

appointed also one of his sons, named 'Omar, to that of Morór. They relate of this 'Abdu-l-malek, that when he perceived that notwithstanding the separation of Andalus from the Eastern empire, it was still the custom to say the *khotbah* for Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr in all the mosques, he advised 'Abdu-r-rahmán to have the name of that Khalif omitted in the public prayers, and brought to his recollection all the injuries which the Bení Umeyyah had sustained from the Bení 'Abbás. At first, 'Abdu-r-rahmán would not listen to his advice, and the prayers continued as before; but, on 'Abdu-l-malek insisting strongly, he at last gained his object. They say that as 'Abdu-r-rahmán upon a certain occasion refused to accede to his entreaties on the subject, 'Abdu-l-malek said to him, "If thou refuse to comply with my request, O Amír! and allow Al-mansúr's name to be mentioned in the prayers, I will certainly destroy myself." Upon which, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, moved by his determination, and not choosing to lose so zealous a servant, granted his request; and from that day the Khalif's name was no longer proclaimed from the pulpits, as it had been during the first ten months of his reign.

This 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar was an excellent poet. Seeing one day at Seville a solitary palm-tree, which brought to his recollection the place of his birth in Syria, and the friends he had left there, he exclaimed, in a fit of irrepressible sorrow,—

"O palm-tree! like myself, thou art alone in this land; thou also art away from thy kindred.

"Thou weapest, and closest the calix of thy flowers. Why? dost thou lament the generating seed scattered on the mountain?

"Yes, I do; for although they all may take root in a congenial soil [like that] watered by the Euphrates,

"Yet orphans are they all; since the Bení 'Abbás have driven me away from my family."<sup>4</sup>

Another of the Bení Umeyyah was Jazi Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, brother of the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz. He went to Andalus, and settled there. He died before 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and was a virtuous and exemplary man, following in most things the steps of his brother the Khalif.

Among the illustrious individuals who settled in Andalus under this reign may be counted Abú-l-ash'ath Al-kelbí, who was far advanced in age when he arrived in Cordova. This man preserved traditions from his mother, who held them herself from 'A'yeshah. (May God's favour be on her!) He became a great favourite with 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who admitted him to his privacy; and he was generally esteemed for his amiable temper and his virtues: he had, however, one great fault, namely, that of being somewhat fond of turning men and things into ridicule, and

indulging in jests. The following is given as an instance: When the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán heard of the death of Habíb<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Ibn Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who had been his most intimate friend, and for whom he always showed more deference than for any other member of his family, he began to weep, and to implore the Almighty to forgive the sins of the deceased. Abú-l-ash'ath, who was standing by the side of the Sultán when Habíb's death was announced, and whose jests 'Abdu-r-rahmán was in the habit of bearing with extreme patience and good humour, said aloud, and as if he were addressing the deceased,—“ O Abú Suleymán! thou hast descended to the grave, and it “ was not until thou wast comfortably lodged there that the Khalif began his “ lamentations.” Hearing which, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who could scarcely suppress the smile on his lips, turned round, and went away. The preceding anecdote is related by the historian Ibnu Hayyán in his *Muktabis*, as well as by the Háfedh Ibnu-l-abbár, who borrowed it from him.

Rebellion of  
Yúsuf.

We have said elsewhere that a treaty was concluded between 'Abdu-r-rahmán and Yúsuf, in virtue of which the latter was to reside in Cordova. It was not long, however, before Yúsuf infringed the conditions he had agreed to observe. In the year 141 (beginning May 13, A. D. 758) he left Cordova secretly, and, putting himself at the head of his numerous followers, tried to raise the country against 'Abdu-r-rahmán. According to the historian Ibnu Hayyán, this happened thus: It appears that Yúsuf was possessed of considerable property in land in the neighbourhood of Cordova, which he was enabled to retain by one of the articles in the above-mentioned treaty. Some people, however, having disputed with him the title by which he held some of his estates, they went before the magistrates, who decided in favour of the claimants and against Yúsuf. When the sentence was communicated to that chief, he complained bitterly of the injustice, and uttered some strong expressions against the son of Mu'áwiyah; which being speedily reported to that monarch by the enemies of Yúsuf, led to a misunderstanding between them. At last Yúsuf, fearing for his life, secretly left Cordova, and retired to Merida,<sup>6</sup> where he had numerous partisans, and was soon surrounded by twenty thousand adventurers from all parts of the country. His power having gradually increased, Yúsuf flattered himself that he could successfully contend against the arms of Ibn Mu'áwiyah; who was no sooner acquainted with Yúsuf's movements, than he gave orders to his generals to attack the rebels, whilst he himself went out of Cordova with a powerful army, and took up his quarters at Hisnu-l-mudowwar (Almodovar), a town at some distance from that capital. In the mean while, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Ibn Merwán, who was governor of Seville, had gone in pursuit of the rebels with all the forces he could

muster. He met Yúsuf, with whom he had several sharp encounters, until at last he completely defeated him, killing most of his men, and putting the remainder to flight. Yúsuf, however, contrived to make his escape, and reached the neighbourhood of Toledo; but, whilst he was in one of the villages of that district, he was met by a man named 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru Al-ansárí, who, having recognised him, said to those who were with him, "This is no doubt the Fehrite [Yúsuf], " who has taken refuge among us because the country is against him. To kill " him would be a service to him and to this country;" saying which, he dealt him a blow with his sword, and stretched him dead at his feet: after this he cut off his head, which he carried to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who, on his return to Cordova, ordered that the event should be announced to the inhabitants by the public crier, and that the head of Yúsuf should be nailed under the central arch of the bridge. He then ordered 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the son of Yúsuf, to be beheaded, and his head to be placed beside that of his father; which order was punctually obeyed, the heads of the father and son being placed on two spears under the gate of the royal palace. Thus the governor Yúsuf ended his days, after having been in command of Andalus for a period of upwards of nine years. He was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Habíb, son of Abú 'Obeydah, and the great-grandson of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehri, the founder of Cairwán, who, during the Khalifate of Mu'áwiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, had been governor of the Mohammedan conquests in Eastern and Western Africa.

As to his Wizír, As-samíl, he soon shared a similar fate. No sooner was the flight of Yúsuf discovered, than he was arrested and thrown into a dungeon. He was afterwards summoned to the presence of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who interrogated him as to the place whither Yúsuf had gone. "I do not know," answered As-samíl. "Well, then," replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "thou shalt remain in prison " until thou dost know. Thy son was seen in his company before he was missed, " and I make thee responsible for his re-appearance."—"Thou mayest do thy " worst," retorted As-samíl, "but, were Yúsuf here under my foot, I would not " raise it to give thee the opportunity of seizing on him." Hearing this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán caused him to be cast into a dungeon, together with the two sons of Yúsuf, Abú-l-aswad Mohammed, afterwards called *Al-'amí* (the blind), and 'Abdu-r-rahmán. These latter, however, succeeded some time afterwards in bribing some of their guards, who procured them the means of escaping from prison. Abú-l-aswad fled to the provinces, where he excited a rebellion against his sovereign, and maintained himself until he died of a natural death in 169 (beginning July 13, A.D. 785. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was not so successful: being a very corpulent man,

his own weight overcame him, and he fell: he was discovered, brought back to prison, and put to death as we have elsewhere related.

They say that As-samíl, who was in prison with them, obtained intelligence of their plans of escape, but would not follow them, and remained. However, after the death of Yúsuf, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent some people, who strangled As-samíl in prison, and he was found dead on the following morning. Others say that he was poisoned, and that one day as the Sheikhs of the Bení Modhar went to see him in his prison, they found him a corpse, having close by his side a cup,<sup>7</sup> as if he had been drinking; upon which one of the beholders exclaimed, "By Allah! " O Abú-l-jaushan, we need not be told that thou drankest the potion; but there " can be no doubt either as to the hand that administered it." As-samíl was the son of Hátim, son of Shím'r, son of Dhú-jaushan; others make him the son of Hátim, son of 'Amrú, son of Junda', son of Ash-shím'r, son of Dhú-jaushan. His ancestor, Ash-shím'r, had been one of the most illustrious citizens of Kúfah, and one of the murderers<sup>8</sup> of Huseyn Ibn Abí Tálíb (may God be favourable to him!). As to As-samíl, he entered Andalus in the suite of Balj Ibn Beshr, with other noble Syrians and Arabians. He had previously fought in the Maghreb (Western Africa) against the Berbers, at the orders of Kolthúm Ibn 'Iyádh, then governor of the Mohammedan settlements in Africa. He distinguished himself by his bravery and his experience in military affairs. To these qualities he owed his rapid promotion in the army, and the great favour he always enjoyed with Yúsuf, who intrusted to him the command of his armies.

As-samíl was a tolerably good poet, but an uneducated man, and could not write: he was very fond of intoxicating liquors, and was often inebriated. Notwithstanding these faults, he obtained the command of the Arabs in Andalus; for, although Yúsuf was nominally their Sultán, he was completely the master of that chieftain, over whose mind he exercised the greatest influence. As-samíl obtained the command at the same time with Yúsuf, in the year 129: he retained it until it passed into the hands of the Bení Umeyyah, whose empire ceased not to increase in extent and strength until the fourth century of the Hijra, when their empire was overthrown, and their power vanished away, as did that of other mighty dynasties which preceded it. Thus are the immutable decrees of the Almighty irrevocably fulfilled on his creatures. God is great! God is great! There is no God but him, the merciful, the compassionate!

In the year 146 (beginning March 20, A. D. 763), Al-'ala Ibn Mughíth Al-yahssobí sailed from Eastern Africa with a view to re-establish the supremacy of the Bení 'Abbás, and to plant their black banners in Andalus. He landed with

As-samíl  
poisoned by  
'Abdu-r-  
rahmán's  
order.

Ibn Mughíth  
invades An-  
dalus.

a small force on the western coast, and took possession of Beja, where he fortified himself. Having called upon the inhabitants of that city and the surrounding districts to aid him in his undertaking, great multitudes answered his call, and he soon saw himself surrounded by considerable forces, with which he began to molest all those who remained faithful to the cause of the Bení Umeyyah. No sooner was 'Abdu-r-rahmán informed of his landing, than he hastily collected some troops and marched against him: he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Seville, whither Ibn Mughíth had marched in the hope of reducing that wealthy city; and a battle ensuing, the victory remained on the side of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; Mughíth himself, and most of his officers, falling into his hands. Having ordered the execution of all his prisoners, the victorious monarch caused their heads to be secretly conveyed to Cairwán and Mekka, and to be cast at night into the squares and principal streets of those two cities, together with the black banners of the 'Abbásides, and the dispatches and credentials which Ibn Mughíth had brought with him from Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr. Another account says that when the unfortunate general was brought into the presence of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, that monarch ordered first the hands of his enemy to be cut off, and then his feet; he then had him beheaded, together with the principal Is defeated and put to death. chiefs of the insurrection. In order the better to strike terror into his enemies, 'Abdu-r-rahmán caused labels, inscribed with the names of the deceased, to be suspended from their ears; their heads were then stored in sealed bags, together with the black banners of the house of 'Abbás, and the whole given to a trusty merchant, who was directed to convey his cargo to Mekka, and deposit it in public places at a certain time. The merchant did as he was ordered. It happened that Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, the reigning Khalif, by whose orders the expedition had been undertaken, was in Mekka at the time, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, and the bags were secretly placed at the door of his tent. When the guards saw them in the morning, the circumstance was communicated to Al-mansúr, who immediately opened them himself, when lo! the first thing that met his eye was the gory head of his trusty servant Ibn Mughíth: he then broke out into maledictions against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and exclaimed, "The fate of this unfortunate man (meaning Ibn Mughíth) sufficiently discloses to us the wicked intentions of that demon. God be praised for placing a sea between us!"

Owing to this occurrence, Al-mansúr always bore 'Abdu-r-rahmán great hatred, and never failed, as long as he lived, to do him all the harm he could, by causing inroads to be made into his dominions, and stirring up the Arabs of Andalus to

rebellion. Yet Al-mansúr, though he hated him so intensely, would often speak of him in the highest terms, extolling his sagacity and his prudence, and doing justice to his military talents. He used to call him *Sakru-l-koraysh*<sup>9</sup> (the hawk of Koraysh), on account of his deeds in Andalus, the many dangers he had escaped on his way to that country from the East, and the rapidity with which, though destitute of resources, and with only a handful of followers, he had snatched so mighty an empire out of his hands, and transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity. Upon one occasion he told his courtiers, "Do not wonder at the dimensions "and strength of this our empire; what is really wonderful is the enterprise, "wisdom, and prudence displayed by the youth of Koraysh; when, destitute of "friends as he was, he hesitated not to thrust himself into the paths of perdition, "and to invade a distant island, difficult of access, and defended by a well appointed "army. See how, profiting by the feuds and enmities of the rival tribes, he has "caused them to rise in arms against one another; how, by prudence and good "government he has gradually gained the hearts of his subjects and quelled their "rebellious spirit; how, in short, he has overcome every difficulty, and made "himself sole master of the country."

A very striking resemblance has been pointed out as existing between 'Abdu-rahmán and his contemporary and rival, Abú Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, of the house of 'Abbás. Both were equally distinguished for prudence, vigour, and talents for administration; both displayed the same energy in humbling the pride, and the same unflinching severity in chastising the rebellions of their subjects. They had yet other points of resemblance: both their mothers were natives of Barbary, and each of them put to death his own nephew; since, as is well known, Al-mansúr killed the son of his brother As-seffáh, and 'Abdu-rahmán ordered the execution of Al-mugheyrah Ibn Al-walíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah. But to return.

Rebellion of  
the Yemenites.

In the year 151 (beginning Jan. 26, A. D. 768,) there was another revolt<sup>10</sup> against 'Abdu-rahmán. The rebels, having mustered in large numbers, marched against the capital. This intelligence being brought to 'Abdu-rahmán, orders were sent to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, the governor of Seville, immediately to attack the enemy. 'Abdu-l-malek, after giving Umeyyah,<sup>11</sup> one of his sons, the command of the van, marched against the rebels. In this manner Umeyyah suddenly came up with the enemy; but finding their numbers too great, and not daring to engage them, he fell back upon his father's army. When 'Abdu-l-malek saw his son thus flying before the rebels, his indignation was roused to the highest pitch, and he said to him, "How camest thou, O coward, thus to abandon the post intrusted to thy care? The people of Andalus and Africa know how we came hither to escape "from death, but thou meetest it:" saying which, he ordered him to be beheaded;

Heroic act of  
'Abdu-l-  
malek.

which was done. He then called together his friends and relatives, and said to them, "Are we come from the East to the extreme limits of these regions; and have we gone through so many dangers and privations, to be now so sparing of the few sparkles of life which still remain in our bodies? Let us throw away the scabbards of our good swords, and perish rather than be vanquished." Thus saying, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and charged the enemy with great determination. The people of Seville,<sup>12</sup> and the Arabs of Yemen, were completely defeated: so great was their loss on this occasion, that they never afterwards recovered the blow. Thirty thousand bodies on both sides remained on the field of battle, and 'Abdu-l-malek himself was severely wounded. When 'Abdu-rahmán, who came up after the battle, heard of the exploits achieved by his trusty relative, and saw the blood ooze from his wounds and drop from his sword, the hilt of which actually clave to the palm of his hand, he rewarded him most munificently, and said to him, "O cousin! I have ordered my son and heir Hishám to marry one of thy daughters,<sup>13</sup> to whom I will give so much out of my treasury as dowry. I likewise give thee so much, and thy sons so much; I give thee and thy sons such a castle and such a town, and appoint thee besides to the office of Wizír."

In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, A. D. 779), according to Ibnu Hayyán, 'Abdu-r-rahmán put to death 'Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Yezíd Ibn Hishám,<sup>14</sup> better known by his patronymic Al-yezídí. He likewise ordered the execution of his own nephew, 'Obeydullah Ibn Abán Ibn Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám. It appears that these two individuals, with many others, had entered into a conspiracy to dethrone 'Abdu-r-rahmán. A *mauli* of 'Obeydullah, who was in the secret, and had assisted in their plans, discovered them to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who immediately caused the guilty parties to be arrested, and sentenced them to death. Abú 'Othmán, his chief Wizír, was likewise in the conspiracy; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán, grateful for his past services, spared his life.

Conspiracy against 'Abdu-r-rahmán discovered.

In the year 167 (beginning Aug. 4, A. D. 783), says Ibn Hazm, another of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's nephews, whose name was Al-mugheyrah Ibn Al-walíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah, was put to death on the charge of having formed a conspiracy to dethrone his uncle. The same fate befel Hudheyl Ibn As-samíl Ibn Hátim. His own brother, Al-walíd, Al-mugheyrah's father, he exiled to the opposite coast of Africa, though he gave him permission to take with him his sons, family, and treasures. It is said in the *Mas'hab* that on the day in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán ordered the execution of his nephew, one of the favourite *maulis* of that monarch entered his presence, and found him absorbed in thought, and with signs of deep sorrow on his countenance. After some time 'Abdu-r-rahmán raised his head, and

Execution of his nephew Al-mugheyrah.

said to him,—“ It is a wonder to us, how, after all our endeavours to place these  
 “ people in a situation of security and comfort, and after risking our life, until God,  
 “ whose motives are a mystery, was pleased that we should carry our purpose, they  
 “ should be so ungrateful as to array themselves in arms against us. They come  
 “ to this country, flying from the swords of our enemies ; and yet, when we receive  
 “ them with open arms, and give them a share in the empire which God destined  
 “ for us alone,—when we grant them security, and surround them with every  
 “ comfort and luxury,—they stir their arms, inflate their nostrils, fancy them-  
 “ selves superior to us, and try to resist that power which the Almighty has placed  
 “ in our hands ! But God has chastised their ingratitude by permitting us to pry  
 “ into their secrets, and by turning against them the blows which they aimed  
 “ at us.”

'Abdu-  
 rahmán pre-  
 pares to invade  
 Syria.

In this same year (A. H. 167) 'Abdu-r-rahmán made known his intention to march to Syria at the head of his army, and take the empire from the Bení 'Abbás. He accordingly began to make every preparation, and wrote to his relatives, *maulis*, and partisans of his house, apprising them of his determination. He was to leave his eldest son, Suleymán, to command in Andalus in his absence, whilst he himself, at the head of his troops, was to invade Syria. However, the rebellion of Huseyn Al-ansárí, who rose about this time at Saragossa, disconcerted his plans, and frustrated his purposes.

Rebellion of  
 the Fátémí.

Besides the above rebels, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had to reduce many others of the principal Arabian tribes, who, during his reign, rose in various parts of his dominions, although God was pleased to render him victorious over every one of them. In their number may be counted a Berber who passed himself off as a descendant of Fátimah,<sup>15</sup> the daughter of the Prophet. This man raised the standard of revolt at the town of Santa Maria, and the mischief lasted for two years, until one of his own followers treacherously slew him.

Of Hayyát Ibn  
 Mulábis.

Hayyát<sup>16</sup> Ibn Mulábis Al-hadhramí, governor of Seville, 'Abdu-l-ghaffár Ibn Hamíd Al-yohssebí, governor of Niebla, and 'Amrú Ibn Tálút, governor of Beja, are also counted among the Arabian chieftains who opposed the authority of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and rose in arms against him. After the death of Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Yemení Arabs, whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán, as above related, caused to be executed,<sup>17</sup> the three illustrious individuals just named swore to revenge the murder of their friend ; and having collected the troops of their respective governments, marched upon Cordova. But they were met by the troops of the Sultán, and defeated with awful carnage : all the above-named chieftains remained dead on the field of battle, or were overtaken and put to death in their flight ; though there are not wanting historians who assert that they contrived to escape

from the slaughter, and were some time afterwards pardoned by 'Abdu-rahmán.

Al-huseyn<sup>18</sup> Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Obádah Al-khazrejí rose likewise at Saragossa in the year 157 (beginning Nov. 20, A. D. 773), assisted by Suleymán Ibn Yokdhán Al-'arabí Al-kelbí, the principal chief of that insurrection.<sup>19</sup> They maintained themselves for some time against the arms of 'Abdu-rahmán, until at last Al-huseyn treacherously killed Suleymán; and Al-huseyn himself fell into the hands of 'Abdu-rahmán, who had him executed, as we have related.<sup>20</sup>

Of Al-huseyn  
Ibn Yahya,  
governor of  
Saragossa.

In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, A. D. 779), Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-kenání<sup>21</sup> rose at Algesiras; but on the arrival of the troops sent against him by 'Abdu-rahmán, he embarked on board a vessel, and sailed for the East.

Of Hasan Ibn  
'Abdi-l-'azíz.

But in order to check in future the rebellious spirit of the Arabian tribes, whom he found animated with a strong hatred towards him,<sup>22</sup> 'Abdu-rahmán began to cease all communication with their chiefs, and to surround his person with slaves and people entirely devoted to him; for which end he engaged followers and took clients from every province of his empire, as well as from Africa. He sent people over to enlist Berbers in his service; and those who came to him he treated so well as to make their comrades desirous of following them. In this manner, says the historian Ibnu Hayyán, 'Abdu-rahmán collected an army of slaves and Berbers, amounting to upwards of forty thousand men, by means of whom he always remained victorious in every contest with the Arabian tribes of Andalus; his empire was strengthened, and raised on solid foundations.

'Abdu-rahmán  
takes Berbers  
into his pay.

Whilst the Moslems of Andalus were thus revolting against their sovereign, and striving to overthrow his empire, the people of Galicia were gathering strength, and their power was greatly increased. Fruela, son of Alfonso, who was their king at the time, attacked the fortresses and towns on the Moslem frontiers; and after expelling their inhabitants, took possession of them, and peopled them with his own subjects. In this manner he took the cities of Lugo, Portokál (Oporto), Zamora, Kashtelah, and Shekúbi'ah (Segovia), which remained in the hands of his posterity until Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir retook them some time before the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah; although soon after, alas! they fell a second time into the hands of the unbelievers, who, as we shall hereafter relate, reconquered the whole of Andalus. May God Almighty be praised! His is the empire!

Success of the  
Christians.

Károloh (Charlemagne), King of the Franks, and one of the most powerful sovereigns of that nation, after warring for a length of time with 'Abdu-rahmán, sent him an embassy, and solicited an alliance with him by marriage; but the latter having met with an accident in the loins, which injured his virility, the

Charlemagne  
asks for peace.

design was abandoned. Károloh, however, sought his friendship and alliance, and again insisted on the marriage; <sup>23</sup> but this was declined, although a peace was concluded between the two sovereigns.

Building of the  
Rissáfah.

Whilst the above events were taking place, 'Abdu-r-rahmán,—whose passion for building equalled, if it did not surpass, that of his predecessors of the house of Umeyyah,—was daily adding to the embellishments of his capital by works which he superintended himself. One of his first acts was to supply Cordova with water, by means of an aqueduct which came from the neighbouring mountains. He planted a most delightful garden, to which he gave the name of *Mun'yat Ar-rissáfah*, in remembrance of a splendid villa near Damascus, which his grandfather Hishám had built, and where he himself had spent the first years of his life. Finding the spot a very charming one, he erected in the middle of it a most magnificent palace, which he ornamented with every luxury which could be procured; and moreover made it his residence in preference to the old palace inhabited by the governors of Andalus. Being passionately fond of flowers, he commissioned an intelligent botanist to procure for him in the East such among the fruits and plants of that country as could be naturalized in Andalus; and in this manner he introduced the peach and the pomegranate called *Safarí*.<sup>24</sup> Ibnu Hayyán has preserved us four verses, which he is reported to have spoken extempore at the sight of one solitary palm-tree which grew in the middle of his garden.

“ In the centre of the Rissáfah grows a palm-tree, born in the West, away  
“ from the country of the palm-trees.

“ I once exclaimed, ‘ Thou art like me; for thou resemblest me in wan-  
“ dering and peregrination, and the long separation from relatives and friends.

“ Thou [also] didst grow in a foreign soil, and, like me, art far away [from  
“ the country of thy birth].

“ May the fertilizing clouds of morning water thee in thy exile! May  
“ the beneficent rains, which the poor implore, never forsake thee!’ ”<sup>25</sup>

But whilst 'Abdu-r-rahmán expended a portion of his treasures in this and other delightful dwellings, he was meditating a work far more meritorious in the eyes of the Almighty, and which would insure him a place in Paradise; we mean the erection of a magnificent place of worship, that which existed being in a ruinous state, and being, besides, insufficient to hold the great concourse of people who flocked to prayers. We quote the words of Ibnu Hayyán.

Of the great  
mosque.

“ In the year 170 (beginning July 2, A. D. 786), 'Abdu-r-rahmán began the  
“ building of the great mosque, which was constructed on the site of the old one.  
“ Though he did not live to see that magnificent edifice completed, he is said to

“ have expended on it the enormous sum of eighty thousand dinárs. He surrounded Cordova with a thick and strong wall, the work beginning in the year 150, and continuing for the greater part of his reign. He also supplied his capital with water, built himself a palace, and erected mosques, baths, bridges, and castles in every province of his dominions.”

'Abdu-r-rahmán, says Ibnu Hayyán, was kind-hearted, and well disposed to mercy. He was eloquent in his speech, and was endowed with a quick perception; he was very slow in his determinations, but constant and persevering in carrying them into effect; he was exempt from all weakness, and prompt in his movements; he was active and stirring; he would never lie in repose or abandon himself to indulgence; he never intrusted the affairs of the government to any one, but administered them himself, yet he never failed to consult, on such difficult cases as occurred, with people of wisdom and experience; he was a brave and intrepid warrior, always the first in the field; he was terrible in his anger, and could bear no opposition to his will; he could speak with much fluency and elegance; he was likewise a good poet, and composed verses extempore; he was, in short, a beneficent, generous, and munificent prince. He always dressed in white, and wore a turban of the same colour, which he preferred to any other; his countenance inspired with awe all those who approached him, whether friends or foes. He used to attend funerals, and recite prayers over the dead; he often prayed with the people when he attended the mosque on Fridays and other festivals, on which occasions he was in the habit of ascending the pulpit, and addressing his subjects therefrom. He visited the sick, and mixed with the people, attending their rejoicings and recreations. One day, as he was returning from a funeral, he was met in the street by an impudent man of the lower orders, who, fancying he had been wronged by a sentence lately passed against him, addressed him thus: “ May God prosper the Amír! Thy Kádí has wronged me, and I come to appeal to thee for justice.”—“ If what thou statest be right, O man!” said 'Abdu-r-rahmán, “ thy wrong shall be redressed.” But the man, extending his hand, seized the bridle of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's horse, and said, “ O Amír! I entreat thee for God's sake to grant my request. Move not from this spot until thou order thy Kádí to do justice unto me: there he is in thy suite.” Hearing this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán's indignation was roused: he looked round for his followers; but saw that there were only a few, and those at some distance behind him: he then called the Kádí, and told him to do the man justice. On his return to his palace, one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's favourites, who disapproved of his frequent ramblings without a sufficient escort, represented to him the great danger to which he had voluntarily exposed himself, and said to him, “ May God preserve thy life,

Character of  
'Abdu-r-  
rahmán.

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“ O Amír! These continual ramblings do not become a powerful Sultán like thee ;  
 “ for if once the eyes of the vulgar become accustomed to the sight of thee, all  
 “ salutary dread and respect will vanish away.” These words had the desired effect  
 on 'Abdu-r-rahmán ; for not only did he abstain ever afterwards from accompanying  
 the funerals, and mixing with the crowds, but he advised his son and successor  
 Hishám to do the same.

His liberality.

The same historian (Ibnu Hayyán) relates, that when, by the submission of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was freed from all his enemies, and firmly seated on his throne, men hastened to Cordova from every province of Andalus to take the oath of allegiance to him. For several days the palace of 'Abdu-r-rahmán was crowded with governors and chiefs, who came to swear fealty to him ; and 'Abdu-r-rahmán would receive them with great affability on appointed days, and after confirming them in their respective offices and land tenures, he would converse with them, and address them in words which delighted them, and attached them to him. He would also distribute among them dresses, food, and sundry presents. In this way they all returned to their homes, highly pleased and satisfied, repeating to each other the kind words they had listened to, expatiating in praises of their sovereign, and invoking the favours of God for him. There happened to come before 'Abdu-r-rahmán on one of these occasions a man who belonged to the division of Kenesrín,<sup>26</sup> who, after humiliating himself in his presence, addressed him thus : “ O descendant of the righteous Khalifs and honourable Lords ! to  
 “ thee I fly, and under thy shelter I take refuge from calamitous times and the  
 “ injustice of fate. Money is scanty, and my family is numerous ; my situation  
 “ becomes every day more precarious, and riches are given to thee that thou mayest  
 “ distribute them more amply. Thou art the Lord of praise and glory, the imparter  
 “ of gifts, and the hope of the destitute.”—'Abdu-r-rahmán immediately answered,  
 “ We have listened to thy words, and remedied thy wants ; we have issued orders  
 “ that thou shouldst be helped against fortune, and regret the miserable plight  
 “ to which thou hast been reduced. Let all those who are in the same condition  
 “ with thyself apply to us for help, and make known to us their poverty or mis-  
 “ fortunes, either personally, or by means of memorials placed in our hands, in  
 “ order that we may alleviate the blows of fate, and, by remedying their poverty,  
 “ avert the malignant rejoicings of their enemies.” He then ordered a large sum  
 of money to be given to the Arab, who left the room highly rejoiced, and in  
 utter amazement at the Amír's eloquence, readiness of wit, and unbounded  
 liberality. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, moreover, issued orders that all those who came to  
 him with petitions should be admitted to his audience-room without delay, that  
 he might attend to their cases, and listen to their complaints. In this manner,

says the author above cited [Ibnu Hayyán], numbers of poor distressed people, who had either met with some misfortune or were the victims of iniquitous judgment passed upon them, would flock to the Amír's hall on the days of public audience, when they invariably obtained the redress of their wrongs. It was 'Abdu-rahmán's custom to dine in company with such among his courtiers and public officers as happened to be with him at the hours of his meals, and whoever came to him upon business at those hours was by him invited to sit down and partake with him.

Of 'Abdu-rahmán's wit and eloquence several traits have been preserved by the historians. Ibnu Hayyán relates, that having once received a letter from Suleymán Ibn Yoktán Al-'arábí, in which that chieftain tried to deceive him, he made the following reply: "Let me alone with thy frivolous excuses, whilst thou art quitting the path of duty; extend thy hands towards obedience, and hold by the strings of the multitude; do not persevere in thy disobedience and rebellion, and let the fate of thy predecessors be a warning to thee, for God is never unjust to his servants."

His wit and eloquence.

After the taking of Saragossa, and the execution of the rebel Huseyn Al-ansári, whose head, together with those of the principal inhabitants of the city, was fixed on stakes, 'Abdu-rahmán's courtiers hastened to congratulate him on a victory so signal, and which had realized his most ardent hopes. Among those who approached him was a man who had not been present at the siege, and who yet complimented him like the rest in a tone of voice both loud and rude. Turning sharply towards him, 'Abdu-rahmán said, "By Allah! were it not that this is a day in which He who is over me has granted me a most special favour, and in which it is therefore incumbent upon me also to bestow my favours upon those who are under me, I would have thee most severely punished for presuming to address me in that disrespectful manner, as if thou wert accosting thy father, thy brother, or thy wife, and entirely disregarding the respect due to royalty."

'Abdu-rahmán has been accused of ingratitude to those to whom he was most indebted; and certainly his treatment of his freedman Bedr, who was the principal instrument of his success, who shared his privations and misfortunes, accompanied him in his flight as well as in concealment, and sought out an empire for him in the East or West, by sea or land, cannot be excused. No sooner had he risen to power than he deprived him of all his honours, cast him into prison, and, at last, exiled him to the confines of his empire, where he died in great poverty and affliction. The author of the *Mas'hab* [Al-hijári] relates that Bedr once wrote to his master from his place of exile as follows: "I should have thought that, after crossing the sea, and traversing the deserts, in order to procure thee a kingdom,

His ingratitude to Bedr.

“ thou wouldst have rewarded me otherwise than by thus humbling me in the eyes  
 “ of my equals, and giving matter of cause for the malicious joy of my enemies;  
 “ making me poor and destitute, and no longer useful to my friends, causing those  
 “ who honoured and esteemed me to keep aloof, and those who hated me to hate  
 “ me the more. I verily think that had I fallen into the hands of the Bení 'Abbás,  
 “ I could not have been worse treated by them than I have been by thee. But  
 “ God is over all things, and to Him we must all return.” What reason 'Abdu-r-  
 rahmán may have had thus to act towards his faithful servant Bedr is only known  
 to God, who looks into the interior of men's hearts, and unravels their secrets :  
 perhaps 'Abdu-r-rahmán had reasons for thus acting towards his faithful servant ;  
 or perhaps the latter was calumniated, as often happens, by people who knew his  
 low origin, and saw with envy his rapid rise in honours and fortune.<sup>27</sup>

To Abú 'Oth-  
 mán.

Nor was 'Abdu-r-rahmán more grateful to 'Abú Othmán, the Arabian chieftain  
 who was the first to raise the standard in his favour ; for when 'Abdu-r-rahmán saw  
 his power firmly established, he would no longer attend to him, nor to those who,  
 like him, had most contributed to his success. At last, Abú 'Othmán, seeing  
 himself ill-treated, and his applications disregarded, caused a nephew of his, on  
 the female side, to revolt in one of the castles in the district of Elvira. 'Abdu-r-  
 rahmán dispatched some troops against him, and the rebel was taken and beheaded.  
 After this, Abú 'Othmán seduced one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's own nephews, to whom  
 he painted in bright colours how easy it would be to revolt against his uncle and  
 deprive him both of his life and throne ; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán, having received  
 intelligence of the conspiracy in time, seized on the persons of his nephew and  
 the principal conspirators, and had them all beheaded, with the exception of Abú  
 'Othmán ; for, although he was repeatedly told that he was one of their number,  
 and that it was he who had instigated his nephew to revolt and had assured  
 him of success, he would always answer, “ Let Abú 'Othmán alone ; for he is  
 “ the Abú Salmah<sup>28</sup> of this dynasty, and I would on no account give the people  
 “ cause to say that I treated him as the Bení 'Abbás treated Abú Salmah ; I intend,  
 “ however, to inflict on him a chastisement worse than death itself.” He then sent  
 for him, and, after charging him with his treacherous conduct, deprived him of  
 all his honours and emoluments, though some time afterwards he re-instated him  
 in his office, and took him again into favour.

To Kháled.

The next person who was most instrumental in 'Abdu-r-rahmán's elevation to  
 power was Abú 'Othmán's son-in-law, 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, who shared with him  
 the duties of the Wizírate. It appears that when Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the  
 Yemení Arabs, revolted, he gave out as a reason that certain terms agreed to  
 between himself and 'Abdullah, in his master's name, had been violated by 'Abdu-r-

rahmán. After the capture and execution of that chieftain, 'Abdu-r-rahmán removed Ibn Kháled from his office, and swore never to employ him as long as he lived. 'Abdullah, accordingly, passed out of memory at the court, and remained without taking any part whatever in the affairs of the government. Another man who most strenuously contributed to 'Abdu-r-rahmán's accession, and at first shared his intimacy, was Temám Ibn 'Alkamah, who, as already mentioned, crossed the sea to him, and was the first to announce to him the good tidings of the rising in his favour. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, however, soon forgot his past services, and his son and successor, Hishám, put to death a son of Temám,<sup>29</sup> as well as a son of Abú 'Othmán. Alluding to this event, Ibnu Hayyán says, "The execution of the two youths, " ordered as it was by the son of the man to whom their lives ought to have been " most precious, well convinced their disconsolate fathers of the truth, that no one " has a right to expect praiseworthy deeds from his own kindred.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, if we " compare the fate of those who were the principal instruments of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's " success, and who gave him the empire, with that of those who resisted his " authority and were subdued, we shall find that the fate of the former was the " more lamentable and severe of the two."

And Temám  
Ibn 'Alkamah.

The first who filled the office of Hájb to 'Abdu-r-rahmán was his *mauli* Temám Ibn 'Alkamah: he lived to a great age. He was succeeded in that office by Yúsuf Ibn Bokht Al-fáresí, a freedman of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who left a numerous posterity in Cordova. The next was 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn Mahrán, of the posterity of Al-hárith Ibn Abí Shamr Al-ghosání, who was succeeded by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mugheyth Ibn Al-hárith Ibn Huwirath Ibn Jabalah Ibni-l-ayham, whose father had been the conqueror of Cordova, as before related; after this, Mansúr the eunuch, the first of his class who obtained that office under the Bení Umeyyah: he retained his office until the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Hájibs of  
'Abdu-r-  
rahmán.

Ad-dákhel had not Wizírs, properly speaking, who administered the government in his name; but he had a certain number of Sheikhs who sat in council and assisted him with their experience and advice. The first in rank among these was the aforesaid Abú 'Othmán; then came his son-in-law 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled; then Abú 'Abdah, governor of Seville; then Shoheyd, son of 'Isa, son of Shoheyd. This last-named individual was the descendant of a Berber, others say a Greek, who was made a prisoner in the first wars of Islám, and became a slave of Mu'áwiyah Ibn Merwán Ibn Al-hakem: from him are descended the Bení Shoheyd, an illustrious family of Cordova. The next were, 'Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Basíl, also a Greek, and a freedman of 'Abdullah Ibn Mu'áwiyah, whose posterity obtained great renown in the Wizírate and in other offices; Tha'lebah Ibn 'Obeyd Ibn An-nadhdhám Al-jodhámí, governor of Saragossa; and 'A'ssem Ibn Moslem

Councillors.

Ath-thakefí. This latter, who was one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's most zealous partisans, was a very brave man. It was he who at the battle of Cordova (Musárah) set the example to the troops, by swimming across the river. His posterity afterwards attained great renown as public functionaries under various reigns.

Kátibs.

The first Kátibs or secretaries appointed by 'Abdu-r-rahmán when he assumed the supreme power, and took possession of Cordova, were Abú 'Othmán and 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled. He then named to that office Umeyyah Ibn Yezíd, a *mauli* of Mu'áwiyah Ibn Merwán, who, as before stated, had also been secretary to Yúsuf Al-fehrí. This Umeyyah had likewise a seat in the council-room, where he was much esteemed for his experience and his talents. It is said that he was implicated in the conspiracy of Al-yezídí against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, but that he died before that monarch was apprised of it, when Al-yezídí was in consequence put to death.

Kádís.

Ibn Zeydún relates, that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán took possession of Cordova he confirmed Yahya Ibn Yezíd Al-yahssobí in the charge of *Kádi-l-jamá'h* (supreme judge), which he was then filling. After him he appointed Abú 'Amru Mu'áwiyah Ibn Sáleh Al-hemsí; <sup>31</sup> after him 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil; <sup>32</sup> then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Taríf. Jodrán Ibn 'Amru was judge <sup>33</sup> to the army.

Death.

'Abdu-r-rahmán died in the year 172 (beginning June 10, A. D. 788), after a reign of thirty-three years and four months, counted from the day of his landing on the coast of Almuñecar to that of his death. Others say that he died in 171, during the Khalifate of Harún Ar-rashíd. He was buried within the palace of Cordova, his son 'Abdullah reciting the funeral service over his body. He was born in the year 113 (beginning March 14, A. D. 731), at Deyr-hinná, in the territory of Damascus, or, according to other authorities, at Al-'aliyá, a town of the jurisdiction of Tadmor. His mother was a native of Barbary; her name was Ráha. His father, Mu'áwiyah, died in the year 118 (beginning January 19, A. D. 736), at the age of twenty-one, and during the lifetime of his own father, the Commander of the Faithful. Hishám intended him as his successor in the Khalifate, and had him educated accordingly. Mu'áwiyah having upon his death-bed intrusted the guardianship of his sons to their grandfather Hishám, the Khalif took care of them, and especially of this 'Abdu-r-rahmán, to whom he allotted, for his maintenance, his own share in the revenue of Andalus, the prince sending thither a man named Sa'íd Ibn Abí Leyla <sup>34</sup> to collect it in his name.

The dates given by Ibnu Hayyán differ slightly from the above. We here transcribe his words: " 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel was born in the year 113, " or, according to other writers, in the year before, at 'Aliyá, in the district of " Tadmor; others say at Deyr-hinná, in the territory of Damascus, where his " father Mu'áwiyah died in the lifetime of the Commander of the Faithful, Hishám

“ Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, who was his father, and destined him for his successor in the Khalifate. It was this Mu'áwiyah who interceded for Al-kamet, the poet, when Hishám had unjustly decreed his death.

“ Ad-dákhel died on the 24th day of Rabi'l-akhar of the year 171 (Sept. 30, A. D. 787), being then fifty-seven years old: some writers make him sixty-two years of age at the time of his death. He was buried within the royal palace of Cordova, his eldest son 'Abdullah reading the funeral service over his body. He was fortunate and successful in all that he undertook, and conquered all his enemies, as we have sufficiently demonstrated in our account of his battles. As a further proof of his good fortune, we might add what an historian relates of him; namely, that the banner which he assumed on his first landing in Andalus was never defeated, and that it was not until that banner was lost that the empire of the Bení Umeyyah gave signs of decay.” Such is the narrative of the trustworthy historian Ibnu Hayyán, from whose works we have already transcribed enough to render any information on this last topic superfluous.

One of the historians of the West, after copying the above passage from Ibnu Hayyán, draws the following picture of 'Abdu-r-rahmán: “ The Imám 'Abdu-rahmán Ad-dákhel was a man of very sound judgment and quick perception; he was deeply learned, and could express himself with facility and elegance; he was slow and prudent in his determinations, but firm in carrying them into effect. Not once did he unfurl his banners against his enemies that he did not return victorious from the field of battle. He was exceedingly liberal, and well versed in the science of government: he always dressed in white, and wore a turban of the same colour.<sup>35</sup> He used to visit the sick and attend funerals, saying his prayers at the mosque in common with the people on Fridays and other festivals; he harangued his troops himself, and raised the banners with his own hand; he appointed Hájibs and Kátibs: his army amounted to 100,000 men.”

'Abdu-r-rahmán was surnamed Ad-dákhel, (*i. e.* the enterer,<sup>36</sup>) because he was the first of his family who entered Andalus, and *Sakr Koraysh* (the hawk of Koraysh), owing to the rapidity with which he subjected that country to his rule. As elsewhere related, he abolished the rule of the Bení 'Abbás in Andalus, and founded in that country a powerful empire for his posterity, restoring to his race in the West that supremacy which they had lost in the East, and preparing for them the way to the Khalifate. Although, at the beginning of his reign, he was troubled by frequent rebellions in the provinces, and by the invasions of the generals sent by As-seffáh,<sup>37</sup> he, nevertheless, vanquished and subdued all those who opposed him, and ultimately abolished the spiritual rule of the

Bení 'Abbás by forbidding the mentioning of the Khalif's name at prayers from the pulpits of the mosques. Yet, neither 'Abdu-r-rahmán nor his immediate successors assumed any other title than that of *Amíru-l-moslemín* (Commander of the Moslems of Andalus), out of respect for the seat of the Khalifate, which was still the abode of Islám, and the meeting-place of the Arabian tribes. However, after the year 300 of the Hijra, his namesake, 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, the eighth Sultán of his family, seeing the state of affairs in the East,—where the Bení 'Abbás had been overpowered by foreigners, who left only a shadow of power in their hands,—and yielding to the entreaties of his subjects and the advice of his most eminent theologians, took the titles of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful), Imám<sup>38</sup> and Khalif, which his successors also assumed, as we shall relate hereafter.

Ibn Zeydún says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán had a clear complexion and reddish hair; he had high cheek-bones, with a mole on his face: he was tall and slender in body, wore his hair parted in two ringlets, could only see out of one eye, and was destitute of the sense of smelling. He left twenty children, eleven of whom were sons, the remainder daughters.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife  
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

## CHAPTER III.

Accession of Hishám—His interview with an astrologer—His justice—Liberality—Wise administration—Rebellion of Suleymán—Taking of Narbonne—Wars with the infidels—Expedition to Galicia—To Alava—Rebuilding of the bridge of Cordova—Several Theologians leave Spain for the East—They meet Málík Ibn Ans—Death of Hishám—Al-hakem ascends the throne—His uncles rebel against him—Taking of Barcelona by the Franks—Wars with the Galicians—Revolt at Cordova—Exemplary chastisement of the rebels—Death of Suleymán—Wars with the Christians—Defeat of the Franks—of the Galicians—Dreadful famine—Death of Al-hakem—His government—Respect for the learned.

ON the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, his son Hishám, surnamed Abú-l-walíd, who had been previously appointed his successor, ascended the throne. His mother's name was Halal.<sup>1</sup> He was born on the 4th of Shawwál, A. H. 139 (Feb. 28, A. D. 757), that is, one year after his father's arrival in Andalus. When the empire devolved on him he was absent at Merida, of which city he was governor, as his father, with a view to train him in the duties of administration, had, from his earliest youth, given him several offices to discharge: he was, accordingly, proclaimed at Merida in 172 (A. D. 788).

Accession of  
Hishám.

Hishám was not 'Abdu-r-rahmán's eldest son; but that monarch, who always showed a great predilection for him, and knew his excellent qualities, preferred him to his other sons, and named him his successor. They say that whenever 'Abdu-r-rahmán inquired how his two sons, Suleymán and Hishám, spent their time, the answer he received was invariably this: "If thy son Hishám receives company, his hall is thronged with learned men, poets, or historians, who discuss the exploits of the brave, and converse about military affairs, and so forth; whereas the hall of thy son Suleymán is always filled with sycophants, fools, and cowards." By means of this and other similar reports, Hishám rose high in his father's esteem, in proportion as his brother Suleymán descended, until that monarch decided upon naming him his successor to the empire, to the prejudice of his elder brother.

One day, as 'Abdu-r-rahmán was sitting in his hall, surrounded by his courtiers, he repeated the following verses, and asked Hishám whether he knew where they were to be found:

"If thou consider his brilliant qualities, thou wilt easily find out who his father was, and who his ancestors,—who is Yezíd and who is Hajr.

“Observe his generosity, his piety, his good faith, his logical acuteness, whether he is sober or intoxicated [after a banquet].”<sup>2</sup>

No sooner had he uttered them, than Hishám exclaimed, “O my Lord! those verses are the composition of 'Amrú-l-kays, King of Kindah, and it seems as if they had been written on thy account.” So pleased was his father with this answer, that he ordered many bounteous gifts to Hishám, who from that moment rose high in his estimation. They relate that as Suleymán, who was also present at this interview, went out of the audience-room, he asked some one whose verses they were, and repeated them until he knew them by heart; he then said, “To gain my father's affection I have nothing more to do than learn by heart some of the sayings of the Arabs;” and that when these words were reported to 'Abdu-r-rahmán he was struck with astonishment, and became more convinced than ever of the great disparity between his two sons.

His interview  
with an astro-  
loger.

Soon after his accession to power, Hishám sent for a celebrated astrologer who resided at Algesiras, and whose name was Adh-dhobí. He was a man of great reputation for his knowledge of astrology, and of the influence of the stars upon mundane affairs, which he had studied in the writings of Ptolemy. In compliance with Hishám's orders the astrologer repaired to Cordova, where, immediately on his arrival, that monarch closeted himself up with him and addressed him thus: “I doubt not thou hast already divined the reason of thy being sent for; I need not, therefore, give thee any further explanation. Tell me now, with God's permission, what thy science discloses to thee respecting my future destiny.” The astrologer hesitated to give answer, and said, “Pardon me, O Amír! I am but a novice in that science; and it is beyond my power to execute thy commands, as I am not at all deserving of the honour of observing a subject so superior to myself in rank and dignity.”—“Heed not that,” replied Hishám, “I raise thee to my own station, and thou wilt thereby become competent to the task.”

Some days after this interview, the astrologer was again summoned to the presence of Hishám, who said to him, “What I asked thee the other day has kept me since in a state of great agitation, although God knows I place no confidence in things which are amongst His impenetrable secrets, and the knowledge of which he has reserved to Himself. Yet I ardently desire to hear what thou hast to predict to me: man is naturally fond of inquiry, and he is bound by the hope of reward, as well as by the fear of punishment.” Adh-dhobí then said, “Thy reign, O Amír! will be glorious and fortunate: it will be marked by victories over thy enemies: its duration, however, if my calculations be right, will only be eight years or thereabout.” After a moment's reflection, Hishám lifted up

his head, and said, "O Adh-dhobí! I am not in the least alarmed at thy prediction, though it may be the unerring admonisher, who informs me by thy tongue; for if the time of life allotted to me be spent in adoration of the Almighty, when the hour comes I will say with resignation, 'May His will be done!'" Hishám then dismissed the astrologer, after rewarding him munificently, and from that day abstained from the pleasures of this world, and made justice and benevolence the sole guide of his actions.

Among the anecdotes related of Hishám, and which show his love of justice His justice. and his liberality, the following is one: As he was once, in his father's lifetime, journeying out of Cordova, he halted on an eminence close to the banks of the river (Guadalquivir), whence he saw a man from Jaen, whom he well knew—having on a previous occasion rendered him some service—running in great haste and trepidation towards the spot where his tent was pitched. Hishám immediately guessed the cause of the man's fear and hasty flight: he had perhaps experienced some ill-treatment from his brother Suleymán, then governor of Jaen; he had escaped his vengeance, and was now hastening to implore his help. He therefore gave orders to his attendants, that on the arrival of the man he should be immediately introduced to his presence. This being done as he desired, and the fugitive being conducted to his tent, he addressed him thus: "O Kenání! I know not what has brought thee here; but I should say that thou art fleeing from some calamity."—"Thou sayest right, O my Lord!" replied the man; "I am trying to avert misfortune from my head. Listen to my tale: A member of my tribe [Kenánah] has put to death a man belonging to another tribe: according to custom I have handed over to the tribe of the deceased the usual expiation-money, that they may distribute it among his family and relatives; yet thy brother Suleymán, knowing how much I am favoured and distinguished by thee, is not satisfied, and wishes to proceed further in this affair." Hearing this, Hishám lifted up a curtain leading to the interior of his tent, and stretching his hand towards one of his slave girls, who happened to be sitting behind, cut off a beautiful pearl necklace which she wore, and presented it to him, saying, "Take this, O Kenání! Liberality." and sell it; it is worth three thousand dinárs: do not part with it for less; keep the money to redeem thyself and thy people, and no one shall injure thee."—"O my Lord," replied the man, "I came not hither to ask for thy gifts, nor do I want money; the expiation price being already paid down. I came to complain of the crying injustice done unto me, and to implore thy powerful assistance; for if thou protect me in this matter, and thy intercession for me is made public, I shall grow in importance among those who hate me, merely because thou befriendest me."—"How is that to be accomplished?" said Hishám. "Thou

“ must write to thy brother,” answered the man, “ and let him know that thou “ claimest my person, and that I must henceforth be under thy protection.”—“ Very “ well, I will do so ; but keep the necklace nevertheless.” Hishám immediately rode off to Cordova, and, entering the royal palace, begged leave to see his father. He happened to arrive at a time when 'Abdu-r-rahmán had retired into the interior apartments, and did not wish to be disturbed by applications. He said, notwithstanding, on hearing of his son's arrival, “ Nothing can bring my son Abú-l-walíd “ [Hishám] hither at this time of the day save business of the most pressing nature ; “ let him come in.” Hishám entered the apartment, and, after giving his father the *salám*, stood in a respectful attitude before him. 'Abdu-r-rahmán motioned him to sit down, and state his business. “ May God prosper the Amír, my lord and “ father !” exclaimed Hishám. “ How can I sit down when those [who claim my “ interference] stand injured and oppressed? It behoves those of my rank and “ station not to sit down unless they be content and satisfied, and I cannot be “ so unless the Amír puts me at my ease by granting my request. Otherwise “ I shall go back to my people.”—'Abdu-r-rahmán then said to him, “ God forbid “ that thou shouldst leave my presence discontented and disappointed. Sit down, “ were it only that we may accede to the prayers of one who intercedes : speak out, “ and tell us thy business.” Hishám then sat down, as commanded, and related to his father the whole of the case : upon which 'Abdu-r-rahmán gave orders that the expiatory sum paid to the tribe of the deceased should be taken out of his treasury, and that Suleymán should be instructed not to proceed further in the matter, and to suspend all proceedings against the Kenání. Upon which Hishám left the palace, highly pleased and gratified, and expatiating in praise of his father's generosity and justice. When the Kenání came to take leave of Hishám, to return to Jaen, he said to him, “ This certainly exceeds my expectations, and thy favours “ come down upon me more profusely even than I could have wished. Here is “ the necklace thou gavest me ; I do not want it, let it be restored to its owner. “ I shall not be the less grateful for the singular service I have received at thy “ hands.” Hishám, however, refused to take it back, saying, “ We never take “ back what we have once given.”

Wise adminis-  
tration.

Like the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, Hishám followed the maxim of sending men of probity and virtue, and on whom he could rely, to the various provinces of his empire, to inquire into the condition of his subjects, and ascertain the opinions of the inhabitants respecting the conduct of their governors and magistrates ; and if in this manner any one of his public officers was convicted of having committed injustice, he would deprive him of his situation, oblige him to make due amends, and for ever afterwards exclude him from his service. So eminent were

the virtues, so upright the conduct of this sovereign, that when the celebrated theologian, Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of *Shabattún*, left Andalus for the East in search of learning, the Imám Málik Ibn Ans, to whom he related some of Hishám's most praiseworthy acts, is said to have exclaimed, "May the Almighty preserve his life, and make him one of our select [disciples]." <sup>3</sup>

At the onset of his reign, Hishám was compelled to make war on members of his own family and other rebels, who resisted his authority, or raised the standard of revolt in various corners of his empire. His eldest brother Suleymán especially, to whom he had been preferred by his father, shook off his allegiance, and appeared in arms against him, assisted by another brother, called 'Abdullah. After many sanguinary encounters between the royal troops and those commanded by his two brothers, Hishám repaired in person to the seat of war; and the wheel of fortune turning in his favour, he defeated the rebels, and compelled them to have recourse to his clemency. Thus rid of his internal enemies, Hishám turned his arms against the infidels.

Rebellion of  
Suleymán.

In the days of Hishám, the celebrated city of Narbonne <sup>4</sup> was again wrested from the Christians. His Galician vassals having sued for peace, Hishám only granted it to them on very hard conditions; one of which was their having to carry a certain number of loads of earth <sup>5</sup> out of the demolished walls of the conquered city, Narbonne, to the gate of his own palace in Cordova, to be used there in the construction of a mosque, opposite to the Bábu-l-jenán (gate of the gardens); and not only was the mosque built of those materials, but a large quantity still remained piled up in front of the royal palace.

Taking of  
Narbonne.

In the spring of the year 175 (beginning May 9, A. D. 791), having put himself at the head of a powerful army, he reached the districts of Alava and the Castles, <sup>6</sup> met the unbelievers, and defeated them completely. In the same year (175) God again sent down victory to his arms; for, having dispatched one of his generals, named Yúsuf Ibn Bokht <sup>7</sup> Al-fáresí, against the Galicians, that chief penetrated into their country at the head of considerable forces, and met their king, Bermundoh (Bermudo), whom he defeated, making great slaughter among his followers, and reducing a considerable portion of his states.

Wars with the  
infidels.

Expedition to  
Galicia.

In the ensuing year, A. H. 176 (beginning April 27, A. D. 792), Hishám sent forward his Wizír 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth on a similar service; and this general reached the districts of Alava and the Castles, wherein he committed all manner of depredations.

To Alava.

After this, in the year 177 (beginning April 17, A. D. 793), Hishám sent the same general in another direction. This time 'Abdu-l-malek marched to Ariúnah (Narbonne) and Jerundah (Gerona), laid waste the territories adjoining those two

cities, and subdued the whole country of Seritányah (Cerdagne).<sup>8</sup> 'Abdu-l-malek, moreover, having penetrated far into the country of the infidels, put their armies to flight wherever he met with them.

Another invasion was made by the command of Hishám in the year 178 (beginning April 6, A. D. 794). 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed penetrated far into Galicia, and reached Ashtorkah (Astorga), where the King of the Galicians, assisted by the King of the Basques, seemed disposed to make a stand; but not daring to come to close quarters with the Moslems, the two kings retreated into their states, whither they were hotly pursued by 'Abdu-l-malek. Hishám, moreover, had previously sent by another route some forces,<sup>9</sup> which joined 'Abdu-l-malek in the enemy's country, and laid it waste. They were opposed by the troops of the Franks, who at first obtained some trifling advantage over them, though the Moslems at last returned safe and victorious.

Rebuilding of  
the bridge of  
Cordova.

Among the praiseworthy actions of this Sultán, one is the restoration of the famous bridge of Cordova,<sup>10</sup> which, as before related, had been erected by As-samh Al-khaulání, governor of Andalus, during the Khalifate of 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and was proverbial for its beauty and dimensions. Hishám designed it himself, and inspected the work till its completion. Happening on a certain day to ask one of his Wizírs what the people of Cordova said about it, the Wizír replied, "They say that the Amír's only motive in rebuilding this bridge is, that he may pass over it when he goes out hunting." Hearing which, Hishám bound himself by a most solemn oath never to pass it again; a vow which he is known to have kept most scrupulously as long as he lived.

Several theo-  
logians leave  
Cordova for  
the East.

During the reign of this Sultán several eminent doctors left Cordova and other cities in Andalus to make their pilgrimage to Mekka. Among their number were, Fara'ún Ibnu-l-'abbás, 'Isa Ibn Dínár, Sa'id Ibn Abí Hind, and others, who, on their return to Andalus, failed not to diffuse the rays of theological science which they had diligently gathered in the East. Some, moreover, who had there become acquainted with Málik Ibn Ans, and had adopted his religious opinions, began to describe him as a man eminent by his talents and virtues, and to speak of the extent of his learning, and the great honour and estimation in which he was held all over the East; by which means the fame of that celebrated theologian spread throughout Andalus, his doctrines were publicly taught, and his religious opinions satisfactorily explained. This prepared the way for the rejection of the rite of Al-aúzá'í, and the adoption of that of Málik Ibn Ans, which happened soon after, under the reign of his successor [Al-hakem I., the son of Hishám]. They say that Abú 'Abdillah Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Zeyád Al-lakhmí, better known by the by-name of *Shabattún*, whom Andalusian writers designate more generally under the

They meet  
Málik Ibn Ans.

honourable surname of 'the theologian of Andalus,' was the first who contributed by his writings to spread the knowledge of the religious opinions entertained by that illustrious Imám. This Shabattún was as virtuous and modest as he was learned. They relate of him, that the Sultán Hishám wished once to appoint him to the charge of Kádí of Cordova; but this Zeyád obstinately refused, under the plea that he was unworthy of that office. Hishám wished to compel him to accept it, but he fled; when the people said to the Sultán, "O Hishám, if all men were like Shabattún, there would be peace in this world." Hishám then sent for him, and pardoned him; when, having previously received a safe conduct, he returned to his house. They relate of him, that whilst he was thus contending with his sovereign, Hishám offering him that high office, and Shabattún refusing to accept of it, some of the Wizírs called upon him, and declared to him the Sultán's determination that he should accept the appointment offered to him; upon which he said to them, "Do not importune me; for if you make me once take a dislike to the office, I shall behave in such a manner that you shall soon wish to see me out of it again. For instance, were my wife such a one, thrice divorced [by some of you], to come to me, laying claim to any thing remaining in your hands, I would most certainly issue orders for its restoration, and make you besides answer for keeping it." When the Wizírs heard Shabattún express himself in this way, they saw that he was in earnest, and they went and reported the conversation to the Amír, who no longer insisted upon Zeyád accepting the office of Kádí. But to return: This Zeyád, having become acquainted with Málik Ibn Ans, read the *Mowattá* under his direction; he also learned under Mu'áwiyah Ibn Sáleh, whose daughter afterwards received lessons from him. Zeyád<sup>11</sup> died, according to some writers, in the year 204 (beginning June 27, A. D. 819); others advance his death eleven years [193]; others place it in 194; others in 199: the first date, however, is the most commonly received: but God only knows the truth of the case!

Suwwár Ibn Tárik Al-kortobí, a freedman of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., was another of the eminent men who left Cordova under this reign, to travel in the East. He visited the city of Basrah, where he met with Al-asma'í and other distinguished characters of the time. He then returned to Andalus, where he was appointed preceptor to Al-hakem. He left several sons; among whom the most distinguished was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Suwwár, who also made a pilgrimage to Mekka.

After a prosperous reign of seven years and nine months, some historians say eight [months], Hishám died in the year 180 (A. D. 796).<sup>12</sup> He is counted among the good and virtuous monarchs, full of military ardour, and zeal for the promotion of the faith. Among the commendable acts of his administration one was his continuing and completing the construction of the great mosque of Cordova, which

Death of  
Hishám.

his father 'Abdu-r-rahmán had begun, and left intrusted to his care. He had also the merit of not exacting from his Moslem subjects more taxes than the *zeka'h* or tithe prescribed by the Korán and the *Sunna* (traditionary law). May God have mercy on him! His age, when he died, was forty years and four months, having been born, as above stated, in the month of Shawwál of the year 139. His mild temper, his generosity, and his love of justice, were such that his subjects gave him the surnames of *Ar-rodha*, (the amiable), and *Al-'ádil* (the just). Among the laudable practices introduced by him, the historian Saken<sup>13</sup> Ibn Ibráhím records the following: He instituted a night-watch, composed of honest citizens, who went their rounds; and if any disturber of the public peace was apprehended, he was fined according to his offence: the produce of the fines was then sent to such poor people as were found in the mosques in dark and rainy nights.

Al-hakem ascends the throne.

On the death of Hishám, his son Al-hakem, whom he had previously designated as his successor, ascended the throne.<sup>14</sup> Soon after his accession, Al-hakem increased the number of his mamelukes and guards, formed a body of cavalry, which he kept in constant readiness for action, infused vigour into every branch of the administration, and took into his own hands the direction of affairs. In consequence, however, of the civil wars which broke out between him and his two uncles,<sup>15</sup> the infidels seized the opportunity to invade the territory of the Moslems. Having made an incursion into the districts of Barcelona,<sup>16</sup> they reduced that city in the year 185 (A. D. 801), the Moslem garrison withdrawing to such other fortresses as acknowledged their sway in those parts.

His uncles rebel against him.

Taking of Barcelona by the Franks.

Wars with the Galicians.

Al-hakem dispatched an army to Galicia, under the command of his Hájb, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn ['Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn] Mugheyth, who penetrated far into that country, and wasted it. As he was returning from this expedition, he found the enemy posted on the heights, and occupying the passes by which he had to cross; but he defeated them with great slaughter, and succeeded in reaching the dominions of Islám in safety.

Revolt at Cordova.

Al-hakem had also internal enemies to contend with; and, among other rebellions which he had to put down, the most serious and formidable was that of the inhabitants of one of the suburbs of Cordova. It originated thus: Al-hakem having since the commencement of his reign shown great propensity to worldly pleasures, some of the most eminent theologians of Cordova, and other men distinguished by their piety and learning, as Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, the disciple of Málík Ibn Ans, and one of those who delivered traditions from the mouth of that Imám, Tálút the theologian, and others, revolted against him, and proclaimed in his stead one of his relatives.<sup>17</sup> The scene of this commotion was the western<sup>18</sup> suburb of Cordova. Al-hakem, who had a body of troops encamped close to his

palace, marched against the rebels, whom he defeated and dispersed. He then entered the suburb, which he razed to the ground, not sparing even the mosques, and expelled the inhabitants. Some of them fled to Africa, and settled at Fez, where they peopled a quarter of the city called after them *Medīnatu-l-andalusīn* (the town of the Andalusians); others went to Alexandria. Those who fled to the latter city, being in considerable number, created some disturbances there, and subsequently revolted against the authorities of the place; upon which 'Abdullah Ibn Tāhir,<sup>19</sup> who was governor of Egypt for the Khalif Al-māmūn, son of Hārūn Ar-rashīd, attacked and defeated them, and transported the remainder to the island of Akritis (Crete), which they conquered, and held until, after a considerable length of time, the Franks<sup>20</sup> dispossessed them of it. During their occupation of Crete the Andalusians were governed by kings of the posterity of Abū Hafss<sup>21</sup> 'Omar Ibn Sho'ayb, surnamed Ibnu-l-ghalīth, a native of Betrūh (Pedroches), who was their leader at the time of their attack on the island. The last of them was 'Abdu-l-'azīz.

Exemplary  
chastisement  
of the rebels.

Yahya Ibn Yahya, one of the principal conspirators, fled to Toledo; but having some time after obtained a safe conduct from Al-hakem, he returned to Cordova, and was pardoned. The same happened with Tālūt, who not only obtained forgiveness, but rose afterwards to the favour of his sovereign.

Tālūt was the son of 'Abdi-l-jabbār Al-ma'āferī.<sup>22</sup> He had made a pilgrimage to Mekka, and visited Misr (Cairo), where he met the Imām Mālik Ibn Ans, and profited by his lessons: he then returned to Cordova. After the taking of the suburb where the rebels had fortified themselves, Tālūt at first took refuge at the house of a Jew; but after some time he went to one of his friends, Abū Bessām, the Kātīb, who, he trusted, would intercede for him, and obtain his pardon from Al-hakem. Far from this, Abū Bessām denounced him, and Tālūt was accordingly summoned to the presence of his sovereign. Being admitted to the hall of audience, Al-hakem reproached him in the harshest terms, and charged him with his crime; saying, "How camest thou to rebel against me? thou, a disciple of the Imām Mālik, from whom thou must have heard, that the long rule of a bad king is preferable to civil war for one hour? By Allah! thou must have heard thy master say so."—"I did," answered Tālūt, humbly. "Well, then," said Al-hakem, "return to thy dwelling; thou art forgiven." He then asked him where he had been concealed; and Tālūt informed him that he had remained for a whole year at the house of a Jew, whom he named, and had afterwards gone to his friend the Kātīb, Abū Bessām, who, instead of sheltering and interceding for him, as he had expected, had been treacherous, and denounced him. Hearing this, Al-hakem grew very angry, and not only deprived Abū Bessām of his office, but

issued an order in writing that he should never again be employed in the public service. Ever after this, Abú Bessám, who followed the profession of the law, became an object of ridicule to his comrades, who used to say to him, "Thou camest here, no doubt, to proclaim the doctrines of thy friend Tálút."

Death of  
Suleymán.

After the defeat of his two uncles, who disputed the empire with him, and the eldest of whom, named Suleymán Abú Ayúb, fell in an encounter with his troops in 183 (A. D. 799),<sup>23</sup> Al-hakem turned his attention towards repelling the attacks of the Christians on his territory. During the civil wars in which Al-hakem had been engaged, the Christians, profiting by the separation of the Moslem troops from their frontiers, had often assailed the defenceless points of the Mohammedan territory, reduced the castles, led the inhabitants into captivity, and committed all manner of ravages and depredations. But, in order to check their progress and chastise their insolence, Al-hakem determined upon sending yearly expeditions against them, and dispatched army after army, under the command of his best generals, to waste their territory, and put every thing before them to fire and sword. We shall here mention a few only of the memorable wars undertaken during his reign.

Wars with the  
Christians.

In the year 192 (beginning Nov. 5, A. D. 807), Ludhwik, son of Carl, King of the Franks, collected his forces, and marched to Turiasonah (Tarazona),<sup>24</sup> which he besieged. Al-hakem sent against him his eldest son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who defeated him, God Almighty being pleased that the Moslems should vanquish their enemies. But, as the Franks became every day bolder on account of the wars which Al-hakem had to sustain against the rebels of Toledo,<sup>25</sup> and were assailing his frontiers, it was thought expedient to chastise their insolence. Accordingly, in the year 196 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 811), the Amír marched against them in person, and, having invaded their country, took many of their towns and fortresses, laid their lands waste, and followed them every where with slaughter, captivity, and plunder; returning afterwards to Cordova with the trophies of his victory.

Defeat of the  
Franks.

Four years after this, in the year 200 (beginning August 10, A. D. 815), Al-hakem dispatched his Wizír, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn ['Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn] Mugheyth, against the Franks. The Moslems plundered the country, and razed several fortresses; but they were met by the King of the Galicians at the head of considerable forces. Both armies then encamped on the banks of a river,<sup>26</sup> and skirmished for several days, the advantage remaining at first with the Moslems. At last, after thirteen days of incessant fighting, the river, swollen by the heavy rains, overflowed its banks, and the Moslems, though victorious, were compelled to retreat from the field of battle.

Of the Gali-  
cians.

In the year 197 (beginning Sept. 11, A. D. 812,) a most dreadful famine prevailed in Andalus, which so much affected the lower classes of people that they died by thousands. In allusion to this calamity, a poet of the court of Al-hakem, named 'Abbás Ibn Násih<sup>27</sup> Al-jezayrí (from Algeziras), composed these two verses:

"Time has brought on sterility and famine, but the calamity itself has proved a benefit to Al-hakem:

"It has insured his rule, and delivered him of many a rebellious subject."<sup>28</sup>

Of this poet ['Abbás] historians relate a very curious anecdote. They say that as he was once travelling in the *Thagher* (the province of Toledo), he met at Guadalajara with a woman who was crying out at the top of her voice, "Come to our help, O Al-hakem! for thou hast so neglected us of late, that the enemy of God has fallen upon us, and deprived us both of husband and father." Having inquired of her the particulars of her sad loss, the woman acquainted Abú-l-'abbás how she and her family, as they were returning from the fields [to Guadalajara], fell in with a party of Christians on horseback, who killed or took prisoners all those who went with her. This furnished Al-'abbás with a theme for that elegant *kassidah* of his which begins thus:

"I was passing through Guadalajara in all haste, when I heard a plaintive sound issue from a house.

"I listened, and heard a woman say, 'O Abú-l-'assi! towards thee I guide my exhausted camel, to thee I run for assistance and protection.'"

On his return to court, 'Abbás entered the presence of Al-hakem, and recited the above poem, in which he admirably described the fear and consternation of the inhabitants of the districts through which he had passed, and the words uttered by the wretched woman whilst imploring his help. No sooner had Al-hakem heard it, than he issued immediate orders to prepare for war, and three days after he marched to Guadalajara, taking with him the poet 'Abbás. Arrived there, he inquired from what part of the enemy's country the marauding party had come; and being informed of it, he invaded that district, laid waste the land, took many fortresses, destroyed the fields, burnt the houses of the inhabitants, and committed all kinds of ravages, inflicting death on a great number of infidels. After this he returned to Guadalajara, where he summoned the widow to his presence, and, causing the captives taken in his expedition to be brought before him, he had them all beheaded before her eyes. This done, Al-hakem turned towards 'Abbás, and said to him, "Ask the widow now whether Al-hakem's help is effectual, or not." She, being a well-bred woman, replied, "No doubt of that; the Amír has alleviated our sorrow, he has afflicted our enemies, and bestowed his assistance

on the weak and oppressed. May God reward him for it, and make him happy!" Hearing this, Al-hakem could not refrain from showing all the gratification and joy which he felt at the compliment, and said to the poet, "See, O Al-'abbás! how we "have run, though we were distant, to this woman's call; and how, collecting our "victorious forces, we have by our appearance soothed the grief and satisfied the "revenge of the injured, alleviated the sorrow of the afflicted, and relieved those "who were in difficulties."—"True, O Amír!" replied 'Abbás; "may the Al-"mighty reward thee for all the good thou hast done to the Moslems!" After which he kissed the hand of his sovereign, and retired.

Al-hakem had five Wizírs, who were also the generals of his armies: their names were, Is'hák Ibn Al-mundhir, Al-'abbás Ibn 'Abdillah, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth, who was also his Hájb, Foteys Ibn Suleymán, and Sa'id Ibn Hossán. When he ascended the throne the office of Kádí of Cordova was held by Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán, after whose death he appointed 'Omar Ibn Busheyr. Then came Al-farej Ibn Katánah, then Beshar Ibn Katten, 'Abdullah Ibn Músa, Mohammed Ibn Telíd, Hámid Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yahya. His Kátibs were, Foteys Ibn Suleymán, 'Ittáf Ibn Zeyd, Hejáj Ibn Al-'okaylí.

Al-hakem died about the end of the year 206 (May, A. D. 822), after a reign of six-and-twenty years. He was then fifty-two years old, having been born in 154 (beginning Dec. 23, A. D. 771) of a concubine of Hishám, named Khazraf. The impression of his seal was "In God Al-hakem trusts, and is secure." He was tall and thin, of a very dark complexion, and had an aquiline nose. He left twenty male children, and twenty female.

More than one historian has recorded the fact that Al-hakem was the first monarch of his family who surrounded his throne with a certain splendour and magnificence. He increased the number of mamelukes until they amounted to five thousand horse and one thousand foot. Ibnu Khaldún and others say that he was also the first who introduced the practice of issuing a regular pay to the troops; that he formed magazines of arms and provisions; increased the number of his slaves, eunuchs, and servants; had a body-guard of cavalry always stationed at the gate of his palace, and surrounded his person with a guard of mamelukes, the number of which has already been stated. These mamelukes were called *Al-haras* (the guard), owing to their being all Christians, or foreigners. They occupied two large barracks, with stables for their horses; and one thousand of their number were continually mounting guard on both banks of the river, close to his palace. Al-hakem kept, moreover, several spies, who acquainted him with the state of public opinion, while he himself conducted the affairs of his government, surrounding himself with theologians, doctors, and other learned and honest

Death of  
Al-hakem.

His govern-  
ment.