war. He left Morocco on Thursday the fifth of Rabi’ the first of that year (Feb. 11, A.D. 1163), and arrived at Rabáttu-l-fatah (the station of the victory, now Rabát), where he passed in review three hundred thousand men of the Arabian tribes of Eastern Africa and of the Zenátah and other [tribes] professing the doctrines of the Mahdí,20 and one hundred and eighty thousand volunteers, who hastened also to that town for the purpose of sharing the reward promised to those who fight against the infidel. God, however, had decreed that this formidable armament should never quit the shores of Western Africa; for whilst the Commander of the Faithful, ’Abdu-l-múmen, was making every preparation for the crossing, death, whose fierce blows spare neither the great nor the small, surprised him on Friday the 6th of Jumáda the second of the same year (May 12, A.D. 1163).
CHAPTER III.


On the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, his son Yúsuf, surnamed Abú Ya'kúb, received the oaths [of the Almohades]. When the affairs of the government had been settled, and the foundations of the kingdom strengthened, Yúsuf crossed over to Andalus, in order to exhibit in that country the benefits of his government. This happened in 566 (beginning Sept. 13, A.D. 1170). He landed in Andalus, accompanied by ten thousand horse of the Almohades and Arabs, and proceeded to Seville, where he fixed his court.

Some time before the landing of Yúsuf, a Christian named Ibn Errink (Alfonso Enriquez) had been committing great depredations in the western parts of Andalus, and had even reduced some considerable towns, as Turjeloh (Truxillo), Yéborah (Evora), Kásersh (Cazeres), and others; but Yúsuf had no sooner arrived in Seville than the accursed Christian shut himself up in his stronghold, and the Moslems were for some time delivered from his mischief.

Yúsuf's arrival had also the effect of checking the progress of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanísh, who, as before related, ruled undisturbed over Murcia and the greater part of Eastern Andalus; for no sooner did he hear of that Sultán's landing than fear lodged in his heart, and he fell dangerously ill and died: some authors say that he was poisoned.

On the death of Ibn Mardanísh, his sons and relatives presented themselves to the Commander of the Faithful, Yúsuf, then residing at Seville, placed themselves under his rule, and delivered the whole of their dominions into his hands.
Yúsuf received the princes kindly, married them to his own daughters, and raised them to a station higher even than that which they occupied before.

This being done, the Commander of the Faithful began to give his serious consideration to retaking from the Christians those districts and towns which they had subdued [under the preceding reigns]. After a successful campaign his dominions were considerably enlarged, and his victorious army ravaged the Christian territory to the very gates of Toledo, which city he is said to have besieged [for a length of time]. But all the Christian nations of Andalus having collected their forces to attack him, and famine, moreover, having seized on his army, he was compelled to raise the siege and to return to Morocco, the capital of his [African] dominions. From thence he proceeded to Eastern Africa, and having appeased the troubles which agitated that country, returned to Morocco.

In the year 580 (beginning April 13, A.D. 1184), the Commander of the Faithful again crossed over to Andalus at the head of considerable forces. This time he directed his march towards the western provinces, and laid siege to Shantireyn (Santarem), one of the greatest cities of the enemy. He remained encamped before it for a whole month, until he was attacked by a disease which caused his death in the same year [A.H. 580]. He was carried on a litter to Seville. Others say that he was killed by an arrow shot by the Christians; 2 but God only knows the truth of the case. It was Yúsuf who ordered the building of the great mosque of Seville,—which, however, was not completed till the reign of his successor,—and who put the maritime arsenal of Ceuta 3 in its present efficient state.

Yúsuf was succeeded by his son Abú Yúsuf Ya’kúb, surnamed Al-mansúr-billah. 4 He was succeeded by Ya’kúb Al-mansúr. The learned and celebrated poet Abú Is’hák Ibráhím Ibn Ya’kúb Al-kánemí, a black of Súdán, has said in allusion to this Sultan,—

"Well may his Hájibs conceal him from my view; my reverence [for him] is such that I see his image on the curtain.

"My knowledge of his virtues prompts me to approach, but fear and respect fix me to my place."
Who attacks and defeats the Christians.

"In the days of Ya'kūb," says an African historian, "conquests succeeded each other without interruption. The first thing that he did on his taking possession of the command was to direct his attention towards Andalus and to inquire into the state of that country. Having collected a numerous army, he landed at Algesiras on Thursday the third of Rabi' the first of the year 585 (April 20, A.D. 1189), and started immediately for the west of Andalus, where he committed the ravages of the tempest. He then proceeded to Seville, and after providing for the welfare of the country in general, and steadying the warriors in their ranks, he returned to Morocco, the capital of his dominions."

Again, in the year 586 (beginning Feb. 7, A.D. 1190), having received intelligence that the Franks had taken Shilb (Silves), one of the principal cities of Al-gharb, Ya'kūb marched thither in person at the head of considerable forces, and having laid siege to the city, restored it to the rule of Islám. Immediately after he sent forward [into the enemy's country] a large army of Arabs and Almohades, which reduced four other towns of those which had been taken by the Christians forty years before. The Lord of Toledo [Alfonso II. of Castile] feared Ya'kūb, and asked him for a truce, which he granted to him, to last for five years, after which he returned to Morocco. It was on this occasion that the Kāyīd Abū 'Abdillah Ibn Wazīr Ash-shelbī (from Silves), one of the general officers of the army stationed at Seville, composed that beautiful ode, in which he addresses Al-mansūr, and congratulates him upon his successful campaign against the Christians.

Abū 'Abdillah had attended the expedition as commander of the van. The ode begins thus:

"When we met, the spears were crossed, and the blows [followed each other] like the revolutions of the millstone.

"The sharp Indian swords sported on our necks and on those of our enemies; some [of us] kept their saddles, and some fell;

"Not a breast but what had an arrow fixed in it; not a jugular vein but what had afforded a lodging to the scimitar.

"We fought until no refuge was left save the helmet and the spear, and the greatest courage was displayed on both sides.

"At last we charged and they staggered; [the victory was ours], for the staggerer soon after falls." 5

This Abū 'Abdillah was a very experienced officer and an excellent poet. Annásir, one of the Sultáns of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen, appointed him governor of Kasr Abī Dánis; but when Ibn Húd, who afterwards rose against the Almohades, made his entrance into Seville, he caused Abū 'Abdillah, [who was residing there,] to be arrested and put to death.
But to return to Al-mansúr. When the truce made with the Christians was
over, or nearly so, a large party of them invaded the Moslem territory, and
began to plunder and lay waste the country, and to commit all manner of ravages
and depredations, which being reported to Al-mansûr, who was then absent in
Africa, he resolved upon chastising their insolence. Having, accordingly, collected
a numerous and well-appointed army, that Sultán crossed the Strait and landed
at Jezírat Al-khadhrá (Algesiras), in Rejeb of the year 591 (A.D. 1195). The
Christians of Andalus were no sooner informed of the landing of Ya’kúb, than
they began to collect troops from the most remote parts of Christendom, which
being done, they marched against the Almohades. They say that soon after his
arrival at the port of Salé for the purpose of crossing over to Andalus, Ya’kúb
fell so dangerously ill that his physicians despaired of his life, upon which Alfonso,
who was aware of the Sultán’s indisposition, sent him an embassy, threatening,
abusing, bragging, and thundering; asking to be put in possession of some of
the fortresses bordering upon his dominions. The result, however, is well known;
Ya’kúb met the infidels at the head of his forces, and gained over them a victory
which equalled, if it did not surpass in importance, the victory of Zalákah. Indeed,
some writers assert that it exceeded it in every respect.

Alfonso with his Christian auxiliaries having encamped at Alark (Alarcos), a spot
in the district of Badajoz, Ya’kúb marched thither at the head of his forces, and
the two hosts were soon in presence of each other. Some time before the battle,
Ya’kúb devised the following stratagem. Knowing that the Christians would attack
in preference that part of the camp where he himself was, he bade his kinsman,
the Sheikh Yahya Ibn Abí Hafâs, change place with him, and to occupy with his
troops the space round the royal pavilion. This Ibn Abí Hafâs was the uncle
of Abú Zakariyyâ Al-hafísí, who afterwards became Sultán of Eastern Africa;
as well as of a portion of Andalus whose inhabitants said the khotbah in his name.
It happened as Ya’kúb had foreseen. The Christians, thinking that the banners
in the middle of the camp marked the spot where Ya’kúb and his body-guard
were, directed a most furious attack upon that quarter; but it availed them not;
for they had exchanged only a few blows with the Moslems, when Ya’kúb fell un-
expectedly upon them and defeated them most completely.

This memorable battle was fought on Thursday, the 9th of Sha’ban, A. H. 591
(AD. 1195), which year, moreover, is well known all over the West as ’Amu-l-alark
(the year of the battle of Alarcos). Never was there a more signal victory gained
by the Moslems of Andalus. It is said that the loss of the Franks amounted to one
hundred and forty-six thousand men, besides thirty thousand prisoners. The amount
of spoils, too, said to have been gained on this occasion is almost incredible: some
authors say one hundred and fifty thousand tents, eighty thousand horses, one hundred thousand mules, and four hundred thousand asses; as the infidels, having no camels, used those animals to carry their baggage. Another account says sixty thousand suits of armour, and that the horses, mules, &c., were innumerable. As to the money and jewels, they were beyond calculation. A captive sold for one dirhem, a sword for half a dirhem, a horse for five, and an ass for one. All this spoil Ya’kúb divided among the Moslems agreeably to law. The relics of the Christian army fled to Kal’át Rabáh (Calatrava), where they fortified themselves; but the Sultán Ya’kúb followed them thither, and, after besieging them some days, took possession of the place. The Christian king, Alfonso, fled to Toledo with a few followers, in the worst possible plight. They say that when he arrived in that city, he had his head and beard shaved, turned his cross upside down, and swore not to sleep in bed, approach a woman, or mount a horse or mule, until he had revenged his defeat. He then began to collect troops and warlike stores from distant islands and countries; but he was again met by Ya’kúb, who, having defeated him, pursued him to Toledo, which city he besieged and battered with war engines, until he was on the point of taking it. The mother of Alfonso, accompanied by his wives and daughters, then came out of the city, and, with tears in her eyes, implored the conqueror to spare the city. Being moved to compassion, Ya’kúb not only granted the request, but, after paying them due honour, he dismissed them with splendid presents in jewels and other valuable articles.7 The Amír then returned to Cordova, where he passed a month occupied in the distribution of the spoil among his soldiers. Whilst there, ambassadors came to him from King Alfonso to sue for peace, which the Amír granted, as he had just heard of the rising in Eastern Africa of Al-mayúrkí,8 who was assisted in his rebellion by Korkúsí, the mameluke of the Bení Ayúb, Sultáns of Syria and Egypt; so that the people of Andalus for some time enjoyed security and rest.

After a prosperous reign of fourteen years and eleven months, Ya’kúb Al-mansúr died at Morocco, on Friday, the 22nd of Rabi’ the first, A. H. 595 (Feb. A. D. 1199). His body was conveyed to Tínmelel, where it was buried by the side of his father and grandfather. As to the report that this Sultán abdicated his royal power, and travelled to Syria, where he died and was interred in the district called Beká’h,9 there is not the least foundation for it, although Ibn Khallekán says something to that purpose. No author, however, has so well exposed the unsoundness of such a statement as the Sheríf Al-gharnáttí (Abú-l-káeim Mohammed) in his commentary upon the MaksSúrah of Ibn Házem, who says, “This is one of the stories of the vulgar, who were in love with that Sultán.” Ya’kúb completed the building of the great mosque of Seville,10 and erected several useful or ornamental
works in other parts of his dominions. He was a powerful monarch, dreaded by his enemies and respected by his equals. In the year 587 the Sultán Saláhu-d-dín (Saladin), son of Ayúb, sent an embassy to solicit his aid against the Franks who had attacked him on the coast of Palestine; but this Ya’kúb would not grant, because Saláhu-d-dín had not in his letter addressed him by the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful). Such, however, was Ya’kúb’s benevolent disposition that, although highly offended with Saláhu-d-dín, to whom he returned a despicable present, he rewarded munificently the ambassador of that Sultán, whose name was Ibn Munkid; having given him on one occasion, for a poem of forty verses, forty thousand dirhems, being at the rate of one thousand for each verse, adding, when he gave him that large sum, “This we give thee, not for Saláhu-d-dín’s sake, but for thy learning and poetry.” Ibn Munkid left Andalus in 588 (A.D. 1192).

Ya’kúb Al-mansúr was succeeded by his son Abú ‘Abdilláh Mohammed, surnamed *An-násir lidín-illah* (the defender of the faith), whose reign proved so fatal to the cause of the Moslems, and principally to those of Andalus; since, having in the year 609 (A.D. 1212) collected an army amounting to six hundred thousand warriors, he not only accomplished nothing advantageous to the cause of religion, but actually sustained one of the most complete defeats that ever disgraced the arms of Islám. The author of the *Adh-dhakíratu s-saniyyah fi táríkhi-d-daulati-l-meríniyyah* (the valuable treasure: on the history of the Merinit dynasty), says that Mohammed was so astonished and pleased with the number of his troops that he thought himself invincible. The Franks, on the other hand, made [ample] preparations [to resist him], and they fought the celebrated battle of Al’-akáb, which the Moslems lost, and the result of which was that the greater part of Maghreb was deserted and that the Franks conquered the greater part of Andalus. Out of the six hundred thousand men who entered the field of battle only a few escaped; some authors even state that their number did not reach one thousand. This battle was like a curse, not only to Andalus, but to the whole of Maghreb, and the defeat is to be ascribed to the bad policy of An-násir; for, its fatal results.

The Moslems lose the battle of Al’-akáb or Las Navas.

Although the Moslems of Andalus were well trained to war and accustomed to fight with the Christians, that Sultán and his Wizár entirely disregarded their advice, and even offended some of them; and the consequence was that the minds of the Andalusian officers were alienated and the Christians gained an easy victory. However this may be, certain it is that this defeat may be regarded as the real cause of the subsequent decline of Western Africa and Andalus,—of the former country, because the loss sustained in the battle was so great that her districts and towns were almost depopulated through it,—of Andalus, because the
enemy of God was thereby enabled to extend his conquests; for, after the death of An-násir, the empire of the Almohades became convulsed, the princes of the royal family, who held the government of Andalus, each seized the opportunity of extending his own power and authority; and in the subsequent decline of their empire at Morocco, they came at length not only to hire the enemy's troops, but to surrender to the Christian kings the fortresses of the Moslems, that they might secure their aid against each other.  

At last the Andalusian chieftains and the descendants of the Arabs of the time of the Bení Umeyyah, such as Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, Ibn Mardanísh, and others, united together and expelled them from the country, as we shall hereafter relate.

On the death of An-násir, which happened at Morocco in Sha'bán of the year 616 (Oct. or Nov. A.D. 1219), his son Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf Al-mustamser (he who implores the help of God), succeeded him; but as he was fond of pleasure and repose, the affairs of the Andalusian Moslems, far from improving, went on declining rapidly, and the empire of his family became still weaker. He died without posterity at Morocco on the 12th of Dhí-l-hajjah, 620 (Jan. A.D. 1223), and was succeeded by his father's uncle, 'Abdu-l-wáhéd Ibn Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmén, whose rule, however, was not more prosperous than that of his predecessors. A relative of his, named Al-ádil Ibn Al-mansúr, who was then at Murcia in Andalus, considering himself more entitled to the crown than his kinsman, raised the standard of revolt, and was proclaimed without opposition in all those towns which acknowledged the rule of Islám in that country.

'Abdu-l-wáhéd's rule was not of long duration; for no sooner had the news of Al-ádil's revolt reached Morocco, than he was deposed and strangled there on the 21st of Sha'bán, 621 (A.D. 1224). Meanwhile the Christians of Andalus were stirring against Al-ádil, who marched against them at the head of his forces. Having, however, fought a pitched battle with them, he and the Moslems under his orders sustained a most severe and shameful defeat, which was like an ulcerated wound [to the body of Islám]. At last Al-ádil fled over the Straits, and landed in Africa with the intention of going to Morocco, leaving a brother of his, named Abú-l-ala Idrís, to command at Seville during his absence. After some negotiation [with the Sheikhs of the Almohades], Al-ádil entered Morocco; but shortly after, the same parties, having risen against him, secured his person, and appointed in his stead Yáhya, son of An-násir (Yúsuf II.), a youth without experience, and totally incapable of conducting the affairs of the Moslems.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Abú-l-ala Idrís assumed the title of Khalif at Seville, and was immediately proclaimed by the Moslems of Andalus under the surname of Al-mámún (the trusted by the grace of God). In the course of time he
was also recognized at Morocco, although he would still dwell in Andalus. At
last an Andalusian chief, named Mohammed Ibn Yusuf [Ibn Húd] Al-jodhámí,
having revolted against him and defeated his troops in several encounters, Idris
was compelled to abandon Andalus to him, and to cross over to Africa, where he
ceased not to carry on war against Yahya Ibn An-násir, until he put him to death
in the year 633 (beginning Sept. 15, A.D. 1235), and became the only ruler of
Western Africa; although, as above related, the empire of Andalus was for ever
lost to him and to the Sultáns of his race.

Idrís died in the year 640 (beginning June 30, A.D. 1242), and was succeeded As-sa’íd.
by his brother 14 As-sa’íd (Idrís II.), who was killed near a castle distant one day’s
march from Telemsán, in 642 (beginning June 8, A.D. 1244). As-sa’íd was
succeeded by ’Omar Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Yusuf Ibn ’Abdi-I-múmen, surnamed Al-
murtadhi-billah (the accepted by the grace of God); but his dominions having
been invaded in 665 (beginning Oct. 1, A.D. 1266), by Al-wáthik, better known Al-wáthik.
by the surname of Abú Dabús, he fled [from his capital], was taken prisoner, and
conveyed before Abú Dabús, who put him to death. Al-wáthik himself was slain
in the year 668 (beginning August 30, A.D. 1269) by the Bení Merín, who sub-
jected the whole of Western Africa to their rule. He was the last member of
the dynasty founded by ’Abdu-I-múmen, one of the most powerful dynasties of
Islám.
CHAPTER IV.

Account of Ibn Húd—Prophecy in his favour—Rises in the province of Murcia—Subdues the greater part of Andalus—Proclaims the Khalif of Baghadád—Some chiefs dispute his authority—The Christians take Mérida and Badajoz—Attack and conquer the island of Mallorca—The governor of Menorca capitulates with them—Siege and taking of Valencia by the Aragoneze—Ferdinand III. takes Cordova.

Idris Al-mamún was, as before stated, the last Sultán of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen who held rule in Andalus, for his successors were too much occupied in Africa, where the Bení Mérin were daily assailing their empire, ever to think of reconquering their dominions across the sea. The Moslems of Andalus then perceiving the helpless state in which they were left, turned their eyes in another quarter, and began to look about among themselves for men capable of conducting the government in those perilous times, and stemming the torrent of Christian invasion.

Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Al-jodhámí was descended from Al-musta’ín Ibn Húd, fourth Sultán of Saragossa of the dynasty called the Bení Húd. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb the cause of his revolt was as follows: about the time that the dynasty of the Almohades began to show visible signs of decay, there prevailed an impression among the people of Murcia and other cities in the east of Andalus, that the power of their African rulers was shortly to be overthrown by a man named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, who would rise in arms against them, expel them from the country, and restore the Mohammedan empire to its pristine power and splendour. Other authors assert that it was an astrologer who communicated that information to one of the Almohades, saying, "There will soon rise in this country against you a man from the ranks of the army whose name will be Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf," and that by order of the prince, to whom the information was communicated, a strict search was made all over Andalus, when all those who bore that name were put to death without mercy, and among them a citizen
of Jaen. They add that Ibn Húd was not aware at first either of the existing prophecy or of the orders issued for the apprehension of all those bearing a name similar to his. One day a wise man, dressed in the garb of a faquir, came up to him in Murcia and said, “Why art thou still here? Dost thou not know “that a kingdom awaits thee? Away, away! Look for Al-kashí, and he will “pave thee the way to power.” This Al-kashí was nothing more than a celebrated brigand, who, at the head of a few desperadoes, infested the roads about Murcia, and practised all manner of cruelties and extortions upon the country people, or the travellers who fell into his hands. On the ninth of Rejeb of the year 625 (June 13, A.D. 1228), Ibn Húd left Murcia secretly and joined Al-kashí, to whom he imparted what the faquir had told him. The brigand chief received him kindly, and, as he knew him to be descended from kings, had no difficulty in giving up to him the command of his small force. Shortly after, the two chiefs having made an incursion into the Christian territory, returned to their usual haunts, with many captives and rich booty, which being divulged, soon brought them numbers of adventurers anxious to enlist under their banners. Little by little, Ibn Húd’s partisans increased, until, seeing himself at the head of a respectable force, he caused himself to be proclaimed [king] by his men at a place called As-sokheyräh, in the neighbourhood of Murcia. At the news of this rebellion, Síd Abú-l-’abbás, at that time governor of Murcia, left that city at the head of considerable forces, and attacked Ibn Húd; but he was defeated with great loss, and obliged to return to the seat of his government. Shortly after the inhabitants of Murcia rose against their governor, expelled him and his Almohades, and proclaimed Ibn Húd, who repaired thither at the head of his forces, and made his triumphant entry about the end of 625, or the beginning of 626. Denia, Xatiba, and other cities of the east of Andalus soon followed the example of Murcia. Ibn Húd himself reduced Granada, Malaga, and Almeria; and towards the close of the year 626 (Nov. A.D. 1229), Cordova, Jaen, and other important cities, sent also their allegiance to him. Seeing himself the sole master of Andalus, Ibn Húd hesitated not to assume the title of Amíru-l-moslemín (commander of the Moslems), and to dispatch an embassy to Al-mustanser Al-’abbásí, the reigning Khalíf at Baghdád, requesting to be allowed to hold his dominions from him, and to mention his name in the public prayers. Ibnu-l-khattíb relates that the ambassadors returned to Andalus in 631 (beginning Oct. 6, A.D. 1233), bringing a favourable answer from the Khalíf, together with a letter granting Ibn Húd the investiture of all the dominions which he then held or might acquire in future. That Sultán was then at Granada, and he ordered that the letters of the Khalíf should be read to the people, which was done in the principal mosque of the place.
Ibn Húd himself was present at the ceremony, and he stood dressed in the sable uniform [of the 'Abbássides], and holding in his right hand a black banner. The same historian adds that the day when the ceremony took place happened to be one in which prayers for rain had just been said, and that no sooner was the Khalif's letter read to the people than the sky was suddenly obscured by clouds, and the rain began to fall in torrents. On this occasion Ibn Húd assumed the honorary surname of Al-mutawakkel 'ala-illah (he who relies on God).

Ibn Húd did not long enjoy in peace his newly-acquired sovereignty. Other chieftains rose in various parts of Andalus, and either assumed the same titles and authority which he had usurped, or refused peremptorily to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Among the former was Ibnu-l-ahmar [Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf], who, in the year 629 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 1231), rose at Arjona, and having made himself master of Jaen, Granada, Malaga, and even Cordova and Seville, became eventually the sole ruler of Andalus, and the founder of a powerful dynasty. Among the latter we may count Abú Jemil Zeyyán Ibn Mardanísh, a descendant of that Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh whose wars with the Almohades we have elsewhere related. This chieftain, who enjoyed considerable power and influence in the eastern districts of Andalus, made himself master of Valencia and the surrounding country, where he maintained himself until the accursed Christians reduced that city in the year 636 (A. D. 1238), as we shall hereafter relate.

Another chief, named Al-bají (Abú Merwán Ahmed), of the posterity of the celebrated theologian Abú-l-walíd Al-bají, revolted at Seville, and held the sovereignty of that place until he was treacherously slain in 631 by a lieutenant of Ibnu-l-ahmar.

Whilst the above-mentioned chieftains divided among them the provinces of Andalus, or were at war against each other, the Christians of every denomination were furiously assailing the dominions of Islám. In the year 627 (beginning Nov. 19, A. D. 1229), for instance, they occupied the whole province of Merida, and from that time woe and perdition fell to the lot of the wretched inhabitants of that once flourishing district (may God restore it to the rule of Islám!). Merida had been the capital of Al-jauf,³ both in the times preceding the [Arabian] conquest, and in those of the Cordovan Khalifate; but subsequently ⁴ the city of Badajoz became the court and residence of the rulers of those districts. Between Merida and Cordova the distance is five days' journey. As before stated (p. 256), Merida, Badajoz, and the neighbouring districts had formerly been subject to Al-modhaffer Mohammed Ibn Al-mansúr Ibn Al-afttas, a personage well known in history, and whose biography may be read among those of the illustrious men of the Dhakhírah and Kaladyd: he was without dispute the most learned and accomplished
of the kings of his age; he was likewise the author of many excellent works, and, among others, of that admirable production entitled At-tedkhârât Al-modhaffuri, in fifty volumes, which treats of all and every department of science; such as battles, biography of illustrious men, proverbs, history, and, in short, of all the branches of polite literature. His son Al-mutawakkel [‘Omar Ibn Al-aftas] was likewise one of the [eminent] men mentioned in the Dhakhîrah, Kalâyid, and Mas’hab. But to return.

Ever since the rebellion of Ibn Hûd and the departure of Idrîs Al-mâmûn for Africa, the whole of Al-gharb or Western Andalus had acknowledged the rule of the former. Accordingly, no sooner did the people of Merida, Badajoz, Cazeres, and other towns of those districts, hear of the arrival of the Christians among them, than they sent to implore the assistance of Ibn Hûd, who hastened thither at the head of his best troops. Ibn Hûd found the Christian king (Alfonso IX. of Leon) encamped before Merida, which he was besieging. He attacked him with great fury, and was at first successful; but in the end his troops were worsted, and he was compelled to relinquish his enterprise. Shortly after the Christians took possession of Merida, and some time after of Badajoz.

"At the time that the people of Andalus rose against the descendants of 'Abdu-I-mûmen, Abû Yahya Ibn Abî 'Imrân At-tînmelelî was governor of Mallorca." In his days the island was taken by the Franks." Such are the words of Ibnu Sa’îd. Ibnu-l-abbâr places the conquest of that island on Monday, the 14th of Safar, A. H. 627 (Jan. 12, A. D. 1230). Al-makhzûmî, in his history of Mallorca, gives the following details:—"Mallorca was governed at the time by an Amîr, named Mohammed Ibn ’Alî Ibn Mûsa, who, being a man of quality and influence among the people of the extinct dynasty of [the Almohades], had been intrusted with the government [of the Balearic Islands], which he held ever since 606 (beginning July 5, A. D. 1209). Happening once to want some timber, which in the neighbouring island of Iviza is very abundant, Mohammed sent thither some light vessels under the convoy of a few of his war galleys. The Christian governor of Tortosa, having received intelligence of the departure of the expedition, sent out a fleet to capture the Moslem vessels, and succeeded; upon which Mohammed was so angry at the loss of his ships that he resolved upon declaring war against the Christians and making a descent upon their territory. In an evil hour did he form such a determination; for he lost his dominions in the contest. An occasion soon presented itself for carrying his project into execution. About the end of Dhî-l-hajjah of the year 623 (Dec. A. D. 1226) news came to him that a vessel from Barcelona had appeared in sight of Iviza, and that another ship from Tortosa had also come up with it. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Mohammed dispatched his son with some
armed vessels in chase of the enemy. The son of Mohammed having entered
the harbour of Iviza, found lying there at anchor a large Genoese galley, which
he attacked and took. This done, he sailed in chase of the Barcelonese ship,
which he likewise boarded and took. This trifling success had the effect of
completely turning the head of the governor of Mallorca, who from that moment
fancied himself a conqueror, and thought that no king could resist his victorious
arms, forgetting that he was as ill-fated as the camel cursed with sterility, and that
the Christians would not fail to take ample vengeance for the injury they had
received. And so it happened; for the people of Barcelona had no sooner heard
of the capture of their vessel, than they said to their king, who was of the posterity
of Alfonso,9 ‘How does the king like to see his subjects used in this manner?
We are ready to assist thee with our persons and our money to revenge this
insult.’ The king, taking them at their word, immediately raised an army of
twenty thousand men in his dominions, and, having equipped a considerable
fleet, set sail for Mallorca with upwards of sixteen thousand soldiers. This took
place in 626 (A. D. 1228); but as these immense preparations could not be made
secretly, the news of the armament soon reached the governor of Mallorca, who
began also to collect his forces, and prepared to repel the invasion. Having
selected upwards of one thousand cavalry, he distributed them about the island,
and he raised besides another body consisting of one thousand horse from among
the country people and the inhabitants of the capital; his infantry amounted
to eighteen thousand men. All these levies were ready by the month of Rabi’
the first, of the said year (A. D. 1228). Unluckily, however, all these active
preparations were counteracted by the following unfortunate event. One day
Mohammed ordered the captain of his guards to bring into his presence four
of the principal inhabitants of the town, and when, in pursuance of his order,
they appeared before him, he caused them to be immediately beheaded. Among
the number of these victims were two sons of his mother’s brother, Abú Hafss Ibn
Sheyri, a man of rank and influence in the island. The people went to him
and related what had occurred, warning him against the tyrant, and saying,
‘By Allah! this state of things can no longer be endured; the Amír is not fit
either to govern us or defend us, and as long as he rules our lives will be entirely
at his mercy.’ After this declaration, the citizens bound themselves to revenge
the blood spilt by the tyrant, and Ibn Sheyri having consented to become their
chief, they determined upon ridding themselves of the Amír at all hazards. It
was on a Friday, about the middle of the month of Shawwál (A. D. 1228). What
with the fear of Mohammed’s vengeance, should their plans be discovered, and
the dread caused by the enemy, who was known to be at no great distance from

9 This name indicates that the author was one of the descendents of Alfonso, the king of Spain.
the island, the citizens were actually trembling. Presently Mohammed summons
"to his presence the captain of his guards, and commands him to bring before him
"fifty of the principal citizens, the most distinguished by their birth, wealth,
"or talents. The tyrant's orders were immediately complied with, and the fifty
"individuals stood before him: they were all expecting to be marched to immediate
"execution, when, lo! a horseman appears, dressed as a courier, who, being
"introduced into the Amir's presence, informs him that the Christian fleet,
"composed of upwards of forty sail, is in sight, and making for the shore.
"No sooner, however, had the horseman finished his recital, than a second mes-
"senger from a different quarter rushed breathless into the audience chamber,
"saying, 'The Christian fleet is in sight, and I can count seventy sail.' The fact
"was soon ascertained, and the news found to be true. Mohammed then pardoned
"the fifty citizens who had been sentenced to death, and having apprised them
"of the arrival of the enemy, bade them go and prepare for the defence of the city.
"Accordingly they all went home, and were received by their families as if they
"had risen from the tomb. Soon after the news arrived that the Christians were
"just at hand, and that their fleet was composed of one hundred and fifty sail.
"After crossing the bay, the Christians made for the harbour [intending to
"land]; but the Amir having sent against them some infantry and cavalry, with
"orders to station themselves on the shore and to remain there encamped both
"day and night, they were prevented from landing. At last the Christians gained
"their object; and on the 18th of Shawwal (A.D. 1228), which was a Monday, an
"engagement took place in which the Moslems were completely defeated. After
"this, the enemy marched to the city and encamped on the deserted and unculti-
"vated plain, close to the gate of Al-kahl, whence they made several assaults
"upon the city, and were on the point of taking it by storm. When Ibn Sheyri
"saw that the Christians were masters of the neighbouring country, and that
"the city could not hold out much longer, he left it secretly and made for the
"interior of the island, with such among the inhabitants as would follow him.
"On Friday, the 11th of Safar, A.H. 628 (Dec. 18, A.D. 1230), the Christians
"made a general attack on the city, and on the following Sunday became masters
"of it; when in the massacre that ensued no less than twenty-four thousand of the
"inhabitants were inhumanly sacrificed for the fault of a single individual. The
"Amir was taken and subjected to all manner of torture, under which he
"expired forty-five days after his capture. As to Ibn Sheyri, he betook himself to
"the mountainous part of the island, in which were many places strongly fortified
"by nature, and having collected around him a force of sixteen thousand men,
he defended himself bravely for some time, until he was killed on Friday the 10th of Rabi' the second, of the year 628 (Feb. 14, A.D. 1231).

This Ibn Sheyri derived his pedigree from the sons of Jubalah Ibn Al-abyam Al-ghossání. The remaining fortresses in the island were taken by the Christians about the end of Rejeb of the same year, 628 (May, A.D. 1231); and by the month of Sha'bán all those who succeeded in making their escape reached the dominions of Islam. The above is borrowed from the work of Ibn 'Omayrah Al-makhzumí.

There were at Mallorca several distinguished theologians and eminent poets. Among the latter was one named Ibn 'Abdi-l-walí Al-mayurkí, who composed the following verses:

"Who can be secure against thy looks, or thy slender waist, bending like the Indian cane?"

"My blood boils when I see thee; my eyelids hang down and preclude my vision."

"Thy bewitching looks tempt me, and yet I fear not the temptation of Satan." 13

Not far from Mallorca is another island called Menorkah (Minorca), which was governed at the time by the noble, righteous, and learned Sheikh Abú 'Othmán Sa'id Ibn Hakan Al-korashí. When the Christians, as above related, took possession of Mallorca and put to death its Amír Abú Yahya, Abú 'Othmán, who owed his appointment to the latter, made his peace with the enemy, and agreed to pay them an annual tribute on condition that no Christian should land on the island. The treaty was ratified, and Abú 'Othmán remained master of Minorca, which he governed with great moderation and wisdom.

Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'id says, "I was told by one of the inhabitants of Mallorca, who, after the taking of that island by the Christians, took refuge in Minorca, that the governor received him very kindly, and tried several times to persuade him to settle in that out-of-the-way island. He told me that he once rode out with Abú 'Othmán, who, having observed that his sword-belt was so tight that it actually left a mark upon his neck, sent him a handsome present in money besides a dress called ghonbáz, with a paper containing the following verses:

The sword-belt always reveals the excellence of its bearer, especially on days of trepidation and haste.

The best thing that men can use on such days is a sharp heavy sword which makes necessary the wearing of a ghonbáz." 14
The ghoñbás is among the people of the West a kind of coarse dress, which covers and protects the neck.

The governor Abú 'Othmán was originally from a town in the western part of Andalus, called Tabirah (Tavirá). He was a patron of literature, and many are the works celebrated for their merits in Western Africa which were dedicated to him, as the book entitled ' the soul of the trees and the spirit of the verses,' and others.

Valencia was another of the cities which fell into the hands of the Christians during the above period of civil war and confusion. As early as the year 488 (A.D. 1095), that city had been taken by the Kanbittúr (El Cid Campeador); but the Almoravides had retaken it from them, and it had remained the abode of Islám until Jakmish (Jayme), King of Aragon, the same who conquered the island of Mallorca, took it in the year 636, as we are about to relate.

When Abú Ahmed Ibn Jeháf, who was Kádí of Valencia, assumed the command in that city, and proclaimed Yúsuf Ibn Táshefin, Al-kádir Ibn Dhi-n-nún, the same who had been expelled from Toledo by Alfonso, marched thither at the head of his forces, and besieged him in it; but Ibn Jeháf having, with the assistance of a body of Almoravides, made a sudden attack upon the camp of Al-kádir, defeated that Sultán and put him to death. It appears, however, that Ibn Jeháf exceeded the limits of his authority; for the same party of the Almoravides [who had assisted him against Al-kádir] now deserted him and left him to fight single-handed against his enemies. In this extremity the Kádí of Valencia sent to implore the assistance of Yúsuf, who promised to send troops to his aid, but the succour never came. In the mean while, Yúsuf Ibn Ahmed Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, who was the enemy of Ibn Jeháf, instigated the tyrant Rudherik (Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar) to march to Valencia, which he did, taking possession of that city after a short siege. They relate that Ibn Jeháf surrendered the city by capitulation, and that Rodrigo asked him to give up [to him] the treasures of Al-kádir Ibn Dhi-n-nún; that Ibn Jeháf swore that he knew nothing of them, and that Rodrigo told him that he would put him to death if he found them; that he discovered them in his possession, and caused him to be burned alive. Rodrigo, moreover, plundered Valencia, and almost destroyed it.

The taking of Valencia by the Kanbittúr [El Cid Campeador], may the curse of God fall on his head! happened in the year 488 (A.D. 1095). Some authors refer it to the year before [A.H. 487]. But let us hear the account of Ibnu-L-Abbár, who, alluding to that deplorable event, writes as follows: "Valencia was besieged by the Kanbittúr for a period of twenty months; after which it was taken, some say by capitulation, others by storm. The Christians set fire
to it and destroyed it. Among the Moslems who perished that day in the flames was the learned Abú Ja'far Ibnu-l-bana, the celebrated poet (may God have mercy on him and forgive him his sins!). Some years after the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefin, sent thither one of his generals, named Abú Mohammed Modhzelí, who retook it from the enemy in 495 (beginning Oct. 25, a.d. 1101). Valencia was then governed by a succession of Almo- ravide chieftains till the time of Yahya Ibn Gháníyyah, who, at the breaking out of the civil war in the sixth century of the Hijra, was expelled from that city by Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-l-azíz. This latter ruled over Valencia and the neighbouring districts until the year 539 (beginning July 3, a.d. 1144), when the army rose against him, deposed him from the command, and appointed in his stead Ibn 'Iyádh, King of the Eastern provinces of Andalus. Merwán fled to Almería.

After this, Valencia fell into the hands of Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Mardanísh, who succeeded Ibn 'Iyádh in the kingdom of Murcia. Abú 'Abdillah appointed a brother of his, named Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanísh, to govern the city, and he kept the government of the place until he made his submission to the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen.

Under the Almohades, Valencia continued to be ruled, as before, by African princes, the first of whom was Síd Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Síd Abú 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Hafss, and grandson of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alf. When, as before related, (p. 324), Al-'ádal raised the standard of revolt at Murcia, fortified himself [in that city], and assumed the supreme command under pretensions which concealed his ambitious views, and when Abú-l-ala [Idrís] Al-mámún followed in his steps, a chief named Zeyyán Ibn Abí-l-hamalát Ibn Abí-l-hejáj Ibn Mardanísh, who was one of his most influential partisans, laid siege to Valencia and took it by storm. Síd Abú Zeyd fled to the Christians.

The affairs of Valencia grew worse and worse; the enemy went on reducing its towns and districts, until the King of Barcelona laid siege to it. Zeyyán then implored the aid of Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Haßs, Sultán of Eastern Africa, and sent as his ambassador the celebrated Kátib Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-abbár Al-kodhá'i, the author of the Tekmilah (complement), of the A'tábu-l-kótáb (the degrees of the scribe), and other works. Ibnu-l-abbár presented himself to that Sultán, and recited before him that celebrated kassidah of his, rhyming in sin, which has since become so celebrated both in the East and West.

The Sultán hastened to their assistance; he fitted out his fleet and sent it to Valencia with money, provisions, and stores of every description. But when the
African fleet appeared [in sight of Valencia] they found that the garrison had been reduced to the last extremity, and shortly after the enemy of God took possession of that city by capitulation on Tuesday, the 17th of Safar of 636 (Sept. 29, A.D. 1238). May God Almighty restore it to the Moslems!

Not satisfied with the taking of Valencia, the tyrant Jayme prosecuted his conquests in those eastern districts, plundering and destroying wherever he went, and putting to the sword the unfortunate Moslems. On the other hand, Ferdeland (Ferdinand III. of Castile) was not inactive. After a siege of several months he reduced Cordova; and on Sunday, the 23rd of Shawwal of the year 636 (May 29, A.D. 1239), that seat of the western Khalifate, repository of the theological sciences, and abode of Islam, passed into the hands of the accursed Christians. (May God destroy them all!). In the year 645, moreover, the above-mentioned infidel, Ferdeland, King of Kastellah, besieged the city of Seville by sea and land, and took it by capitulation on Monday, the 5th of Shawlán of the ensuing year (A. H. 646), after a siege of one whole year and five months, or thereabouts. The historian Ibnu-l-´abbá, in his biographical dictionary entitled *Tekmilah* (complement), at the article Abú 'Alí Ash-shalúbeyn, says, "Ash-shalúbeyn died [at Seville], during the siege of that city by the Castilians, on Thursday, the 15th of Safar of the year 645 (June 21, A.D. 1241). The year after Seville was "taken by the enemy." The same author, Ibnu-l-abbá, says that the rout of Aynajah, in which the Háfedh Abú-r-rabi' Al-kalá'i was killed, happened on Thursday, the 20th of Dhi-l-hajjah of the year 634 (August, A.D. 1237), and that Abú-r-rabi' never ceased fighting in the foremost ranks, striking the infidels with his sword, encouraging the Moslems, recalling the fugitives, and reminding them of the pleasures of Paradise, until he himself was slain. Abú-r-rabi' used to say that he would live to be seventy, having, when only a boy, had a dream to that effect; and so it was; for at the time he was killed he had just entered his seventieth year. The Háfedh Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-abbá wrote an elegy rhyming in *min* on the death of Abú-r-rabi'. One of the historians of Andalus says that Abú-r-rabi' was the disciple of Abú-l-kásim Ibn Hobeysh, and of his class or school. He wrote several works, among which the following are most celebrated: *Misháhu-dh-dholam fl-l-hadith* (the lamp of darkness: on sacred traditions); *Al-arba'án 'an arba'ín sheykhan liarba'ín min-assáhibah* (the forty traditions collected from forty doctors who held them from forty of the companions of the Prophet); *Al-iktijá'í wa magházi-llah wa maghází-l-thaláthi-l-khalifá* (the sufficient: on the wars of the messenger of God and the three [first] Khalifs); *Meydánu-s-sábikín wa halbatu-s-sadikín-l-musaddikín flí gharaas kitábi-l-isti'ád* (the hippodrome of the active and the arena for the sincere who fulfil their religious duties: or a treatise on
the meaning and objects of the Isti‘áb),—this last work he is said to have left incomplete;—Al-mu‘ajem fī men wa‘fikat kunyatuhu min wa‘jihi-s-sihabat (a dictionary of the names of those companions who bore the same kunyā or surname); Al-‘ālām bi-akhirī-t-l-bokhārī-l-imām (the signs: on the history of the Imám Al-bokhárí); Al-mu‘ajem fī mashyakhati Abī-l-kāsim Ibn Hobeysh wa barnāmej rawdāyatihi (a biographical dictionary of the masters of Abū-l-kāsim Ibn Hobeysh, and an index to those doctors who learned under him); Jena-r-rotab fī sena-l-khotab (fresh gatherings: on the art of preaching eloquent sermons); and several others.

We have related elsewhere (p. 313) how the city of Almeria, after remaining for a length of time in the hands of the enemy, was recovered by the two Almohade princes [Abú Sa‘īd and Abū Hafṣ] in the year 546 (beginning April 19, A. D. 1151). The city, however, had been almost destroyed [during its occupation by the Christians], and would have been entirely deserted, had not ‘Abdu-l-múmen appointed as governor a chief named Abū-l-‘abbás Ahmed Ibn Kemmál, who was a native of it, and who took pains for its preservation. A sister of this Abū-l-‘abbás was made prisoner at the taking of Bejennah (Pechina) by [the troops of] ‘Abdu-l-múmen, and conveyed to the palace of that Sultán, with whom she rose so much in favour that she obtained for her brother the government of his native [town]. Abū-l-‘abbás was a man of a generous and benevolent disposition. Among the governors of Almeria during the reign of the sons of ‘Abdu-l-múmen, in the seventh century of the Hijra, one of the most distinguished was the Amír Abú ’Imrán Ibn Abí Haß, the uncle of Abú Zakariyyá [who became afterwards] ruler of Eastern Africa. But to return.

When, in the year 625 (A. D. 1228), the people of Andalus, as before related (p. 326), revolted against their Sultán Al-mámún [Idrís], of the posterity of ’Abdu-l-múmen, and Ibn Húd rose in arms at Murcia, a chief named Abú Abdillah Mohammed Ibn ’Abdillah Ibn Abí Yahya Ibnu-r-remimí, a descendant of that Ibnu-r-remimí from whom the Christians had taken Almeria [in A. H. 542], rose in that city and proclaimed Ibn Húd. This being done, Ibnu-r-remimí repaired to Murcia, where Ibn Húd was at the time, and acquainted that chief with what he had done. Ibn Húd received Ibnu-r-remimí kindly, and, as a reward for the important service he had just performed, appointed him governor of Almeria, chose him for his Wizír, and intrusted to him the entire management of his affairs. Things continued in this state for some time until Ibnu-r-remimí dexterously persuaded Ibn Húd to have the castle of Almeria repaired and fortified, in order that it might be made a bulwark [to his kingdom]; but the truth was that Ibnu-r-remimí intended it as a stronghold for himself. Ibn Húd acceded to his request, and the castle of Almeria was accordingly repaired and strongly
fortified. It happened that [in one of his visits to Almeria], Ibn Húd left under the care of Ibn-u-r-remímí a mistress of his, on whom he doted; but Ibn-u-r-remímí, who was also passionately fond of her, violated the laws of hospitality, and seduced her. Intelligence of their criminal intercourse being secretly conveyed to Ibn Húd, he hastened to Almeria, intending to take ample revenge on the governor; but Ibn-u-r-remímí was beforehand with him, and had him strangulated whilst in his bed. Ibn-u-l-khattib relates the above differently: he says that "Ibn Húd had promised his wife never to marry another as long as she lived. "When, however, he rose into power, his eyes fell on the daughter of a Christian chief taken in one of his campaigns: she was one of the most beautiful creatures that ever lived, and Ibn Húd became so deeply enamoured of her that he determined upon living with her, notwithstanding the solemn promise he had made to his wife. In order, however, to conceal his guilt from the latter, he gave her in charge to his lieutenant, Ibn-u-r-remímí, the governor of Almeria, who, they say, conceived likewise a strong attachment for the woman, and seduced her. Finding that she was pregnant, and that Ibn Húd, who was shortly expected in Murcia, could not fail to discover the guilt, Ibn-u-r-remímí had recourse to the following stratagem. When he heard that Ibn Húd was close to Almeria, he went out to meet him, and invited him to come to his palace. Ibn Húd accepted the invitation, and in the dead of night four men stole into the sleeping apartment of that Sultán and suffocated him with the pillows of his bed. On the morning of the following day, it was announced that Ibn Húd had died suddenly during the night; notaries and witnesses were called in to certify the fact, and his body was placed in a coffin and sent by sea to Murcia. The death of Ibn Húd took place on the 24th of Jumáda the second, of the year 635 (Dec. 12, A.D. 1237)."

After the death of Ibn Húd, Ibn-u-r-remímí made himself master of Almeria. A son of his revolted against him, and after several revolutions and events which would take us too long to relate, the city fell into the hands of Ibn-u-l-ahmar, King of Granada, whose posterity retained it until the infidels took it from them when they conquered the whole of Andalus, as we shall hereafter relate. There is no conqueror but God!

As to the Bení Húd, the last of the family was Al-wáthik, son of Al-mutawakkel. Being hard pressed [in Murcia] by Alfonso of Barcelona, he sent to implore the assistance of Ibn-u-l-ahmar, offering himself as his vassal. Ibn-u-l-ahmar granted his request, and sent him some troops under the command of Ibn Ashkilúlah, who took possession of Murcia in his master's name, and had him proclaimed [in the mosques]. After this, Ibn Ashkilúlah returned to Ibn-u-l-
ahmar; but on his road [to Granada?] the Christians attacked and defeated him. Al-wáthik then returned to Murcia for the third time, and remained [sovereign of that place] until the enemy took it from him in the year 658 (A. D. 1260), and gave him instead of Murcia a fortress of its district called Yozar, in which he resided until his death. Some authors state that this was at the hour of noon of Thursday, the 15th of Shawwál (A. H. 668),—that Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Húd, son of the Wálí of Murcia, presented himself before that city with a party of Christian nobles and knights, and put them in possession of it. In him ended the dynasty of the Bení Húd. God is the heir of the earth and of all that which is on it!
CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Bení Nasr—Account of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar—His revolt at Arjona—His wars with Ibn Húd—He takes possession of Granada—Attacks and defeats the Christians—Dies—Is succeeded by Mohammed II.—Death of Don Nuño de Lara—The Infante Don Sancho is defeated and slain—Taking of Quesada and Alcaudete—Death of Mohammed II.—His son Mohammed III. succeeds him—His brother Nasr revolts against him—Compels him to abdicate—Ferdinand of Castile takes Gibraltar—The Aragonese besiege Almeria—Revolt of Abú Sa'id and his son Abú-l-walid Isma'il—The latter defeats Nasr—Forces him to abdicate—Battle of Elvira—Death of Don Pedro—Taking of Christian fortresses—Assassination of Isma'il.

It now behoves us to speak of the Bení Nasr, a powerful dynasty which reigned for nearly three centuries at Granada, and is well worthy of mention, not only because Lisánú-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb was Wízír to one of them, but because they were "the last [Mohammedan] rulers of Andalus, since from one of them the Christians conquered the whole of that country, as we shall hereafter relate.

The origin of this dynasty is thus given by the historian of Africa, Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khalíd Al-hadhramí. "The Bení Nasr were originally from Arjúnah (Arjona), a castle in the jurisdiction of Cordova. Their ancestors had been officers of rank [in the army], and were well known in that country as the Bení Nasr, or the sons of Nasr. They connected their genealogy with Sa'd Ibn 'Obádah, Lord of the tribe of Khazrej. The head of the family, towards the close of the dynasty of the Almohades, was Nasr [legé Mohammed] 1 Ibn Yúsuf, better known as Ash-sheikh (the Sheikh); his brother's name was Isma'il: the former especially enjoyed considerable influence among his kindred. When the fortune of the Almohades began to decline, and rebels rose against them in Andalus,—when the Síds 2 or members of the royal family began to give up their castles and fortresses to the Christian king,—when, in short, Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd rose at Murcia, and, having proclaimed the reigning Khalíf of the house of 'Abbás, took possession [in his name] of the eastern provinces of Andalus,—the Sheikh [Ibnu-l-ahmar] prepared also for rebellion, and in the
year 629 (beginning Oct. 28, A.D. 1231) caused himself to be proclaimed Sultán of Andalus, although he ordered that the name of Abú Zakariyyá [Yahya Ibn Abí Hafís], Sultán of Eastern Africa, should be mentioned in the public prayers, as Commander of the Faithful. In the following year, A.H. 630 (beginning Oct. 17, A.D. 1232), Jaen and Sherish (Xerez) submitted to him. All this Ibnu-l-ahmar accomplished with the assistance of his relatives the Bení Nasr, and of the family of Ibn Ashkilúlah, to whom he was related by marriage. Subsequently to this, in the year 631 (beginning Oct. 6, A.D. 1233), hearing that Ibn Húd had received from Baghdad a favourable answer to his petition, Ibnu-l-ahmar sent in his allegiance to that Sultán. Then happened the rebellion at Seville of Abú Merwán Al-bájí, who, taking advantage of the departure of Ibn Húd [from that city] to return to Murcia, rose and declared himself independent. With this chieftain Ibnu-l-ahmar entered into a treaty of alliance, giving him one of his daughters in marriage, and promising to defend him against Ibn Húd on condition that he would acknowledge himself his vassal. Al-bájí accepted the proposition, and Ibnu-l-ahmar accordingly entered Seville as its lord in 632 (beginning Sept. 25, A.D. 1234); but in the course of time he had Al-bájí seized and put to death, through the means of Ibn Ashkilúlah, whom he sent thither for that purpose.

One month after the above event, the people of Seville returned to the allegiance of Ibn Húd, and expelled [the troops of] Ibnu-l-ahmar; but in 635 (beginning Aug. 23, A.D. 1235), the latter prince made himself master of Granada by means of his secret partisans there. An influential citizen of that place, named Ibn Abí Kháled, who was his friend, having risen against Ibn Húd, prevailed upon the citizens to proclaim Ibnu-l-ahmar, and hastening to Jaen, where that Sultán was at the time, tendered to him the allegiance of the inhabitants. Immediately upon the receipt of this news, Ibnu-l-ahmar dispatched Ibn Ashkilúlah to Granada with a portion of his forces; he himself followed with the rest of his army, and having taken up his abode in that city, built the fortress of the Al-hamrá (Alhambra), as a residence for himself. Soon after the acquisition of Granada, Ibnu-l-ahmar obtained possession of Malaga, and in the year 643 (beginning May 28, A.D. 1245) received Almería from the hands of Ibn-r-remímí, the Wizír of Ibn Húd, who had risen and taken the command of the place. Ibnu-l-ahmar was next proclaimed by the people of Lorca, who, in 663 (beginning Oct. 23, A.D. 1264), sent their allegiance to Granada.

During the events above related the Christians reduced several important cities of Andalus, chiefly through the division and perversity of their Mohammedan rulers. At the commencement of his reign, Ibnu-l-ahmar had entered into an alliance with the Christian king [Ferdinand III. of Castile], for the purpose of...
obtaining his aid [against Ibn Húd]; and the infidel king had accordingly sent
him occasional succours of troops. Ibn Húd, on the other hand, wishing to
detach the Christian from the cause of Ibnu-l-ahmar, had offered him thirty
castles on the western frontier of his dominions, if he would forsake that Sultán
and assist him to take possession of Cordova: the offer was accepted, and the
castles delivered to the Christians. At last, in the year 633 (beginning Sept. 15,
A.D. 1236), the enemy took possession of Cordova (may God restore it to Islám!),
and, in the year 646 (beginning April 25, A.D. 1248), laid siege to Seville,
Ibnu-l-ahmar himself co-operating with his forces [against the Moslems]. After
a vigorous and long protracted defence, the city was taken by capitulation, and
the Christians became masters of its districts. Murcia also fell into their hands
in 665 (beginning Oct. 1, A.D. 1266); in short, the Christian king [Ferdinand III.
of Castile] ceased not to assail the dominions of Islám, and to take district after
district and castle after castle until the whole of the Moslem population were
driven to the coast between Ronda in the west and [Almeria in] the eastern parts'
of Andalus, about twenty marhala in length and one marhala or less in width
from the sea to the furthest point on the northern frontier.

Subsequently to this, Ibnu-l-ahmar grew angry, and sought to obtain possession
of the rest of the island; but he found the task too difficult, and was unable
to accomplish his purpose. Troops, however, sent by the Bení Merín and other
African dynasties, occasionally crossed over to his assistance, and with them
Ibnu-l-ahmar was enabled to keep the Christians at bay. For instance, in the
year 660 (beginning Nov. 25, A.D. 1261), according to previous stipulation, the
Sultán of Western Africa, Ya’kúb Ibn ‘Abdi-l-hakk, sent him three thousand
warriors, whose arrival Ibnu-l-ahmar welcomed, and with whom he repelled the
attacks of the enemy, and inflicted serious losses upon them. On the return
of these auxiliary troops to Africa, others kept continually going over in their
stead, until the death of the Sheikh Ibnu-l-ahmar, which happened in 671
(A.D. 1272).”

So far Ibnu Khaldún, who, as is well known, resided some time at Granada, and
must have been in possession of authentic records respecting the founder of
the dynasty of the Bení Nasr; but as we are also able to quote from Ibnu-l-khattíb,
whose works abound with precious information respecting the establishment of that
dynasty and the high deeds of its members, we will in future quote from him.

“Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Khamíss Ibn Nasr Account of Mohammed
Ibnu-l-ahmar.

Ibnu-l-ahmar. Ibn Kays Al-khazrèjí Al-ansári was descended from Sa’d Ibn ‘Obádah, the
companion of the Prophet. This Sa’d was the son of Suleymán, son of
Háritáh, son of Abí KHALFIÁ, son of Tha’lebah, son of Taríf, son of Khazrèj,
"son of Háithah, son of Tha’lebah, [son of] Al-‘ala, son of ‘Omar, son of Ya’rob, ‘son of Yash’hob, or Yashjab, son of Kahtán, son of Hemisa’, son of Yemen, son of Bent, son of Isma’il, son of Ibrahím. His kunyá was Abú ‘Abdillah, and he was also surnamed Ibnu-l-ahmar and Al-ghálíb-billah (the conqueror by the grace of God). Both historians and genealogists have all acknowledged the illustrious origin of this family, which, as above stated, was descended in a direct line from Sa’d Ibn ‘Obádah, Lord of the tribe of Khazrej, and one of the companions of our holy Prophet. Ar-rází, among others, in his genealogical treatise asserts that two men of the posterity of that illustrious individual entered Andalus at the time of the conquest; one settled at Tékerúna,8 the other at a village close to Saragossa, which, from the name of his tribe, was called Kariat Khazrej.

Mohammed was born in 591 (A.D. 1195) at Arjúnah (Arjona), in the territory of Cordova, where he inherited from his father extensive estates, which he cultivated himself. I was told by the Kátib Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn ‘Abdillah Al-lúshí (from Loxa) Al-yahssobí,9 whom I once met in Jaen, that his grandfather had a mare of the best qualities, which he used to mount whenever he had to repel an attack of the enemy, or to make an incursion into his territory. In this manner the animal became known among the Christians of the neighbouring districts for its excellent qualities and its aptitude for border warfare, until the King of the Christians, happening to hear of it, sent a message to Al-lúshí, requesting him to sell him the mare and fix his own price. Al-lúshí, however, was so much attached to the animal that he could not bear to part with her at any price, and he accordingly refused to sell her to the king. They say that on the night of the day on which he received the message from the infidel king, Al-lúshí dreamt a dream, and heard a voice saying to him, ‘Go to Arjona and take thy good mare with thee; when there, thou shalt inquire for a man named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, and when thou hast found him, thou shalt sell thy mare to him, for he shall certainly ride on it, and be the conqueror of Jaen and other towns, by which conquests thy posterity shall be benefited.’ Al-lúshí at first paid no attention to this warning; but having heard the same voice a second, and even a third time in his dreams, he at last began seriously to think about it. Having inquired from a friend of his named Ibn Ya’ysh, who was well acquainted with the surrounding country and its inhabitants, who the person could be who was described to him in his dream, Ibn Ya’ysh told him that it could be no other than Ibnu-l-ahmar. Al-lúshí, therefore, proceeded to Arjona and took up his abode in the town. No sooner was his arrival made known, as well as the object of his journey, than Ibnu-l-ahmar and some of his relatives went to Al-lúshí’s lodgings
and began to bargain for the mare; but the price which he asked was so exorbitant that Ibnu-l-ahmar declared his inability to pay the sum demanded. At last Ibnu-l-ahmar, having offered to pay a portion of the money down and the rest by instalments, Al-lúshí accepted the offer, and Ibnu-l-ahmar took the mare home. The bargain being concluded, Al-lúshí took Ibnu-l-ahmar to the mosque of the castle, and there disclosed to him the dream which he had dreamt. Ibnu-l-ahmar paid him the sum agreed between the two, and Al-lúshí returned to Jaen.

Scarcely had a year elapsed after this occurrence, when Ibnu-l-ahmar assumed the royal title at his native town, and soon after took possession of the wealthy city of Jaen. Historians, however, are at variance as to the cause which impelled him to do so, some saying that it was some injustice done him by one of the governors of the district which prompted him to revolt.

After Jaen, Ibnu-l-ahmar took Granada. He also made himself master of Seville in the last days of Rabi' the first, of the very year in which he rose, that is, in 629, and remained in possession of that city for nearly thirty days. He also took Cordova on the 11th day of Rejeb of the aforesaid year: both those cities, however, returned to the possession of Ibn Húd.

Ibnu-l-ahmar was frequently at war with Al-mutawakkel [Ibn Húd], who, as above stated (p. 336), was Sultán of Murcia, Almeria, and the greater part of Eastern Andalus, and who at one time made himself master of almost the whole country. He once defeated him most completely in the neighbourhood of Seville, whither Ibn Húd had gone for the purpose of chastising the revolt of Al-bájí. Having joined his forces to those of that rebel, Ibnu-l-ahmar attacked the camp of his adversary and routed his army, obliging Ibn Húd to embark for Murcia. This happened in 629. Five years after (A. H. 634), Ibn Húd was again defeated with great loss by Ibnu-l-ahmar, in the district of Elvira, near Granada.

At the beginning of his reign, Ibnu-l-ahmar showed every attention and respect towards the kings of the opposite coast [Western Africa], as well as towards those of Eastern Africa, and he went so far as to have the khotbah said for the latter in all the mosques of his dominions, hoping thereby to obtain their help and assistance [against the Christians]. He also said the khotbah for the Sultán of Baghzdád, Al-mustanser Al-`abbásí; but in the end he would acknowledge no sovereign but himself.

Ibnu-l-ahmar was at Jaen when the people of Granada proclaimed him at the instigation of Ibn [Abí] Kháled, and he entered that city in the last days of Ra- madhán of the year 635 (May, A. D. 1238). The historian Ibn 'Azzár says that
Ibnu-l-ahmar arrived at Granada in the evening, and encamped outside the walls. The ensuing morning, at dawn of day, he entered the city, and rode to the castle towards sunset. Abú Mohammed Al-bastí (from Baza), who saw Ibnu-l-ahmar ride through the city, says that he was dressed in a tunic of the stuff called miZaJ, striped, the sleeves of which were open at the sides. Just as Ibnu-l-ahmar arrived at the gate of the kassábah, the voice of the muezzin was heard in the distance, calling the people to the prayer of the setting sun; upon which, without going any further, Ibnu-l-ahmar went into the mihráb of the mosque, and recited the first chapter of the Korán, and went into the castle of Bádis, preceded by men bearing wax-tapers.

Ibnu-l-khattíb goes on to relate how Ibnu-l-ahmar assisted the Christian king (Ferdinand III. of Castile) in the reduction of Seville, Carmona, and other towns of Andalus, after which he continues,—

"In the year 643 a peace was concluded between Ibnu-l-ahmar and the King of the Christians, and a treaty signed, one of the conditions of which was that Jaen should be given up to the Christians. Some time before Ibnu-l-ahmar had completely defeated the infidels near a castle called Bolullos, at one day's march from his capital. Ibnu-l-ahmar, however, repented of what he had done, and in the year 662, after causing his son Mohammed to be sworn as his legitimate heir, he summoned the [African] tribes to aid him in the holy war. Having made every necessary preparation, he invaded the Christian territory."

As long as he lived, Ibnu-l-ahmar was on terms of amity and friendly correspondence with the rulers of Western Africa, the Bení Merín, who had built their empire on the ruins of that of the Almohades. One of the most powerful monarchs of that dynasty was Ya’kúb Ibn ‘Abdi-l-hakk, who, having received an embassy from the people of Andalus, imploring his powerful assistance against the Christians, crossed over to that country and gained a most signal victory over the infidels, as we shall hereafter relate. Ya’kúb was succeeded by his son Yúsuf, to whose court Alfonso, King of the Christians, came for the purpose of obtaining his aid to regain possession of his kingdom. After Yúsuf reigned Abú Thábit, and after the latter Abú Rabi’ Suleymán, who was succeeded by Abú Sa’id ‘Inán; but as it is not our object in this place to write the history of that dynasty, we will resume the thread of our interrupted narrative.

Ibnu-l-ahmar died on the 15th of Jumáda 11. of the year 671 (Sept. 10, A.D. 1272): His death happened in this way. Having heard that some Christian chieftains had with their united forces made a foray close to his capital, he sallied out to meet them. As he was returning to his palace, he stumbled and fell down; he was immediately put on a horse and conveyed to his palace, supported by one of...
his slaves, named Sábir, the elder. Shortly after, on Friday, the 29th of Jumáda the second, after the prayer of 'asr (before sunset), Ibnu-l-ahmar died, and was immediately buried in the makborah (cemetry) of the old mosque, on the hill of Sibkah. He was born at Arjona in the year 591 (beginning Dec. 13, A. D. 1194), known in Andalus as 'the year of Alarcos,' because the celebrated battle of that name was fought in it. His proclamation took place on a Friday of the year 626. He was the father of three sons; Mohammed, who succeeded him in the empire, Farej, and Yúsuf, who died before him.

On the death of Ibnu-l-ahmar, his son Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah, succeeded him. He was then thirty-eight years old, having been born at Granada in the year 633. No sooner had he ascended his father's throne, than he began to give his most serious consideration to the enlargement of his dominions at the expense of the infidels. Ibn Khaldún relates, that when Mohammed Ibn-l-ahmar saw his death approach he sent for his son and gave him his last instructions, among which one was that in his wars with the Christians he was always to implore the assistance of the Bení Merín, who had inherited the empire of the Almohades in Western Africa. Accordingly, when in the year 672 (beginning July 17, A.D. 1273) Mohammed Al-fakíh (or, the theologian, as the King of Granada is called by that historian,) heard that the Christians were about to carry the war into his dominions, he sent over an embassy to Ya’kúb Ibn ‘Abdi-l-hakk, Sultán of Fez and Western Africa, soliciting his aid against the infidels; and that sovereign, having graciously acceded to his request, sent first his own son at the head of an army, and himself followed shortly after. Having taken Jeziratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras) from the hands of a rebel who had gained possession of it, he converted it into a receptacle for his warriors. Mohammed, moreover, gave up to the African sovereign Tarifa and the castles appertaining to it; and when every thing had been arranged, the two kings united, put to flight Don Nuño, the general of the Christians, dispersed his army, and routed every where the troops of the Castilian king, sending large bodies of cavalry to make predatory incursions into his dominions. At last, through fear of the Africans, Mohammed made his peace with the Christians, and Ya’kúb returned to Africa. In the course of time, however, the kings of Granada recovered Algesiras, Tarifa, Ronda, and all the fortresses which this Mohammed had given up to the Bení Merín. So far Ibn Khaldún, whose narrative we have somewhat abridged.

The victory above alluded to was gained by the united forces of Mohammed and Abú Ya’kúb Yúsuf on the 15th day of Rabi’ the first, of the year 674 (Sept. 8, A.D. 1275), Don-Núnoh (Nuño Gonzalez de Lara), the general of the Christians,
and several of his best officers, remaining dead on the field. Shortly after, God was again pleased to send down victory to the Moslem banners, and to spread woe and confusion through the ranks of the infidels; for Sancho Al-mitrán (Archbishop of Toledo), having made an incursion into the Moslem territory, the troops of Granada overtook him near the town of Martosh (Martos), and completely defeated his army, he himself remaining among the dead.

In the month of Moharram of the year 695 (Nov., A.D. 1295), shortly after the death of Sancho, son of Alfonso, the Castilians prepared to invade the territory of Granada; but Mohammed, having received intelligence of their movements, marched against them, and, having laid siege to Kijáttah (Quesada), reduced that important city, besides several small towns and fortresses which depended on it. Having left a sufficient garrison for the defence of the place, Mohammed returned to Granada. In the year 699 (beginning Sept. 27, A.D. 1299) he besieged the town of Al-kabdhák, and, after a few vigorous attacks, made himself master of it. The Christian garrison then took refuge in the kassábah, a place well known in the surrounding country for its strength; but the Moslems took it by storm shortly after the hour of noon, on Sunday, the 8th of Shawwál (June 27, A.D. 1300), and put the garrison to the sword. After repairing the fortifications, in which he himself worked, helping to dig the moat with his own hands, Mohammed converted the place into a rábittah or border fortress, and, leaving a body of chosen warriors to defend it, returned to his capital.

After a prosperous reign of thirty years and one month, Mohammed died suddenly at Granada on Sunday, the 8th day of Sha‘bán of the year 701 (April 9, A.D. 1302). There are not wanting historians who assert that he was poisoned by his son and successor. He was interred apart from his ancestors, to the east of the great mosque, in the gardens adjoining his palace. In aftertime his grandson Abú-l-walíd, and Abú-l-hejáj, son of the latter, were interred by his side. He had three sons; his successor, Abú 'Abdillah, Faraj, who died in the lifetime of his father, and Nasr, who succeeded Abú 'Abdillah on the throne.

Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah, succeeded. He was one of the greatest monarchs of the Nasserite dynasty. Having been educated under the eye of his father, and trained from early youth in the duties of government, he displayed immediately upon his accession that sagacity and tact by which the monarchs of his family, surrounded as they were by enemies, were particularly distinguished.

Soon after his accession to the throne he made an incursion into the enemy's territory. The result was the taking of the town of Al-mandhar,17 which he entered by force of arms, and the captivity of all the garrison. Among the prisoners was the lady of the place, a woman of matchless beauty, the brightest gem among