven consecutive years encamped before the city, destroying the fields and plantations, cutting down the trees, and intercepting the supplies sent by other Moslem princes, until Al-kádir consented to surrender the city to him upon certain conditions which Alfonso swore to fulfil.

Thus fell the city of Toledo. Ibn Dhí-n-nún [Al-kádir] left his capital in the most wretched and ignominious plight possible. He carried an astrolabe in his hand, with which he intended to take the auspicious hour for setting out [for Valencia]. At the sight of such behaviour the Moslems were dumb with astonishment, and the unbelievers laughed with contempt.

About the taking of Toledo we find the following in Ibn Bessám: "At the time that civil wars were succeeding each other in Toledo, and that dire calamities were daily being heaped on the inhabitants of that place, when the Franks were striving to convert their happiness and their joy into misfortune and exile, there happened in Toledo a most marvellous circumstance, which was looked upon by every one as the harbinger of its approaching ruin. Corn had remained
stored in the subterranean magazines of that city for upwards of fifty years, "without showing the least sign of corruption; and was, moreover, in such "abundance, that, as long as the siege lasted, no restriction whatever was imposed "upon the people, who could use it in any quantity they liked. Yet when it "came to the year in which the enemy of God took possession of Toledo, the "corn began gradually to grow damaged, and corruption at last seized the whole "of it. This miraculous occurrence warned the citizens of Toledo that it was "the will of God to visit them with the gales of affliction and adversity; and "so it was; for, shortly after, the enemy of God took Toledo, and reduced the "inhabitants of that wealthy city to his obedience.

"Alfonso," continues Ibn Bessám, "began to govern the people with justice "and moderation, hoping to gain them over to polytheism, and make them "embrace his abominable religion; but, seeing that he could not accomplish "this, he set about polluting the principal mosque and turning it into a church "for the celebration of his detestable rites. The very day in which Alfonso "issued his orders to that effect, which was one day of the month of Rabi' "the first, A.H. 496, (Oct. 14, A.D. 1102,) the Sheikh Al-moghámí (may God "show him mercy!) happened to go into the mosque and to say his prayers, "bidding all those who were present to do the same, and to read a certain chapter "of the Korán. Presently the Franks (may God Almighty exterminate them all!) "make their appearance in the mosque and begin to pull down the kibláh. Not "one of them, however, dared interrupt the Sheikh in his devotions, or expel "him from the mosque; God protecting him and the pious Moslems who were "with him, until he had finished reading his prayers, and had performed a "prostration, when he raised his head and wept profusely before he quitted the "mosque."

One day, a traitor Moslem said to the Christian king, "Thou shouldst put "on a crown like those of thy ancestors, who preceded thee in this kingdom;" and he answered, "Not until we have taken your city, Cordova, and taken the "bells which hang there as lamps, that I may ornament my royal diadem with "them." God, however, was pleased to give Alfonso the lie, sending against him the commander of the Moslems and defender of the faith, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, to prop up the tottering edifice of Islám, and to humble the pride of the insolent Christian.

But whilst the Galicians were assailing the Moslems on their northern frontier, the Franks (Aragonese) were not inactive. In the year 456 (beginning Dec. 24, A.D. 1063) they collected in large numbers and laid siege to Valencia, whose inhabitants were then untrained to war, and as little used to the hard life of a
camp, as to the handling of the spear and the sword. They were, on the contrary, plunged in pleasure and sloth, and thought of nothing but eating and drinking. At this juncture the Franks appeared in sight of the city, showing an inclination to become the guests of the Moslems, to join their convivial parties, and to take up their abode in the city. In this hope, however, they were completely disappointed, and, although they tried to deceive the inhabitants, they were themselves deceived. At last they retired from before the walls of Valencia; upon which the citizens, thinking that they were flying before them, went out in large numbers to attack the enemy, commanded by their king, 'Abdu-l-aziz Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and arrayed in all their finery. The Franks, however, had only retreated to a short distance from Valencia, to a place called Paterna, where they lay in ambush. No sooner had 'Abdu-l-aziz and his host made their appearance than they rushed upon them, threw their ranks into confusion, and, following up the pursuit, slew or took prisoners all the Moslems, with the exception of a few. In allusion to this, a poet of that time composed two verses, which we have given elsewhere (vol. i. p. 68), and need not repeat here.

The same thing, observes Ibn Bessám, happened afterwards to the people of Toledo; for when the enemies of God, after slaying numbers of the Moslems in a battle, showed themselves before their city, the citizens came out to them dressed in all their finery, and were defeated. Among the spoils made by the Christians on this occasion were no less than one thousand ghifārah, besides other [useless] articles of dress.

In the year 456 (A.D. 1064), the Christians took the city of Barbashter (Barbastro), one of the strongest places in all the Thagher (Aragon). Ibn Hayyán calls it the kassābah (citadel) of the country of Birtanieh, and says that it was close to Saragossa. Its capture is thus related by the above historian: "The army of Al-ardemelis encamped before Barbastro and besieged it. Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán Ibn Húd [at that time King of Saragossa], instead of hastening, "as he ought to have done, to the relief of the city, left the inhabitants to defend "themselves as they best could; and the consequence was that the enemy got "possession of it, as we will presently relate. The Christians besieged it for "forty consecutive days without gaining any advantage, until, having received "intelligence that the garrison were divided and had quarrelled among themselves, "owing to the scarcity of provisions, they pressed their attacks with increased "vigour, and succeeded in introducing five thousand of their best men at arms "into the suburbs. The Moslems were astounded, and betook themselves to "the inner city, where they fortified themselves. Great battles then ensued "between the two hosts, in which no less than five hundred Franks fell. At last
it happened that the subterraneous aqueduct, by means of which the city was
supplied with water from the river, got out of repair; several large stones having
fallen into and choked the course, the progress of the water was arrested, and
the supply cut off from the river. Upon which the inhabitants of Barbastro,
despairing of their lives, hastened to the camp of the enemy, and bought security
for their persons and property at the price of certain sums of money, and a
number of slaves, which they immediately delivered into the conqueror's hands.
No sooner, however, had the Christian king received the money and other articles
stipulated in the convention, than he violated it; and, falling on the poor
inhabitants, slaughtered the whole of them, with the exception of the Káyed
Ibnu-t-tawíl, and the Kádí Ibn 'Isa, who, with a few more of the principal
inhabitants of the place, contrived to escape from the general massacre. The
spoil made by the Christians on this occasion, whether in money, furniture,
or apparel, exceeds all computation; since we are assured that the share of
one of their chiefs only, who was the general of the cavalry,11 amounted to
about fifteen hundred young maidens, besides five hundred loads of merchandise,
dresses, ornaments, and every description of property, the whole of which he
carried to his stronghold. The number of Moslems who perished or were
made captives on this occasion amounted to one hundred thousand souls;
although others reduce that number to about one-half.
Among the extraordinary occurrences of this siege, the following is one. At
the time when the aqueduct got out of repair, and the supply of water was
cut off from the city, there was a woman standing on the ramparts, who entreated
all those who came near to give her a sip of water for herself or her son.
Presently a Christian soldier made his appearance, and told her that if she would
give him every thing she had on,—dress, jewels, &c.,—he would bring her some
water wherewithal to quench her thirst; and the woman did not hesitate one
moment to accept the bargain.
The reason which induced the Christian king to order the massacre of the
inhabitants was this. They say that when he entered Barbastro and saw the
numbers of the population, fear lodged in his heart, and he became apprehensive
lest the Moslems of the neighbouring districts should come to their assistance,
and aid them to regain possession of their city. He therefore decided on
exterminating them all, if he could, and ordered a general slaughter; which lasted
until upwards of six thousand Moslems fell by the swords of the Christians.
At last the king ordered the massacre to cease, and commanded that such of the
inhabitants as remained should be spared, and allowed to quit the city. When the
order was made public, the rush of the people to the gate [of the city] was such
that a considerable number of them lost their lives by suffocation; others were
"wiser, they let themselves down from the walls by means of ropes; all, however,
"ran to the river in order to quench their thirst. About seven hundred of the
"principal inhabitants of the place, fearing for their lives, waited until their fate
"should be known. When the massacre had ceased, and the Christians had
"taken as many captives as they wanted, and the remainder had either fled through
"the gates, or let themselves down from the walls, or perished in the pressure,
"it was announced by the public crier that the slaughter had ended, and that
"every citizen might return in safety to his dwelling; then they left their place of
"concealment and hastened home to their families. No sooner, however, had they
"arrived there, than, by the command of their king, the Franks (may the curses
"of God fall on their heads!) summoned them out of their houses, and led them
"all into captivity with their wives and children. May the Almighty save us from
"a similar calamity!

"Another portion of the inhabitants fled to the top of the neighbouring
"mountains, and fortified themselves there; but, being destitute of water, they
"were on the point of dying of thirst, when messengers arrived from the king
"to grant them security and pardon. They then came down from the mountains
"more dead than alive, owing to the raging thirst to which they had long been
"exposed, and were allowed to proceed unmolested wherever they pleased; but
"having fallen in with a party of the enemy's cavalry, who were not aware of
"the truce entered into with them, they were all put to death with the exception of
"a few who contrived to escape."

The same writer adds, "It was an invariable custom with the Christians, Excesses com-
"mitted by the
"whenever they took a town by force of arms, to ravish the daughters in the
"presence of their fathers, and the women before the eyes of their husbands and
"families. But on the taking of Barbastro the excesses of this kind committed
"by them pass all belief; 12 the Moslems had never before experienced any thing
"like it. In short, such were the crimes and excesses committed by the Christians
"on this occasion, that there is no pen eloquent enough to describe them.

"When the Christian king had made up his mind to return to his own country,
"he selected from among the sons and daughters of the Moslems the most beau-
"tiful maidens and the handsomest boys; and having also selected from among
"the married women those who were the youngest and prettiest, he sent them
"onwards to his capital, intending to present them to his superiors in rank and
dignity. He himself, after leaving in Barbastro a garrison of fifteen hundred
"horse and two thousand foot, returned to his dominions.

"We will put an end to this afflicting and heart-rending narrative," continues
Ibnu Hayyán, "by recording an anecdote which will of itself convey a sufficient
idea of the manifold sufferings of the Moslems on this occasion. Some time after
this catastrophe, a Jewish merchant went to Barbastro for the purpose of
redeeming the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants, who had escaped
from the massacre. At the division of the spoil, the maiden had fallen to the
lot of a count, whom the Jew well knew, one of those left in charge of the city
[after the king's departure]. The Jew went to the count's residence, and,
causing himself to be announced by the servants, was admitted into his presence.
He there found the Christian occupying the part of the house where its late
Moslem proprietor usually sat; reclining on his very couch, and clothed in his
most valuable robes. The room, however, with its carpets, cushions, and
hangings, was in the same state as when its owner left it on the fatal day; and
nothing had been changed or touched of its [arabesque] paintings and ornaments.
His female slaves, with their hair tied, were all standing by his bed-side, ready to
obey his will.

"The count," said the Jew, "welcomed me, and inquired the object of my visit;
which I told him plainly and without disguise, pointing to the many maidens
who were in the room, and in whose number was the one I came to redeem.
"The count smiled, and said to me, in the language of his nation, 'Be quick, then,
and if the girl thou seest be among these, point her out to me; if not, thou
mayst go to my castle, where thou wilt find many more among my prisoners
and captives; look for the person thou meanest,—we will then come to terms.'
"I replied, 'I need not repair to thy castle, the person in search of whom I am
come is among yonder maidens; if thou consentest to part with her, I am ready
to meet thy demands.'—'And what hast thou brought to tempt me?' said the
count. 'I have brought thee fine gold in quantity, and costly and new mer-
chandise,' was my answer. 'And thou, no doubt, flatterest thyself that thou
hast brought things to tempt me, and which I do not possess already. O
'Bahjah!' said he, addressing one of his female slaves, 'take some of thy fellow-
servants with thee, and bring here the large chest, that we may show him some
of our own property.' The chest was brought into the room, and Bahjah
proceeded to take out, first, a bag containing ten thousand gold dinárs; next,
several bags full of dirhems; lastly, many trays covered with gold ornaments, and
jewels in such profusion, that, when displayed before the Christian, there were
enough to cover him withal, and conceal him [from my view]. The count then
said to Bahjah, 'Bring yonder wardrobe closer;' which she did, taking out such
a profusion of costly silken and cotton robes, as well as gold and silver brocades,
of every colour and pattern, that I was actually bewildered, and saw plainly that I
had brought nothing with me to be compared with the least valuable of the articles exhibited before me. But what was my astonishment when the Christian told me that what I saw was but a small portion of the treasures which he possessed, and that he had so many other precious articles of all sorts, that nothing could be produced which was either new or desirable to him. He then swore by his God, that had he possessed none of the valuable objects [exhibited] before me, and had I come for the express purpose of offering them to him as a ransom for the fair captive, he would still not part with her; and he added, 'This maiden is the daughter of the late owner of this house, who, if I am rightly informed, was a man of rank and influence among his fellow-citizens; and for this reason I intend to keep her in my service, as the people of her nation were wont to do with our women, whenever they fell into their hands, at the time that they were all-powerful in this country. Now that the scales are turned, and that we have the superiority over them, we do as they did; nay, we do still more. Seest thou yonder youthful and delicate maiden (pointing to one who stood in a corner of the room with a lute in her hand), she is actually trembling from fear of my anger.'—'Take thy lute,' said he to her in his barbarous jargon, 'and sing to this our visitor in thy plaintive strain.' The maid took the lute, as she was commanded, and sat down to tune it; and I saw the tears rolling down her fair cheeks; but, the Christian darting upon her a look of anger, she attempted to sing some verses which I did not understand any more than her Christian master; although, strange to say, he kept drinking draughts of the liquor he had before him, and giving signs of mirth [as if he understood the meaning of them]. At last, seeing that I could not gain my object, I took leave of the count, and went elsewhere [about the city] to dispose of my goods, when I saw in the hands of the commonest Christians such amount of plunder and captives as left me completely bewildered.

"About the end of Jumáda, the first, of the ensuing year (A. H. 457)," continues Ibnu Hayyán, "the news came to Cordova that Barbastro had been retaken by the Moslems. This happened thus: Ahmed Al-muktadir Ibn Hád, through whose criminal negligence that city had been lost, (since, in order to revenge himself upon the inhabitants who had gone over to his brother, he had suffered them to become the prey of the Christians,) wishing to silence those who spoke ill of him, to wash out the indelible spot cast upon his character, and to atone for a sin which nothing short of the immense forgiveness of God can obliterate, marched to Barbastro at the head of his own troops and the re-inforcements which his ally 'Abbád [Al-mu'tadhad] had sent him. Having there attacked the unbelievers, Ahmed displayed so much courage and performed such feats
of arms, that even the cowards [in his army] hesitated, and felt an inclination to behave well. (May God pour his favour on the brave!) The Moslems and the unbelievers fought with renewed fury, until, at last, God was pleased to grant the victory to the former, and to disperse their enemies, who turned their backs in confusion, and ran tumultuously towards the city gates, followed by the Moslems, who entered along with them, and slaughtered the whole of the garrison with the exception of a few, who fled the field of battle [in another direction], of a few children whom compassion saved from death, or those among their principal men who redeemed themselves by the payment of heavy ransoms. All the rest were either put to death or made slaves, together with their wives and children.

In this manner was the city of Barbastro restored to the Moslems by the will of the Creator of all things, with the loss of about fifty of the bravest Moslems only, who fell martyrs to the faith, and whose names God immediately wrote down, to give them entrance into Paradise. The loss of the unbelievers was very considerable, since it amounted to one thousand horsemen and five hundred foot. The city was purified from the filth of idolatry, and cleansed from the stains of infidelity and polytheism.

But to return. No sooner did the tyrant Alfonso see himself master of Toledo, and of all those towns which had formerly acknowledged the rule of Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún, than he began to entertain the project of reducing the whole of Andalus under his sway. He accordingly made successive incursions into the territory of Ibn Al-afítas, King of Badajoz, as well as into that of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, at that time King of Seville, taking so many of their towns and castles, and causing such havoc and ruin, that those monarchs, together with many other petty princes, consented to pay an annual tribute to Alfonso, rather than have their dominions continually exposed to his devastating fury.

What follows is extracted from the Raudhu-l-mu’attar fi dhikri-m-modon wa-l-akttár, by the Faquih Abú 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-mu'anem Al-himyari. Whilst Al-mu’tamed was occupied in making war against Ibn Samádeh, King of Almeria, he let pass the time at which he used to pay his annual tribute to Alfonso. However, he sent it to him as usual; but the Christian king was so highly displeased and incensed [at the delay], that he would not receive it, and required that Al-mu’tamed should, in addition [to the tribute], give up to him certain fortresses which he named. He went still further; he asked that his wife, Alkomjittah (Constanza?), who was then with child, should be allowed to reside in the great mosque of Cordova, that she might be delivered [in that sacred spot]. Alfonso was induced to make this extraordinary request at the
instigation of his bishops and priests, who recommended the measure to him on account of a church of great veneration among the Christians, which stood once westward of the great mosque, and was pulled down by the Moslems, in order to build on its site the present magnificent structure. He asked, therefore, that his wife should be allowed to reside at Medínah Az-zahrá, a city west of Cordova, built by An-násir lidín-illah, who expended much time and treasure in its construction, ornamenting it with the most costly rarities, with coloured jaspers and transparent marbles, as well as with the far-famed [marble] fountain resting on a single pillar, which he caused to be brought to Cordova from distant lands, and in the acquisition of which he is said to have spent immense sums, without counting those spent in the transport [to Cordova], and the salary of the men employed [in the operation]. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, moreover, laboured himself in the building, watching its progress, and encouraging the workmen; the pleasure which he derived from that occupation being so great, that he once left off going to the mosque for three consecutive Fridays; and when he appeared on the fourth, the austere theologian, Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd Al-bolúttí, who was then the Khattíb (preacher), alluded to him in his sermon, and, in the presence of the assembled multitude, threatened him [with the fire of hell], as is well known. The palace of Az-zahrá was one of the most magnificent residences ever built by a king in the dominions of Islám. Those who wish for further information may consult the work of Ibn Hayyán.

But, to return to Alfonso. His physicians and priests advised him to procure Al-mu'tamed a residence for his wife at Az-zahrá, in order that she might visit the mosque of Cordova every day until the time of her delivery should come, thus combining the salubrity and amenity of the spot with the sanctity and virtues of the place where she was expected to be confined. The bearer of the message was a Jew, who was one of Alfonso's ministers. As may be presumed, Al-mu'tamed indignantly refused to grant his indecent request. The Jew insisted, but the King of Seville replied that he would never consent to it. Again the Jew repeated his demand a third time, treating Al-mu'tamed in a very indecorous manner, and using language which that spirited monarch could not well brook; upon which, being unable to bear his impudence any longer, he seized an inkstand, which was close by him, and hurled it at the head of the Jew. The missile was aimed with such dexterity, and directed with such force, that it lodged in the skull of the Jew, whose brain fell down his throat. After this, Al-mu'tamed ordered that the Jew should be nailed to a post, with his head downwards, at the entrance of the bridge of Cordova; which was done as he commanded.

When Al-mu'tamed's anger was cooled, he sent for his theologians, in order to
consult them as to the justice of what he had done with the Jew; upon which, "one of them, whose name was Mohammed Ibnu-t-talláh, told him that he was "perfectly justified in doing so, since the ambassador had outstripped the bounds "of his embassy, and uttered words which deserved death. Mohammed then told "his comrades, 'I have hastened to give him my advice, from fear he should not "persevere in his laudable purpose of opposing the enemy, and not permitting "Alfonso to inflict such an affront upon the Moslems.'" 14

The above is differently related by Ibnu-l-lebbánah, in his history of the Bení 'Abbád, as well as by Ibnu-l-khattíb 15 in the article 'Al-mu'tamed.' We here subjoin a third version, borrowed from the historian Ibnu-l-athír, in his Kâmíl (complete history). "Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád was the most powerful king in "Andalus, and the one who possessed most dominions, being master of Cordova, "Seville, and other cities; yet with all this he paid tribute to Alfonso every "year. On the taking of Toledo by Alfonso, Al-mu'tamed, as usual, sent him "the tribute; but the Christian would not receive it, and wrote to him a threat-"ening letter, saying, that unless he surrendered to him all his fortresses, and "kept only the plains and the open towns for the Moslems, he would march "his army to Cordova and take that city [from him]. The ambassador intrusted "with this message proceeded with a numerous suite, amounting to five hundred "horsemen. Al-mu'tamed lodged him, and divided his followers among the "officers of his army, to whom he afterwards gave instructions to put every one "of their infidel guests to death; which was executed according to his orders. He "then sent for the ambassador, and, seizing him by the throat, he shook him and "beat him until the eyes came out of his head. Three men only [out of the five "hundred] escaped the general massacre; they returned to Alfonso, and told him "what had happened. Alfonso was then on the road to Cordova, which he was "going to besiege; but when he heard the news brought to him, he returned "immediately to Toledo, to provide himself with battering machines and stores "for a siege, and to increase his army.

When Alfonso heard what had been done with the Jew, he swore by his God "that he would march upon Seville, and besiege Al-mu'tamed in his palace. To "that end he collected two armies; giving the command of one to a Christian dog, "who was one of his most enterprising generals, with instructions to march to "the province of Beja, in the western part of Andalus, and, after laying waste its "lands and districts, to proceed by the road of Liblah (Niebla) to Seville, where he "promised to meet him on a certain day in sight of the suburb called Taryánah "(Triana). Accordingly, Alfonso put himself at the head of numberless troops, "and, following a different road from that taken by his general [in command of
'the other army], arrived, according to his promise, in sight of Seville, after
laying waste and destroying every thing on his way to that city. His general
did the same, and both armies encamped on the bank of the Guadalquivir,
opposite to the palace of Ibnu 'Abbád. One day, during his stay there, Alfonso
wrote an abusive letter to Al-mu'tamed, in which he said to him, 'My stay at
this place has already been too long. The heat is great and the flies intolerable;
make me a present of thy palace, that I may solace myself in its shadowy gardens
and keep away the flies from my face.' On the receipt of this letter Al-mu'tamed
wrote on the back of it—'We have perused thy letter, and understood its arrogant
and taunting contents; we intend to procure thee shortly such a shadowy spot,
made of the hide of the lamt (hippopotamus), as thou wilt comfortably lie under,
if God be pleased' [meaning the shields of the Almoravides].

'When Al-mu'tamed's letter was brought to Alfonso, and he had its contents
read over to him, he understood the meaning [of those expressions], and became
suddenly thoughtful and silent, as a man who is taken by surprise. Being,
however, a very shrewd and treacherous man, he began to circulate through
Andalus the rumour of Al-mu'tamed's intentions, and how he was planning
to call to his help Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the Almoravide, and give him the
entrance into Andalus. The generality of the Moslems were delighted at this
news, as it opened to them the gates of hope. Not so the petty kings of
Andalus, who had no sooner ascertained Al-mu'tamed's real designs, and the
step he had taken without consulting them, than they began seriously to occupy
themselves in that business. Some wrote to him; others had interviews with
him; all warned him against the determination he had taken, and made him fear
its consequences, saying to him—'A kingdom without heirs and one long sword
do not find room in the same scabbard.' To this Al-mu'tamed replied with that
saying which became afterwards a proverb [among the people of Andalus],
'Better be a camel driver than a driver of pigs,' meaning that he would rather
be Yúsuf's prisoner, and guard his camels in the Desert, than become the captive
of Alfonso, and keep his swine in Castile. He then said to those who upbraided
him for his resolution—'My present position is of two sorts, one of doubt, and
one of certainty, and I must needs choose between the two. As to the one of
doubt, it is whether I am to apply to Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín or to Alfonso, since
it is equally possible that either of the two with whom I treat may either keep
his promise faithfully or not keep it at all. This is the position of doubt;
as to that of certainty, it is, that if I lean for support on Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín,
I do an act agreeable to God; whereas if, on the contrary, I lean on Al-
fonso, I am certain of incurring the wrath of God; and, therefore, the position
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of doubt being in the present instance clear and evident, why should I leave

what is agreeable to God to take that which is offensive to him? These reasons

allayed in some measure the fears of the petty kings of Andalus, and they

desisted from their reproaches.

Al-mu'tamed having made up his mind [to implore the assistance of Yúsuf],

wrote to Al-mutawakkel 'Omar Ibn Mohammed [Ibn Al-afttas], King of Badajoz,

and to 'Abdullah Ibn Habús As-senhájí, King of Granada, commanding them
to send their chief Kádis [to Seville], which they did. He himself summoned
to his presence the Kádí-l-jam'ah (supreme judge) of Cordova, whose name
was Abú Bekr 'Obeydullah Ibn Ad'ham, and who was one of the wisest men
of his time. When the three Kádis had been assembled in Seville, Al-mu'tamed
added to them his own Wizír, Abú Bekr Ibn Zeydún, and having signified to
them his intention to send them all four to Africa, as ambassadors to Yúsuf
'Ibn Táshefín, he gave them the necessary instructions, and provided them with
the means to cross over to Africa, leaving entirely to their discretion the com-
position of the address to be made to that sovereign, and recommending par-
ticularly to his own Wizír, Ibn Zeydún, to uphold his master's royal dignity.'

The historian Ibnu-l-athír, after relating what Al-mu'tamed did with the ambas-
dadors [of Alfonso], and his putting them to death, and the fears of the kings
of Andalus when they heard of his rash act, says, "That a number of chiefs
collected together [in Cordova], and went to the dwelling of the Kádí Abú
'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed, whom they addressed in the following words: 'Dost
thou not perceive the humble and abject condition to which the Moslems [of
this country] have been reduced, paying tribute [to the infidels], after being
so long in the habit of receiving it [from them]. The Franks have subdued
the greater part of Andalus, a small portion of which only remains in the
hands of the Moslems. If the present state of things continue for any length
of time, we may be sure that the Christians will soon regain in this country
the position they held [before the conquest]. We have thought of an expedient
to save ourselves from the impending ruin.'—'And what is that?' said Abú
Mohammed to them. 'To write to the Arabs of Africa [to come to us], and
to lavish upon them on their arrival half our riches. We will then go out
with them to fight for the cause of God.' To this Abú 'Abdillah replied—
'I only fear that if they once come among us they will not leave this country,
and will settle in it, as they have done in Eastern Africa; they will leave the
Franks alone, and they will set about [destroying] us; and yet, with all that,
the Almoravides are better [than the Christians], and more closely connected
with us [by religion].' The assembly then requested Abú 'Abdillah to write
to the commander of the Moslems [Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín], asking him to cross over to Andalus, or to send an army to their assistance. While they were occupied in these transactions, Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád went to Cordova. Immediately upon his arrival, the Kádí Ibn Ad’ham went up to him and informed him of what had been determined upon in the assembly. That monarch approved of the plan, and told Ibn Ad’ham that he should be his ambassador to the African king; but Ibn Ad’ham refused to accept the charge offered to him, as he wished to keep clear of all the consequences. Al-mu’tamed, however, insisted, and he went.

The reader must have observed some slight discrepancy between the account of Ibn 'Abdi-l-mu'anem (Abú ' Abdillah Ibn 'Abdillah), and that of Ibn-l-athír; but as both authors are well known to have borrowed their information from the most authentic sources, we have preferred, in pursuance of the plan which we traced out to ourselves in the composition of the present work, to afford our readers several versions, however contradictory and opposite, of the same event, rather than deprive them of the least particle of useful information.

During the course of these events Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín Al-lamtúní was establishing his power in Africa, and extending the sway of the Almoravides. When he had conquered the whole of Western Africa, and founded the cities of Morocco and Telemsán, the new;¹⁸ when all the Berber tribes, dreading his vengeance, had submitted to his rule and obeyed his commands; when, in short, he had reduced large districts and extensive provinces under his sway, he conceived the design of crossing over to the island of Andalus, and, after turning it over in his own mind, began to prepare the ships and other things necessary for the undertaking.

When the petty kings of Andalus were informed of Yúsuf’s project, they disapproved of his intended passage to their island, and made every warlike preparation to resist it. Yet they were all unwilling to incur his enmity, as by doing so they would have been placed between two enemies, the Franks on the north, and the Moslems on the south. At that time the Franks were more successful than they had been against the Moslems; and they plundered and laid waste every thing before them. Now and then only a peace would be concluded between the contending parties, in consideration of a certain tribute which the Moslems agreed to pay annually to their enemies. Yet with all this the Franks were in no less awe of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the ruler of the West, whose fame and military exploits had already reached their ears. They knew of the reach of his authority, the extent of his empire, and the rapidity of his conquests; they were well aware of the intrepidity of his followers, the wearers of the veil, and of the Sheikhs of the tribes of Senhájah; and they dreaded their dexterity in...
"wielding all the weapons of war, from the sharp-edged sword,—which, handled
by them, cuts a horseman in twain,—to the ponderous lance, which goes through
both horse and rider.

These reasons rendered Yúsuf formidable to all those who sought to attack
him; so that at the same time that the kings of Andalus were anxious to take
shelter under the shade of his power, they feared for their dominions, lest Yúsuf
should cross over in person, should inspect [and like] their country, and keep it
for himself. No sooner, therefore, were the rulers of Andalus apprised of
Yúsuf's determination to cross the Straits, than they sent to acquaint one
another of that circumstance, and to ask each other's advice as to how they
should act in the emergency. Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, being
the most powerful among them, as well as the one who enjoyed the greatest reputa-
tion for his courage and his abilities, the rulers of Andalus naturally clung to him
for advice. After much deliberation it was unanimously agreed among them,
to ascertain whether Yúsuf really intended to cross over to Andalus, and if so, to
write to him, asking him to desist from his undertaking, and to say that they
were under his obedience. The letter, which was written in the name of all by a
Kátib of Andalus, ran thus:—'If thou desist from thy undertaking, and do
not attack us, thou wilt act generously, and thy name will not be coupled
with an unjust or dishonourable deed. On the other hand, if we answer thy call
and acknowledge thee for our master, we shall do that which is wise and prudent,
and our names will not be coupled with a foolish and inconsiderate act; we have
therefore chosen for thee and for ourselves that which is generous and wise;
we will acknowledge thee as our lord and sovereign, and thou wilt remain where
thou now art, and allow these poor dwellers in tents to continue as they
are; for upon their preservation depends, in a certain measure, the duration and
strength of thy empire.'

Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, although endowed with a clear understanding and much
wit, did not understand the Arabic language; so when he received the above
letter with the presents from the kings of Andalus, he handed it over to his
secretary, who was equally well versed in the language of the Arabs as in that of
the Almoravides, and asked him what it meant. 'O King!' said the secretary to
Yúsuf, 'this letter is from the kings of Andalus, who exalt and honour thee, and
acknowledge thee as their master, and place themselves under thy obedience;
they beseech thee not to treat them as enemies, since they are also Moslems
and dwellers in tents, and not to attack them, since they have already enough
to do to fight the infidels beyond their settlements. They tell thee that their
territories are narrow and exhausted, and will not bear armies [like thine].

His negociation with the rulers of Andalus.
"They conclude by entreating thee not to withdraw from them that generous protection which thou hast dispensed to all those who have submitted to thy rule in the West." Yúsuf then said to his secretary, 'What thinkest thou of all this?'—'O King!' answered the secretary, 'thou must know that the splendour of a crown is such that it must be owned by those even who are unwilling to [own it]; that it is therefore incumbent upon a king, who has power and riches, to forgive, whenever his forgiveness is implored, and to give away whenever he is asked: the more largely and profusely he bestows his gifts, the more his fame spreads and the more his power increases, and his dominions extend; for if once it becomes an honour to be the vassal of such a king, people will flock to him on all sides without difficulty, and he will become the heir of an extensive empire without waiting for the death of others. Know that one of the great kings of yore, well versed in the means [to be employed] to arrive at empire, said,—The generous man becomes a lord [among his own people]; the lord rises to be a chief; the chief is the ruler of the country.'

"When Yúsuf heard his secretary utter the above sentiments, he was at once convinced of the soundness of the advice and the truth of his words, and he accordingly directed him to write an answer to that effect in his name, and read it over to him before he sent it to Andalus. The secretary then wrote as follows:

"In the name of God the merciful! the compassionate! [This letter is from Yúsuf Ibn Tásbēfīn, who salutes you all, and invokes upon you the mercy and the blessings of God. (May they descend at once on the saluter and the saluted!)]

"Know ye that whatever you possess of empire, in the broadest acceptation [of this word], is perfectly secure in your hands, and that you are welcome to its possession; that we entertain for you all the greatest regard and esteem, and that therefore we are anxious to see good faith and amity exist between us, and hope that you will treat us as brothers. God is the imparter of help both to you and to me.'

"The letter being written, the secretary read it in his native tongue to Yúsuf, who approved of its contents. Having then prepared some suitable presents for the Andalusian rulers, among which were many valuable shields covered with the skins of the Iant, and which could not be procured elsewhere than in his own dominions, Yúsuf gave his reply to the messenger and dismissed him.

"When the kings of Andalus received Yúsuf's letter, and had perused it, they were extremely satisfied, and they praised and extolled above all things the modesty and moderation of that Sultán. Rejoiced at the idea of having him for an ally, their souls were inflamed, and their courage rekindled to oppose the Franks; and when, in the course of time, they saw that all their efforts to
"humble the pride of the infidels proved useless, they no longer hesitated to send
another embassy to Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, requesting him to cross over to Andalus,
or to send an army to their assistance.

Such was the state of affairs when the ambassadors of Al-mu’tamed arrived
at his court. Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín had [for some time past] seen at the capital of
his dominions numbers of men from the frontier towns [reduced by Alfonso],
who came with tears in their eyes and sorrow in their hearts, calling to God
and their brothers in Islám [for protection], and imploring the Kádis and
theologians of his court and the Wizírs of his government to intercede for them.
Yúsuf had listened to their prayers, and sympathised with their sufferings;
his heart had melted at the narrative of their misfortunes. Just as the ambas-
sadors of Al-mu’tamed were crossing the Straits, Yúsuf was sending emissaries
over to Andalus [to ascertain the real state of the country]. The ambassadors
arrived [at Morocco], and Yúsuf received them with every show of attention and
honour, and promised to give the help required, which being reported to Al-
mu’tamed, he fitted out a fleet at Seville to communicate with the governor
of Ceuta, and to keep him well informed of the movements of Yúsuf. After
various negotiations between the ambassadors of Al-mu’tamed and Yúsuf, the
Kádis returned to Seville, and the Almoravide Sultán crossed the Strait, and
landed without the least difficulty at Al-jezírat-l-khadhrá (Algeciras), the
inhabitants of which opened their gates, and went out to him with all sorts
of provisions, and erected a market-place, to which abundance of provisions was
taken [from the neighbouring districts]. It having been announced by the public
crier that Yúsuf had arrived in the country [for the purpose of waging war
against Alfonso], numbers of volunteers flocked from all parts to his banner,
until the public squares and the mosques [of the place] would no longer hold
them.” So far the author of the Raudhu-l-mu’attar.

Ibn Ad’ham and the rest of the ambassadors found Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín at
Ceuta, and, having delivered to him the credentials [of Al-mu’tamed], proceeded
to describe to him the state of Andalus, and the constant fear in which the Moslems
were of Alfonso’s power.
CHAPTER VI.

Yúsuf crosses the Strait—Marches to Seville—Preparations of Alfonso—His dream—His message to Yúsuf—March of the Mohammedan army—Arrival at Badajoz—Yúsuf’s letter to Alfonso—The Christian king tries to deceive the Moors—His plans known and disconcerted—His attack upon Al-mu’tamed’s camp—Perilous situation of that monarch—Yúsuf marches to his aid—Extricates him from his danger—Takes and plunders the Christian camp—Alfonso is wounded in the thigh—Flees the field of battle—Dies of sorrow and disappointment—Yúsuf visits Seville—Is magnificently entertained by the king of that city—The Almoravides evince a disposition to remain in Andalus—Advice given to Al-mu’tamed—Yúsuf’s departure for Africa.

Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín had no sooner heard the report of the ambassadors [of Al-mu’тamed], than he gave immediate orders for the crossing of his army, which came [to Ceuta] one division after the other. When all had arrived, Yúsuf crossed the Strait and joined Al-mu’tamed in Seville. This monarch had also made immense preparations, since, besides the troops of Seville and a considerable force sent him by the people of Cordova, he was joined by numbers of volunteers from the different provinces of Andalus. Ibn Khallekán says, that Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín had camels transported to Andalus in such numbers that the country was actually filled with them, and that their cries reached the sky. The people of Andalus had never seen camels, and their horses were greatly frightened at them. The sight of one of those animals, or his cry, was enough to make a horse rear and throw his rider. It was a good idea of Yúsuf’s to take camels to Andalus, and to train them to war, and surround his camp with them, for they were afterwards of great assistance to him by throwing into disorder the Christian cavalry.

But let us again see what the author of the Raudhu-l-mu’attar says on this topic, who not only has dwelt at full length on the history of Andalus, but was a native of that country, although I am unable to say to what tribe he belonged, or in what city he had his dwelling. “When Yúsuf, with all his army, had crossed [the Strait] and landed at Jeziratu-l-khadhrá [Algesiras], he marched to Seville in the finest order, army after army, general after general, and tribe after tribe. Al-mu’тamed sent his own son to meet him, and issued orders to the governors of the districts [through which Yúsuf had to pass] to furnish
him and his army with provisions, and whatever else they might want. Every
where Yusuf met with a reception that pleased him exceedingly, and he was
highly rejoiced. In this manner the several divisions of his army marched under
their respective commanders until they arrived in sight of Seville. At the
approach of Yusuf, Al-mu'tamed went out to receive him, escorted by one
hundred cavaliers and the principal officers [of his court]. At a short distance
from the spot where Yusuf had encamped, Al-mu'tamed put his horse to a
gallop, which being perceived by the people of the camp, they also went out
towards him. Yusuf then left his tent and met Al-mu'tamed alone, when both
princes shook hands and embraced each other, and showed friendship and sin-
cerity, thanking God for his favours, and recommending to each other courage
[in the field] and compassion [towards the Moslems]. They congratulated each
other upon their determination to wage war against the infidel, and prayed to
God Almighty that he would render their act pure and acceptable to him.
They then separated; Yusuf returned to his camp, Al-mu'tamed to his own
quarters, where, having collected together the presents, gifts, and provisions
which he had brought for Yusuf, he sent them to the tent [of that monarch].
Al-mu'tamed and Yusuf passed that night under their tents; but on the ensuing
morning, after the prayer of sunrise, all mounted on horseback, and the former
having proposed to ride on to Seville, Yusuf accepted the proposition, and
gave orders to that effect. Once in the capital of Al-mu'tamed, the Africans
witnessed enough of the splendour of royalty to make them glad. There was
no king of Andalus but who either hastened to Seville in person, or sent some
one to represent him, appearing there at the head of his own army, or sending
it under the command of an experienced general. [It is true] the people of
the Desert had done the same with respect to Yusuf, every one of the tribes
or districts [of Western Africa] sending down their contingent of men to assist
in the undertaking.
On the other hand, when Alfonso had ascertained that Yusuf was marching
in hostile array against him, he summoned to arms all the men of his own and
the neighbouring kingdom, as well as those of the countries beyond them;
his priests, bishops, and monks raising every where their crosses and displaying
their gospels [in order to engage the people in the contest]. By these means
he collected round him an innumerable host of Franks and Galicians, and
established couriers to inform him of the movements of each army.
These preparations being complete, Alfonso wrote a letter to Al-mu'tamed,
in which he said to him,—'Your friend Yusuf is no doubt tired of his native
country, and has crossed the seas [in order to fix himself here]; but I am likely
to give him occupation for the rest [of his days]. He was evidently so much taken with you, and wished so much to see you, that he spared you the trouble [of going over to him], and he came here to meet you in your country, and to show you all the friendship and regard which he has for you.' Having then assembled his favourites and the members of his council, he addressed them in the following words: 'Methinks that were I to allow the enemy to cross the passes [leading] to this my kingdom, and to engage my army on this side of the mountain barriers [which encompass this country], if the fortune of war decides against me, the Africans will doubtless take possession of this country, and mow down its inhabitants at one stroke; whereas if, on the contrary, I try my forces with theirs on the skirts of their country, and the fortune of the day were to turn against us, they will be satisfied with the advantages [gained] and will not follow us beyond the mountains, for fear of leaving the passes at their back; or if they do follow us, it will not be before they have made fresh preparations, and some time has been spent [in them]. This plan, I imagine, will prove a preservative to our country, and a sort of palliative to our defeat. If, on the contrary, the enemy should be beaten and we prove victorious, I shall have over them, and in their country, that very advantage which I fear they may reap in ours. I am, therefore, determined to fight them in the very heart of their country.' In conformity with this resolution, Alfonso, having taken with him the élite of his army [and] his choicest troops, advanced towards the passes which lead into the Moslem territory, leaving the rest of his forces behind. It is related that when Alfonso saw the flower of his troops formed in line of battle, he could not help exclaiming in raptures, 'With such men as these I engage to fight the genii, the demons, and the angels of heaven.' According to the lowest computation the army which Alfonso chose to accompany him on that expedition consisted of forty thousand men, clad in coats of bright mail, without counting their [mounted] followers; but the Christians stared with amazement at those who made such low reckoning, and declared that their numbers were still greater. All agree, however, that the Moslems were on this occasion less numerous than the unbelievers.

Whilst these events were passing, Alfonso dreamt one night that he was riding on a huge elephant, which was all the time beating a drum with his trunk. Being greatly terrified by this vision, he consulted his priests and monks about it, but he found no one who could explain its meaning to him. At last he bribed a Jew to go over to the Moslem territory, and try to ascertain its meaning from some learned man well versed in the interpretation of dreams. Having found a Moslem who professed to explain dreams, the Jew related to
“him Alfonso’s vision as if he had seen it himself, and requested him to explain

it for him; but the Moslem, discovering the imposture, said immediately, ‘Thou

liest; thou never hadst such a dream, and unless thou tell me who dreamt it,

I will give thee no explanation.’ The Jew, seeing the imposture discovered,

told him the truth, but entreated him to keep it a secret. ‘Thou tellst the

truth now,’ said the interpreter of dreams; ‘it was Alfonso, and he only, who

dreamt the dream, and the meaning of it is that a great calamity is about to

befall him and his army. The dream may be explained in those words of the

Koran,—‘Seest thou not how thy Lord has dealt with the people of the elephant?’

As to the elephant beating [the drum] with his trunk, the meaning of it is that

Alfonso will receive a wound in his face, which will also happen on the same

ominous day.’ The Jew returned to Alfonso, to whom he related the interview

he had held with the interpreter; but, instead of imparting to him the explanation

which the astrologer had given him, he offered him a satisfactory one, more

suitable to his position and views.

They relate that Alfonso wrote a letter to Yúsuf, which a traitor Moslem

composed for him, wherein he used very abusive language, and endeavoured to

intimidate that Sultán, by greatly exaggerating the forces, military stores, and

provisions which he had at his disposal. When the letter arrived and was

read to Yúsuf, he ordered his secretary Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-kossayrah 1 to answer it.

Abú Bekr, who was a learned and elegant writer, retired and soon returned

with a long epistle full of rhetorical beauties, which being read to Yúsuf, he

said to him, ‘That answer is too long; bring me Alfonso’s letter.’ Abú Bekr

did as he was commanded, and Yúsuf wrote these words upon the back of it,—

‘He who shall live will see.’ 2 When Alfonso read these words he trembled

with fear, and soon became convinced that he had to deal with a man against

whom all his power would be useless.

However, after spending some time on the passes, Alfonso marched with his

army towards the western provinces of Andalus. He was there met by the

Sultán Yúsuf, who advanced against him. Al-mu’tamed had remained behind,

occupied in some pressing business; but when he had dispatched it, he followed

his track with an army composed of warriors trained to border warfare, and

the chiefs of Andalus. His son ’Abdullah led the van, and as he was marching

he recited extempore the following verses, which have since become cele-

brated:

‘Joy is near at hand; it shall come to thee [coupled] with wonderful

events.

‘From this blessed expedition thou canst not fail shortly to return victorious:
For God grants thee his help, whilst he sends down destruction upon the worshipper of the crucified.

We may, indeed, expect a day as glorious as that of Koleyb.

The [allied] armies arrived at Badhalios (Badajoz), and encamped outside the walls. The king of that city, Al-mutawakkel 'Omar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-Afttas, went out to meet the Moslems some distance from this capital with refreshments and provisions, and showed them every possible attention and respect. He brought them news of the movements of Alfonso, and told them that he was already in the neighbourhood with all his forces. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Yúsuf advanced against the enemy, and the two hosts were soon in sight of each other. Fearing some stratagem of the enemy, Al-mu'tamed sent out experienced people to examine and reconnoitre the camp of the Almoravides; he himself, after seeing the sentries placed at the gates [of the camp], as well as detachments of cavalry and infantry [to guard against a surprise], would go out every night and ride outside the camp, so that if a soldier left his tent he was sure to find Al-mu'tamed going his rounds.

When the two armies were in presence of each other, Yúsuf wrote to Alfonso, offering him one of the three [conditions] prescribed by the law; namely, Islám, tribute, or death. The letter was a long one, and elegantly written. Among other things which it contained was the following: We understand, O Alfonso! that thou didst once express the wish of coming over to us [in Africa], and didst regret thou hadst no vessels to allow thee to do so. Thy wishes are now accomplished. Here we are, ready to meet thee wherever thou pleasest, and we shall see how thy prayers have been attended to. It is a thing well known, that infidels never pray except in the path of error.

At the receipt of this letter the unbeliever was highly indignant; he flew into a most violent passion, and returned an answer indicative of the miserable state [of his mind]. His bishops and monks then raised their crosses in the air, and displayed their gospels, pledging themselves to die [for their religion].

On the other hand, both Yúsuf and Al-mu'tamed addressed their respective followers; after which, theologians, and other men distinguished by the sanctity of their lives, assuming the functions of Khatṭībs or preachers, erected temporary pulpits from which they preached to the soldiers, stimulating them to show courage and resolution in the approaching contest, and warning them against cowardice or flight.

On Wednesday morning, at break of day, the scouts came to the camp of Yúsuf and informed him that Alfonso had struck his tents and was close at hand.

On the receipt of this intelligence, the Moslems fell into their ranks and prepared
for battle; but Alfonso's courage failed [when he saw the fine order in which they were], and, instead of advancing to the attack, he had recourse to artifice and deceit, so that the Moslems returned to their encampment and passed that night in their tents. On the following morning, which was Thursday, Alfonso sent a message to Al-mu'tamed, thus conceived: 'To-morrow is Friday, and a holiday for the people of thy creed; so is Sunday for those of ours; let the battle, then, take place on the intermediate day, which is Saturday.' Al-mu'tamed hastened to communicate to Yúsuf the message he had received; at the same time intimating to him his conviction that it was merely intended to deceive, and that Alfonso really meant to attack them on Friday. He therefore advised that Sultán to keep his men in readiness the whole of Friday. This was done as he proposed; the men received orders to be prepared for battle, and the sentries to be on the alert.

In the middle of the night of Thursday, a devout and holy Faquih, named Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Romeylah Al-kortobí, who followed the camp of Al-mu'tamed, awoke in great exultation and delight, saying to all those whom he happened to meet, how he had that very night seen in a dream the messenger of God [Mohammed], who had assured him of the victory, and told him that he himself would fall a martyr for the faith at sunrise of the ensuing day. Accordingly, Abú-l-'abbás prepared himself; he passed a part of the night in prayer, and anointed and perfumed his head. This circumstance having been reported to Al-mu'tamed, he hastened to communicate it to Yúsuf, as one proof more of the treason which the infidel king was meditating.

The same night [of Thursday], two horsemen, belonging to the army of Al-mu'tamed, came and informed that prince, that having, according to his instructions, spied Alfonso's camp, they had heard a confused noise as of troops marching to and fro, and soldiers getting their weapons ready. Shortly after other horsemen arrived at full gallop into the camp, bringing positive information of Alfonso's movements. These were quickly followed by some scouts whom Al-mu'tamed had sent into the Christian camp to ascertain, if possible, what were the intentions of the enemy. They returned, saying, 'We sharpened our ears and listened; and heard Alfonso say to his people,—Al-mu'tamed is well practised in Andalusian warfare; the Africans are not; for, however intelligent and experienced in military affairs the latter may be, they are totally unacquainted with this country and its different modes of warfare. It is clear, therefore, that on the present occasion they are entirely guided by the advice of Al-mu'tamed: against him, then, must your attacks be first directed, and your utmost courage and perseverance be displayed; for, if once
"you defeat him, the victory over the Africans will be easily gained. For my "part, I do not think that Al-mu'tamed can resist you long, if you attack him with "vigour and determination.'

"Upon the receipt of this information, Al-mu'tamed dispatched his Kátib, Abú Bekr Ibn-l-kossayrah, to inform the Sultán Yúsuf of the approach of Alfonso, and of his plan of attack, and to ask him at the same time to re-inforce his army with some troops. Ibn-l-kossayrah galloped through the camp, until he reached the tent of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, to whom he delivered his master's message.

"Yúsuf answered, 'Go and tell Al-mu'tamed that I will shortly hasten to his assistance;' saying which, he directed one of his generals to take a body of troops, which he named, and to attack and fire Alfonso's camp as soon as he saw him engaged with Al-mu'tamed. Ibn-l-kossayrah then returned to his master; but scarcely had he had time to communicate the answer of which he was the bearer, when the troops of the infidel king made their appearance.

"Al-mu'tamed [and his men] fought with the courage of despair, but the troops of Alfonso being greatly superior in numbers, the Moslems were surrounded and hemmed in on all sides. The struggle now became fiercer than ever, and the furnaces of war burned with additional violence; death exercised its fury among the followers of Al-mu'tamed, who himself performed on that day such feats of arms as no warrior in his army could equal. Meanwhile the King of Seville was anxiously expecting the re-inforcements which Yúsuf had promised to him. He kept looking in the direction of the African camp, but no troops came; the Christians, on the other hand, repeated their attacks with increasing fury, until, at last, the Andalusians, disheartened by their own loss, and not seeing the Africans come to their assistance, began to lose courage. Some of them even gave way, and in their number Al-mu'tamed's own son, 'Abdullah. However, that monarch continued fighting until he was thrice wounded; he received a sabre cut on the head, which went through his helmet and lodged in his head, as far as the temples; he received another sabre cut in the right hand, and a thrust of a spear in his thigh; he had three chargers killed under him, and whenever he was dismounted he was immediately supplied with another steed. Often did he seek death in the ranks of the enemy by rushing into the middle of them and dealing blows right and left. In that situation, and whilst the blood was dripping from his wounds, Al-mu'tamed happened to think of a pet child of his, surnamed Abú Háshim, whom he had left behind [in Seville] owing to a slight indisposition, and he exclaimed—

'O Abú Háshim! the sword [of the enemy] has fractured my bones; but God gave me courage and endurance throughout the bloody conflict.
At last the expected re-inforcements came, and Al-mu'tamed was extricated from his perilous situation. The first among the generals of Yúsuf who came to the assistance [of the Andalusians] was Dáwúd Ibn 'A'yeshah, an experienced and brave officer. Next came Yúsuf himself with banners displayed and drums beating, the sounds of which resounded loudly through the air. This being perceived by Alfonso, he sent against the Africans a body of his best troops; he in person followed them with the greater part of his army. Yúsuf then hastened towards them, and having charged the enemy at the head of all his forces, made them fall back upon their cantonments. The relics of Al-mu'tamed's division gathered round Yúsuf's host; the men began to sniff up the odoriferous gales of victory, and congratulate each other upon their forthcoming success. This done, the Moslems again charged the enemy together and at once; the earth quaked under the hoofs of their horses; the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust rising under the feet of the warriors; the steeds swam through torrents of blood. Both parties, in short, fought with equal animosity and courage. At last, Al-mu'tamed and Yúsuf met together, and they united in a furious and irresistible charge; upon which the Andalusian fugitives, seeing the Africans closely engaged with the Christians, returned little by little [to the camp], and joined also in the attack, which was so spirited and so well conducted, that the Christians gave way everywhere, and took to flight. Alfonso then fled the field of battle, not without having received a wound in one of his knees, which made him lame for the rest of his life.

According to Ibn Khallekán (in the life of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín), when, as above related, Alfonso had nearly destroyed Al-mu'tamed's division, Yúsuf summoned round him his best infantry, and the cavalry of Senhájah and the chiefs of the principal [Berber] tribes, and, putting himself at their head, led the attack against the camp of Alfonso, which he surprised and entered, putting to the sword all the troops left for its defence. The stormy din of drums, the clash of clarion and trumpet, filled the air; the earth quaked [under the weight of the warriors], and the neighbouring mountains echoed the thousand discordant sounds. The Christians [who were closely engaged with Al-mu'tamed] seeing the Moslems in possession of their camp, returned to expel them therefrom; upon which, the Amír, Yúsuf, went out [to assist them, and having repulsed the assailants] returned to the camp, and expelled the Christians from it. Again the enemy returned to the attack, but they were a second time repulsed, and the camp remained in the possession of the Moslems. In this manner the attacks succeeded each other, until the