the Christians. She was marched into the capital with the rest of the prisoners, splendidly mounted and attired, and shining with beauty. She became afterwards the wife of the Sultan of Western Africa.

In the year 703 (beginning Aug. 14, 1303), the Sultan being displeased with his relative the Reys Abú-l-hejáj Ibn Nasr, governor of Guadix, for some act of his administration there, removed him from his government. Abú-l-hejáj, who was then residing at court, began secretly to form a party in his favour both at the capital and at Guadix, which being reported to Mohammed, he caused him to be arrested and brought to his presence, when he was immediately executed. By his death civil war was prevented. In the month of Dhí-l-kā'dah of the same year [A. H. 703], after the death of his Wizír, Abú-s-sultan 'Azíz Ibn 'Ala Ibn Abdi-l-mun'am, of Denia, Mohammed named to that office one of his own secretaries, named Abú 'Abdillah Ibn-l-hakím, in whom he placed all his confidence. The Wizír, who was a shrewd and ambitious man, failed not to take advantage of his position, and to gain over the mind of his sovereign, whereby he effected his own ruin, as we shall presently relate.

In Shawwál of the year 705 (April or May, A. D. 1306) Mohammed took Ceuta from Abú Tálîb 'Abdullah Ibn-l-kásim, son of the Reys and Faquih, Imam and traditionist, 'Abu-l-'abbás Al-'izafí. By this victory Mohammed became the master of immense wealth belonging to the merchants of that port, besides countless treasures amassed by that chieftain. The chief inhabitants of that place were also led prisoners to Granada, where, at the beginning of Moharram of the ensuing year (A. H. 706), they received orders to appear in the presence of the Sultan. Mohammed received them in state, surrounded by his ministers and his guards. Some of the prisoners, however, having recited verses in praise of him, his heart was touched, and he set them all at liberty, assigning to each of them a house to reside in and a suitable pension for his sustenance.

This excellent monarch could not escape the shafts of treason. A considerable party having been formed in his own capital in favour of his brother Nasr, he was compelled to abdicate on the day of Al-fitr of the year 708 (April, A. D. 1309). According to Ibn-l-khattíb the event happened thus. "Early in the morning of that day a party of the principal citizens went to the dwelling of his brother: thence they repaired to the house of the Wizír Abú 'Abdillah Ibn-l-hakím, who, however, received timely intelligence of their arrival and escaped. Thence, after proclaiming, as they went along, the prince Abú-l-jiyúsh Nasr, they took the direction of the royal palace, which they surrounded on all sides. In the mean while the house of the Wizír Abú 'Abdillah was attacked by the mob, and gutted of all its valuable contents, besides the treasures which he had amassed in books,
jewels, weapons, &c., which God alone could estimate. Towards the end of
the day, a party of the revolted went up to the Sultán, and, having removed
him from his palace to another house, compelled him to abdicate in favour
of his brother. Mohammed consented, witnesses were called in, and a deed
prepared which he signed. After this he retired to a pleasure-house outside
the capital, called the palace of Seyd, whence, after a short stay, he proceeded
to Almuñecar.”

No sooner was Nasr raised to the throne than he had to defend his dominions
against enemies at home and abroad. The first act of his administration was to
appoint to the charge of Wizír, 'Attík Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-múl, and after him,
Mohammed Ibn 'Ala Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-háj, by whose intrigues he was afterwards deprived of his throne.

In the year 709 (beginning June 10, A.D. 1309), the King of Castile, Herando
(Fernando IV.), laid siege to Algesiras. He remained before that city from the
21st day of Safar till the end of Sha'bán, when, despairing of reducing the place,
he raised the siege, though not without making himself master of Gibraltar. In
the mean while, the Lord of Barcelona, another Christian king, arrived before
Almeria in the first days of Rabi’ the first, of the aforesaid year (August,
A.D. 1309). He laid siege to the city, which he closely invested, after completely
defeating an army sent for its relief. In this manner he remained encamped
before the city, daily pressing the siege more and more, until, towards the end
of Sha'bán, God Almighty was pleased to permit that the infidel should retire from
before its walls.

Scarcely was Nasr delivered from his enemies, the Christians, when all his
attention was engrossed by the revolt of one of his relatives, named Abú Sa’id
Faraj, who was governor of Malaga and its district, as well as of Ceuta, which,
as above related, the dethroned Sultán took in 705. Abú Sa’id was the son of
Isma’îl, the brother of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, the founder of the Nasserite
dynasty. Having repaired to Granada for the purpose of tendering the oath of
allegiance to Nasr, he was there persuaded by some of the chiefs and high
functionaries at court to rise against the usurper. Accordingly, on his return to
Malaga, Abú Sa’id raised the standard of revolt, and caused his own son Abú-l-
walid Isma’îl to be proclaimed. This happened on the 17th day of Ramadhán of
the year 709 (Feb. 18, A.D. 1310). Some months after, Abú-l-walid marched to
Antikeyrah (Antequera), of which he made himself master: the city of Almeria
also submitted to him; not so Belesh (Velez), the inhabitants of which shut their
gates and refused to admit him into their town; but Abú-l-walid, having sent for
some besieging engines, destroyed part of their walls and forced them to surrender.
Towards the end of Jumáda the second, of the year 710 (Nov. A.D. 1310), Nasr was suddenly struck by a fit of apoplexy: so severe was the attack that the physicians thought he was dead. No sooner was the news spread through Granada, than the partisans of the dethroned monarch hastened to Almuñécar, and besought him to assert his right to the throne. He, accordingly, set out for that city, borne in a litter, and entered Granada in the beginning of Rejeb of the same year (Nov. A.D. 1310). What was his astonishment, and that of his friends, to hear on their arrival that Nasr had recovered from his illness! By his brother's order, Mohammed was removed from the house where he alighted to the palace of his eldest brother Faraj, and in the first days of Shawwál of the same year (Feb. A.D. 1311) it was rumoured that he was dead. There are not wanting those who assert that he was privately put to death, and that his body was thrown into a fish-pond in the garden of the palace. He was buried in the cemetery of As-sabikah, by the side of his grandfather Al-ghálib-billah. He was born at Granada on Wednesday, the 3rd of Sha'bán, 655 (Aug. 16, A.D. 1257). He died on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwál, A.H. 713 (Jan. 26, A.D. 1314).

Whilst these events were happening, the rebel Abú Sa'id and his son Abú-l-walíd were strengthening themselves in their position, and collecting forces with which to march against Granada. At length, on the 1st day of Moharram of the year 712 (May 8, A.D. 1312), Abú-l-walíd, having put himself at the head of his troops, advanced against Granada and encamped at a hamlet called Karyatu-l-otashá, at a short distance from that capital. Nasr went out to meet him, and on the 13th of the same month (May 18, A.D. 1312) a battle was fought, in which the former was defeated. Whilst fleeing the field of battle, Nasr was thrown off his horse into a pond for the use of cattle; he was, however, extricated with great difficulty by his own men, and reached Granada in safety. Abú-l-walíd returned triumphant to Malaga, where, soon after, in the month of Rabi' the first, he received from Nasr propositions of peace, which he accepted. Things were in this state when, in the month of Ramadhán of the year 713 (Dec. 27, A.D. 1213), a revolution broke out at Granada. The inhabitants of that city, being displeased with the administration of Nasr's Wizír, Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-háj, surrounded the palace of that Sultán, and vociferously demanded that the person of the obnoxious functionary should be given up to them. A sally made by the Sultán's guard soon dispersed the mob, and the chiefs of the insurrection fled for refuge to Malaga, where they persuaded Abú-l-walíd to assume the supreme command and march against the usurper. Abú-l-walíd did as they advised him, and, having marched to Lúshah (Loxa), reduced that city in Shawwál, 713 (January, A.D. 1314). From Loxa Abú-l-walíd returned to Malaga to provide himself with fresh stores, and
to guard against the inclemency of the weather, it being then winter time. He then marched to Arshiddúnah (Archidona), where he was met by the Sultán’s army, under the command of 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn 'Othmán. A battle ensued in which victory was long uncertain: at last the troops of Granada gave way and fled in the utmost confusion, being pursued by the victors to the very gates of the capital. The inhabitants of the Albayzin, one of the suburbs of Granada, having opened the gate of Elvira to Abú-l-walíd, he penetrated into the city, and, having surprised the old kassdabah, made himself master of it, and took up his abode in the house which had once belonged to Ibnu-l-mül, the Wizír. Nasr fled to the Al-hamrá (Alhambra) with his women and treasures; but shortly after he was compelled to surrender and submit to the same conditions which he had imposed upon his brother Mohammed. He left Granada on the 21st of Shawwál, 713 (Feb. 8, A. D. 1314), and retired to Guadix.

The reign of Abú-l-walíd Isma‘íl Ibn Faraj was one of the most prosperous that the Moslems of Granada ever had. It is true that in the year 716 (beginning March 25, A. D. 1316) his army was defeated by the Castilians, who reduced Matamenos, Hisn-Bejí (Bexiara), Hisn-Tishkar (Tiscar), and Thoghúr Rútt (the fortified lines of Rute); but three years after, in 719, the Moslems took ample revenge for those losses, and destroyed an army commanded by one of their princes, who himself perished in the action.

In the year 719 (Feb. 20, A. D. 1319), the Christian kings collected their forces against Granada, and the tyrant Don Betró [Pedro, Infante of Castile,] appeared before that city with innumerable forces, bringing with him no less than twenty-five Christian princes. The cause of the war was as follows: the Sultán Abú-l-walíd Isma‘íl having repaired to the frontiers [of his kingdom] for the purpose of providing for their defence, and passing in review the troops stationed there, the Christians resolved upon attacking Algesiras. On the other hand, Abú-l-walíd having heard of their intentions, made every preparation to repel the invasion, collected troops, fitted out a fleet, and put his kingdom in a state of defence. The Christians, seeing the Moslems prepared to receive them, assembled at Toledo, and came to the determination of wresting the whole country from the hands of the Moslems.

To that end they made every warlike preparation, and collected immense stores, as well as war engines and besieging machines, which came to them by water from distant parts, and, when every thing was ready, they marched to Granada. Some writers add that the king, Don Betró, repaired to Toledo, where he had a conference with the head of the church, whom the Christians call Bbdó (Pope); that he worshipped him, went on his knees before him, and communicated to
him his design of conquering whatever provinces still remained in the hands of the Moslems; that the Bábá, in short, strengthened him in his purpose. The Moslems of Granada and other cities had no sooner heard of the immense preparations made by the Christians than they began to tremble with fear, and decided upon imploring the help of Abú Sa‘íd Al-meríní, Sultán of Fez. They accordingly sent an embassy to that sovereign, but it produced no effect, and the Moslems had no other resource left than to put their trust in God (may his name be exalted!). However, soon after the Franks arrived in sight of Granada, with forces so numerous that the earth was literally covered with them; but the victorious God, he who knows no partner in his victories, decreed that the Christian multitude should be routed, and their king, Don Pedro, slain, with all his suite. The affair happened thus: the Sultán Abú-l-walíd sent forward [against the Christians] the Sheykhu-l-ghozát 25 Abú Sa‘íd ’Othmán Ibn Abí-l-tala Almeríní, with a chosen division of the bravest and best trained troops. Abú Sa‘íd left Granada on Thursday, the 20th of Rabi’ the first (May 12, A.D. 1319). On Saturday evening a body of Christian cavalry came suddenly down upon some villages, upon which Abú Sa‘íd sent against them a body of mounted archers, who surrounded them and cut them off from the main body of their army. Some of them fled towards the camp of their king, and the Moslems pursued them all night till the morning of the next day, slaying all those who fell into their hands, so that but few escaped alive. This was the first victory. On Sunday, the Sheikh Abú Sa‘íd marched to meet the enemy with five thousand Moslem warriors, all men of tried courage and experience. The Christians, seeing them in such small number, wondered how a handful of men dared attack so considerable an army as theirs was; yet the Moslems made so desperate an attack that the Christians gave way immediately, and began to fly in every direction; the Moslems pursuing them sword in hand for three days, and dealing death among them.

They say that the number of infidels slain on this occasion amounted to upwards of fifty thousand, besides as many more who perished in the river, owing to their not being well acquainted with the fords. As to those who died in the mountains and ravines of that district, their number was beyond computation. The whole of the twenty-five princes who had accompanied Don Pedro, as well as himself, fell in the action.26 The battle over, the people of Granada went out to collect the spoils of the enemy and to bring back the prisoners. The spoils were immense, consisting of forty-three hundred weight of gold, and one hundred and forty hundred weight of silver, besides weapons, armour, horses, &c. The number of prisoners amounted to seven thousand,—it is so stated in a letter which a citizen of Granada...
wrote to a friend of his in Egypt,—and the spoil found on the field was so great that, for six months after the battle, prisoners, horses, and property belonging to the Christians, were sold in the markets of Granada. The news, moreover, of this splendid victory was sent to the most remote parts [inhabited by Moslems]. Among the prisoners were the wife and children of the king, and although she offered for her ransom the city of Tariña and the fortress of Jebalu-l-fatah (Gibraltar) and eighteen more castles of that district, the Moslems would not accept of it, and she remained in captivity. As to the Christian king, Don Pedro, he was slain during the action, and his skin, being stripped from his body, was stuffed with cotton, and suspended over the gate of Granada, where it remained for years. A very extraordinary circumstance connected with this battle is that only thirteen horsemen, others say ten, were slain on the side of the Moslems, whose whole force consisted only of fifteen hundred horse and four thousand foot, or even less; whereas the loss of the Christians, who were as numerous as the sands of the desert, was truly enormous. Ibnu-l-khattîb places this memorable battle on the 6th of Jumâda the first, 719 (June 26, A. D. 1319).27 He says that the body of Don Pedro was put in a wooden coffin and suspended from the walls close to the gate of Ya’kûb, to the left-hand side as one comes down from the Alhambra.

After this defeat the Christians sued for peace, which was granted to them; but at the expiration of the truce, Isma’il took the field in person and besieged the fortress of Ashkar, close to Baeza. As its defences were strong and the walls very thick, he attacked it with his largest engines loaded with naphtha, by means of which he threw into the place large iron balls.28 One of these fell on the top of one of the towers and destroyed it completely, upon which the garrison were so terrified that they surrendered to him on the 24th of Rejeb, 724 (July 17, A. D. 1324).

On the 10th of Rejeb, 725 (June 22, A. D. 1325), Isma’il marched to Martosh (Mortos), which he invested and took after a short siege. Shortly after his return from that expedition Isma’il was assassinated by a cousin of his named Mohammed, who was the son of Isma’il, better known by the surname of Sâhibu-l-jezírah (the governor of Algesiras). Mohammed had been present at the siege of Martos: having whilst there been guilty of some misdemeanour, he was summoned before his sovereign, who, in the presence of the assembled courtiers, reproved him for his conduct and spoke very severely to him. Mohammed resented the insult, and swore to revenge it. On his return to Granada he watched his opportunity, and, with the aid of his relatives and servants, attacked and murdered Isma’il as he was going from his palace to a mejless or temporary throne which had been
erected for the purpose of his administering justice to his subjects. This happened on Tuesday, the 27th of Rejeb, 725, three days after his return from Martos (July 18, A.D. 1325). Isma'il left four sons: Mohammed, who succeeded him on the throne; Faraj, who died a prisoner in the citadel of Almeria in 751; Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf, who was also Sultán; and, lastly, Isma'il.
CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Mohammed IV.—Gibraltar recovered from the Christians—Its fortifications repaired by Abú-I-hasan—The Africans put to death the King of Granada—His brother Yúsuf succeeds him—Battle of Tarifa—Assassination of Yúsuf—Accession of Mohammed V.—His half-brother Isma‘íl revolts against him—Mohammed takes refuge in Guadix—Crosses over to Africa—Ibnu-l-khattib's account of these transactions—Isma‘íl is dethroned and put to death—Is succeeded by Mohammed VI.—Assassination of the latter by Pedro, King of Castile—Mohammed V. recovers his kingdom—Lamentable fate of his Wizír, Ibnu-l-khattib.

ISMA‘ÍL was succeeded by his son Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah, who was born on the eighth day of Moharram, 715, (April 14, A.D. 1315). Soon after his accession he marched in person against the Christians, and took from them the city of Kabrah (Cabra). He also besieged Kasharah (Casares?), and would have taken it, had not the Castilians thrown succours into the place.

In the days of this Sultán the fortress of Jebal-Tárík (the mountain of Tárik), or, as it is otherwise called, Jebal-Al-fath (mountain of the entrance or victory), was wrested from the Christians, after having been in their possession upwards of twenty years.

We have stated elsewhere (p. 345) that, owing to the intimate alliance existing between the Kings of Granada and the Sultáns of the race of 'Abdu-l-hakk or Bení Merín, as well as to the frequent expeditions which the latter sent to Andalus for the purpose of assisting their Moslem brethren in their contest against the infidels, Gibraltar, Algesiras, Tarifa, and other ports of that coast, had been intrusted to their keeping by one of the Sultáns of Granada. In the year 708, however, the Castilians, profiting by the absence of a portion of the African garrison, which had been summoned to Africa, invested Gibraltar and made themselves masters of it without much difficulty. When the news of this disaster reached Africa, Abú-I-hasan ['Alí Ibn 'Othmán] Al-meríní, Sultán of Fez, who knew the importance
of that fortress, and had spent his treasures in repairing and increasing the fortifications, resolved upon wresting the valuable prize from the enemy. Accordingly, taking with him one of his sons, Abú-l-hasan sailed thither with his fleet, and, being soon after his landing joined by the troops of Granada under the command of Mohammed himself, he closely invested the place, and made himself master of it.

No sooner had Abú-l-hasan reduced Gibraltar under his sway than he began to give his attention to repairing its buildings and increasing its fortifications, spending immense sums of money in building houses and magazines, as well as a jāmi’ or principal mosque, and erecting new walls, towers, and even a citadel. Before, however, these improvements were fully completed, the Christians invested Gibraltar by sea and land; but their attempt was frustrated by the gallant defence of the Moslems, commanded by the King of Granada, and they were compelled to raise the siege. After this the Sultán Abú-l-hasan again applied himself further to strengthen Gibraltar, by causing a thick wall to be built at the foot of the rock, surrounding it on all sides, as the halo surrounds the crescent moon; so that the enemy could discover no prospect of success in attacking it, nor did there appear any way through which he could force an entrance. In the course of time, however, Algesirás became the prey of the infidels in consequence of the defeat which Abú-I-hasan, together with Ibnu-l-ahmar [Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf], suffered at Tarifa; and Gibraltar was afterwards taken from the Bení Mérin by Mohammed, surnamed Al-ghani-billah, Sultán of Granada, to whom Lisánù-d-dín Ibnu-I-khattib was Wizir.

But to return. Soon after the Christians had raised the siege of Gibraltar, the Sultán Mohammed was assassinated by some African officers to whom he had rendered himself obnoxious. As he was one day about to embark [for his dominions] he was assailed by a party of horsemen who lay concealed behind a projecting rock, and put to death. His mangled body, stripped of everything, remained exposed on the ground, but was afterwards carried to Malaga and interred in the public cemetery close to the Mun’yat or country villa of Seyd.

On the same day on which Mohammed was assassinated, that is to say, on Wednesday, the 13th of Dhí-I-hajjah, 733 (Aug. 24, A.D. 1333), his brother Yúsuf, who was then at Wáda Sefúyin (the river of the ships), close to Algesirás, was proclaimed [by the army]: he was then nearly sixteen years old. It was he who, in Shawwal, 749 (January, A.D. 1349), appointed Lisánù-d-dín Ibnu-I-khattib to the office of Wizir. During his reign the Africans under Abú-l-hasan were defeated near Tarifa with awful loss. An African historian expresses himself thus in relation to that deplorable event.
Having crossed the Strait for the laudable purpose of waging war against the infidels and helping the Moslems of Granada in their desperate struggle with the Christian power, as had once been the custom of his noble ancestors, as well as of almost all the sovereigns of the different dynasties that ruled over Western Africa, Abú-l-hasan landed on the coast of Andalus with an army amounting to upwards of sixty thousand men, and was immediately joined by the forces of Granada, under the command of Abú-l-hejáj. Alas! God Almighty, whose decrees are infallibly executed upon his creatures, had decided in his infinite wisdom that this proud armament should be dispersed like the dust before the wind, and that Abú-l-hasan himself should return to his dominions vanquished and fugitive,—that the sharp-edged swords of the infidels should shine over his head and those of his men. We will not inquire how it happened; but the fact is, that thousands of Moslems won that day the crown of martyrdom; that the ranks of doctors and theologians were frightfully thinned, the law of the sword being executed on their throats: the Sultán’s own son, and all his harem, fell into the hands of the victorious enemy; his treasures became the prey of the idolaters, who from that day thought of nothing short of subjecting the rest of Andalus to their abominable rule. Among the illustrious Moslems who perished on that occasion was ‘Abdullah As-salmání, the father of the Wizír Lisánú-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattib. He was an able physician and an eminent scholar.

The battle of Tarifa was fought on Monday, the 7th of Jumáda the first, of the year 741 (Oct. 29, A.D. 1340). Yúsuf Abú-l-hejáj was one of the most enlightened sovereigns of the Nasserite dynasty. In his days justice was administered with an even hand, literature and science flourished, and public order prevailed. Unluckily for the Moslems of Andalus, his reign was not of long duration; for, in the year 755 (beginning Jan. 25, A.D. 1354), he was assassinated by a madman whilst performing his devotions in the mosque of his palace. The event is thus described in a letter which the Wizír Ibnu-l-khattib addressed, in the name of his brother and successor, Mohammed, to Abú ‘Inán [Fáris], Sultán of Western Africa.

As Abú-l-hejáj was performing the last prostration of his prayer, a madman rushed upon him and wounded him with a khanjar or yataghán. The assassin was immediately secured. The Sultán, who had been mortally wounded, made some signs, as if he wished to speak; but, after uttering a few unintelligible words, he was carried senseless to his palace, where he died shortly after his arrival. The assassin, in the mean time, was given up to the infuriated mob, who murdered him and burned his body. Abú-l-hejáj was interred on the evening of Sunday within the Alhambra, in the cemetery reserved for the princes
of the royal family. He left three sons: Mohammed, who succeeded him; Isma'il, and Kays.”

Mohammed, surnamed Al-ghani-billah (he who is contented with God), succeeded. Some time after his accession he dispatched to Fez his Wizir, Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattib, with instructions to implore the aid of Abú 'Inán [Fáris], son of Abú-l-hasan, against the common foe. Upon being introduced to the Sultán’s presence, and before he had delivered the message of which he was the bearer, Ibnu-l-khattib uttered extempore some verses which called forth the admiration of all those present, and were so much approved of by the Sultán, that before listening to what Ibnu-l-khattib had to say, he told him, ‘By Allah! I do not know what the object of thy visit is, but whatever it may be, I from this moment grant thy request;’ and so he did, for, after loading him with presents of all kinds, he promised to send troops to the assistance of his master, and dismissed him highly pleased and satisfied with the result of his mission. This circumstance elicited from the celebrated Kádí Abú-l-kásim Ash-sheríf, who formed also part of the embassy, the very just remark, that there never was an ambassador who obtained the object of his mission before he had made it known, save Ibnu-l-khattib.

“Mohammed had reigned scarcely five years,” says the historian Ibnu Khaldún, “when a half-brother of his, named Isma'il, assisted by another of his relatives, of the name of Abú Sa'íd, revolted in Granada; and, taking advantage of the absence of the Sultán, who was then residing at a country place out of the Alhambra, scaled at night the walls of that fortress, and made himself master of it, after putting to death Redwán, the Wizír of Mohammed. This took place on the 27th day of Ramadhán, 760 (Aug. 23, A.D. 1359); and, on the following day, Isma'il Abú-l-walíd was proclaimed by the troops and the citizens.

In the mean time the dethroned Sultán, having found means to escape from his pursuers, repaired to Guadix, where he established his authority. When the news of this revolution and the murder of Redwán reached Fez, the Sultán, Abú Sálim, was highly displeased, for he was the friend both of Mohammed and his minister. He sent immediately [to Andalus] a theologian of his court, named Abú-l-kásim Ibn Sheríf, with instructions to invite the deposed Sultán to his court. On his arrival [at Granada], Abú-l-kásim negotiated with the great officers of the state and the ministers of the usurper, that Mohammed should be allowed to leave Guadix and proceed to Africa unmolested, and that all those individuals who had been arrested and imprisoned for their fidelity to the deposed Sultán should be set at liberty. In their number was the Kátib Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-khattib, who, owing to his intimacy with
the Hájib Redwán, and his well-known attachment to the dethroned Sultán, had been confined to prison. Another writer says that Ibnu-l-khattíb owed his liberation to Ibn Marzúk, the Wizír of Abú Sálim, who was an old friend of his ever since his stay at Granada; for he had no sooner heard of his friend's imprisonment than he prevailed upon his master the Sultán, whose confidence he enjoyed, to send an embassy to Andalus, &c. However this may be, Ibnu-l-khattíb was released and allowed to proceed to Guadix in company with Abú-l-kásim, the African ambassador. On his arrival there, Ibnu-l-khattíb found his master preparing to cross over to Africa. Mohammed took his departure at the end of Dhí-I-ka'dah, and he accompanied him and arrived in this country at the end of 760 (Nov. A. D. 1359). On the news of Mohammed's approach, Abú Sálim went out in state to receive him, and he was soon after admitted into a hall of the royal palace crowded with courtiers, theologians, poets, and doctors. It was on this occasion that his Wizír, Ibnu-l-khattíb, uttered extempore that celebrated ode of his, rhyming in ra, the argument of which was to implore his aid in favour of his master, and to ask him to restore him to the possession of his throne.

"O Vicar of God! May the Almighty increase thy power as the full moon shines through the shadows of night.

"May the hands of his omnipotence avert from thee that [evil] against which mortals have no power."

Ibnu Khaldún, from whom the above details are borrowed, says, "Such was the effect produced upon the audience by Ibnu-l-khattíb's verses that they were unable to suppress their tears. When the interview was over, Mohammed retired to the palace which had been prepared for him, the apartments of which he found strewed with the finest carpets, and the stables well provided with generous steeds, with their trappings and saddles ornamented with gold. Handsome robes of the most costly stuffs were sent in, as well as slave girls for him and those of his suite; in short, nothing was wanting to make their residence at court agreeable. Mohammed, moreover, was treated with every distinction, and, whether he rode or walked out of his palace, the same honours were paid to him as to the Sultán, only that Mohammed would never assume the titles of royalty, out of respect for his host. Mohammed and his suite stayed at Fez until the year 763, when they all returned to Andalus, and that Sultán regained possession of his throne."

So far Ibnu Khaldún, whose narrative differs in some material points from that of Ibnu-l-khattíb, since he places the revolution of Granada and the murder of Redwán on the 27th of Ramadhán, and the latter writer, who is no doubt right,
says that it happened on the 28th. The date of Mohammed's departure from Guadix is also differently given. Ibnu-l-khattib, in his Lamahatu-l-bedriyyah, says "that it took place the day after the festival of the victims (the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah);" Ibnu Khaldun says, in Dhí-l-ka'dah; but perhaps this was an error of the scribe, who, instead of Dhí-l-hajjah, wrote Dhí-l-ka'dah. But as we are enabled to furnish the lovers of information with Ibnu-l-khattib's own account of these transactions, we will transcribe it here, in order that they may compare the narratives of both historians.

Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattib, in his historical work entitled Al-lamahatu-l-bedriyyah fi táríkh daulati-n-nasriyyah (the shining rays of the full moon: on the history of the Nasserite dynasty), says, "The Sultán Abú 'Abdillah had upon his accession to the throne confined his half-brother Isma'il to one of his father's palaces, near the river Dároh (Darro), which he provided with every thing required for that prince's comfort, allowing him besides a considerable pension upon his treasury. He had also sent thither Fátimah, the prince's mother, and all her sons. It appears, however, that on hearing of Yúsuf's death, the mother of Isma'il was enabled, through the treasures which the deceased had left in her apartments, to create a party against his son Mohammed. Fátimah had a daughter whom Abú-l-hejáj had married to his nephew the Reys Abú 'Abdillah, son of the Reys Abú-l-walíd, son of the Reys Abú 'Abdillah (he who was once proclaimed king at Andarax), son of the Reys Abú Sa'id, the father of their race, and the stock from which the other branches of the family were descended. This daughter Fátimah gained over to her interests, and she persuaded her husband to enter into the plot. The Reys Abú 'Abdillah, having therefore succeeded in attaching to his party all the discontented, sallied forth one night with about one hundred armed men, and directed his course towards a certain quarter of the Alhambra. Here, however, he found himself suddenly stopped by walls of considerable height, which he had not the means of scaling; but ladders were procured, and the conspirators ascended to the ramparts. Having put to death a sentry who came in their way, in order to secure his silence, they rushed sword in hand within the precincts of the castle, uttering seditious cries, and murdering all those whom they happened to meet. This took place a little before daybreak on the 28th of Ramadhán of the year 760 (Aug. 24, A.D. 1359). The conspirators first attacked the residence of the Hájib Redwán, and breaking open the doors, rushed into his harem and murdered him amongst his children and wives; after which they fell to plundering the contents of his house. In the mean time another division of the conspirators, with the Reys at their head, hastened to Isma'il's place of confinement, and having liberated him, made..."
him mount a horse which they had brought for the purpose, and took him
triumphantiy through the city, beating drums, and proclaiming him as their
Sultán.

At the time these events were taking place, the Sultán Mohammed was absent
from the Alhambra, having gone, together with a son of his, to reside at a
delightful country seat close to Granada, called Jennatu-l-arff (the garden of
the inspector), a spot well known for the luxuriance of its trees, which never
admit the rays of the sun, as well as for the healthiness of the air, which is
continually refreshed by running streams of limpid water. This garden was
only separated from the royal residence by a high and strong wall, defended
by a deep moat. In this place the Sultán was suddenly awakened by the clatter
of arms, the cries of the assailants, and the beating of drums in the distance.
Not knowing what caused the tumult, Mohammed went out in the direction
of the Alhambra; but finding that the conspirators occupied all the avenues,
he retraced his steps, and God was pleased to provide for his salvation; for,
having mounted a fleet steed which was always kept saddled and prepared for
him, he galloped off to Guadix, where he arrived safely the same morning, and
presented himself to the governor of the castle, who was very far from suspecting
what had happened to him. Mohammed was soon after visited by the chief
inhabitants of the place, who all swore to protect him, so that he not only
reigned undisturbed o ver Guadix and its immediate neighbourhood, but soon
saw himself at the head of numerous followers, who hastened to him from all
parts.

Meanwhile his brother, the usurper, dispatched an embassy to the King of
Castile, offering to renew the treaty of peace then existing between the two
countries. Pedro—for such was the name of the Christian king at the time—
happening then to be at war with the people of Barcelona, readily assented to
the proposition. Isma'il, however, did not long enjoy the power which he had
usurped. Scarcely were six months elapsed since his proclamation, when the
same man who had contributed to his accession precipitated him from his throne.
Abú 'Abdillah revolted against him, besieged him in the Alhambra, took him
prisoner, and put him to death, together with his brother Kays, on the 4th
of Sha'bán, 761 (June 20, A. D. 1360). Isma'il was born on Monday, the 28th
of Rabi' the first, of 740 (Oct. 3, A. D. 1339); he was surnamed Abú-l-walid.

Abú 'Abdillah [Mohammed VI.19] was immediately proclaimed, and reigned
for about two years, at the expiration of which, seeing himself pressed on one
side by the rightful sovereign, who burned to revenge the outrage done to him,
and to recover the throne of his ancestors, and on the other side by Pedro, King
of Castile, he came to the strange resolution of throwing himself on the mercy of the latter and repairing to his court. He might just as well have thrown himself into the mouth of a hungry tiger thirsting for blood; for no sooner had the infidel dog cast his eye over the countless treasures which Mohammed and the chiefs who composed his suite brought with them, than he conceived the wicked design of murdering them and appropriating their riches; and on the 2nd day of Rejeb, 763 (April 27, A.D. 1362), he was assassinated, with all his followers, at a place called Tablada, close to Seville.

But to return to the dethroned Sultán: the people of Guadix persevered firmly in their allegiance to him, protected his person, and swore to devote their lives and property to his defence. Things continued thus until the day of the festival of the victims, [10th Dhí-l-hajjah] of the year 760 (A.D. Nov. 2, 1359), when an ambassador of the Sultán of Western Africa came to Guadix to say that if Mohammed would repair to his court and fix his residence in Fez, he would be treated as a friend and ally. Soon after his dethronement, Mohammed had sent an embassy to the king of the Christians, imploring his help against the usurper. Pedro received his ambassadors well, but dismissed them with only vague promises of help. Seeing, therefore, that his request was not complied with, Mohammed resolved upon accepting the Sultán's offer, and he accordingly set off on his journey on the day after that festival [11th Dhí-l-hajjah], followed by a numerous retinue of the inhabitants of Guadix, some on horseback and others on foot. Mohammed arrived at Marbella, on the coast, whence he crossed over to Africa. He made his public entrance into Fez on the 6th day of Moharram of 761 (Nov. 27, A.D. 1359), after experiencing on his way thither the greatest marks of distinction and hospitality. On his approach the Sultán rode out to meet him, and having embraced him with the greatest cordiality, conducted him to his capital, where he allotted him a fine palace for his residence, and a considerable pension for his daily expenses.

At last, on the morning of Saturday, the 27th of the month of Shawwál of the year 762 (Aug. 29, A.D. 1361), after a stay of upwards of twenty-one months, Mohammed returned to Andalus. During his absence in Africa, the King of Castile had often sought his alliance, and made the result of his operations depend upon the Sultán's arrival. Soon after his arrival [at Guadix], the Sultán caused a kubbah or pavilion to be erected close to the garden of Al-mussárah, in order to review his followers. When the people had assembled round him, and he had ordered the banner to be unfurled, he put on the regal dress which had been presented to him by the Sultán of Western Africa, and, in the midst of popular acclamations, and the beating of drums and playing of
instruments, his horse being led by the bridle, he proceeded to manifest his intention of marching against the enemy. His authority was so much increased by this public manifestation of his sentiments, that his party was soon strengthened by all those who had been formerly obliged to quit the country, and who now flocked under his standard; and Mohammed had thus an opportunity of judging how much he was beloved by the generality of his subjects, from the alacrity with which they hastened to place themselves under his obedience, and the joyful voices with which they proclaimed his name. Indeed, God Almighty was pleased to receive our good master under the shade of his mercy, and to incline in his favour the hearts of his subjects, by persuading them that he was injured and ill-treated by the usurper. Mohammed, therefore, was defended by the brave, and his cause speedily embraced by the righteous and the honest. He is now residing in Ronda, where he has established his rule and reigns un-disturbed, as well as over the neighbouring districts. The charge of Wizír to this Sultán is now filled by the Sheikh and Káyid Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Komáshah Al-hosrí, and that of Kátib or secretary by the Faquih Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Zomrad.

The above is borrowed from the Lamahatu-l-bedriyyah fi tárikh daulati-n-nasriyyah, so often quoted in the course of our narrative. The reader, however, must know that after the death of the usurper, Abú 'Abdillah, who, as before related, was assassinated by the tyrant Don Pedro, Mohammed returned to Granada and recovered his lost kingdom. We find that he made his triumphant entry into his capital on Saturday, the 20th of Jumáda the second, 763 (April 6, A.D. 1362).

We have already stated that after a short stay in Africa, Mohammed returned to Andalus, and regained possession of his father's dominions in 763. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb this happened thus: "On the first breaking out of the rebellion by which Mohammed was deprived of his throne, 'Othmán Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Omar, Sheikhlu-l-ghoádt, or commander of the African volunteers, fearing the vengeance of the usurper Isma'il, deserted over to the Castilians in company with his father. Shortly after, Yahya crossed over to Africa, but 'Othmán remained in Andalus, supporting with all his might the cause of the deposed Sultán. Perceiving, however, that the Castilian king was unwilling to grant the promised assistance, and that he could not otherwise serve his master's cause, 'Othmán wrote to 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah, at that time Wízír of Abú Sálím, asking to be put in possession of one of the fortresses still held in Andalus by the Bení Merín, that he might thence wage war against the usurper. It happened that the above Wízír was a great friend of mine, as there had existed between us an intimacy of very long standing, and my master having con-
sulted with me about 'Othmán's proposition, I approved of it, and went imme-
diately to the dwelling of the Wizír 'Omar, who, at my request, issued orders
that the castle of Ronda should be given up to the friends of the deposed Sultán,
which was done, 'Othmán taking immediate possession of it in his name. Shortly
after, Mohammed sailed for Andalus; and his presence having infused new vigour
into the souls of his partisans, the whole of the Gharbia or western districts
submitted to him: he then took Malaga, and marched to Granada, which sur-
rrendered to him without opposition, and he thus saw himself again in possession
of his father's dominions.'

Ibnu-l-khattíb had remained behind in Africa for the purpose of escorting the
wives and sons of Mohammed, whom that Sultán left behind on his departure
for Andalus. Immediately after his return [to Granada], he was restored to the
post of Wizír, which he occupied before, and to the unlimited confidence of his
sovereign, especially after the disgrace of 'Othmán, who was exiled to Africa in
Ramadhán of the year 764 (June or July, A.D. 1363); but, alas! envy, against whose
poisonous shafts no mortal stands secure, chose him for the butt of her malignity,
and he fell a victim to the most atrocious calumny, and the most perfidious and
treacherous slander, as we will hereafter relate.

It would appear that the great favour which Ibnu-l-khattíb enjoyed with his
sovereign—who showed such regard and affection for him that he would consult
him on the most trifling business, and admit him and his sons to his private
parties—displeased some envious and ill-intentioned people about the court, who
from that moment began to indispose the mind of the Sultán towards him by
calumnies and false reports. Ibnu-l-khattíb, however, having received timely in-
telligence of their wicked plans, sought to avert the intended blow by embracing
the party, and serving the cause, of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Abú-l-hasan, Sultán of
Western Africa, against his cousin 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Yaghalús, son of the
Sultán Abú 'Alí, son of the Sultán Abú Sa'íd, son of the Sultán Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-
hakk, who was a competitor for the empire. After many events and wars, which
it would take us too long to relate, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had been obliged to cross
over to Andalus, together with his Wizír Mes'úd Ibn Másái, and to take refuge
in Granada, where they were kindly received by the Sultán in 767. Shortly after,
'Alí, son of Bedru-d-din, who occupied the post of Sheikhu-l-ghozát, or general
of the African volunteers in Granada, died, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán was appointed
to the vacant office. This show of favour towards the exiled prince displeased
'Abdu-l-'azíz, who had no sooner solidly established his power by the death of
the Wizír 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah, whom he caused to be executed, than he dispatched
an embassy to the Sultán of Granada, to complain bitterly of his having given
shelter to his enemy, whom he knew to be in correspondence with the discontented in Africa, and to ask him to deliver this enemy into his hands. On the receipt of this message Mohammed was greatly perplexed, and having consulted with Ibnu-l-khattib, the latter advised him to seize the persons of Ibn Abí Yaghalús and his Wizir Mesúd, and thereby free himself from all responsibility, on condition, however, that 'Abdu-l-'azíz should restore them to all the honours and dignities of which they were in possession before their revolt. Mohammed followed the advice of his Wizir, and an agreement was accordingly entered into between that sovereign on one side, and the ambassador of the Sultán 'Abdu-l-'azíz, named Abú Yahya Ibn Abí Medín, on the other, purporting that both 'Abdu-r-rahmán and his Wizir Ibn Másái should be arrested, which was done. Shortly after this, Ibnu-l-khattib, having received intelligence that his enemies were again at work, and had strongly prejudiced the mind of his sovereign against him, fled from Granada. He no doubt imagined that the Sultán would in the end listen to their calumnies, and that as they were his sworn enemies, he had no chance of escape from them. However this may be, having asked his master's leave to visit the frontiers, he hastened thither, accompanied by a handful of horsemen, taking with him his eldest son 'Alí, who was a favourite of Mohammed. Having arrived at Jebalu-l-fatah (Gibraltar), he embarked on board a vessel which 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who was in the secret, held in readiness for him, and sailed for Ceuta, where he arrived after a few hours' passage, and was received by 'Abdu-l-'azíz with every mark of attention and respect.

In 774, 'Abdu-l-'azíz died, and was succeeded by As-sa'id Ibn Abí Fáris, then an infant; upon which the Bení Merín, leaving Telemsán, returned to Western Africa. Ibnu-l-khattib went thither also in the suite of the Wizir Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází, who was then at the head of affairs, and settled at Fez, where he bought houses and lands, and passed his time in building and planting, intending to fix his residence in that city. Abú Bekr, moreover, confirmed Ibnu-l-khattib in all the honours and prerogatives which he had enjoyed under the Sultán 'Abdu-l-'azíz. In the mean time, Mohammed of Granada, having discovered the flight of his Wizir, was exceedingly angry with him, and even swore to put him to death if ever he should fall into his hands. Ibn Khaldún says, that during his residence at Telemsán, Ibnu-l-khattib had instigated the Sultán 'Abdu-l-'azíz to take possession of Andalus, and that he had described to him the facility of the enterprise; and it is even added that 'Abdu-l-'azíz went from Telemsán to Western Africa for the express purpose of making preparations for the expedition. When Ibnu-l-ahmar (Mohammed) received intelligence of his plans, he sent him an embassy with a splendid present, consisting of different objects of Andalusian manufacture,
Besides fine horses, swift mules; handsome Christian slaves, and so forth, asking that his Wizír Ibnu-l-khattíb should be given up to him. 'Abdu-l-'azíz, however, refused to grant his request, and Ibnu-l-khattíb remained at his court, enjoying all his favour and confidence. On the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, Ibnu-l-ahmar (Mohammed) renewed his solicitations with the Wizír Abú Bekr; but he was again refused, and his ambassador even dismissed from court. Enraged at the insult, Ibnu-l-ahmar released 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ali Yaghálus from his captivity, and having provided him with a fleet, sent him over to Africa. He himself left Granada, at the head of considerable forces, and laid siege to Gibraltar. Hearing of his movements, Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází sent to Ceuta a cousin of his named Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, to defend that place against any attempt of Ibnu-l-ahmar, whilst he himself marched to encounter 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who had been proclaimed by the inhabitants of Battúyyah. After besieging him some time in that town, Abú Bekr raised the siege and retired to Tezzá, and thence to Fez; upon which his enemy advanced upon the former city and made himself master of it. Whilst the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází was deliberating as to what steps he should take, news came to him how his cousin, Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, had proclaimed at Ceuta Ahmed Ibn Abí Sálim, better known by his surname of Dhú-l-dauletayn (he of the two reigns), because he was twice Sultán, this being the first time. The reasons which prompted that governor to take such a step are said to have been as follow. During the siege of Gibraltar, which Mohammed reduced almost to the last extremity, a correspondence was established between that Sultán and Ibn 'Othmán, in which the latter failed not to complain most bitterly of the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází, and to declare that he was prompted to make war by no other reason than the uncourteous manner in which his just request had been denied. The two parties soon came to an understanding; it being agreed between them that Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán should immediately proclaim at Ceuta one of the sons of the Sultán Abú Sálim, who were in custody at Tangiers, by which means the Moslems would have a grown-up prince for their ruler instead of a mere child, as As-sa'íd Ibn Abí Fáris was at the time; and the choice of Ibnu-l-ahmar fell on Ahmed Ibn Abí Sálim, whom he saved, as it were, from certain death. Ibnu-l-ahmar, moreover, entered into a compact with Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, the conditions of which were,—first, that the fortress of Gibraltar should be given up to him; that all the princes of the Bení Merín should be sent over to him, that they might be under his custody and keeping; and, lastly, that the person of Ibnu-l-khattíb should be delivered into his hands. Mohammed having accepted the above conditions, rode from Ceuta to Tangiers, and having released Abú-l- 'abbás Ahmed [Ibn Abí Sálim] from his place of confinement, took the oath of
allegiance to him, and induced the inhabitants to do the same, their example being soon after followed by the inhabitants of Ceuta and Gibraltar; upon which Ibnu-l-ahmar raised the siege of that fortress and went away. Shortly after, Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán sent orders, in his master's name, to the governor of Gibraltar, to surrender the place to Ibnu-l-ahmar; upon which that Sultán hastened thither from Malaga, and as the inhabitants were desirous to return under his rule, he took possession of that important fortress, the last which the Bení Merín ever possessed in Andalus. Ibnu-l-ahmar then sent a splendid present to Abú-l-abbás, and at the same time sent him a body of troops, and a considerable sum of money, to help him in his enterprise. After many events and wars, which we pass over at present,—as it is our intention to relate them at full length in another part of this work,—Abú-l-abbás defeated his adversary, and at the beginning of 776 (June, A. D. 1374), took possession of Fez, into which he made his triumphant entry, accompanied by his Wizír Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, and Suleymán Ibn Dáwúd, the chief of the Bení 'Askar.

We have already stated that an agreement had been entered into between Abú-l-abbás and the Sultán Ibnu-l-ahmar [Mohammed V.], at the time the former was proclaimed at Tangiers, that as soon as he gained possession of the throne he would seize on Ibnu-l-khattíb and deliver him up to him. Accordingly, when the Sultán Abú-l-abbás Ahmed, after defeating the troops commanded by Abú Bekr Ibn Gházi in the outskirts of Fez, invested that capital, Ibnu-l-khattíb, fearing for his life, fled with him to new Fez. A few days after, Suleymán Ibn Dáwúd put the Sultán in mind of his promise, and Ibnu-l-khattíb was accordingly arrested and confined to a dungeon, and messengers were dispatched to apprise Ibnu-l-ahmar of his capture. This Suleymán was the sworn enemy of Ibnu-l-khattíb, owing to the following reason. During his residence in Africa, Mohammed had promised him that if ever he was restored to his kingdom, he would appoint him to the office of Sheikhu-l-qhosá̄t, or general of the African volunteers. Accordingly, no sooner had Mohammed reconquered his kingdom, than Suleymán crossed over from Africa, sent by the Wizír 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah, asking for the fulfilment of his promise; but this was opposed by Ibnu-l-khattíb on the plea that the office could not be filled except by princes of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-hakk, and his application was accordingly refused. Suleymán, therefore, had to return to Africa disappointed, and swearing revenge against Ibnu-l-khattíb. Subsequently to this, Suleymán returned to Andalus to take the command of Gibraltar, the government of which had been given to him, when an official correspondence was necessarily kept up between the two, in which they not unfrequently disclosed the hatred and animosity which they entertained for each other. However, when the news
of Ibnu-l-khattíb’s capture reached Granada, Ibnu-l-ahmar sent for Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Zomrok, who had succeeded Ibnu-l-khattíb in the office of Kátib and Wizír, and sent him to Africa with instructions. Abú 'Abdillah having presented his credentials to the Sultán Abú-l-abbás, Ibnu-l-khattíb was sent for and made to appear before a privy council, presided over by that Sultán in person. He was then charged with certain expressions contained in letters written to his friends, in which he had cast ridicule over Abú-l-abbás, and when the witnesses had been examined he was conducted back to prison. The judges were then consulted whether he deserved death or not. A theologian of Fez undertook the defence of Ibnu-l-khattíb, upon which Suleymán, fearing lest his innocence should be proved, and he should lose the pleasure of anticipated vengeance, secretly instigated some of his own servants to put that illustrious individual to death. The assassins did as they were ordered; they went to Ibnu-l-khattíb’s prison at night, accompanied by a dwarf, who had come in the suite of the Granadian ambassador, and strangled him. On the ensuing day his body was taken to the cemetery close to Bábu-l-mahrúk, and there buried. Thus perished the phoenix of the age, the prince of the poets and historians of his time, and the model of Wizírs.

During our stay in Fez we visited several times the spot where that eminent man lies buried, which, as above stated, is close to the gate formerly called Bábu-sh-shar’íah (the gate of the law), and now Bábu-l-mahrúk (the gate of the burnt man). The earth over his tomb has not been removed, and remains in the same state as it was then. It is true that in order to reach it, it is now necessary to descend considerably. It is commonly believed at Fez that the body of Ibnu-l-khattíb was exhumed by his enemies and burnt on the very night of its interment, owing to which the gate was called Bábu-l-mahrúk. But that is not the case; for it is a well-known fact that the gate in question received its name during the reign of a Sultán of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen, owing to a rebel who rose in arms against that dynasty having been made prisoner and burned close to it, which event took place long before the birth of Ibnu-l-khattíb, and even that of his father 'Abdullah. The last time we visited the tomb of that extraordinary man our sorrow was so great and our feelings were so excited, that we were well-nigh overcome by our grief; even now the memory of his virtues and endearing qualities, which has been carefully preserved in our family by the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Al-makkari At-telemsání, who was one of his tutors, brings tears to our eyes, and makes us detest his vile detractors. God’s will must be done. There is no God but him!
After the death of Mohammed, which happened in the year 793, his son Yúsuf II. succeeded, in whose days the Moslems of Granada received many a severe blow from their Christian neighbours. Yúsuf was succeeded by his son 1 [Mohammed VI.], under whose rule the Mohammedan empire still went on decaying, until it became an easy prey to the infidels who surrounded it on every side, like a pack of hungry wolves, God Almighty permitting that the sins of preceding generations should be visited upon the wretched inhabitants of Granada. If we are to believe the historians of that city, numerous were the warnings which the Moslems of Granada received of the approaching chastisement of Heaven, and the ruin of their empire was more than once announced. We recollect having read once, in the handwriting of the learned Háfedh, Kátib, and historian, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-haddád Al-wádi-ashi (from Guadix), who resided at Telemsán, the following anecdote, which we here transcribe, vouching for its veracity. "I was told by "the Faquih Sídí Hasan, son of the Káyid and general, the honourable Sídí "Ibráhím Al-'arráf, that he was present at the taking down of the talisman known "as the weather-cock, 2 which once stood on the top of the old kassábah at Granada, "and was removed on account of the improvements and repairs about to be made "in that building. I saw it with my own eyes; it was of a heptagonal shape, and "had the following inscription in verse:

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Yúsuf II.—Fatal predictions.—Reign of Abú-l-hasan.—His brother Az-zaghal proclaimed at Malaga.—Troubles in Castile.—Rival factions in Granada.—Discontent of the people.—The Christians take Alhama.—The Moslems try to retake it.—Fail in the attempt.—Siege of Loxa by the Castilians.—The Granadians attack and defeat them.—Revolution at Granada.—The Castilians are defeated near Malaga.—Abú 'Abdillah usurps the throne.—Is defeated and taken prisoner by the Castilians.—His uncle Az-zaghal succeeds him.—Conquests of the Christians.—Policy of Ferdinand.—He besieges and takes Loxa.—Abú 'Abdillah is proclaimed in the Albayzin.—Revolution at Granada.—Taking of Velez-Malaga.—Malaga besieged and taken.—Siege and taking of Baza.—Surrender of Almería.—The Sultán Az-zaghal makes his submission.—Abú 'Abdillah summoned to surrender his capital.—Makes preparations to defend himself.—War between Abú 'Abdillah and Az-zaghal.—Abú 'Abdillah reduces some fortresses.—Az-zaghal crosses over to Africa.—Granada besieged.—Surrenders to the Castilians.—Terms of the capitulation.—The King of Castile makes his entrance into the Alhambra.—Ultimate fate of Abú 'Abdillah.—The capitulations are violated.—The Moslems compelled to embrace the Christian religion.—Their revolt in the Alpuxarras.—Their feigned conversion.—Their ultimate expulsion.
The palace at fair Granada presents to the eye of the observer a talisman turning round with the succession of time.

The horseman on its weather-cock, although a solid body, turns with every wind.

This, to the wise man, reveals many a mystery.

Indeed, after subsisting a short time, a calamity will come which shall ruin both the palace and its owner.¹

When it came to the reign of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'd ⁴ An-naserí Al-ğálebi, one of the Sultáns of that family, public opinion declared against him, especially when a brother of his, named Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd, better known by the surname of As-zaghal,⁵ received the oath of allegiance and was proclaimed at Malaga, with the assistance of some Christian captains whom he had taken to that city in his company. Mohammed remained at Malaga some time; after which he went to join his brother, and made his peace with him, the captains and chiefs, who had contributed to his elevation, remaining in that city without a leader.⁶ Things went on in this way until after some time the people of Malaga rose in arms and proclaimed also Abú-l-hasan, whereby the civil war was concluded, and that Sultán [Abú-l-hasan] became the supreme master of all the Mohammedan dominions in Andalus.

No sooner did Abú-l-hasan see himself firmly seated on the throne than he made war against the idolaters, and took from them several castles and strong places; the lightnings [of victory] shone in his favour and against the infidel enemy; they feared him, sought his friendship, and sued for peace. The armies of Abú-l-hasan, having greatly increased in number, he decided to review them. To this effect he caused his architects to erect him a platform out of the Al-hamrá, or castle of Granada. The review began on a Tuesday, the 19th of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 882 (March 24, A.D. 1478), and the troops ceased not passing daily before him till the 22nd of Moharram of the following year of 883 (April 24, A.D. 1478), when the review was completed. On this occasion the soldiers were clad in suits of polished steel armour, dressed in gorgeous silken robes, mounted on fleet steeds, and having their swords, spears, and shields richly embossed with gold and silver. One day when the Sultán was as usual seated under the pavilion and the troops were passing before him, the summit and the sides of the neighbouring hill of As-sabíkah being crowded with spectators who had left their dwellings for the purpose of witnessing the pageant, God permitted that all of a sudden the rain should fall down in torrents, and that the river Hadároh (Darro) should overflow its banks. Such was the fury of the devastating element, which came pouring down from the neighbouring...
mountains, carrying along large stones and whole trees, that it destroyed every
thing on its way, and that houses, shops, mills,7 inns, markets, bridges, and
garden-walls were the prey of the devastating flood. The water reached as far as
the square where the great mosque stands. So frightful an inundation had never
before been experienced in the country, and the people naturally looked upon
it as the harbinger of the dreadful calamities which awaited the Moslems in just
chastisement for their perversity and their sins.

About this time the Castilian nobles were divided among themselves; one
taking possession of the kingdom of Cordova, another of that of Seville, and a
third of Xerez.8 Instead, however, of profiting by their dissensions, Abú-l-hasan
gave himself more than ever to pleasure, and, trusting the government into the
hands of his Wizírs, entirely neglected the affairs of the state, and allowed his
army to be corrupted and to lose its discipline and courage. He also concealed
himself from the sight of his subjects, and gave up all idea of military enterprise
or attention to the affairs of the administration; all which was undoubtedly
the work of God, that his supreme will might be accomplished. At the same
time new taxes were imposed and all manner of oppressions and injustices
practised upon his subjects, who began openly to condemn his administration
and to execrate his rule. This was not all; fancying that the Christians would
not attack him, on account of the civil wars in which they were then engaged,
Abú-l-hasan caused several of his best generals to be executed.9 It happened,
however, that the King of Castile took possession of the kingdom10 after a long
and bloody civil war; and having compelled the rebellious nobles, who had
opposed his authority, to submission, was now enabled to turn his arms against
the Moslems.

The Castilians soon found the means of mischief, as well as an opportunity of
taking possession of the Moslem dominions under the following distressing cir-
cumstances. Abú-l-hasan had by his wife, a daughter of his uncle the Sultán Abú
Abdillah Al-aysar (the left-handed), two male children, Mohammed and Yásuf;
but he had another wife, on whom he doted, and by whom he had likewise issue.
She was a Christian lady, and, as the monarch had always evinced the greatest
predilection for her, fears were entertained lest he should neglect the sons he had
by his noble cousin for those of the Christian captive. This naturally gave rise to
dissensions and quarrels among the officers of the state and the servants of the
palace, and two factions were formed, some inclining to the sons of his wife
and some to the sons of the Christian captive.

About this time, too, and when the Moslems of Granada were most disturbed by
their private feuds and the cause above alluded to, the truce which the Christians
had concluded during their internal divisions expired. The people of Granada, moreover, complained to the Sultán of his Wizír and civil officers, who, they said, oppressed them and treated them with unwonted tyranny and injustice. This increased the discontent still more, and things went so far that the inhabitants of Granada loudly demanded the removal of the obnoxious Wizír and the other public functionaries; and as their petitions were disregarded by Abú-l-hasan, new scenes of trouble and confusion ensued. The disaffection of the inhabitants and the weakness of the government soon became known to the Christians, who, at the expiration of the truce, marched against Al-hammah (Alhama) and took it by surprise. This event happened in 887 (Feb. A. D. 1482); the Castilians being commanded on the occasion by the Lord of Cadiz. The assailants took the castle and fortified themselves in it. They thence attacked the town, the streets of which they filled with infantry and cavalry, slaying all the Moslems they met, and taking the women captives; for they surprised the inhabitants in the middle of their sleep, as if they were so many drunken men, and, therefore, unable to offer resistance. Those whose fate it was to die were killed by the Christians: some, however, contrived to escape, leaving their wives and children behind them, and the Christians in entire possession of the town and what it contained.

No sooner did the news of this disaster reach Granada than both the high and the low hastened out to the relief of Alhama. The Christians were ten thousand in number between horse and foot; they were preparing to depart with their plunder and return to their country, when, having discovered the van-guard of the Moslem army, they retraced their steps, and shut themselves up in the citadel. They were soon besieged by the people of Granada, who proceeded forthwith to invest the town. After this, the army of the Moslems being considerably re-inforced by fresh bodies of cavalry and infantry which kept arriving from Granada and other cities of the Moslem dominions, the siege was carried on with increased vigour, and the greatest efforts were made to deprive the besieged of water, by destroying the subterranean pipes which supplied the garrison. It soon became evident, however, that Alhama could not be taken by force, upon which the soldiers gave license to their tongues, and began to pour abuse and ridicule upon their own officers and upon the Wizír who went in command of the army.

Things were in this state when scouts came to the camp to announce the arrival of the Christians in great force to the relief of Alhama; upon which the Moslems raised their camp, and went forward to encounter the enemy. No sooner, however, did the Christians, who were commanded on this occasion by the Lord of Cordova, hear of the approach of the Moslems, than they turned back and fled before our victorious army, alleging the inferiority of their numbers.
"In the mean while the Lord of Seville,\textsuperscript{12} having collected a large army, consisting of cavalry and infantry, hastened to the relief of the besieged in Alhama. The news of his arrival having reached our camp, the soldiers grouped together, and began to declare that they were unable to carry on the siege for want of provisions and the requisite engines and stores, having left Granada in haste, and without time to make the necessary preparations. Owing to the above reason it was deemed expedient to return to Granada, in order to be there supplied with every thing requisite for the undertaking. The order for departure was accordingly given, and the Christian re-inforcements entered Alhama whilst the Moslems were departing from before its walls.

Immediately after the Christians had entered Alhama, their officers held a council of war, in which it was discussed whether they should abandon the place or keep possession of it: having decided for the latter course, they repaired and increased the fortifications, and furnished the place with all kinds of military stores and provisions, so as to render it capable of sustaining a long siege, after which the Lord of Seville returned to his own states, having previously distributed among the soldiers the spoil made in the city, and leaving part of his forces to re-inforce the garrison.

Some time after this the Moslems returned again to the siege of Alhama, which they pressed with greater vigour than ever. Having one day attacked a part of the wall which was not well guarded, and finding little resistance, the Moslems made a lodgment within the walls, pursuing sword in hand the enemy, who fled before them. They had penetrated far into the place, when alas! a large body of troops came to the assistance of the fugitives, and the few Moslems who had gained an entrance into the town were either put to the sword or dashed down the precipitous sides of the mountain on which the town is situated, few of them escaping with their lives. Most of the warriors who fell on this occasion were people from Bástah (Baza) and from Guadix. The Moslems were disheartened by the reverse, and they lost all hope of ever taking Alhama by force of arms.

In the month of Jumáda the first, of the same year, information was received at Granada that the King of Castile was marching to the Moslem dominions at the head of an innumerable army; people then met together, and began to ask each other about the probable destination of the expedition. This, however, was soon ascertained; the Christians having shortly after laid siege to the city of Loxa, which they sought to reduce, and to add it to Alhama and the other conquests.

An army of Moslems then sallied out from Granada, well provided with stores and provisions of every kind, and, having attacked the Christians, who were besieging the city, they defeated them with great slaughter, and took part of
their heavy artillery. Still the Christians persevered in the siege of Loza; but the Moslems having received new re-inforcements from Granada, again offered the Christians battle, challenged them to come out of their tents, defeated them with great loss, and took and plundered their camp, which they had abandoned, leaving behind them all their provisions and heavy baggage. This victory happened on the 27th of Jumada the first, of the same year (July, A.D. 1482).

On the very same day in which this signal victory was gained, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, and Abú-l-hejáj Yusuf, sons of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, fearing lest their father, influenced by his Christian concubine, should deprive them of their inheritance, and prefer his other sons to them, made their escape from Granada, and took refuge in Guadix, which place submitted to them, as well as Baza, Almeria, and even Granada in course of time, their father being obliged to withdraw to Malaga, which continued faithful to him.

In the month of Safar of the year 888 (March, A.D. 1483), all the Christian chiefs [on the frontiers] collected their forces, and marched together towards Malaga and Velez. They were about eight thousand men, commanded by the Lords of Seville, Xerez, Eziza, Antequera, and other cities; notwithstanding which they were unable to reduce one single fortress. Having, moreover, dispersed in the passes and ravines of the mountains, they were attacked by the people of Malaga and Velez, who went on pursuing and killing them wherever they fled, until they arrived near Malaga, when some escaped, but the greater part were killed or made prisoners. It is asserted that upwards of three thousand Christian knights were killed in this memorable rout, and that the prisoners, in whose number was an uncle of the Castilian king, the governors of Seville, Xerez, Antequera, and thirty more of their principal noblemen, amounted to two thousand. The spoils gained by the Moslems in gold, silver, jewels, horses, and arms, were great and valuable. At the time of the attack of Malaga by the Christians, the Sultán Abú-l-hasan was absent from his capital, having gone to Almuñecar; he had, however, left his brother Abú 'Abdillah with a portion of his army to defend the city.

About the end of the same month (April, A.D. 1483), the people of Malaga invaded the Christian territory; but they suffered a complete defeat, in which most of the chiefs of Western Andalus were slain.

When the Sultán Abú 'Abdillah, son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, who, as Abú 'Abdillah usurps the throne.

above related, had taken possession of Granada, saw his authority firmly established there, as well as at Almeria, and almost every other large city, with the exception of Malaga and the Al-gharbia (western district), which remained faithful to his father, he determined upon becoming, if possible, master of all
the Mohammedan dominions. Accordingly, when he heard that his father had

gone to Almuñecar, he left Granada, at the head of the troops of that city, and

other forces collected from the eastern parts of his dominions, and invaded the

territory of Malaga; but having encountered his father’s army at a place called

Ad-dab, a battle ensued in which Abū ’Abdillah was defeated, and obliged to

return to his capital. Some time after this, Abū ’Abdillah, the Sultán of Granada,

hearing of the advantages which his father and uncle in Malaga had gained over

the Christians, and the rich spoils they had collected on the occasion, pre-

pared also for an expedition against the infidels. Having, accordingly, collected

the forces he had at hand, and those of the eastern districts, he started on the

first day of Rabi’ the first, of the same year (April, A. D. 1483), and arrived

soon afterwards in the territory of Lucena, slaying and making captives, plunder-

ing and wasting the country. But the Christians of the neighbouring districts,

having assembled under the Lord of Cabra, guarded all the mountain passes

in the rear of the Moslems, and cut them off from their country. In this situ-

tion the Moslems were completely defeated, and almost the whole of the army

were either made prisoners or slain. Among the former was the Sultán himself,

who, at first, was not recognised; but the Lord of Lucena, who knew him,

coming up, claimed him as his prisoner, and seeing that the Lord of Cabra

wished to snatch his prize from him, departed that very night with his prisoner

to the court of the King of Castile, who, in acknowledgment of his signal service,

raised him to the highest rank among his captains, and ever after intrusted to

him every important enterprise.

When the news of this disaster reached Granada, the chief inhabitants of that
capital met together to deliberate, and came to the resolution of sending a
deputation to Malaga to offer the throne to Abū-l-hasan, which they did, the
deputies presenting him with the allegiance of their countrymen. Abū-l-hasan,
however, having some time previous lost his sight from a paralytic affection,
and being, moreover, old and infirm, excused himself from resuming the govern-
ment, and having renounced in favour of his brother Abū ’Abdillah, retired to
Almuñecar, where he remained till he died. Abū-l-hasan, therefore, was suc-
cceeded by his brother Abū ’Abdillah, better known by the surname of As-zaghal.

During this time Abū ’Abdillah, the son of Abū-l-hasan, continued in captivity.

In the month of Rabi’ the second, of the year 890 (April or May, A. D. 1485),
the Christians invaded the territory of Malaga with considerable forces, and
reduced some castles and fortresses, as they had already done in the preceding
year. Having laid siege to a fortified town called Dhekwan, they battered
its walls until they made a breach through which one thousand men at arms
"penetrated into the place. There happened, however, to be within the fortress at "the time a considerable body of Moslems from the western districts and from "Ronda, who, falling suddenly upon the enemy, slew every one of those who had "entered the town. Notwithstanding their discomfiture, the Christians persevered, "until at last the garrison was obliged to capitulate and go out, surrendering the "place to the enemy.

"In Jumáda the first, of the same year (May or June, A.D. 1485), the Christians "besieged Ronda, which they knew to be ill defended, as the greater part of the "garrison had gone to the assistance of their brethren of Dhekwán and other "fortresses besieged by the enemy. After battering the walls with their heavy "artillery, the Christians made a large breach, and the garrison was obliged to "capitulate. After the surrender of Ronda, the whole of the neighbouring districts "of which that city was the capital submitted to the Christians, so that no place "remained to the west of Malaga which did not acknowledge the rule of the "infidel king; who, after distributing his army among the fortresses recently "conquered, in order that he might afterwards more effectually besiege Malaga, "returned to his dominions.

"On the 19th of Sha'bán of the same year (Aug. 31, A.D. 1485) Az-zaghal left "Granada for the purpose of inspecting his dominions, and providing for the "fortification of a certain castle on his frontier. As he was residing in the latter "place, news reached him that the enemy was in sight. Indeed, on the morning of "the 22nd of Sha'bán (Sept. 3, A.D. 1485), the Christians were to be seen "encamped before the castle,\(^\text{18}\) whither they stole secretly during the night. "However, when the enemy at daybreak saw our troops encamped near the "castle, they formed their squadrons and attacked their van-guard with great fury. "The first onset was unfavourable to the true believers, who, fighting in disorder, "were easily broken, the Christians penetrating even to the tent of the Sultán; "but, recovering soon afterwards, the battle became general; and God Almighty "being pleased on this occasion to endow the faithful with fresh vigour and "courage, the Christians were ultimately defeated with great slaughter. The "Moslems, however, were prevented from following up their success by the fear "of the main body of the Christian army, commanded by the King of Castile in "person, which was advancing towards that part of the country; for it was evident "that as soon as the fugitives should meet with the advancing troops they would "retrace their steps. The Moslems collected on this occasion considerable spoil, "and took a number of guns,\(^\text{19}\) which they placed in the neighbouring forts. After "this, nothing occurred till the month of Ramadhán (Sept. or Oct. A.D. 1485), "when the Christians laid siege to Cambil, battered its walls, and, when the breach
"had been made practicable, took the place by storm. When the Moslems who
were in the castle saw the Christians in possession of the town, they surrendered
by capitulation, and left the place, with their property and children, to retire to
other countries inhabited by the Moslems. Through the reduction of Cambil, in
the Alpuxarras, many of the neighbouring villages remaining unprotected, the
inhabitants fled for refuge to other quarters, and many towns and forts fell into
the hands of the enemy,—such as Mushákar (Muxacar), Illora, and others; for
the Christian king so pressed the territory of the Moslems on all sides, that he
attacked no fortress which he did not take, and invaded no district which did not
immediately surrender to his arms.

Not satisfied with his rapid success in the way of arms, the Castilian monarch
employed artifice and deceit to weaken and subdue what remained of the Moslem
dominions. He first granted liberty to his prisoner, the Sultán Abú 'Abdillah,
and having furnished him with men, money, and other requisites, and given him
a khila'h or dress of honour, sent him on towards the districts to the east of Baza,
with the promise of helping him to the re-conquest of all his father's dominions.
He also pledged his royal word that whoever among the Moslems would acknow-
ledge the authority of his ally, Abú 'Abdillah, and swear allegiance to him, should
be included in the treaty of peace existing between the two sovereigns, and enjoy
all the security and advantages insured by the same. Abú 'Abdillah accordingly
set off for Velez-Malaga, the inhabitants of which city submitted to him; after
which he caused the treaty of peace concluded with the Christian king to be
read to the inhabitants in the market-place. This circumstance was soon made
public, and being spread over the country by the demons of mischief, the Báyisin
(people of Baeza), who inhabited a separate suburb of Granada [the Albayzin],
people at all times notorious for their proneness to rebellion, their infidelity, and
their attachment to the Christians, began to plan a revolt in his favour. Being
joined in the attempt by some wicked and ill-disposed people, who were anxious
to sow division amongst the Moslems, as well as by many honest citizens, who, per-
ceiving the weakness of the state, were anxious to see peace once more established,
they raised the standard of revolt; and, urged on as they were by the demons of
discord and civil war and their wicked agents to infamous acts and contemptible
deeds, they proclaimed Abú 'Abdillah, the captive and friend of the infidels, for
their Sultán. The consequences of this measure were that discord and civil war
broke out in Granada, no doubt by the will of the Almighty, who had decreed
that this doomed country should fall a prey to the enemy. The inhabitants
of the Albayzin persisting in their revolt, they were assailed with stones and
other missiles thrown from the towers and walls of the neighbouring castle, and