NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

France, &c., p. 18, et seq., where this and other events connected with the history of that country are treated with great erudition and skill.

15 Yaumatu-t-tarawiyah or 'the day of the drinking,' so called because the pilgrims usually drink of the waters of the well Zennem. It is the 8th day of Dhî-l-hajjah, not the 9th, as erroneously stated by Conde (vol. i. p. 72), and answers to May 10, A. D. 791, which date agrees well with the accounts of the Christian chroniclers, who place the battle of Toulouse in 791. Among the Arabs, however, there are many who postpone the battle till the ensuing year. Besides Conde (vol. i. p. 72) and Adh-dhobí, opud Casiri (vol. ii. p. 137), there is Al-azdí (Ahmed Ibn Ahmed), cited by Borbon (Cartas, p. cxxix.), who says positively that As-samh was killed on the 18th of Dhî-l-hajjah, A. H. 103 (A. D. 722). That author adds that As-samh was slain in Asturias, not in France, fighting with Pelayo. Another writer (Mohammed Abú 'Abdillah Al-bijjári) corroborates that statement, and says that the death of As-samh took place in the neighbourhood of Leon, in an engagement with the Asturian prince—

Don Faustino Borbon has devoted a whole letter (Carta xvi.) to prove that As-samh died in Spain in A. H. 103, in battle with Pelayo, not in France at the battle of Toulouse, as generally believed. It would, indeed, appear from the quotations which that author inserts in his work, that As-samh invaded France, took Narbonne, advanced as far as Toulouse, and fought the battle, in which he was wounded (another writer says و ربا قتل السمح لأنه جرح 'in which he was near being killed, for he was wounded'). As-samh then returned into Spain, and, hearing that Pelayo had besieged Leon, marched against him, and fought with him the battle in which he was slain. Be this as it may, if As-samh was appointed in Ramadán, A. H. 100, and his death took place in Dhî-l-hajjah, 102, his administration could not have lasted more than two years and three months,—not eight months, as here stated.

16 Instead of 30, one of the copies reads 300. The rising of Pelayo, however, took place some years before, during the administration of Al-horr, in A. H. 99 (A. D. 717-8). That governor, being then occupied in a war with the Franks, sent one of his lieutenants, named عالكماح (the Alxúmán of Rodericus), against the Asturian rebels; but the Moaemas were defeated, and their general slain.

"In the year 99, Al-horr," says Adh-dhobí (fo. 17), "having heard of the rising of the Christians [in Asturias], sent against them his general, Alkamah, who was [defeated and] killed." و في سنة 99 علم العر بابس الروم و أرسل عليه عالكماح و قتل عالكماح—This date, moreover, agrees better with those given by the Christian chroniclers for the rising of Pelayo; "Antequam Dominus Pelagius regnaret, 'Saracenorum regnariunt in Hispania annis quinque.' "See Cronicon Complutense necnon Chronicon Comminbricense, apud Florez, Esp. Sagr. vol. xxiii.; see also Borbon, Cartas, p. xiii. et seq.

17 Among the latter is Ibn Khládún (fol. 2, verso), who says positively that 'Anbasah 'died a martyr to the faith.' Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (Cartas, p. cxxxvi.), employs the word مات 'he died,' which is generally used to designate natural death. According to Conde (vol. i. p. 78), 'Anbasah died of his wounds, some days after the battle. All, however, agree as to the year of his death (A. H. 107); and Al-azdí (Borbon, Cartas, ubi supra) adds that it took place on the 5th of Jumáda...
the 1st (Sept. A.D. 725), which agrees better with the length assigned to his administration than the month of Sha'bán.

18 See Conde (vol. i. p. 78) who calls him 'Ben Adra.' Ibnu-khattíb, in his history of Granada, treats of a family called the Bení 'Odhrah, who resided in that capital.

19 Conde (vol. i. p. 79) says that the appointment of this governor took place in the beginning of 107, and his removal in 108! How to reconcile these dates with those given by Al-makkari after Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, it is by no means easy to determine.

As to the difference in the duration of Yahya's rule, which some writers, as Ibnu Khaldún (loco laudato, fo. 2, verso) and Ibnu Habib (see note 7, p. 405), calculate at two years and a half; and others, like the anonymous historian translated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326), at one and a half; it may easily be accounted for by the fact, that during Yahya's administration the Berbers, commanded by one 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah or Abí 'Obeydah, of whom mention will be made hereafter, took possession of Cordova, and deposed the governor. 'Othmán himself remained in power until Hodheyfah dispossessed him. Borbon, Cartas, p. cxviii.

20 Conde (vol. i. p. 78) says that the appointment of this governor took place in the beginning of 107, and his removal in 108! How to reconcile these dates with those given by Al-makkari after Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, it is by no means easy to determine.

The next governor was not 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nés'ah, as here stated. Al-makkari was led into error by Ibnu Khaldún: there were two governors of Andalus of the same name; one, 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nés'ah Al-khath'amí, whom Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326) calls Al-johaní, i.e. of the tribe of Johaynah; and the other, 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah or 'Obeyardah Al-korashí, who signed the capitulation with Theodomir. Isidorus Pacensis (Cron. No. 57) is very explicit: "Hic (Antuman) [sed lege Auturrían] ab Africanis partibus tacitus properat. Hic quinque mensibus Hispanias gubernavit: post quos vitam finivit; et missus est alius Autumnan nomine."

The period which elapsed between the nomination of Yahya, in Shawwál, A. H. 107, and the arrival of Al-haytham, in Moharram, A. H. 111, that is, three years and about three months, is designated by Al-azdí under the appellation of Iyámu-l-fitnah (the days of confusion or civil war). According to another historian, cited by Borbon (Cartas, p. cliii.), the Berbers and the [Arabian tribes] slaughtered each other. 'The Arabs themselves were divided, and the two hostile factions of the Yemenites and Modharites fought likewise for the supreme power. This explains why there should be so much discrepancy in the dates assigned for the administration of the four governors who ruled in the short space of three years. Supposing, however, that Yahya's administration lasted eighteen months, from Shawwál, 107, to Rabi' II. 108,—that 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah usurped the power and ruled until the arrival of 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nés'ah, in Sha'bán, 109, not 108, as in the text, which would give him the five months' administration mentioned by Isidorus,—that his successor 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nés'ah ruled six months, till the arrival of Hodheyfah in Rabi' the 1st, A. H. 110, and that the administration of the latter lasted eleven months, until the arrival of Al-haytham in Moharram, A. H. 111,—the chronology of this very intricate period of Spanish history would be satisfactorily adjusted.
22 The name of this Amir may be pronounced either Hodheyfah, as in the text, or Hadhifah. In the copy of Ibn Khaldun preserved in the library of Leyden (No. 1350, fo. 2, verso) it is written حديفة بن الاحرص Hadhifah Ibn-l-shwass; Ibn Habib has خديفة Khadifah. Isidorus Pacensis (Cron. No. 56) writes 'Oddifa.' Rodericus Toletanus (Hist. Arab. cap. xii.) 'Oddyfa.'

23 Conde (vol. i. p. 80) calls him Al-kenani; so does Al-azdi, quoted by Borbon (Cartas, p. clii.), and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325). However, the copy of Ibn Khaldun in the library of Leyden (fo. 2, verso) reads Al-kelabi, as here.

24 Ibn Khaldun makes no such statement; at least, the copy in the library of Leyden (vol. iv. p. 2) has not the passage here alluded to. What is meant by أرض مقونشة Ardhi Makunshah, which another copy writes ماقونشة Maghunshah, and the Gotha MS. (fol. 48, verso) Makushah, I have been unable to ascertain. Al-azdi, cited by Borbon (Cartas, p. cli.), says that Al-haytham, whom he also calls Al-kenani, was a native of Mekka.

25 That is to say, till Jumada the Ist, A.H. 113, when he was deposed from his command, or put to death, according to other authorities. See Borbon, Cartas, p. cliii.

26 Conde (vol. i. p. 80) says that this governor went to Spain by the order of the Khalif Hisham. Isidorus Pacensis, who calls him 'Mammet Alarica' [Mohammed ben Abdilla?], represents him as being sent to Spain by the Viceroy of Africa to inquire into Al-haytham's administration; which is more probable. The text of Ibn Bashkwal, which Al-makhari inserts here, reads و قدم بعد ذلك قعدة عهد ألأراضي الجليد في مكة قبل أن يحكم قدمه الناس عليه.

27 'Abdu-r-rahman was not slain, as stated here, in 115, much less in 116. The battle of Tours, or Poitiers, in which that chief fell, was fought, as Ibn Khaldun afterwards says, in the month of Ramadhan, A.H. 114, which agrees well with the date fixed by the Christian chroniclers, October, A.D. 732. See Reinaud, Invas. des Sarrazins. p. 45, et seq.

As to the duration of his rule, it is evident that those authors who state it at two years and a half count the time of his government from the death of As-samh to the arrival of 'Abdalah, and, perhaps, also the short time of his rule after the assassination of 'Abdu-l-'aziz. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. v. Placing the death of Al-haytham in Jumada the Ist, A.H. 113, the government of 'Abdu-r-rahman on this occasion would have lasted sixteen months, or else fourteen, if we count the two months that the provisional administration of Mohammed is said to have lasted.

'Abdu-r-rahman is occasionally called Al-akk, because he belonged to the tribe of 'Akk, son of 'Adnan; see p. 26.

28 Conde (vol. i. p. 89) writes the name of this governor 'Kotan,' but in none of the copies which I have consulted is the word pointed so as to authorize that reading.

29 The wars of 'Okbah with the French are not well specified. Al-azdi, however, mentions two expeditions across the Pyrenees;
one undertaken in the year 120 to chastise the Franks for some incursion made into the Spanish territory, and another in 121, in which 'Okbah was at first successful; but upon the arrival of Charles Martel the Moslems were defeated with considerable loss, and obliged to shut themselves up in Barcelona. See Borbon, Cartas, p. clxxii.; Isidorus Pacensis, Cron. No. 61; Reinaud, Invas. des Sarrasins, &c., p. 56.

30 'Okbah, called Aucupa by Isidorus, landed in Spain at the end of 116. He was sent by the Viceroy of Africa, 'Obeydullah Ibn Al-hajáb (not Al-hejaj, as Conde, vol. i. p. 90, calls him), to supersede 'Abdu-l-malek, of whose tyranny and excesses he had received formal complaints. 'Abdu-l-malek was absent from Cordova, making war on the Franks, when 'Okbah, accompanied by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habib, landed in Spain, and seized on the capital (Borbon, p. clix.). On his return to Cordova, 'Abdu-l-malek was imprisoned and deprived of his command. He contrived, however, to escape and take refuge in Barcelona, where it appears that he had numerous partisans. 'Okbah marched against him; but having received intelligence, whilst at Saragossa, of the revolt of the Berbers in Africa, he crossed over to that country and relinquished his enterprise. We are not told whom 'Okbah left to command in Spain during his absence, at what time he departed for Africa, and when he returned; but 'Abdu-l-malek again got possession of the government; and in the year 121, according to Ibn Khalđdn, or in the beginning of 123, according to Ar-rázi, he either exiled or put to death his antagonist.

31 Adh-dhóbí, quoted by Borbon (Cartas, p. clxvi.), agrees with Ar-rázi in placing the death of 'Okbah in 123; but he makes him die at Cordova, not at Carcassonne, and adds that he was poisoned by 'Abdu-l-malek—Conde (vol. i. p. 96) says that he died in 124; but little or no reliance can be placed on the statements of a writer who never gives his authority, and whose translations are not always faithful. According to his account, 'Okbah landed in Spain in 118, left it for Africa in 120, and returned in 124. Not a word is said of the revolt of 'Abdu-l-malek, who is represented as being upon the best terms with 'Okbah.

CHAPTER V.

1 Soon after the conquest of Spain, the Berbers who served under the banners of the Arabs, and most of whom, though nominally converted to Isálim, still professed the Jewish religion or adhered to the rites of paganism, made several attempts to shake off the yoke of the Arabs. In A. H. 99, under the administration of Al-horr, a Berber, named Khahlan Al-yahúdí (the Jew), rose in arms against the Arabs, and maintained himself in Aragon and Catalonia until he was defeated and put to death in A. H. 100 (Borbon, Carta xiv. et seq.). Again, A. H. 107, during the administration of Yahya Ibn Salmah, the Berbers of Spain rose against their masters, and aimed at their total expulsion from that country, saying, "We conquered Andalus, took its cities, and subdued its provinces; we fought against the Rúm and against the Frank; ours therefore is the country, and ours the spoil, not yours;" (Borbon, loco laudato, p. calix.). It was only through the union of the two hostile factions, the Modharites and the Yemenites, that Yahya was at last enabled to put down the rebellion.

2 Conde (vol. i. p. 97) says that Kolthúm died in the action; so does Isidorus Pacensis (Cronic.
No. 64), as well as An-nuwayri (Journal Asiatique, tom. xi. p. 446). The last-named writer calls the chief of the Berber insurrection Maysar Al-matghar.

The name of Kolthum's successor, Hondhalah, may also be written 'Handhalah.' Ibn Habib (loco laudato, fo. 9, verso) writes it حنذاله. Hantalah.

According to Conde, who makes no mention of the siege of Ceuta by the Berbers, Balj with other Syrians crossed over to Andalus immediately after their defeat. The whole, however, is explained by Isidorus Pacensis, whose chronicle abounds with interesting details on the history of this period. See Cronic. No. 64, et seq.

This is no doubt the Zat (Zeyyad) Sarracenus of Isidorus Pacensis, who attributes to 'Othman Ibn Abi Nes'ah what is here recorded of 'Abdu-l-malek.

No details of this rebellion are to be found either in Conde or Borbon, but the author of the Iktifá fí akhbári-l-klulufá (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that the chief of the Berbers on this occasion was Ibn Yeferen Az-zenáti, who, having revolted a second time under the administration of Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kelbi, was taken prisoner in a battle and conveyed to Cordova, where he was nailed to a stake بداخله with a dog at his right hand, a swine at his left, a lizard in front, and an ape behind; all which animals are considered unclean by the Arabs.

From the arrival of 'Abdu-I-malek, in Ramadhán, A. H. 114, to his execution, in Dhi-l-ka'dah, 123, is an interval of nine years, which is the aggregate amount of the administrations of 'Okbah and 'Abdu-l-malek, namely, five years the former and four the latter. Ar-rázi, it is true, says that 'Okbah ruled the country for six years and four months, but in so doing it is evident that he only counts 'Abdu-l-malek's second administration, from the death of his rival 'Okbah, in Safar, 123, to his execution in Dhi-l-ka'dah of the same year.

One of the copies reads سبعين seventy, instead of تسعين ninety.

All the copies read except the abridgment, which has أَلْلَاء Al-harráh; but I think that أَلْلَاء Al-haráh, which means 'the street,' is to be substituted. The battle was so called because it was fought at Medina, in the quarter of the city called Al-haráh Bení Zobrah, or 'the street of the Bení Zobrah,' between the Syrians, commanded by Mœsem Ibn 'Okbah, and the inhabitants of that city, who had revolted against the Khalif Yezid. See Price, Chron. Retros. of Moham. Hist. vol. i. p. 416.

The expression here used is الالْكَمْيَةَ al-akmiyyín (the first comers or settlers). Under this denomination all the Arabian tribes which went to Spain before Balj were comprised.

'Abdu-r-rahmán entered Spain in the suite of Balj. He had been in that country before, during the administration of 'Okbah As-selúlí. (See above, note 30, p. 410.) His father, Habib, was killed in Africa by the Berbers, in A. H. 123. See An-nuwayri, loco laudato, p. 446.
11 Beladiún (i. e. the people of cities) is the name which the Yemenites or Arabs of the stock of Kahtán gave to their rivals of the stock of 'Adnán; the Syrians who entered Spain with Balj being all Modharites, were descended from the stock of 'Adnán.

12 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the son of that 'Alkamah (Alxaman) who was killed in battle with Pelayo. He was governor of Narbonne, and commander of the forces on the French frontier.

13 Conde misunderstood this passage; he makes Balj the vanquished, instead of the victor (vol. i. p. 104). Indeed, the whole of that chapter of his work which treats of the civil war between Balj and Ibn Kattan is a tissue of errors and contraditions. Of Umeyyah, and Kattan, the two sons of the unfortunate 'Abdu-l-malek, he makes only one person, whom he calls Omeya ben Cotan, el hijo de Abdelmelíc; he confounds 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb with 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Okbah; and, lastly, he attributes to the latter the exploit here recounted as achieved by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah. Thus all those writers who have followed Conde in this part of his narrative, Romney not excepted (vol. iii. p. 129), have involuntarily been led into error.

14 Ibn Habíb says 'seven days after.' Al-homaydí (loco inudato, fo. 77, verso), about a month بشر أو نحوه—See also above, note 7, p. 405.

15 From Dhí-l-ka'dah, 123, to Shawwál, 124, are the eleven months here recorded. With the sole exception of Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326), who gives Balj only six months' rule, all others agree in this statement.

16 Isidorus Pacensis makes no mention of Tha'lebah among the governors of Spain.

17 —The manner in which this is expressed makes me suppose that the word is here intended for a pagan festivity, a thing not improbable, as most of the Berbers adhered still to their pagan rites. See on this subject the sensible observations of M. Reinaud, Invas. des Sarras. p. 28.

18 For a long time after the conquest of Spain the Berbers continued to lead a nomadic life, shifting their quarters from one end of the peninsula to the other, and taking their wives and children with them even when engaged in military expeditions. Ibnu-l-abbár (Nat. Lib. Madrid, fo. 127) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. of Cordova was the first who conquered their roving habits, made them build villages and towns, and subjected them to a more sedentary life.

19 Evidently the same 'Othmán who had been governor of Spain on a former occasion, (see p. 36,) although Conde (vol. i. p. 84) and other writers after him identify him with the Munniz of Isidorus Pacensis (Cron. No. 58), who was put to death by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí.

20 If we adopt the date given by Ibnn Hayyán, Tha'lebah had governed the country for about ten months, counting from the death of Balj, in Shawwál, 124. Those who, like Ibn Khaldón, give him a government of two years, count the time during which he seems to have governed conjointly with Balj.

21 It was no doubt at the time of this partition that the small kingdom founded by Theodomir the Goth, and in which he had been succeeded by Athanagild, was taken away from the Christians; the lands in the territory of Murcia or Tudmír being allotted to the Arabs of Misr (Egypt).

22 The civil war of the blind men was kindled,’ a proverbial expression to denote that a murderous war has begun between two tribes.

23 The word translated by ‘love of tribe’ is — which Ibn Khaldún uses frequently to express that tie or bond which keeps together the members of a family. It may also be found in Ibn Hayyán and other Andalusian writers.

24 As-samíl or As-somayl, for this name may be pronounced both ways, belonged to the tribe of Keláb, descended from ‘Adnán, and was consequently a Modharite. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 68) calls him ‘Zumahel;’ Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab*, cap. xvii.), ‘Zimaél.’

25 The text reads — In the passage of Ibn Khaldún, relating to this event, I read he was made to rise from his seat, and his turban was thrown on one side [in the struggle]. Al-makkarí introduces this passage in the second book of the first part, in nearly the same words, after Ibn Khaldún.

26 Márir or Morín, which in one of the copies is written thus, *Maurúd;* probably the town of Moron, near Seville.

27 Thaábah was the brother of Tha’lebah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí, who held the government after Balj.

28 Wída-leke, not Guadalete, as this river is now called. See vol. i. p. 527, note 67.

29 See Conde (vol. i. p. 118), who attributes the liberation of Husám to the son of ‘Abdu-l-malek and to Ibn ‘Okbah [‘Abdu-r-rahmán Al-lakhmí].

30 — This alludes to a first battle lost by Abú-l-khattár, in which that governor fell into an ambush prepared by As-samíl. See Isidorus Pacensis, *Cronic.* No. 68.

31 According to Adh-dhobi, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxviii.), Thaábah governed Spain for one
year and some months. He died about the end of 128. Another writer (ib. p. ccii.) says that he was put to death or poisoned by Yúsuf — It is true that Ibnu-l-faradhí gives him a government of two years, but in so doing that historian does not mean that Thuábah governed two whole years, but that he was governor part of the year 127 and nearly the whole of 128. This manner of counting is unfortunately too frequent among the Arab historians.

32 All copies read here ‘And Abú-l-khattár was deposed, after four years and nine months’ [administration], in the year 128.’ But this could not be, if his arrival in Cordova took place, as above stated, in Rejeb, A. H. 125. On the other hand, from the death of Balj in Shawwál, 124, to the appointment of Yúsuf in Rabi’ the second, 129, there is only an interval of four years and three months; and yet Abú-l-khattár is said to have governed four years and nine months; Tha’lebah ten months (or, according to others, two years), and Thuábah one year (others say two). We have, besides, to make some allowance for a short interregnum, as well as for the whole year during which the Bení Modhar ruled the country after a previous agreement with the Yemenites. It is, therefore, quite clear that the administration of Abú-l-khattár could not have lasted above two years, and that the four years and nine months mentioned by Ibnu-l-faradhí must be understood after his taking possession of the government of Eastern Africa, of which country Abú-l-khattár seems to have been some time governor. (Borbon, Cartas, p. cxxxix.) This obstacle once removed, the duration of their respective governments may be thus adjusted: Tha’lebah ten months, from the death of Balj in Shawwál, 124, to the arrival in Cordova of Abú-l-khattár, in Rejeb, 125; Abú-l-khattár two years, till the rising of Thuábah, in Rejeb, 127; Thuábah sixteen months, till his death at the end of 128; and five months of civil war and anarchy, till the death of Abú-l-khattár and the election of Yúsuf, in Rabi’ the second, 129.

33 Ibn Khalídún is the only historian who mentions this fact. His words are: ‘And Tá’suwa al-ḥakam— which would seem to imply that the government of Spain was carried on in the name of some Viceroy of Africa, called ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Kethír. By referring to Annuwayrí, I find that the governor of Eastern Africa at the time was ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb (not Ibn Kethír), who, having left Spain for Túnis in Jumáda [the first ?], A. H. 127, obtained from the Khalif the government of that province, which fact is corroborated by Ibnu Bashkúwál. See above.

34 Shekundah, or Shakandah, became afterwards one of the suburbs of Cordova. See vol. i. p. 328.

35 Aḥl al-snā‘at min aswāq Qatrí—literally, ‘the working men of the markets of Cordova.’

36 Here are no less than three different versions of the same event. According to one, the battle was contested with great fury; according to the other, the Yemenites, taken by surprise, made no resistance. One author makes Abú-l-khattár fall in the battle; the other says that he escaped, but was taken prisoner and put to death. Ibnu-l-faradhí says that Abú-l-khattár was deposed and slain by the Modharites in A. H. 128. Ibn Khalídún places his death in 129, after a sort of truce concluded with the opposite faction. All these contradictions, however, are but a natural consequence of the system pursued by Al-makkari.
A writer, quoted by Borbon (Cartas, p. cxvii.), says that Abú-l-khattár was deposed in A. H. 128, and that he fled to Eastern Africa.

57 The text reads: "و أخرج الى أفريقيا هازبا".

58 See p. 15. The whole of this account is borrowed from the work of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, with a few important omissions, which I will supply with the aid of a manuscript preserved in the Royal Library of Paris, a copy of which is now in my possession. Almond (Olmundo?) left besides two sons: one called Almatto, who is said to have settled at Seville; the other, 'Obbás (Oppas), who died in Galicia—This latter is the Oppa Episcopus, who, according to the Christian writers, was slain, together with 'Alkamah, at the battle of Covadonga.

Artebash, or Ardebasto, left also several sons: one of his posterity was Abú Sa'íd Al-kúmis (Comes, or the Count). As to Romulo, he was the progenitor of Ja'far Ibn Alfor or Alforo, Kádî-l-'ajemí or judge of the Christians, in Cordova.

" By her marriage with 'Isa Ibn Muzáhim (not Ibráhím as in the text), Sárahh Al-kúttiyyah "(the Goth) had two sons, Ibráhím and Is'hák. 'Isa having died in A. H. 138, the year in which "Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah entered Andalus, his widow Sárahh had several pretenders to her hand, "among whom the most illustrious were, Hayyat Ibn Mulábis, or Mulámis [حِيْرَة بْن مَالِمُس sic] "Al-madh'hiji, and 'Omayr Ibn Sa'id Al-lakhmí. The last named obtained his suit, through the "intercession of Tha'lebah Al-jodhámí, who was his friend, and applied to 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He had "a son named Jihab, who became the progenitor of the Bení Seyd, "of the Bení Moslemah, and others."

Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, from whom the above particulars are taken, was himself a descendant from the Gothic princess by her son Ibráhím. Hence the surname of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, by which he is generally known. He lived at Cordova, where he distinguished himself by his writings on various subjects, but chiefly on grammar and philology. He was the author of a treatise on the conjugation of verbs, of which his biographer Ibn Khallekán speaks very highly. "He does not appear to have written any thing historical; but he, no doubt, communicated to his friends and disciples the traditions preserved in his family. The work attributed to him upon the conquest of Spain by the Arabs is undoubtedly the production of one of his disciples. Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah died at Cordova in Rejeb, A. H. 367 (A. D. 978). See vol. i. p. 460, note 96, of this translation.

59 Instead of لبایة Ibn Lebbánah, as it is written in all copies of this work, I am inclined to read لبایة Ibn Lebbánah; for I find that such was the name of one of the masters of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who, according to Al-homaydî (Jad'íwu-ta-l-muktabis, fo. 33), died in A. H. 314. See also vol. i. p. 467, note 155, of this translation.

40 The same individual mentioned at p. 47. I am not sure, however, whether Abú 'Abdah is part of his name or not. His patronymic, Al-'abádí or Al-'abdí, which last is, I believe, the correct way of spelling it, would lead me to suppose that Abú 'Abdah was part of his name.
Thus in A.—B. and the epitome read —I have followed the former reading, as agreeing better with the profession and habits of Maymún, who is called lower down a faqir.

These words can only apply to Maymún; but the passage reads as follows: It is therefore evident that the answer of Artabás was omitted by Al-Makkarí whilst transcribing from his authority.

This appears to have been the name of the Xenil on its passage through Ezija. One of the tributaries of the Guadalquivir is now called Guadajoz.

That is, counting from Rabi' the second, A.H. 129, when he was appointed by the Bení Modhar, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A.H. 138; when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah defeated him, and gained possession of his capital, the city of Cordova. His confirmation by the Khalif was not obtained till A.H. 132. See Borbon, Cartas, p. cci.

Instead of 'A'mir, one of the copies has 'Amer or 'Omar. He was the son of 'Amru, and belonged to the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár. Conde (vol. i. p. 140) attributes to him the taking of Saragossa, which is further down said to have been reduced by Al-habáb.

Al-azrák means 'a man who has blue eyes' in Spanish, zarros.

The name of this chieftain, whom Conde (vol. i. p. 139) makes the secretary of 'A'mir Ibn 'Amru, might be written equally well Al-hebbáb and Al-khabb (the snake).
BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

1 This passage is to be found almost word for word in the history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain by An-nuwayrí, who, no doubt, borrowed it from Ibn Hayyán. The word, translated by 'forest,' is غيد ج, in Spanish algaida.

2 This was Hafṣ Ibn Sulaymán Al-hallál, surnamed Wazír-dín Mohammed (the support of the religion of Mohammed), at that time a Wizír of the Bení 'Abbás. His kunyá was Abú Salmah, not Abú Moslemah, as here stated. See Elmacin, Hist. Sarac. p. 94.

3 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb is the same chief who is so often mentioned in the course of the preceding Book, (pp. 18, 43, et passim.) He was appointed governor of Càirwán in A. H. 127. His father Habíb had been a mauli of the Bení Umeyyah. He was the father of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, the last governor of Spain.

4 Immediately after there follows in the text one of these anecdotes, which I have not thought proper to translate.

5 The text reads نوقدت الفتى الذي دعوتها إليه مس قوم لو بال احذىه هذه الجزيرة غربنا نهى و أنتم في بول

6 Yúsuf is frequently called 'a Sultán' by the historians of Mohammedan Spain, no doubt because he ruled independently, and did not acknowledge the authority of the Khalif.

7 Instead of some dinárs, other accounts say five hundred. Among the Andalusians who went over to Africa, An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 437) gives the names of Wahb Ibn-l-asfar and Shákir Ibn Abí-l-ashmat, of whom mention is made hereafter.

8 According to An-nuwayrí (fo. 438), Yúsuf was at Toledo when the news of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's disembarkation was brought to him.

9 On the town of Modrúr or Morúr, see a preceding note, p. 413. An-nuwayrí's account (fo. 438)
differs a little from this: he calls the governor of Malaga Ibráhím Ibn Shajrah and the governor of Seville Abú Sáleh Yahya Ibn Yahya.

10 This reads differently in all the manuscripts: A. مام الخلافة — My own copy, and that belonging to the Gotha Library, read — which reading I have adopted.

11 مصارفة — Thus in Ibn Habíb (loco laudato, fo. 155), and Al-homaydí (fo. 4), who describe it as a plain close to Cordova.

12 Merj-Ráhitt is the name of a place in Syria, where the Khalif Merwán I., of the family of Umeyyah, defeated the followers of Zubeyr. See vol. i. App. p. lxxxix. of this translation. The author of a history of Spain under the Arabs, lately published in the French collection, entitled ‘L’Art de vérifier les Dates,’ has mistaken Merj-Ráhitt for the name of a place near Cordova, and describes this battle as having been fought there.

13 Probably the same individual mentioned at pp. 47 and 71, and note 40, p. 415.

14 Mohammed Al-khosaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxvii.), says that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán entered that capital, the wives and daughters of Yúsuf came up to him, and that one of them said —أَحَسِنْ يَا أَبِي ثُمَّ فَذَكَرْتُ — "Be generous, O cousin! after thy victory;" upon which 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent for Yahya Ibn Yezíd At-tojíbí, at that time Kádí of Cordova, and intrusted Yúsuf’s family to his care.

According to An-nuwayrí, Yúsuf, after surprising Cordova and plundering the palace, retired into the Sierra de Elvira, where he was pursued by 'Abdu-r-rahmán until a peace was concluded between them.

Al-makkári treats again of Yúsuf in the sixth Book, among the Arabs who settled in Spain. He says that on the day in which that governor resigned the command into the hands of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he repeated this verse of Harakah, the daughter of An-no’rán Ibn Al-mundhir:

في بينا نوس الناس الأمر اوراً، اذا نصب فيهم سوقة تقتض

"Whilst we directed the people the empire was ours; for we divided the market [between the dealers]."

CHAPTER II.

1 Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. vii.

2 An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 439) mentions, under the year 147, the departure for Syria of one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán’s agents, whose instructions were to conduct to Cordova the eldest son of that Sultán, named Suleymán, who had remained behind.
3 Conde (vol. i. p. 170) says ten sons, or brothers; for it is not easy to determine which of the two he meant by "los diez hermanos Merwanes."

4 Casiri (vol. ii. p. 32) gives a short notice of this Habib, who held for some time the government of Toledo.

6 According to An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 440), Yúsuf, after collecting his forces at Meridia, marched on Cordova, but finding 'Abdu-r-rahmán prepared to meet him, he turned westwards, and proceeded against Seville, by whose governor, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, he was defeated. Conde's narrative is far from agreeing with the above, since among other things he tells us that Yúsuf was defeated by 'Abdu-l-malek near Lorca, in Murcia, and that he died in the action. See vol. i. p. 171, et seq.

7 The word translated 'cup' is قالس kds, whence the Spanish 'cazo' is derived. Conde relates differently the death of As-samīl, whom he represents as living at Siguenza (no doubt, Shekundah, near Cordova), when he was arrested, conveyed to Toledo, and there executed (Hist. de la Dom. vol. i. p. 178). A son of As-samīl, named Hadheyl or Habīl, was afterwards executed for being implicated in the conspiracy of Al-mugheýrah in a. d. 166. An-nuwayrí, loco laudato, fo. 443.

9 Sakr, whence the Spaniards have made 'sacre,' is a kind of high-bred hawk. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 197) read 'saphar.'

10 This revolt took place four years later, in 155 (a. d. 772). "In the year 155," says An-nuwayrí, "the people of Seville forsook the obedience [of 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and rose under the command of 'Abdu-l-ghaffār and of Haywat Ibn Mulāmī. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then absent from Cordova, carrying on war against Shakīd [the Berber], and he had appointed his son Saleymān to command in the capital [during his absence]. When he received the letters of his son, informing him of the rising [of those two chieftains], and of their having been joined in the movement by all the Yemenites who resided in Seville, he collected his forces [to march] against them, but would not enter Cordova then, [as he did not consider himself secure there] owing to the repeated news which reached him of the numbers and strength [of the enemy]. He sent forward against them his cousin 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, who marched to Seville, &c."
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[BOOK VI.

11 The account of An-nuwayrí agrees with the above; not so that of Conde (vol. i. p. 194), who calls the son of 'Abdu-l-malek, Kásim.

12 The people of Seville, i.e. 'Abdu-l-ghaffár, Ibn Mulámis, and the other chiefs of the Yemenite party, whose rising is above specified. See above, note 10.

13 The expression in the text is ambiguous; but I find in An-nuwayrí which removes all doubt as to the meaning.

14 An-nuwayrí does not mention the revolt of Al-yezídí, but he does that of Al-mugheyrah, under the year 166.

15 Conde (vol. i. p. 188) calls this rebel Abdelgafr, and describes him as being Wálí or governor of Meknásah (Mequinez) in Africa, from which country he is said to have crossed over to Spain at the head of an army; but in giving this account it is evident that the Spanish translator confounded the rising of 'Abdu-l-ghaffár [Ibn Hamid Al-yahsubí] at Seville with that of a Berber named Shákiá, who revolted about four years before, pretending to be a descendant of the Prophet. An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 441) gives the following account of the latter: "His name was Shákiá Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhéd. He was a Berber of the tribe of Meknásah. He could read the Korán and write, owing to which accomplishments he exercised the functions of schoolmaster to his tribe. His mother's name was Fátimah, and he, being an ambitious man, gave himself out as the descendant of Fátimah, the daughter of the Prophet, and took the name of 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed. He rose in the year 151 (A.D. 768), and was joined by great numbers of his tribe. He maintained himself until 160, when two of his followers, named Abú Ma'n and Abú Kharím, put him to death, and conveyed his head to 'Abdu-r-rahmán."

16 According to An-nuwayrí, the execution of Abú-s-sabáh took place in 149 (A.D. 766). "In this year (A.H. 149) 'Abdu-r-rahmán deposed Abú-s-sabáh from the government of Seville. Hearing, moreover, that the Arabian chief was aiming at revolt, he laid a snare for him, and put him to death;" (loco laudato, fo. 441.) The rebellion here recorded is the same which the author has already described at p. 82, ad fnem, evidently without being aware that they were one and the same. Abú-s-sabáh might as well be written Abú-s-sabáb or Abú-s-sobáh.

17 The events here related took place long after the year 157. "In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, "A.D. 779)," says An-nuwayrí, "'Abdu-r-rahmán made public his determination to carry the war into
"Syria, for the purpose of avenging the injuries which the Beni 'Abbás had done to his family; but "the rebellion of Suleymán Ibn Yokdán [Al-'arabí] and of Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'id Ibn Sa'd "Ibn 'Obádah Al-ansári, at Saragossa, prevented him from carrying that project into execution." An-nuwayrí does not inform us how the rebellion of those two chiefs ended then, but we are to infer from what follows that it terminated in the death of Suleymán, as Al-makkari states it. "In the year "165 (beginning Aug. 25, A.D. 781), Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya got possession of Saragossa by treason, "and revolted. 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent against him Ghálib Ibn Temám Ibn 'Alkamah at the head of "considerable forces, and they carried on war for some time against each other. Al-huseyn detached a "portion of his forces, under the command of his son 'Isa, to attack 'Abdu-r-rahmán; but 'Isa was "defeated, and his army destroyed. Temám Ibn 'Alkamah [the father of Ghálib] then besieged "Al-huseyn in Saragossa; but without success. The ensuing year, A.H. 166 (beginning Aug. 14, 782), "'Abdu-r-rahmán, in person, came to the siege of Saragossa, bringing with him six-and-thirty manjánik "or war-engines to batter the walls with. He took the city by storm, put to death Al-huseyn, and "expelled the inhabitants, owing to an oath he had taken previous to his marching thither; but some "time after he granted them leave to return."

20 This Suleymán Al-'arabí, whom Al-homaydí (fo. 50) calls Ibnu-l-'arabí, is the "Ibnelarabi ." of the old chronicles, who is described as having crossed over to France to implore the help of Charlemagne. See the interesting details given on this subject by M. Romey in his Histoire d'Espagne, vol. iii. pp. 228-245.

21 I suspect that both the date of this rebellion and the name of the principal actor in it are incorrectly given, for I find nothing like it in An-nuwayrí, who gives in detail the events of this reign. The reading, too, is different in all the copies. A. my copy —zbahr al-bulma—Zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma. I should be tempted to establish the reading thus —zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma—zbahr al-bulma. "Abdi-l-ażíz rose to revenge the murder of Huseyn Al-ansári, &c."

22 Most of the revolts which happened under 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign are to be ascribed to the invertebrate feuds existing between the rival tribes of Modhar and Yemen; 'Abdu-r-rahmán being himself a Modharite, naturally favoured the former. As An-nuwayrí has preserved the history of all these revolts, I will here translate his account of all those which are not mentioned by Al-makkari.

"Zoreyk Al-ghosání. In the year 143 (A.D. 760), Zoreyk Ibn An-no'mán Al-ghosání rose at "Algesiras. He took Shidúnah and Seville; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán having invested those two cities, "the rebels begged that monarch's forgiveness, and delivered Zoreyk into his hands." Conde, vol. i. p. 176, calls him "Barcerah ben Nooman Algasani."

"Hishám Ibn 'Adhráh Al-fehrí, a cousin of Yúsuf Al-fehrí. His rebellion took place in the year 144 "(beginning April 10, A.D. 761), at Toledo. He was besieged in that city by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in "person, until he surrendered himself on condition that his life should be spared, giving his son Afsah as "a hostage for his future good behaviour; but within the same year Hishám revolted a second time "at Toledo. He was again besieged by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was not able to reduce that city, and "returned to Cordova. At last, in the year 146 (A.D. 763), 'Abdu-r-rahmán having sent against him "his mauli Bedr and Temám Ibn 'Alkamah at the head of considerable forces, those two generals "besieged him in that city, which they took; and conveyed him a prisoner to Cordova, together
The French historians make no mention of this fact. See Reinaud, Invas. des Sarrasins, p. 98.

For the etymology of this word see vol. i. pp. 88, 210, and p. 387, note 7.

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NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

26 One of the jund or divisions of Arabs who settled in Syria after the conquest of that country, and took their names from the districts in which they fixed their domicile. The jund or division of Kenešrin established themselves at Jaen, to which they gave the name of the country whence they came.

27 Ibn-l-khattib gives the life of Bedr among those of his illustrious Granadians, no doubt because he resided some time in the city of Elvira; for Granada had not yet risen into importance. He gives him the kunyá or apppellative of Abú-l-kaasar, and says that he was a Greek by birth. Al-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 442) places his disgrace in the year 156 (a. d. 773), owing to some stretch of authority.

28 Abú Salmah, i.e. ‘the father of salvation,’ was the surname of Khalil Al-hallal, or, as some authors assert, Al-khallal, who was, after Abú Moslem, the principal instrument in the establishment of the Bení ‘Abbás in the East. He was put to death by the command of As-seffáh. See a preceding note, p. 417.

29 It was not Hishám, but his brother Suleymán, who at that time disputed the empire with him, who put to death Ghálib, the son of Temán.

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31 Mohammed Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádis of Cordova, treats at length of those theologians who filled the office of Kádi under ‘Abdu-r-rahmán I. Yahya Ibn Yezíd At-tojibi (not Al-yahsábi, as stated by Al-makkarí,) was the first. He was originally from Syria; but he was residing in Africa when Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbi, the governor of that country, appointed him to the office of Kádi-l-jund or judge to the army [of Spain]. He was succeeded by Mu’áwiyah Ibn Sáleh Al-hadhrání Al-hesmi (from Emessa), whom ‘Abdu-r-rahmán sent to Syria for the purpose of inviting to Spain his own sister Ummu-l-asbagh and other members of the family of Umeyyah.

32 ‘Omar Ibn Sharšíl Al-ma’áferí, surnamed Abú Hafss, a native of Beja, in Spain, succeeded Mu’áwiyah; but was shortly after superseded by him. He was again replaced two years after, and died in his office. Al-khoshaní, loco laudato, fo. 14.

33 I think that the words Kádi-l-jund, which I have translated by ‘judge to the army,’ mean a judge of the territorial division called jund. (See above, note 26.) Al-khoshaní mentions the names of three other individuals who filled the office of Kádi during the reign of ‘Abdu-r-rahmán; namely, ‘Antarah Ibn Faláh, Muhsén Ibn Naufil (Theophil ?) Al-koráshí (of the tribe of Koraysh), and Mos’ab Ibn ‘Irán Al-hamdaní.

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28
34 The author of the *Ahkāthu-l-siyāsat wa-l-imāmat* confirms this statement, and adds that Sa'id Ibn Abi Leylah took up his abode at Cordova for that purpose.

35 White was the favourite colour of the Beni Umayyah, as black was assumed by the Beni 'Abbás in opposition to them.

36 Ad-dākhel means 'the enterer, the conqueror,' not the intruder (intruso), as asserted by Conde, vol. i. p. 161. In addition to the above surname, Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi gives him that of Abú-l-motruf. The same historian, who, from the fact of his having lived about a century after the death of that Sultán, must necessarily be entitled to great credit, assigns other dates for the accession and death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He places the former on Friday the 11th of Dhi-l-hajjah, a. h. 138; the latter on the 10th of Jumáda the first, a. h. 172. He was twenty-eight years of age when he ascended the throne, and sixty years old when he died. His reign lasted thirty-two years and five months.

37 The Khalif As-seffáh died in a. h. 136 (a. d. 754), two years before 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed in Spain. It was not him, but his brother Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, who sent expeditions to that country.

38 The title of Imám first appears on silver coins of this prince in a. h. 300.

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CHAPTER III.

*Halal* or *Hotal*; but Al-homaydi (fo. 27) calls her *Haward, i. e. 'the black-eyed.'*

Thus in all the copies; in the Gotha MS. fo. 72, verso, the last verse reads differently:

Instead of Hajr, as in the text, Hojr, one of 'Amru-l-kays' ancestors, is to be read.

3 See vol. i. p. 113, where the introduction of the sect of Málík is said to have happened under Hishám's successor.

4—which cannot be more explicit. M. Reinaud (*Invasion des Sarrasins*, &c., p. 105) and Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. p. 299) are of opinion that the Arabs did not take Narbonne on this occasion, but merely entered and plundered its suburbs. The French chroniclers do not mention the fact, and it must also be observed that An-nuwayri, who enters into some details relating to this expedition, does not plainly state that Narbonne was reduced by the generals of Hishám. His
words are—"In the year 177 (beginning April 17, a. d. 793), Hishám sent his general 'Abdu-l-malek "Ibn 'Abdil-wáhéd Ibn Mugheiryth with an army to the country of the Franks. The Moslems penetrated "into their territory, and reached as far as Narbonne and Gerona. They began by Gerona, where "there was a Frank garrison; 'Abdu-l-malek slew the greater part of its defenders, and battered down "its walls; he was on the point of taking the city, when he [suddenly raised the siege and] marched to "Narbonne, where he did the same. He then penetrated far into the territory [of the Franks], "oppressed the land of Serritániyah (Cerdagne), exterminated its defenders, and put to death its warriors, "in this manner 'Abdu-l-malek remained for several months in the enemy's country, destroying their "castles, laying their fields waste, setting fire to the villages, and making marauding incursions far into "their country, until the enemy came before him [to implore his mercy]. He then returned [to Cordova], "taking with him immense plunder and numberless captives. This was one of the most successful "expeditions ever undertaken by the Moslems of Andalus."—(Loco invadato, fo. 448.)

6 The expression translated by 'his Galician vassals' is: المعاهدين من أهل جليقية—but it is not likely that the Galicians should have been employed on such a service, on account of the great distance. Rodericus Toletanus (Hist. Arab, p. 18), who, no doubt, borrowed most of his information from the Arabs, says that it was the Franks (Narbonnenses et ceteri Christiani). On this occasion Hishám is said also to have caused the brazen knockers of the city gates to be taken to Cordova. See Marmol, Hist. de Africa, lib. ii. fo. 100.

6 By 'the castles' or 'land of castles' the historian, whose words are here given, means the province of Bardulia, which, from the number of fortresses erected by the Christians to arrest the progress of the Moslems, began then to be called Castilla, whence its present name, 'Castilla la Vieja.' Alava or Alabah, as the Arabs wrote it, still preserves its ancient name. Mr. Shakespear has every where read 'Iliá' instead.

7 The name of this Wizar is variously written in the MSS., some having بنيت, Bokht, as printed; others, نجيد, Najidah; the abridgment, نجيدة, Najidah. Mr. Shakespear (p. 87) reads 'Nujahah;' Conde (vol. i. p. 227), 'Bath,' (Bokht?).

8 The same expedition alluded to above, which is said to have ended in the taking of Narbonne.

9 These forces were commanded by 'Abdu-l-kerim Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhéd, the brother of 'Abdu-l-malek; but Al-makkari has no doubt confounded here two campaigns, that of 178 and that of 179. Let us hear An-nuwayrí. "And in the year 178 (beginning April 6, a. d. 794) Hishám sent an army, under the "command of 'Abdu-l-kerim Ibn 'Abdil-wáhéd Ibn Mugheiryth, to the country of the Franks (read "Basques). 'Abdu-l-kerim invaded Alabah (Alava) and the [land of] castles (Castle), where he "collected plunder and made captives. Another army, under the command of his brother, 'Abdu-l-"malek Ibn 'Abdil-wáhéd, invaded the land of the Galicians, destroyed their capital دار ملكهم "threw down its churches, and collected considerable spoil. However, as the Moslems were returning "from this expedition, their [Christian] guides deceived them, and they were afflicted by a great defeat, "in which numbers of them fell by the sword of the enemy, and the army lost all its provisions and "baggage. Few only escaped this disastrous affair.
And in the year 179 (beginning March 26, A.D. 795) Hishám again sent his general 'Abdu-l-malek with a numerous army to make war against the infidels. This time the Moslems marched until they reached Ashtorkah (Astorga), where the King of the Galicians was, with considerable forces raised in his own dominions, or sent him by the kings his neighbours. On the arrival of 'Abdu-l-malek the Christian king struck his tents and fled; but that general followed him closely, laying waste every thing on his passage, and making his queen prisoner — After this, having heard that the king had fortified himself in a deep valley, 'Abdu-l-malek marched against him, and, having attacked him on Friday, the 27th of Jumáda the 2nd, (A.D. 795,) he defeated him, and made great slaughter among his nobles and knights. This being done, 'Abdu-l-malek returned to Cordova in safety. Another army, however, which Hishám sent from another quarter, also made its entry into Galicia in search of 'Abdu-l-malek; but as the Moslems were returning home with their spoil, after laying waste the country through which they had passed, they were opposed by the army of the Franks, who at first gained a slight advantage over them, and caused the Moslems some loss; but in the end the Moslems were able to extricate themselves, and they arrived safe in their own country.

10 See vol. i. p. 212. Rodericus Toletanus (Hist. Arab. p. 18) says that a new bridge was constructed by Hishám above the Roman one; but the word جد 'he restored,' used by our author, removes all doubt.

11 Al-khoshání (loco inaudit, fo. 204) treats of Zeyád among those who would not accept the office of Kádi. He does not give the year of his death, but Al-homaydí (Jahwatu-l-muktabis, fo. 91, verso) asserts, on the authority of his master, Ibn Hazm, that it took place in the year 204. Al-makkarí gives the life of Zeyád in the fifth book of the first part, among those of illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East.

12 According to An-nuwayrí, Hishám died on Thursday, the 13th of Safar of the year 180 (April 27, A.D. 796), at the age of thirty-nine years and four months. If we place his accession in Jumáda the first, A. H. 172, which is the date given by Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (note 36, p. 424), his reign lasted seven years and eight months.

13 Saken or Sakn Ibn Ibráhím was one of the historians of Mohammedan Spain. Ibn Hayyán quotes him frequently in his history of the Bení Umeyyah, fo. 2, 6, et passim.

14 According to Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, the accession of Al-hakem took place on the 14th day of Safar, A. H. 180 (April 28, A.D. 796). Al-homaydí, cited by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 199), says on the 16th.

15 These were Suleýmán and 'Abdullah, who had already disputed the throne with his father Hishám. Defeated in several encounters by their brother, they had been compelled to accept the terms offered to them. Suleýmán crossed over to Africa, and settled at Tangiers; 'Abdullah was allowed to reside in Toledo. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 232, and Casiri, Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc. vol. ii. p. 33.

16 This was not the first invasion of the Franks under this reign. In the year 797 (A. H. 181) they had reduced the cities of Narbonne and Gironne, which Al-hakem in person is said to have retaken.
within the same year. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 234, and Romey, Hist. d’Espagne, vol. iii. p. 321. An-nuwayri, under the year 185, mentions the taking of Barcelona by the Franks; but nowhere does he, say that they had previously taken Narbonne, and that Al-hakem retook it. Under the year 186 he records the loss of Tuteljah [Tudela], which, he says, was taken by the Franks, assisted by a rebellious governor of those districts, [Bahlid Ibn Marzuk?].

17 The author of the Ititfi says his brother, Al-mundhir; Conde (vol. i. p. 245), his cousin, Casim (Kásim), who, he adds, was the first to disclose to Al-hakem the plans of the conspirators. An-nuwayri (loco laudato, p. 451) calls him Mohammed Ibn Al-kasim Al-merwání, and says that he not only informed Al-hakem of the conspiracy against his life and throne, but had spies of that Sultán concealed about the house, that they might hear and report to Al-hakem the intentions and designs of the conspirators, and take their names as they went into the house.

18 According to other authorities the revolt took place in the suburb of Shakandah or Secunda, which adjoined the capital on the southern or south-eastern extremity. See vol. i. p. 206. The author of the Reyhánu-l-lebáb says in the southern suburb, contiguous to that of Secunda, on the opposite (or left) bank of the Guadalquivir.

19 Al-makrizí, in his history of Egypt, records the arrival of the Andalusians in Alexandria and the disturbances which they caused there until they were banished the country. See M. Quatremére’s translation of that historian, art. Alexandria, fo. 94.

20 It was not the Franks, but the Greeks under Armetas, son of Constantine, who retook the island of Crete in A.D. 961. See Cedrenus, vol. ii. p. 508.

21 The 'Aσφόνιoς or 'Aσφόννιoς of the Byzantine historians. Conde (vol. i. p. 254) says that he was born at Fahssu-l-bolít, another town close to Cordova.

22 The life of this theologian is given by Al-makkari among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East (Part V. fo. 101), in nearly the same words as those in the text.

23 An-nuwayri (loco laudato, fo. 449) says that Suleymán landed in Spain in A.H. 182. He was defeated by the troops of his nephew, and compelled to retire to Merida, where he was overtaken, made prisoner, and conveyed to Al-hakem, who put him to death and sent his head to Cordova.

24 All the copies I have consulted read here ئررسنأ نأذروي، a corruption of Turiaso or Turiasone, but this can hardly be the place meant. Mr. Shakespear (p. 89) reads Tarragona. Perhaps "Tortosa, a city on the banks of the Ebro, ought to be substituted, as it was about that time besieged by Louis le Débonnaire and relieved by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom his father, Al-hakem, had sent to the assistance of the besieged. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 247, and Cardonne, vol. i. p. 122. An-nuwayri (loco laudato, p. 45) says, “And in this year نِأذروي Ludhuwik, King of the Franks, marched to attack "Tortosa; but Al-hakem, having received intelligence of his movements, sent against him his eldest son "‘Abdu-r-rahmán, who penetrated into his territory, and defeated him before he had set foot on the "land of Islám.”
The rebellion of the Toledans under this reign is so slightly mentioned by Al-makkari, and so inaccurately described in Conde (vol. i. p. 279), that I think it necessary to supply the deficiency with the text of An-nuwayrí.

"In the year 219," says that historian, "'Abd-ur-rahmán sent his son Umeyyah against Toledo, whose inhabitants had revolted some time before. Umeyyah marched thither at the head of considerable forces and besieged the city; he cut down the trees, destroyed the crops, and laid waste every thing in the neighbourhood. Still the people of Toledo persevered in their rebellion; Umeyyah, however, being unable to reduce the city, raised his camp and returned [to Cordova], leaving a portion of his forces at Kalist Rabiah (Calatrava) under the command of an officer named Meysarah, better known by his surname of Fata Abi Ayub (the page of Abi Ayub). The people of Toledo, hearing of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's retreat, left the city in large numbers and marched against Meysarah, thinking that they would find him unprepared, and might gain some advantage over him. The contrary, however, happened; for Meysarah, having received intelligence of their movements, prepared to receive them. Having laid in ambush for them on the road to Calatrava, he attacked them, threw them into confusion, and made incredible slaughter in their ranks; some few only of their number succeeded in reaching Toledo. The heads of the slain were then collected and carried before Meysarah, who, seeing them in such numbers, was seized with horror; melancholy lodged in his heart, and he died a few days after.

"In the year 220 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent another army [against Toledo]. The Sultán's troops fought frequently with the inhabitants, but gained no decisive advantage over them. In 221, in consequence of the siege of Calatrava by the rebels of Toledo, all the Sultán's forces assembled and besieged that city, which they kept closely invested until the year 222, when 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own brother Al-walid, son of Al-hakem, to take the command of the besieging army. The defenders of Toledo had been so reduced in numbers by the sword, and the privations consequent on so long a siege, that Al-walid had no difficulty in gaining possession of the city, which he took by storm on Saturday, the 8th of Rejeb of the same year. Al-walid ordered the restoration of a strong tower which defended the entrance of the bridge, and which had been destroyed by the command of Al-hakem; and after staying in Toledo until the end of Sha'bán of the year 223, to provide for the government of the place, he returned to Cordova."

An-nuwayrí gives some interesting details on this campaign, which is also mentioned by Conde, vol. i. p. 247. "In the year 200," he says, "Al-hakem sent out an army against the Franks. The Moslems were commanded by 'Abdu-l-kermín, who marched into the very heart of the [Christian] territory, plundering and laying waste the country, demolishing numbers of their castles, and appropriating to himself the treasurers of their owners [or feudal lords]. However, when the Christian king saw what was passing [in his dominions], he wrote to all the kings [or feudal lords] of those districts to come to his help, which they did, hastening to his assistance with all their forces from every part of the Christian world. Thus re-inforced, the Christian king went out to meet the Moslems, and encamped opposite to them on the bank of a river which separated the two hosts. After some days spent in skirmishing, the Moslems wishing to cross the river and the Christians preventing them, 'Abdu-l-kermín removed his camp to some distance from the river; upon which the Christians crossed it, and a battle ensued in which the infidels were defeated with great loss, and compelled to fall back upon the river, against which they were so pressed by the Moslems that few of them escaped captivity or the sword; the greater part of their [feudal] lords, officers, and counts remaining prisoners in the hands of the faithful. After this the Franks again collected in great force to prevent the Moslems crossing the
"river, upon which there were thirteen days of continual skirmishing between the two hosts; at last the rainy season came on, the river swelled, and 'Abdu-l-kerim, perceiving that it was no longer time to cross it, raised his camp on the 7th day of Dhi-l-hajjah, and returned to Cordova."—(Loco laudato, fo. 455.)

There can be no doubt that the above account refers to an engagement which, according to Sebastian of Salamanca, took place on the banks of the river Anceo. "Unam namque tempore unus in loco qui vocatur Naharon, alter in fluvio Anceo perierunt," Chron. No. 18. The Arabs, however, are there said to have been worsted.

27 Ibnul-khattib, who gives the life of Al-hakem among those of his illustrious Granadians, (no doubt because he visited that city at some time during his reign, perhaps when he was waging war against his brothers,) speaks of this poet, whom he calls 'Abbás Ibn Sáleh.

28 تعلّمَ النَّدَمُ بارَمَةً جَلَّتْ: ۩ جاءَ الرَّمَضانُ نَامَهُ اِلَيْماهُ: ۩ مَن يَكُونُ بِصَرْعِهِ عَصْر

The verses lower down, attributed to the same poet, are—

تَلَبَّسَتُ فِي وَادٍ الْحِجَارَةِ مَسْدا: ۩ ارَاعِيَ نِحُومًا يُرِدنَ تَعْجِرَا

30 This is, no doubt, the Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of Shabattún, who was Kádí of Cordova in Hishám's time. See above, p. 100.

31 Al-khoshání (Loco laudato, fo. 14) gives the life of Mos'ab Al-hamdání, as well as that of his successor in office, Mohammed Ibn Bashír. The former was the son of 'Imrán, son of Soňa, son of Ka'b, son of Ka'bar, son of Zeyd, son of 'Amrú, &c.; he went to Spain before 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and settled at a place to the north of Almodovar called ٓعَدَّلَ عُتُوم* ' Alyár. He was a favourite of that Sultán, who married a sister-in-law of his. On 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil, see a former note, p. 423.

32 Ibn Bashír had formerly been a Kátib or secretary of Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán.

33 حَبْبِهِ مِنْ لَبِابَةٍ بِالْوُجُوهِ اللَّحْمِ وَ الْمَيْطِبَ لِلنَّفْعِ وَ مَا شَكَّلَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ الشَّوَابَات

34 The riddá was a cloak or mantle worn by fiqurs or dervishes. As to the word al-mu'asfar, which I have translated by 'deep yellow,' it may also mean of a tawny colour, like that of the fox, lion, &c.

35 The text says ٌنِعَلْ صَرَاطَة*—that is to say, 'soles of leather tied with strings to the ankle,' which the Spaniards call abarcas.
A proverbial expression, used to denote excess in any thing.

The word translated by 'tooth-powder' is *siwák*, which means any dentrifice whatever, and also a small piece of wood used by the Arabs instead of a tooth-brush.

*Zámir*, from *zamara*, to play the instrument called *mizmar* or to sing to it, may mean either a flute-player or a musician in general.

Músa Ibn Semá'h was *saḥab al-ṭibr* or master of the horse to Al-hakem.

He was replaced by Faraj Ibn Kenáneh Al-kenání, a native of Shidúnah (Sidonia), who had just returned to Spain from a journey to the East. Al-khoshání (*loc. laudato*, fo. 24) says that Faraj accompanied 'Abdu-l-kerim Ibn 'Abdi-I-wáhed in one of his expeditions to Galicia, as general of the vanguard; and that, having been sent on against Astorga, he came up with the Christians and defeated them with great loss. A son of this Faraj, named Ahmed, is said to have written a history of his own times.

The meaning of which, as of most law terms, is not sufficiently explained in the dictionaries.

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This *Obeydullah* was the son of 'Abdallah Al-balensi, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. His father was called Al-balensi, or the Valencian, because during his contention for the throne with his brother [Hishám] and nephew [Al-hakem], he had always been favourably received by the inhabitants of that city, who defended his cause to the last. An-nuwayrí describes thus the events here alluded to.

"In the year 224 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched an army to the enemy's country under the command of 'Obeydullah, son of Abdallah Al-balensi, who reached Alava and the [land of the] castles and met the infidels, when, after much hard fighting and great slaughter, the Christians were defeated; such numbers of them being slain that when their heads were piled up in the field of battle a horseman could not see his comrade." 'Obeydullah had been twelve years before in command of an expedition to the land of the Franks (Catalonia?), from which he likewise returned victorious.

This Fortún Ibn Músa and his brother Músa Ibn Músa, mentioned lower down, belonged to the powerful family of the Tojíbites, who had extensive domains in the *Thagher* (Aragon). See the extracts from Ibn Hayyán hereafter given.

This campaign, the only one which 'Abdu-r-rahmán commanded in person, is mentioned by An-nuwayrí under the year 225. "In this year 'Abdu-r-rahmán in person marched against the infidels
at the head of considerable forces. Having penetrated into the land of the Galicians, he took several fortresses, plundered and laid waste the land, made numbers of prisoners, and returned victorious to Cordova.”—Loco laudato, fo. 461.

4 Músa Ibn Músa, the governor of Tudela, having quarrelled with one of ’Abdu-r-rahmán’s courtiers, named خوز ابن موفق Khúz Ibn Muwaffék, threw off the allegiance of that Sultán and made an alliance with Garcia, King of Pamplona. ’Abdu-r-rahmán then sent against him one of his generals, named Al-hárith Ibn Yazígh, who at first gained some slight advantage over that rebel; but, having fallen into an ambush prepared by his enemy, was himself taken prisoner and his army destroyed. Being anxious to revenge the defeat which his arms had sustained, ’Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own son Mohammed at the head of considerable forces. Mohammed besieged Músa in Tudela, and compelled him to sue for peace. He then directed his arms against Pamplona, defeated the Christians, and killed their king, Garcia. ‘An-nuwayrí, loco laudato, fo. 460.

M. Romey, after Conde, has erroneously placed these events in the reign of Mohammed; he has also laboured to identify the Muza Ben Zeyad El Gedai of Conde (vol. i. p. 288) with the Músa Ibn Músa mentioned in this passage. In this, as in many other instances, the French writer, notwithstanding his extensive reading and sound criticism, has been led into error by the Spanish translator.

5 The Arabs give the name of Majús indifferently to all the nations inhabiting the northern parts of Europe.

6 Methiryah is the name for a camel of a very fine breed which is mostly to be found in Africa.

7 M. Romey (vol. iii. p. 434) says that Al-ghazzal means ‘the composer of gazelles,’ and that Yahya was so called because he excelled in that species of poetry. Such, however, is not the fact. Yahya was so called owing to his personal beauty; it is so stated by Al-makkari, Part I. book v. fo. 131, verse, where he gives the life of that individual.

8 An-nuwayrí furnishes us with some interesting details respecting these people.

In the year 230 the Majús went out of the remote districts of Andalus against the territory of the Moslems. They first showed themselves at Liabon in Dhi-l-hajjah of the year 229 (Aug. or Sept. A. D. 844). After remaining in that city for about thirteen days, during which time they had many severe battles with the Moslems, they marched to قادس Cadiz, and thence to شيدانة Shiddáníah, where they fought a great battle with the Moslems. From thence they advanced against Seville, where they arrived on the 8th of Moharram (Sept. 24, A. D. 844), and encamped at twelve parasangs from that city. Four days after, on the 12th of Moharram (Sept. 28), the Moslems went out against them; but they were defeated with great slaughter. The Majús then came closer to the city, and encamped at the distance of two miles from it. Again did the citizens of Seville go out to fight the enemy, but they were a second time defeated with great loss in killed and prisoners, and the sword of the Majús was not lifted either from man or beast until they actually gained possession of the city. This last defeat happened on the 14th day of Moharram (Sept. 30).

After staying in Seville one day and one night, the Majús departed to their ships.

Meanwhile the troops of the Sultán were marching against them, which being known by the Majús, they went forward to meet them, and a bloody conflict ensued; but the Moslems having summoned up
"all their courage, fought with desperation, and drove them to their ships, after slaying about seventy of " their number. The Moslems allowed them to embark unmolested and withdrew from them. Soon " after another body of troops, sent by the Amir 'Abdu-r-rahmán, made its appearance in the same " districts, upon which the Majús [left their ships and] attacked them with great fury, and obliged them " to retreat. The Moslems, however, returned to the attack, and on the 2nd of Rabí' the first " (Nov. 16, A. D. 844) fought with them a second time. Provisions came in from every district, and " the army was swelled by volunteers; the Majús were attacked and defeated with the loss of about five " hundred men, and four of their vessels, which, after being emptied of all their valuables, were set " on fire."

"The Majús then went to Leslah (Leslah?), and surprised Shíná (Shinebá?). They landed on an " island close to Cadiz (Cadiz ?), where they proceeded to divide the spoils which they had taken; " but, whilst they were thus engaged, the Moslems sailed up the river and killed two of their men. " From thence the Majús marched to Shiddináh, where they arrived by night, taking possession of " all provisions and stores they found, and making captives of the inhabitants. The Majús remained two " days at Shiddináh; but hearing that 'Abdu-r-rahmán's fleet had arrived at Seville, they proceeded to " Lege Liblah (Niebla), which they surprised and sacked; thence they went to Sbúná (Lisbón) and Oksunobah (Ossonoba); thence to Mejá (Beja); and lastly to Lishbúnáh (Lisbon). This place was the last where they committed their ravages; for they sailed away and " nothing more was heard of them for some time."

9 See vol. i. p. 121 of this translation, where Zaryáb is said by mistake to have entered Spain under " the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. I find that Al-khasání, in his history of the Kás of Cordova, fo. 206, writes his name thus, Zaryáb.

10 This account of Zaryáb, which the author of an improved edition of Al-makkari in my possession " intercalated into 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign, may be found in the sixth book of the first part, fo. 217, of the original work, together with many other interesting anecdotes respecting that celebrated musician. Zaryáb is there said to have left eight sons, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Obeydulláh, Yahya, Ja'far, Mohammed, Kásím, Ahmed, Hasan, and two daughters, Hamdúnáh and 'Aliyyáh, the latter of whom was married " to the Wízír Híshám Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azÍz.

11 The word ma'ruf, used in this sense of a gratuity or sum to be received on certain festivals of the year, is not to be found in our dictionaries.

12 mahrján and nauruz are two Persian words having the meaning given to them in the translation.

13 All the copies I have seen give this passage incorrectly, except that belonging to the library of Gothá, which has it as above. This induces me to alter the translation as follows: "The same is related of
11i is the feast of Pentecost.

17 Al-makkari gives the life of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 96, as well as that of his son Mohammed.

18 See vol. i. p. 113 and the corresponding notes.

19 An-nuwayrí puts the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on the night of Thursday, the 3rd of Rabi' the first, A. H. 238; but he adds that other writers fixed it in the ensuing month of Rabi' the second. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi gives the latter date, and adds that he was sixty-two years old when he died; so do Ibn Habib (fo. 157), Ibnu-l-khattíb (a pud Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199), Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím, the author of the Iktifá, and others. Al-homaydí is the only author who puts it on the last day of Safar. See Conde, vol. i. p. 285; Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199.

20 He is sometimes called Abú-l-modhaffer, which means likewise 'the father of the victorious.'

21 As-soyúttí, in his Tárikha-l-khalífí or 'history of the Khalifs' (Brit. Mus., No. 7325, fo. 230), says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán introduced into Spain the knowledge of [Greek] philosophy. He compares him with Al-mámún in love for the sciences and anxiety to procure the works of ancient philosophers.

22 See vol. i. pp. 110, 233, and the corresponding notes.

23 Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi and Ibn Habíb allude to a magnificent palace surrounded by gardens which this Sultán caused to be erected on the outskirts of Cordova.

24 See Rodericus Toletanus (Hist. Arab. p. 23). An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 463) says that he was the first who conveyed good spring water to Cordova, by means of pipes, and built a large cistern or reservoir for the use of the public.
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

28 An-nuwayrí says only eighty-seven, forty-five of whom were males.

29 خاطم للملك أَفْحَيِّي .

30 Elsewhere called Tarab.

31 إِذَا بَدَتَ لِي الْشَّيْءُ الْمَبَارَ.

32 وَقُلْتُ لِلْإِنْسَانِ سَهَابَ مُصْبِبًا .
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

This expedition of Mūsa Ibn Mūsa is placed by An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 463) in the year 243.


The incursions made by the Northmen under this reign are thus described by An-nuwayrí. In the year 245 the Majūs went out in their ships to Andalus; they reached as far as Seville and set fire to its mosque; they then crossed over to Africa, and, after plundering the cities on that coast, returned to Andalus and landed [on the coast of Murcia]. Having defeated the people of Tudmūr in an encounter, they took the castle of Orihuela and made several incursions into the interior, and took plunder and prisoners, after which they set sail and went away. They were, however, attacked at sea by Mohammed's fleet, which took two of their vessels and sank two more. The Majūs, irritated at their loss, renewed the attack, when several Moslems died martyrs for the faith [in the conflict]. The ships of the Majūs sailed on their course until they reached Barcelona, which they surprised, making its king, Garcia the Frank, their prisoner. Garcia, however, obtained his liberty by paying ninety thousand dinārs for his ransom.

Alfonso III. is the king called Luderik by our author; for, as I have observed elsewhere (vol. i. p. 325, note 60), the Arabian writers thought that all the kings of Asturias were descended from the last Gothic monarch.

The abridgment reads the son of Uneko, as printed; all other copies, including that of Gothia, read Ubekoh, by the mere transposition of one point. There can be no doubt, however, that the individual here mentioned was no other than Garceanus or Garcia, surnamed Enecho (Iñigo) and Arista, *Aquirdos*, who about that time revolted against his liege lord Ordoño I., son of Ramiro (not of Alfonso, as in the text), and proclaimed himself independent, in conjunction with Mūsa Ibn Mūsa, whose daughter he is said to have espoused (Sebast. Salmant. Chron. No. 26). Yet, as this same Garceanus, whom Rodericus Toletanus (lib. v. cap. 21) calls Enecho, is said to have been slain in the battle of Albelda (a corruption of Albeidah) or Clavijo some years before, he cannot be the sovereign intended.

It is not quite clear that Alfonso III. of Leon was the king here designated under the general appellation of Luderik. His father and predecessor, Ordoño, was still living in 865.

Conde (vol. i. p. 302) places about this time a maritime expedition which left Cordova for the coast of Galicia. But An-nuwayrí (loco laudato, fo. 464) places it seven years before, under the year 246.
The following are the words of the latter historian. "In the year 246 (beginning March 27, A.D. 860) Mohammed ordered the building of several vessels at Cordova. After descending the river to Seville they entered the ocean, and sailed for the shores of Galicia; but a storm at sea scattered them, and scarcely two of their number returned."

39 No account of this rebellion is to be found in my copy of An-nuwayri, which, like its original in the library of Leyden, wants a few pages; but that author records several other insurrections of the people of Merida, the most formidable of which happened in 213, under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. "In the year 213 the people of Merida put to death their governor, and civil war broke out among them. At the news of their revolt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent against them an army which besieged that city, destroyed their plantations, and cut down the [fruit] trees, until they were compelled to return to their obedience and give the Sultan hostages for their future good behaviour. The army then left them, after pulling down the city walls. In order, however, to prevent any further resistance on their part, and from fear they should be tempted to repair the fortifications, 'Abdu-r-rahmán directed his officers to have the stones thrown into the river; but when the people of Merida saw this, they returned to rebellion, seized on their governor, and repaired the city walls, which they made even stronger than before. In the year 214, 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched another army to Merida with the hostages given by the inhabitants; but, although the city was closely invested by the royal troops, they could not reduce it. At last, in the year 218, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent a third army, which took the city, although the principal actors in the rebellion had time to escape. In their number was a man named Mahmúd Ibn 'Abdi-I-yahbár Al-máridí (a native of Merida), who fled with numbers of the inhabitants to a castle called Monsalut, and from thence deserted to Galicia, &c."

An-nuwayri goes on to relate how Mahmúd, who is no other than the Mahmuth of Sebastiáns Salmanticensis (Chron. No. 22), having taken a castle, called Santa-Christina, which belonged to Alfonso III., that monarch marched against him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and put him to death in the month of Rejeb, A.H. 225.

40 This last expedition was directed in the first place against Sarogossa, where a son of Músa Ibn Músa, named Lob, had just revolted. The royal troops under the command of Al-mundhir laid waste the environs of that city, and took by storm the castle of Roda (the Rotalyehud of Conde, vol. i. p. 299). From thence the army went to Borja, then to Lerida, and lastly to the district called Birtánnieh, from whence they penetrated into Castile and Alava.—An-nuwayri, loco laudato, fo. 460.

42 Mohammed died either on the last day of Safar, or on the first day of Rabi' the first. Al-homaydi (fo. 6) and Conde (vol. i. p. 316) give the former of these dates; Ibnu-I-khattib (apud Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199), Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbíbi (fo. 62), and Ibn Habib (fo. 147), the latter; An-nuwayri (loco laudato, fo. 464) gives the one and the other. He was surnamed Al-amin 'ala-illah (he who trusts in God).