

individuals. In this way he was enabled to transmit to his posterity a powerful and well organized empire.

There are not wanting authors, like Ibn Hazm, who assert that Al-hakem was a tyrant and a shedder of blood; for which reason all the learned and pious men in his dominions set their faces against him. He put to death the pious and learned theologian Abú Bekr Zakariyyá Ibn Yahya Ibn Mattar Al-ghossání, who, during his residence in the East, had attended the lectures of Sufyán At-thúrí<sup>29</sup> and Málik Ibn Ans, the latter of whom quoted him in his writings. This worthy man, with many other doctors and learned men, was put to death by Al-hakem. He is by others accused of having seized male children, and caused them to be castrated. But whether the charge be true, or not, God only knows. He is said, however, to have shown repentance of this and other acts towards the close of his reign, and to have thenceforth desisted from all violence or oppression. May God have mercy on him!

Al-hakem had a favourite whom he much loved; his name was Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán.<sup>30</sup> Being one day in company with him, Al-hakem flew into a violent passion with one of his eunuchs for presenting to him a petition which he did not like to see, and ordered that the slave should immediately have his hand cut off. No sooner had Al-hakem issued the order, than Zeyád, who happened to be present at the time, said to him, "May God prosper the Amír. I was told by "Málik Ibn Ans, who held it from Rifá'h Ibn Katham, that 'whoever will refrain "from anger, and moderate his passions, shall be secure against the wrath of God "on the day of judgment.'" This in some measure appeased the anger of Al-hakem, who said, "Did Málik Ibn Ans really say so?"—"Yes, he did," answered Zeyád; upon which Al-hakem remitted the sentence, and pardoned the offence of his slave.

That he honoured the learned, and always showed the greatest respect for the laws, which he never infringed, choosing for the office of Kádí those people only who enjoyed the reputation of being honest and worthy of their trust, may easily be proved by extracts from the historians of the time. "In this year," says one, "Al-hakem appointed to the charge of *Kádí-l-jam'ah* (supreme judge), "vacant by the death of Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán, a learned and virtuous theologian "of the name of Mohammed Ibn Bashír. He was the son of Sa'id, son of Bashír, "son of Sharáhil Al-ma'áferí, an excellent and highly esteemed man, who had "likewise been supreme judge of Andalus during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., "and had shown such impartiality and zeal in the discharge of that responsible "office that his justice had become proverbial."<sup>31</sup> Being at Beja, of which city he was a native, when Al-hakem was advised to appoint him to the vacant office, Ibn

Respect for  
the learned.

Bashír was summoned to the capital. In obedience to the commands of the Sultán, Ibn Bashír repaired to Cordova. As he was journeying thither, he happened to halt for the night at the house of a friend of his, who was a very pious and devout man. Not knowing why he had been sent for, the conversation naturally turned upon that topic, when Ibn Bashír expressed his opinion that it was the intention of Al-hakem to appoint him Kátib;<sup>32</sup> but his friend said to him, "Better than that; I think he destines thee for the office of *Kádí-l-jam'ah*, now vacant by the death of the person who held it."—"Should such be the case," replied Ibn Bashír, "I will choose thee for my consul."—"Willingly," said his friend; "but before I accept thy offer, let me hear how thou wilt answer the three questions which I am now going to ask thee: first, How dost thou like to live well, to dress handsomely, and to be well mounted?"—"By Allah! I care not for eating, except to appease my hunger; nor for dress, as long as my nudity is covered: as to carriage, I want no other than my feet," was Ibn Bashír's reply. "So far," continued his friend, "my first question is answered. Now to the second: How dost thou like to see a handsome face, or to gaze at a heaving bosom, or at any other of the charms of the fair,<sup>33</sup> and to indulge thyself in their company?"—"Those are pleasures which I have never tasted, and therefore I shall nowise be disappointed if I am to be deprived of them."—"That is the second. Now, how dost thou like to be praised and extolled by thy fellow-citizens, and how dost thou like to be appointed to the office, and to be superseded afterwards?"—"By Allah!" answered Ibn Bashír, "it is very indifferent to me whether people praise me or vilify me, and I will neither rejoice at my appointment, nor exhibit sorrow at my removal."—"Well said!" exclaimed his friend; "my three questions are answered to my satisfaction, and I accept thy offer: hasten now to Cordova, where the office of Kádí awaits thee." Ibn Bashír accordingly arrived in the capital, and was appointed to the vacant office, as his friend had foretold.

Ibn Wadháh says, "I was told by a man who saw the Kádí, Ibn Bashír, enter the great mosque on the first Friday after his nomination, that he was dressed in a cloak dyed of a deep yellow,<sup>34</sup> and wore sandals<sup>35</sup> on his feet: his loose hair fell profusely on his shoulders. In this garb he preached and prayed [with the people], and afterwards sat to administer justice; and yet if any one neglected to pay him proper respect, or forgot any of the formalities due to his office, he invariably found him (in haughtiness of manner) more distant than the Pleiades.<sup>36</sup> Upon one occasion a man came up to him, and seeing him dressed like a gay youth, his hair scattered and uncombed, his deep-yellow cloak, perceiving traces of *kohol* and tooth-powder<sup>37</sup> on his face, and of *hinna* on his

“ hands, stopped and said, ‘ Point out to me who is the Kádí.’ ‘ Here he is,’ said “ one of the audience, pointing to Ibn Bashír : but the man would not believe it, “ and said, ‘ I see that you are amusing yourselves at my expense ; I am a “ stranger to this city. I ask you who is the Kádí, and you point out to me “ a flute-player.’<sup>38</sup> However, as all assured him that such was the truth, the man “ came forward, and made his excuses, and approaching nearer to Ibn Bashír, “ explained to him his case, and found him more just and impartial than he could “ ever have imagined. The business for which he had come being at an end, the “ man began to upbraid the Kádí in an amicable way for wearing his hair so long “ and untidy, and dressing in coarse raw silk, of a deep-yellow colour. Ibn Bashír “ answered in the following words : ‘ I was told by Málík Ibn Ans, that Mohammed “ Ibn Munkadir wore his hair as I do ; and that Hishám Ibn ‘Orwah, a theologian “ of Medína, used a deep-yellow cloak, like mine ; and, lastly, that Al-kásim Ibn “ Mohammed always dressed in coarse silken cloth, like this.’ ”

The same author (Ibn Wadháh) further relates that Yahya Ibn Yahya [the traditionist], being once asked what he thought of the turban, answered, “ That “ the turban was the usual head-dress for men in the East, and that in ancient times “ great importance was attached to it.” They then said to him, “ If thou use one, “ people will not follow thy fashion.” To which he replied, “ Mohammed Ibn “ Bashír dressed in silken cloth, and people did not imitate him ; and yet, was Ibn “ Bashír deserving that men should oppose him ? Were I to put on a turban, people “ would desert me as they did Ibn Bashír, and I should be without followers.”

One of the first acts of Ibn Bashír, after his appointment to the office of Kádí, was to issue sentence against the Amír Al-hakem in a law-suit pending between him and a citizen of Cordova, respecting the possession of a mill close to the bridge. The suitor having fully proved his right, Ibn Bashír decided that Al-hakem was not entitled to the property ; upon which the Sultán summoned the party to his presence, and, having asked him to name his price for it, gave him an order upon his treasury. One of Al-hakem’s courtiers, named Músa Ibn Semá’h,<sup>39</sup> once came up to him, to complain of Ibn Bashír, who, he said, had exceeded his authority, and shown partiality against him. Al-hakem said to him, “ I shall soon ascertain “ whether what thou tellest me be true or not. Go to him immediately, and ask “ to be admitted to his presence. If he grant thy request, I believe thee, and he “ shall be punished, and deprived of his office : if he does not, notwithstanding thy “ importunities, my esteem for him shall increase tenfold ; for I am sure he is not “ tyrannical, and truth is his only pursuit.” Músa did as he was commanded, and repaired to Ibn Bashír’s residence. Al-hakem, however, ordered some of his Slavonian guards to follow Músa thither, and report to him what should take place

between the two. Shortly after, one of them returned, and told Al-hakem how, on the arrival of Músa at the house of Ibn Bashír, he had been received by a porter; who, after acquainting the Kádí with his presence, returned with a message from him thus conceived: "The Kádí begs me to say, that if thou hast any legal business with him, thou hadst better go to court at the hours he administers justice." Hearing this, Al-hakem smiled and said, "I well knew Ibn Bashír to be an upright judge, having no partiality towards any one."

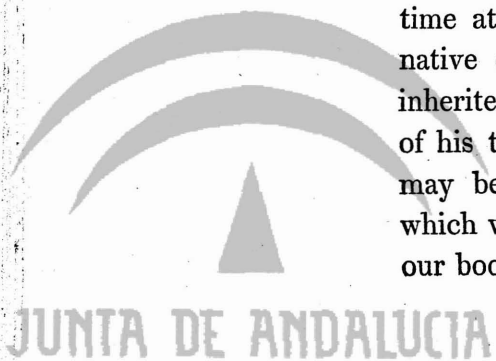
Ibn Bashír held twice the office of Kádí, having been once deposed by Al-hakem, who, however, soon after re-instated him in his office. After his removal, Ibn Bashír quitted Cordova, and repaired to his native city. They relate that some time before this took place, one of his comrades wrote, upbraiding him for his excessive severity, and saying, "If thou follow thy present course, I greatly fear thy removal;" and that Ibn Bashír answered him in these words: "Would to God that I saw myself with my mule Ash-shakrá on the road to Beja!" Shortly after this, the Amír Al-hakem being greatly offended with him for calling witnesses in a case in which one of his favourites was concerned, he was deprived of his office,<sup>40</sup> and accordingly took the road to Beja, his native city. Ibn Bashír had not proceeded long on his journey before one of the *rakkás* (runners) of the Amír overtook him, and bade him return to Cordova. The word *rakkás*, used in the West, is synonymous with *As-sá'í*. Al-hakem again intrusted that office to Ibn Bashír, who, at first, would not accept it; but he was at last prevailed upon by Al-hakem to resume his old functions. That Sultán, moreover, assigned him a pension on his treasury, and gave him one of his slave girls.

Among the remarkable acts of justice of this Ibn Bashír, the following is one. Sa'íd Al-khayr, son of the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, having a law-suit pending with another party, appointed a person to appear in his name at court, and to represent him in all ways. The agent accordingly produced a deed signed by several witnesses, all of whom were already dead, with the single exception of the Amír Al-hakem, and another person living in Cordova. The latter witness appeared in court, and gave his testimony in favour of Sa'íd Al-khayr; but the adverse party having insisted upon the appearance of another witness, Ibn Bashír declared his application just, and complied with the request. Sa'íd accordingly repaired to the royal palace, and, presenting the deed to Al-hakem, showed him his own testimony attached to it. The deed had been drawn before Al-hakem succeeded to the throne and during his father's lifetime; and therefore Sa'íd, fearing that its validity might otherwise be brought into question, requested him to affix a note to it, stating it to have been signed with his own hand. Al-hakem had the greatest esteem for his uncle, Sa'íd Al-khayr, and wished justice to be done

unto him; he therefore said to him, "O uncle! we are not by our station called upon to appear as a witness; for certainly we have been invested in this world with a power and glory which no one can deny: we fear, moreover, that if we comply with the Kádí's request, and appear at his court, perchance we shall sustain such an injury in our character and station as can only be followed by the loss of our kingdom. Go therefore to court, and try to persuade the Kádí of thy right. If thou do not succeed, and he should decide against thee, appeal to me from his sentence, and I will instantly give thee redress." Sa'íd Al-khayr refused, and said, "God be praised! What right has the Kádí to dispute thy testimony, he being a creature of thine, and appointed to this office by thee? No, I adjure thee by our religion to put thy signature on that paper, and to state, besides, what thou well knowest to be the truth, without concealing any thing." "Willingly," replied Al-hakem, "for thou hast addressed me in a way that leaves me no alternative but to comply with thy request: we would rather choose to be freed from the obligation; but if thou insist upon it we must needs grant thy request, and write down such corroborating testimony as will leave no doubt whatever, and will induce the Kádí to decide in thy favour." Having then summoned to his presence two of the most eminent lawyers of his capital, he wrote down on a piece of paper his testimony, sealed it with his seal, and presented it to them, saying, "Here is my testimony under my own signature and seal; go with it to court, and show it to the Kádí when he is about to examine the witnesses." The lawyers did as they were commanded, and delivered the paper to the Kádí, who said to them, "I have heard of you, you are both men of integrity and justice." Shortly after, Sa'íd's agent made his appearance, and presented to him a new affidavit,<sup>41</sup> saying, "O Kádí! I hear thou hast received the Amír's testimony; what sayest thou to it?" Ibn Bashír took the paper, and, after perusing its contents attentively, said to the agent, "This is the testimony; but I want to see the attestant himself." On hearing this, the agent's amazement was complete; he repaired immediately to his master Sa'íd Al-khayr, and acquainted him with the circumstance. Sa'íd rode to the royal palace, and entering the presence of Al-hakem, addressed him in these words: "Our empire has disappeared, and our glory is vanished, since thou allowest this Kádí of thine to hold thy testimony in contempt. God has intrusted to thee the government of his servants, and made thee the arbiter of their lives and property; and an insult of this kind should not be borne by one like thee." He then began to abuse the Kádí, and tried to persuade Al-hakem to have him seized and put to death. But Al-hakem said to him, "Why am I to consider myself injured by such a proceeding? O uncle! the Kádí is a pious and honest man, who does that which he con-

“siders to be his duty, and for which no chastisement will be inflicted on him hereafter: may God remunerate him amply for his good deeds.” By these words Sa’id’s indignation was raised to the highest pitch, and he exclaimed, “Is this the regard thou entertainest for me?”—“Certainly,” replied Al-hakem; “I have done all that was in my power; for it was not for me to oppose that which the Kádí had decreed; neither would I act so tyrannically against the Moslems [of this country] as to seize on the person of Ibn Bashír for that which is not an offence in the eyes of God.”

Mohammed Ibn Bashír died at Cordova in the year 198 (beginning Aug. 31, A. D. 813), that is to say, six years before the Imám Ash-sháfe’í. He was originally from Beja, then the abode of the Egyptian Arabs. Ibn Hárith, citing an author named Ahmed Ibn Kháled, says that he made his first studies in Cordova; he then became secretary to one of the sons of ‘Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, of the royal family of Umeyyah. Having quitted his service, he left Andalus on a pilgrimage, and met Málik Ibn Ans, from whom he received instruction. After spending some time at Cairo, wholly intent upon the acquisition of learning, he returned to his native city (Beja), and devoted himself to the cultivation of an estate he had inherited from his father. Of his virtues and praiseworthy deeds the historians of his time make ample mention; and a detailed account of his life and writings may be found in the biographical work of Ibn ‘Ayádh, entitled *Al-mudárik*, to which we refer our readers, as the copy of it which we possess is in Africa among our books.



Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife  
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

## CHAPTER IV.

Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II.—Invasion of Galicia—of Alava—Defeat of Alfonso—'Abdu-r-rahmán marches against the Galicians—Invasion of Cerdagne—Death of Garcia of Navarre—Taking and destruction of Leon—Greek ambassadors arrive in Cordova—Account of Yahya Al-ghazzál—Piratical expeditions of the Northmen—Arrivals from the East—Account of Zaryáb the singer—His reception—He becomes a favourite of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Improves the lute—Death of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí—of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb—Their labours in introducing the sect of Málik—Death of 'Abdu-rahmán—Revenues of Andalus under his reign—His passion for women—His adventure with Tarúb—Accession of Mohammed I.—His wars with the Christians—with the rebels of Toledo—Earthquake in Cordova—Death of Mohammed—His son Al-mundhir ascends the throne—Is killed in battle with 'Omar Ibn Hafsún—Succeeded by his brother 'Abdullah—Death of 'Abdullah.

In conformity with Al-hakem's will, 'Abdu-r-rahmán succeeded him. Some <sup>Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II.</sup> time before his death, Al-hakem, having summoned to his presence his Wizírs, his courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the chiefs of the Arabian tribes, exacted from them the oath of allegiance to his eldest son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he appointed his successor. In case of death, he was to be succeeded by another of his sons, called Al-mugheyrah. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then thirty years old.

Soon after his accession to the throne, 'Abdu-r-rahmán invaded Galicia, where he <sup>Invasion of Galicia.</sup> remained for a considerable time, wasting the country, and annihilating its Christian inhabitants. Owing to these and other victories which 'Abdu-r-rahmán had gained over the Christians and others during his father's lifetime, his subjects bestowed upon him the surname of *Al-modhaffer* (the victorious).

In the year 208 (beginning May 15, A. D. 823) he dispatched an expedition <sup>Of Alava.</sup> against the country of Alava and the Castles, under the command of his Hájib, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed. This general ravaged the country, and destroyed many towns that lay in his way; he likewise reduced by force of arms several of the enemy's fortresses, the inhabitants of some of which obtained security and peace on condition of releasing all their Moslem captives and paying the customary annual tribute. After this achievement 'Abdu-l-kerím returned victorious [to Cordova].

Again, in the year 224 (beginning November 22, A. D. 838), 'Abdu-r-rahmán <sup>Defeat of Alfonso.</sup> sent his own relative, 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-balensí,<sup>1</sup> with an army to the same

quarter (Alava and the Castles). 'Obeydullah marched thither, and met the enemy, in whose ranks he made great slaughter. After this, Ludheric, King of the Galicians, (Alfonso II. of Leon,) having made an incursion into the district of Medínah-Sálím (Medinaceli) in the *Thagher*, Fortún Ibn Músa<sup>2</sup> marched against him, gave him battle, and defeated him with a severe loss in slain and prisoners. After this, Fortún proceeded to a fortress which the people of Alava had constructed on that frontier for the purpose of annoying the Moslems, and, having laid siege to it, took it and razed it to the ground.

'Abdu-r-rahmán marches against the Galicians.

After this,<sup>3</sup> 'Abdu-r-rahmán in person led his army against the Galicians, whom he defeated, subjugating their country, and taking a number of their castles. After a long campaign, and several incursions made into the enemy's territory, he returned [to Cordova] with captives and plunder.

Invasion of Cerdagne.

In the year 226 (beginning Oct. 30, A. D. 840) 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his army to the country of the Franks, under the command of Músa Ibn Músa, governor of Tuteylah (Tudela). Having penetrated into the country of Seritánayah (Cerdagne), Músa was met by the enemy, and a battle ensued, in which the Moslems fought with desperation, until it pleased the Almighty to put their foes to flight. On this occasion Músa's conduct was worthy of great praise.

Death of Garcia of Navarre.

In the year 229 (beginning Sept. 29, A. D. 843) he sent his son Mohammed to Pamplona in command of his army. Near that city Mohammed engaged the infidels, and put to death their Lord, Garcia,<sup>4</sup> one of the greatest princes of the Christians.

Taking and destruction of Leon.

In the year 231 (beginning Sept. 6, A. D. 845) an army was dispatched to Galicia. On this occasion, after subduing the country through which they proceeded, the Moslems arrived before the city of Leon, which they besieged, battering its walls with war-engines, until the inhabitants deserted the city; upon which the Moslems entered it, plundered whatever they found, and set fire to it. They then attempted to demolish the walls, but could not accomplish their purpose, owing to their solidity and strength, they being seventeen cubits in thickness: the Moslems, however, succeeded in opening a great breach, and then departed. Some time afterwards 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his forces to the country round Barcelona. His Hájib, 'Abdu-l-kerím, who went in command of the expedition, after ravaging the districts in the neighbourhood of that city, passed the defiles known by the name of Al-bort (Portæ), and penetrated into the country of the Franks, which he scoured in every direction, slaying the inhabitants or taking them prisoners. He also besieged Jerundah (Gerona), the great city [of those parts], and, after wasting the neighbouring districts, returned [to Cordova].

In the year 225 (beginning Nov. 11, A. D. 839), Tufilus (Theophil), King of

Constantinople, a city situated beyond the country of the Franks, sent presents to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, at the same time soliciting his friendship. The Greek, who had of late been greatly harassed by the armies of Al-mámún and Al-mu'tassem, asked 'Abdu-r-rahmán to join forces with him against their common enemies of the house of 'Abbás. To this end he tempted 'Abdu-r-rahmán with the conquest of the empire which his ancestors [of the house of Umeyyah] had possessed in the East; and in a letter which he addressed to him he entered more fully on the subject, and explained his views and intentions. 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent him a valuable present in return by one of the most distinguished men of his court, named Yahya Al-ghazzál, who was renowned for his wisdom and his talents for poetry, and who succeeded in forming an alliance between the two sovereigns. Thus did 'Abdu-rahmán's renown grow even above that of the Bení Abbás.

Greek ambas-  
sadors arrive  
in Cordova.

Ibnu Hayyán relates, that, on his arrival at Constantinople, the King of the Rúm (the Emperor of Greece) showed great astonishment at his youthful appearance, and was very much pleased with him: he invited him to partake of a repast with him, but this Al-ghazzál refused on the plea that his religion forbade him to drink spirituous liquors. As he was, upon a certain day, sitting in company with the king, the wife of the latter came out [from the royal apartments] dressed in all her finery,—a rising sun in beauty. Al-ghazzál was so surprised that he could not take his eyes from her; and although the king was talking to him at the time, Al-ghazzál paid no attention to what he said. The king, finding Al-ghazzál's behaviour very rude, directed his interpreter to ask him what he was about. Al-ghazzál said to him, "Tell thy master that I am so captivated by the charms of this queen, that I am prevented from listening to his conversation. Say to him that I never saw in all the course of my life a handsomer woman than she is." He then began to describe one by one all her charms, and to paint his amazement at her incomparable beauty, and concluded by saying that she had captivated him with her black eyes. When the interpreter repeated his words to the king, Yahya rose still higher in his favour, and the queen was delighted with his words.

The above is not the only service on which Al-ghazzál was employed by his master, 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Dih'yah relates, in his work entitled *Al-muttrib*, that he was also sent [on an embassy] to the land of the Majús.<sup>5</sup> Al-ghazzál was then very near his fiftieth year; but, though his hair was gray, he had still all the appearance of youth and strength. The queen, whose name was Túda, having asked him one day what his age was, he answered in jest, "Twenty."—"And how does it happen," replied the queen, "that thou hast gray hair?" Al-ghazzál then said, "There is nothing extraordinary in that. Hast thou not

“ heard it said that the *Mehriyyah*<sup>6</sup> breeds though the colour of her hair is gray? ” This answer surprised the queen.

Account of  
Yahya Al-  
ghazzál.

This Yahya Al-ghazzál was the son of Hakem ; he belonged to the tribe of Bekr Ibn Wáyil, and was a native of Jaen : he was surnamed Al-ghazzál (the gazelle), from his great beauty.<sup>7</sup> Ibnu Hayyán, in his *Muktabis*, calls him the physician, the poet, and the 'A'lim, or learned man, of Andalus. He was witty, and much inclined to satire. Having upon one occasion indulged his satirical propensities against Ibn Náfi', surnamed Zaryáb, a favourite of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, of whom mention will occur hereafter, he was banished the kingdom. He then visited 'Irák, where he arrived shortly after the death of Abú Nowás. He lived to the age of ninety-four, and died in the year 250 (beginning Feb. 12, A. D. 864), under the reign of Mohammed, the son and successor of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, having known five sovereigns of the house of Merwán ; namely, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, Hishám, Al-hakem, 'Abdu-r-rahman II., and his son Mohammed.

Piratical ex-  
peditions of  
the Northmen.

In the days of 'Abdu-r-rahmán the Majús (Northmen) made their appearance upon the coasts of Andalus, and took possession of Seville. 'Abdu-r-rahmán having sent an army from Cordova against them, they left their ships, and engaged the Moslem forces, which they defeated after a severe contest ; but on the arrival of new re-inforcements from Cordova, the Moslems again attacked them, put them to flight, and plundered and burnt some of their vessels. After this the Majús proceeded to Shidhúnah (Sidonia), where they stayed for two days, collecting plunder in the neighbourhood ; but when they heard of the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's fleet at Seville, they again took to their ships, and sailed towards the coast of Liblah [Niebla], which they overran, carrying some of the inhabitants into captivity. Thence they went [by land] to Beja, and lastly to Lisbon, whence they put to sea, nothing more being afterwards known of them. This event<sup>8</sup> took place in the year 230 (beginning Sept. 17, A. D. 844), and Andalus was delivered from their ravages. 'Abdu-r-rahmán visited the places which they had entered, repaired the devastations they had committed, and, by increasing the garrisons, secured the country against any future invasion of those barbarians.

Arrivals from  
the East.

During the reign of this Sultán several illustrious men left the East to settle in Andalus. Among the rest was 'Alí Ibn Náfi', surnamed Zaryáb,<sup>9</sup> a celebrated musician and singer, who had been a *mauli* of the Khalif Mahdí, and a pupil of Ibráhím Al-maussilí. He came from 'Irák in the year 206 (beginning June 5, A. D. 821), and was so well received by the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán, that, according to Ibnu Khaldún, that Sultán rode out to meet him on the day of his entrance into Cordova, and honoured him extremely, distinguishing him above all his courtiers, and granting him several favours. Zaryáb settled in Andalus, and taught vocal

music to the people of that country, founding a school of his own. He left several children, the eldest of whom, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, inherited his talents, and diffused his science among the people of Andalus.

We have already<sup>10</sup> stated that owing to his master's jealousy Zaryáb was obliged to quit Baghdád. He then repaired to Western Africa, where his talents soon acquired him as great a reputation as he had enjoyed in the East. Having there heard of the magnificence displayed at the court of Al-hakem, and of the great favours which that Sultán conferred on all those whom he took under his protection, he resolved upon writing to him a letter, in which he related to him his adventure and dispute with Is'hák, and how that musician had given him his choice [between exile and bitter enmity]. He likewise acquainted him with his inventions in the art which he said his master had unduly appropriated to himself, and concluded by asking his leave to come to Cordova and devote himself to his service. Al-hakem was delighted at the offer, and sent a messenger to apprise Zaryáb that he might come whenever he pleased; that he wished very much for his arrival, and that he would not fail to reward his services as they deserved. The bearer of the message was a Jewish musician, of the name of Mansúr, who was attached in that capacity to the Sultán's household. Upon the receipt of this message, Zaryáb embarked with his family and children, and, sailing across the *Bahru-z-zekák* (the Straits of Gibraltar), landed at Algesiras. But when he had spent a few days only at that port, the news came of the death of Al-hakem; and Zaryáb decided upon returning to Africa: but the Jewish musician, Mansúr, who was with him at the time, dissuaded him from his undertaking, and prevailed upon him to offer his services to Al-hakem's son and successor, 'Abdu-r-rahmán. The Jew therefore addressed a letter to the Amír, acquainting him with Zaryáb's case; and 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so pleased, that he immediately answered, expressing his satisfaction at his arrival, and requesting him not to delay his departure. He then wrote to the governors of the districts and towns on his way to Cordova, to treat him with every honour and respect, and furnish him with an escort and provisions for his journey. When Zaryáb approached the capital, the Sultán sent one of his chief eunuchs to meet him with mules and provisions for himself and family. On his arrival at Cordova, which happened at night, owing to the women who came with him, Zaryáb was lodged in a splendid mansion, where he received every day whatever provisions he wanted for his maintenance and that of his family, besides a *khil'ah* or dress of honour, which the Amír sent him.

Three days after this, Zaryáb was summoned to the royal presence; and 'Abdu-rahmán was so pleased at the interview, that he immediately assigned him a pension of two hundred dinárs per month on his treasury, and to each of his four sons,

Account of  
Zaryáb the  
singer.

His reception.

'Abdu-r-rahmán, Ja'far, 'Obeydullah, and Yahya, twenty dinárs per month. He ordered besides that three thousand dinárs yearly should be paid to him by way of gratuity<sup>11</sup> at certain festivals: namely, one thousand dinárs at each of the two 'Ids,<sup>12</sup> five hundred at *nauruz* (new year's day), and five hundred at *mahraján* (midsummer), and that he should be provided annually with three hundred *mudd* of grain; namely, two-thirds of barley, and another third of corn: and lastly, he gave him several houses, as well as part of the produce of certain duties raised in Cordova and the neighbouring gardens, besides lands; all which united brought him in a clear revenue of forty thousand dinárs.

He becomes a favourite of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

When all Zaryáb's requests had been granted according to the Amír's promise, and the latter saw that he had captivated the heart of the musician by his excessive liberality, he began to admit him to his privacy, and to invite him to evening parties, to drink palm-wine and sing to music. So delighted was 'Abdu-r-rahmán with Zaryáb's performance [on the first occasion], that he would listen to no other singer of the many who attended his court, and that he conceived an unbounded affection for him, going so far as to closet himself with him, and make him sit by his side, as if he were his equal; and allowing him to treat him with the greatest freedom. On such occasions, after listening to his songs for some time, 'Abdu-r-rahmán would ask him to tell him stories; and Zaryáb, who was deeply read and well informed, and who was, moreover, gifted with a prodigious memory, would entertain him with anecdotes of Kings and Khalifs, and the remarkable sayings of the wise, of which he possessed an inexhaustible store, only to be compared in extent with a boundless sea. Every day the Amír became more attached to him, and more astonished at what he related, until he would have him at his meals, and honoured him by allowing him to dine with him and with those among his sons who were then grown up. He then ordered his Kátib or secretary to draw up a deed, [which he signed,] by which he granted him all the pensions and gifts above mentioned; and when in the course of time his attachment for him became still stronger, he caused a private door to be made, by which Zaryáb might enter his apartment [unperceived].

They relate that Zaryáb used to say that the Jinn taught him music every night, and that, whenever he was thus awakened, he called his two slave girls, Ghazzalán and Híndah, made them take their lutes, whilst he also took his, and that they passed the night conversing, playing music, and writing verses, after which they hastily retired to rest. In like manner it is related of Ibráhím Al-maussilí, in his admirable work on melody entitled *Al-makhúrt*,<sup>13</sup> that the Jinn held conversations with him; but God only is all-knowing.

Improves the lute.

Before Zaryáb's time the lute was, according to the old fashion, composed of

four strings only, which answered to the four elementary principles of the body, and expressed the four natural sounds. Zaryáb, however, added to it another red string, which he placed in the middle, by which addition the instrument was considerably improved, and a more harmonious sound than before produced. The arrangement stood thus: the treble or first string, which was dyed of a bright yellow, supplied in the lute the place of the bile in the human body: the next string to it, which was red, supplied the place of the blood; it was twice as thick as the treble, on which account he called it *muthanna*, i. e. double: the third was left undyed, and was consequently white, being intended as a representative of the phlegm in the human body; in size it was double the *muthanna* or second string, for which reason it was called *muthallath* or triple: the fourth, which was black, was intended to occupy in the instrument the same place as the black humours in the body of man; it was also called *bam*, and was the largest of all; in thickness it was double the third string. These four strings answered completely to the four natural sounds, harmony resulting from the balance of their opposite properties. The *bam*, being hot and dry, was opposed to the *muthanna*, which was hot and damp, and thus a balance was produced; the *zeyr*, being hot and dry, matched the *muthallath*, which was hot and damp; so that every nature met with its opposite property, until it was balanced, and the equilibrium was established, as in the body of man, by the counteraction of the contrary elements of which it is composed. One thing, however, was wanting, which was the soul, which co-exists with the blood; wherefore Zaryáb added by the side of the string representing the blood a fifth one, which he placed in the middle, that is to say, under the *muthallath* and above the *muthanna*, thus supplying the place of the soul in the human body, and improving the four notes of the lute.

The above was not the only improvement devised by Zaryáb in this department of music: he also introduced the use of eagles' talons instead of the wooden plectra which were formerly in use, and this he did on account of the soft down which covers the claw of that bird, its cleanness and lightness applied to the fingers, and the greater durability of the strings when touched by this method,—a consideration not to be neglected by a man who, like Zaryáb, made so frequent a use of his instrument.

Music, however, was not the only accomplishment of Zaryáb. He was likewise learned in astronomy, in geography or the division of the earth into seven climates, the various productions peculiar to each of them, their temperature, their intervening seas, the order and population of the several countries. He was deeply versed in every branch of art connected with music; and was, moreover, gifted with such a prodigious memory that he knew by heart upwards of one thousand songs

with their appropriate airs ; a greater number even than that recorded by Batlomius (Ptolemy), who [first] established rules on the science of music, and wrote upon it. Zaryáb, moreover, was gifted with so much penetration and wit ; he had so deep an acquaintance with the various branches of polite literature ; he possessed in so eminent a degree the charms of conversation, and the talents requisite to entertain an audience ; he could repeat such a number of entertaining stories ; he was so acute and ingenious in guessing at the wants of his royal master,—that there never was either before or after him a man of his profession who was more generally beloved and admired. Kings and great people took him for a pattern of manners and education, and his name became for ever celebrated among the inhabitants of Andalus. We shall here give an instance of his immense popularity. At the time Zaryáb entered Andalus it was the fashion among the people of that country, both men and women, to wear the hair over the upper part of the forehead, and hanging down between the temples and the eye ; but when they observed that Zaryáb, and his sons, and his wives, all wore their hair parted in the middle, and not covering the forehead, the extremities being placed behind the ears and falling over the temples, just in the manner used now by eunuchs and concubines, they all relinquished the old fashion, and adopted that which he had introduced.

He taught the people of Andalus to extract the *murtak* from the *murdásang*<sup>14</sup> or litharge, to take away the fetid smell of the arm-pits, and for the other purposes for which that substance is employed. Before his time the kings of Andalus used to have their clothes washed in water of roses and other garden flowers, the consequence of which was that they never looked quite clean. He taught them the use of salt [mixed with the above], through which the linen was made clear and white. When the experiment had been tried, every one approved of it, and praised Zaryáb for the invention. He was the first who gathered and ate the vegetable called *hilyaun*, and by the people of Andalus *asfaraj* (asparagus), which was unknown to the inhabitants of that country before his arrival. A dish called *at-tafáyá*, made of force-meat balls and small triangular pieces of paste, fried in oil of coriander-seed, was also of his invention ; and to this day (says the author from whom this account is borrowed) a fried dish, greatly resembling the one above described, bears still in Andalus the name of *takalliyah Zaryáb* (the fried dish of Zaryáb). He likewise taught the people of Andalus to use vessels of crystal instead of gold and silver ; to sleep on a soft couch of prepared leather in preference to cotton blankets ; to dine from small leathern trays rather than from wooden tables, owing to the greater cleanliness of the former, it being easier to rub out the dirt from leather than from wood. Change of clothing according to the different seasons of the year was another of the improvements intro-

duced by Zaryáb. Before his time the inhabitants of Andalus began to leave off coloured or winter clothes, and to put on white or summer ones, on the day of *mahraján* (midsummer), which the people of that country call *'ansarah*,<sup>15</sup> and which falls on the 24th day of the solar month called Junoh (June) by the Christians. They kept on white or summer clothing until the first day of the solar month of Oktubir (October), that is to say, for a little more than three months; the remainder of the year they wore coloured or winter clothing. Zaryáb, however, was of opinion that in the season intervening between summer and winter, and which they called *rabi'* (spring), they should wear *jubbas*<sup>16</sup> of coloured silk, or made of the stuffs called *mulham* and *muharr*; and waistcoats of light materials without any lining, owing to their proximity to white or summer clothes, which the people used on account of their lightness and their similarity to the *mihshah*, or usual cloak of the lower classes. In the same manner he imagined that it would be convenient towards the end of summer and the beginning of autumn to put on a *mihshah*, like those of Meru [in Persia], and clothes of only one colour, and other similar articles of light-coloured dress, thickly lined and wadded, to be worn chiefly in the morning when the cold began to be sharp. On the approach of winter, however, people were to leave off the above articles of dress, to put on warmer clothing of different colours, lined, whenever the weather required it, with various kinds of fur.

The method which he employed with his disciples was this: whenever a youth came to him for the purpose of taking lessons in vocal music, he made him sit down on the round cushion called *masúrah*, and bade him exert the full power of his voice. If his voice was weak, he made him tie a turban round his waist,—a practice which is well known to increase the voice, as it thus meets with no impediment on its passage from the chest to the mouth. If the youth stammered, or could not well open his mouth, or if he had the habit of clenching his teeth whenever he spoke, he bade him put inside his mouth a small piece of wood three inches in width, which he was to keep there day and night until his jaws were well expanded. This being done, he made him cry out at the top of his voice, *Yá hassám* or *Ah!* telling him to protract the sound as much as possible: if he found that he uttered those words in a clear, powerful, and sonorous voice, he admitted him into the number of his pupils, and spared no trouble or fatigue to make him an accomplished singer; if the contrary, he took no further pains with him. But to return to 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

In Rejeb, 234 (March, A. D. 849), died the distinguished lawyer and traditionist Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, who, as before related, was most instrumental in introducing into Andalus the rite of Málík Ibn Ans. After reading the works of that Imám, under the tuition of Shabattún at Cordova, he was persuaded by his

Death of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí.

master to leave his native country and visit the East, where he might take lessons from Málík Ibn Ans. Yahya, therefore, quitted Andalus at the age of twenty-eight, and arrived at Medína, then the residence of that illustrious divine, under whose guidance he immediately placed himself. They relate that whilst he was one day attending his lessons together with other pupils, an elephant happened to pass before the door of the house in which they were, and there was a cry, "Here is the elephant!" when all those present rushed out to see it, with the exception of Yahya, who kept his seat. When Málík saw this, he said to him, "Why dost thou not go out like the rest? surely there are no elephants in thy country!"—"I came not from Andalus to the East," replied Yahya, "to look at elephants; I came to see thee, who hast not thy like in my native country, and to profit by thy learning and thy experience." Málík was very much struck by this answer, and is reported to have exclaimed, "This man is the wise man of Andalus!" an expression which is said to have given rise to that saying so common among the people of that country, "Yahya is the 'A'lim (learned man) of Andalus; 'Isá Ibn Dínár is its Faquih (theologian); and 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb, its Ulema (doctor)." Others give this differently, and call Yahya the *Muhadith*<sup>17</sup> (traditionist) of Andalus.

Ibn Abí-l-fayádh relates a very curious anecdote of this Yahya. He says, the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., having once assembled the chief theologians of Cordova in the hall of his palace with a view to consult them upon a case of conscience, stated that he had been guilty of entering his harem on one of the nights of Ramadhán, but that he had since most sincerely repented of what he had done, and wished to know how he could atone for his guilt, or what penance they would impose upon him. Yahya, who was one of those convoked, said, "Let two consecutive months of fasting be thy penance, O Amír!" When the other theologians heard Yahya utter this decision, they made no observation whatever; but as they were going out of the palace one of them said to him, "Does not the sect of Málík leave an option in similar cases?"—"Certainly it does," replied Yahya, "but had we left the Amír that gate to escape through, we should have shown him the way to sin every day by infringing the law one day and repenting the next; and therefore we have thought it best at once to impose on him the severest chastisement, that he may not wilfully sin again." Accordingly he would remit nothing of his penance, which 'Abdu-r-rahmán kept most scrupulously, fasting all the time as he was prescribed. As we have stated elsewhere, Yahya took part in the revolt of the western suburb of Cordova against the Amír Al-hakem; he contrived, however, to escape the vengeance of the Sultán, and fled to Toledo, where he lived for some time in concealment, until Al-hakem, hearing

of his retreat, sent him a safe conduct, and he returned to Cordova. He left a son named 'Isa, who imitated him in learning and virtues, and who was the father of a numerous progeny well known in Cordova as the Bení Yahya. To this number belonged Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, who left Cordova for the East in 313 (beginning March 28, A. D. 925), and after passing many years at Cairo and Mekka, at both which places he met with many eminent divines, returned to his native city, where he enjoyed great reputation. The Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir appointed him to be Kádi of Elvira and Bejennah; after which he named him to the office of Kádi-l-kodá, or supreme judge at Cordova, in 326 (beginning Nov. 7, A. D. 937).

In the month of Ramadhán of the year 238 (A. D. 853) died, at Cordova, the celebrated theologian Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb, the author of numerous works on all branches of science, but chiefly on traditional sayings, jurisprudence, and the ritual of Málik Ibn Ans, whose disciple he had been. The principal of these is his *Al-wádhehatu fí madh'hebi Málik* (clear demonstrations on the sect of Málik), a book which has always been, and must continue to be, in the hands of every true believer. He wrote also on rhetoric, grammar, and history; and some say that although he was only fifty-three years old when he died, he left nearly one thousand works on different subjects.

We have elsewhere alluded to the introduction of the rite of Málik Ibn Ans and the rejection of that of Al-auza'í in Andalus, upon which event various opinions are entertained by the authors who have treated on the subject; but we shall here transcribe the words of the Háfedh Ibn Hazm relative to that occurrence. "There are two religious sects, which, from the very period of their onset, were surrounded with power and splendour, and spread rapidly among the people,—we mean the sect of Abú Hanífah and the sect of Málik Ibn Ans; the former, because when Abú Yúsuf was appointed Kádi, he was intrusted with full powers to name all the Kádís in the countries subject to the rule of Islám, from the most remote provinces in the East to the frontiers of Eastern Africa, and therefore he only appointed those among his friends and disciples who professed his doctrines. The same happened with Yahya Al-leythí among us; for that eminent theologian having gained the favour of the Sultán, who approved of his doctrines, he was consulted upon every occasion; and no Kádi was appointed without his consent, with this singularity, that Yahya himself would never accept office; so that in a very short time the administration of justice was completely in the hands of the friends and disciples of Yahya, or those who, like him, professed the sect of Málik. Man being naturally inclined to improve his position in this world, when the students at law perceived that there was no other way of obtaining

Death of  
'Abdu-l-malek  
Ibn Habíb.

Their labours  
in introducing  
the sect of  
Málik.

“ place than conforming with the doctrines of Yahya, they unanimously adopted his innovations, and in this manner was the rite of Al-auza’í rejected, and that of “ Málík Ibn Ans introduced into this country.” Such are the words of Ibn Hazm, but we have already alluded in other parts of the work<sup>18</sup> to other causes for the propagation of that sect. God only knows the truth of the case!

Death of ‘Abdu-r-rahmán.

‘Abdu-r-rahmán died in the month of Rabí-l-akhar of the year 238 (June 22, A. D. 852), after a reign of thirty-one years.<sup>19</sup> He was born at Toledo in the month of Sha’bán of the year 176 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 792); his mother’s name was Haláwah. He is commonly designated under the surname of *Al-ausatt* (the middle one), to distinguish him from his great-grandfather, ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel [the first], as well as from his great-grandson ‘Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidíni-llah [the third]. Owing to his success in war and his numerous victories over the infidels, he was called by his subjects *Abú-l-motref*, (the victorious).<sup>20</sup> He was well versed on all points of Mohammedan law, and learned in the philosophical sciences.<sup>21</sup> His reign was one of peace and splendour. Under his wise administration the revenue of Andalus was considerably increased. Ibnu Sa’íd says, that before his time the amount of taxes had never exceeded six hundred thousand dinárs, but that, soon after his accession, they were increased to one million. However, there are various and contradictory opinions as to the amount of the revenue possessed by the Sultáns of Andalus, and we ourselves have elsewhere given a different statement.<sup>22</sup>

Revenues of Andalus under his reign.

‘Abdu-r-rahmán expended large sums in building palaces,<sup>23</sup> and laying out pleasure-gardens, which he supplied with water from the distant mountains, collecting what remained [after irrigation] in large cisterns.<sup>24</sup> He constructed every where bridges, and caused mosques to be erected in the principal towns of his dominions; his subjects imitating every where his passion for building. He likewise added two porches to the great mosque of Cordova, but died without completing the work, which was finished by his son Mohammed. Alluding to this, a poet of his court, named Abú-l-mothanna, once said,—

“ Thou hast built to God the best of houses, one whose description no mortal can attempt :

“ To it the pilgrims resort from all parts of the world, as if it were the sacred temple of Mekka.

“ Indeed its *mihráb*, when examined all round, will be found to contain “ *rokn* (angles) as well as *makám* (standing place).”<sup>25</sup>

Another poet has said, with still greater elegance,—

“ The mosque which he has consecrated to God is without equal in the world.

“ Neither the mosque of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, nor that erected at Mekka by the best of messengers, Mohammed, [can be compared to it.]

“ Indeed, its red and green columns shine like so many blocks of ruby and emerald.

“ O thou, the firm believer in God, mayest thou live and prosper! may power and success for ever be thy lot!”<sup>26</sup>

'Abdu-r-rahmán is reported to have introduced some new regulations respecting royalty, one of which was, that he always veiled himself whenever he appeared in public.<sup>27</sup> He left two hundred children, one hundred and fifty of which were males, and the rest females.<sup>28</sup> He used a seal on which was engraved the following pious motto: “ The servant of the merciful ('Abdu-r-rahmán) rests contented on the decrees of God.” This gave afterwards occasion to the two following verses of a poet:

“ The seal of the Amír shows him to be superior in wisdom to any of his predecessors, since the inscription on it is—

“ The servant of the merciful awaits in conformity and satisfaction the decrees of his master.”<sup>29</sup>

'Abdu-r-rahmán was the first who invented this motto, which the Sultáns of his posterity preserved: he was endowed with great penetration and wit. Among his remarkable sayings the following is one: “ Authority and honour are eagerly sought by people who know not their worth; hence the first thing they meet with is disappointment.”

He was very fond of women, and especially of a mistress of his named Tarúb,<sup>30</sup> to whom he was passionately attached. She it was, who being angry with him, owing to some offence she had received at his hands, was never appeased until he caused the door of her apartment to be blocked up with bags of money. On another occasion he made her a present of a dress worth one hundred thousand dinárs; and, on his being remonstrated with, and told that such a jewel ought never to have been taken out of the royal treasure, he replied with this verse,—

“ She who wears it is still of a higher value and greater estimation, more adorned by jewels, and of a nobler origin.”

The following two verses were also composed by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in honour of this mistress:

“ When the sun rises every day to give us light, it reminds me of Tarúb.

“ I am the happiest of mortals, since I am successful in love and prosperous in war.”<sup>31</sup>

Having once departed on an expedition to Galicia, and being a long time absent, he wrote to her the following lines:

His passion for women.

JUNTA DE ANTIQUARIOS

El Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife  
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

“ The enemy called me away from thy side, and I flew to the battle like the  
“ arrow shot from the bow.

“ How many deserts did I cross ! and yet one obstacle after another came  
“ to obstruct my path.

“ Wherever I go I am tormented by the poison of absence ; the stones even  
“ are melted through compassion [at my grief].

“ God is working [through me] the triumph of the true faith, which I am  
“ spreading in spite of the worshippers of the crucified.

“ Against the infidels I now march, and my invincible host covers the  
“ mountains and the plains.”<sup>32</sup>

His adventure  
with Tarúb.

The story of the money-bags, as related by a contemporary historian, runs thus :  
“ Tarúb, fancying that she had been slighted by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, confined herself  
“ to her room, and refused to come out to the Amír, who, being desperately in  
“ love with her, was very much grieved at her resolution, and made all possible  
“ endeavours to make up the quarrel. Seeing, however, that all his entreaties  
“ were in vain, 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched one of his chief eunuchs with orders  
“ to compel her to appear before him ; but this attack she also resisted by shutting  
“ the door of her outer apartment in the face of the eunuch, and declaring that  
“ she would not stir out of her room, though it were to avoid death. The eunuch  
“ then returned, and having informed 'Abdu-r-rahmán of the occurrence, as well as  
“ of the girl's determination, asked his permission to break the door open ; but,  
“ instead of adopting such a violent measure, the Amír caused the door of her  
“ apartment to be blocked up with bags of dirhems, after which he repaired thither  
“ in person, and tried by kind words to soothe her anger, promising, if she would  
“ come to a reconciliation, to present her with all the treasure heaped up before  
“ her door. To this Tarúb consented, and opened her door accordingly, causing  
“ the money-bags to be carried into her room : she then threw herself down on  
“ her knees, and kissed 'Abdu-r-rahmán's feet. The money she kept ; and although  
“ it amounted to such a sum as it would have been wearisome to count, no  
“ portion of it ever returned to the royal treasure.”

'Abdu-r-rahmán also loved tenderly two concubines of his, whose names were  
Mudathirah and Ashifá, both of whom he had liberated and married. As to his  
mistress Kalam, she was an excellent scholar, who wrote a very good hand, recited  
poetry, knew many historical facts by heart, and had considerable learning in  
various branches of literature. She was likewise a proficient in music and singing,  
which 'Abdu-r-rahmán loved above all other recreations, as would appear from the  
manner in which he treated the musician Zaryáb. The histories of the time abound  
with anecdotes concerning this prince, which we omit here for the sake of brevity.

After the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, his son Mohammed succeeded him. The first act of his reign was to send forth an army under the command of Músa Ibn Músa, governor of Tudela, which ravaged the territory of Alava and the Castles, and took some fortresses. He also dispatched another army to the districts of Barcelona and more remote regions beyond that city, which wasted the land, took some of the fortresses belonging to the former district, and then returned.<sup>33</sup> In the mean while the rebels of Toledo, having sought and obtained the assistance of the Kings of Galicia and Biscay, Mohammed went out in person against them, and, having met them near the Wáda-salit (Guadacelete),<sup>34</sup> made them fall into an ambush which he had prepared, and slew twenty thousand Toledans and twenty thousand infidels.

Accession of  
Mohammed I.

His wars with  
the Christians.

With the rebels  
of Toledo.

In the year 245 (beginning April 7, A. D. 859) the ships of the Majús appeared again on the coast of Andalus, where they were met by Mohammed's fleet, which took from them two ships and sank some others, although in this encounter a great many Moslems fell martyrs for the faith.<sup>35</sup>

In the year 247 (beginning March 16, A. D. 861) Mohammed caused an invasion to be made into the territory of Banbilúnah (Pamplona), which country was then governed by a chieftain named Garsiah Ibn Unekoh,<sup>36</sup> (Garcia, son of Iñigo,) who had for an ally Ordhún Ibn Adefunsh (Ordoño I). After ravaging the districts round Pamplona, taking several fortresses, and subduing the whole country, the Moslems returned, bringing Fortún, one of the sons of Garcia, a prisoner to Cordova, where he remained twenty years in captivity.

In the year 251 (beginning Feb. 2, A. D. 865) Mohammed dispatched his son Al-mundhir with an army to the territory of Alava and the Castles, which he wasted, committing all manner of ravages and depredations. The Christian king, Ludherik<sup>37</sup> (Alfonso III.), having attempted to stop the progress of the Moslems, was defeated with great loss in killed and prisoners; indeed, the victory gained on this occasion was most splendid.

In the same year (A. H. 251) Mohammed in person led an army against the inhabitants of Galicia, whose country he traversed and wasted in every direction; and two years after, in 253 (beginning Jan. 10, A. D. 867), he also caused an incursion to be made into the territory of the infidels.<sup>38</sup>

In the year 254 (beginning Dec. 31, A. D. 867) the city of Merida was destroyed and deserted by its inhabitants; no vestige whatever remaining of that once opulent city. The cause of its destruction was the repeated insurrections of which the inhabitants had been guilty during the reign of this Sultán, as well as that of his father and predecessor.<sup>39</sup> A certain writer pretends to have heard in the East the following verses, predicting the fate of Merida, many years before that wealthy

city was destroyed and its inhabitants scattered over the rest of Andalus. The author of the verses is not known.

“ Woe to Merida! the rebellious city which rears its presumptuous head  
“ against the lords of the age!

“ Though its inhabitants [now] enjoy every luxury and comfort, it will soon  
“ be as dreary as a desert.

“ Woe, woe to Merida! the day that the Sultán shall appear with his forces  
“ before her walls!”<sup>40</sup>

In the year 263 (beginning Sept. 23, A. D. 876) Mohammed again sent his son, Al-mundhir, to the theatre of war, and in the ensuing year (A. H. 264) to the territory of Pamplona, which he wasted. In 268 (beginning July 31, A. D. 881), having ordered him to attack the enemy, Al-mundhir invaded the Christian territory, and returned [to Cordova] victorious, after taking several castles, and collecting considerable spoil.<sup>41</sup>

Earthquake in  
Cordova.

In the same year (A. H. 268) a dreadful earthquake was felt in Cordova, accompanied by violent gusts of wind, which threw down houses, towers, and minarets. It began at the hour of *al-maghreb* (setting sun), and when the people were at prayers. It was attended with thunder and lightning, and, to complete the awful scene, large dense clouds overhung the city, and enveloped it in darkness. So loud and terrific were the claps of thunder, and so often repeated, that the people collected in the great mosque were seized with irrepressible fear; six of them dying on the spot, whilst the rest of the assembly began to fly in all directions, leaving their prayers unfinished. The Imám alone, and a few devout men, remained at their post, intent upon their devotions as before. Mean while the mountains were rent asunder, the castles and palaces were levelled with the dust; the birds left their nests in the branches of the trees, and the wild beasts forsook their dens; the inhabitants, fearing they might be buried under the crumbling roofs, fled to the open country, and there knelt down to invoke the mercy of the Almighty. It was a scene of unparalleled confusion and heart-rending calamity.

Death of Mo-  
hammed.

After a reign of thirty-five years, the Amír Mohammed died in the month of Safar<sup>42</sup> of the year 273 (July or August, A. D. 886). He was born in 207 (beginning May 26, A. D. 822). His mother's name was Kahtaz.

Mohammed was a lover of science, which he himself cultivated with success. When Baki Ibn Mokhlid returned to Cordova with the work of Ibn Abí Sheybah,<sup>43</sup> and began to expound the doctrines of that theologian, a great number of doctors raised their voices against him, condemned his opinions as dangerous and contrary to the spirit of the established religion, and went so far as to create such disturbances whenever he offered to lecture on the subject, that Baki could not be

heard in public. When the Amír Mohammed was informed of this he summoned Baki as well as his adversaries to his presence, and had the book entirely read to him, part by part, from beginning to end, that he might estimate its contents and decide upon its merits. No sooner was the reading completed than he sent for his chief librarian, and said to him, "Take that book, and have it transcribed for our own use; its merits are such that we will not be deprived of it for a single moment." He then addressed Baki in these words: "I see thy learning, and approve of thy doctrines;" after which he issued orders that Baki should not be molested or opposed in the free delivery of his opinions. The histories of Andalus abound with anecdotes relating to this Baki, whose name has gone down to posterity as that of a man of matchless piety and immense learning. We shall here transcribe the words of an author.

Baki Ibn Mokhlid Ibn Yezíd, surnamed Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-kortobí, the author of the *Tefsír*<sup>44</sup> and *Mesnad*, was one of the most eminent traditionists of his time. When still young he left Andalus for the East, and visited the principal cities of Asia and Africa in search of learning. He went to Mekka, Medína, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdád, Kúfah, Basrah, &c., where he failed not to see and converse with the most eminent theologians, putting down in writing whatever he heard, until the number of his masters is said to have amounted to two hundred and thirty-four. He was exceedingly austere in his living, and exemplary in his conduct. Al-kusheyrí relates of him the following anecdote. "A woman came once to Baki to say how her son had been taken prisoner by the Franks, and that she could not sleep at night for love of him. 'I possess a small house,' said she, 'which it is my intention to sell, and with its produce to proceed to the country where he is kept a prisoner, to obtain, if possible, his liberation; for my rest is disturbed, and my joy is embittered for the love of him. I want thy advice on this emergency.'—'Willingly,' said Baki; 'leave me for a moment, and I will reflect upon what is to be done.' The woman retired, and Baki began to pray fervently for the accomplishment of the mother's wish and the speedy liberation of her son. Some time after this the woman made her appearance together with her son, and spoke thus to Baki: 'May God have mercy on thee! thy pious interference has been the means of liberating my son.' She then bade her son tell him how he had obtained his liberty, upon which the youth said, 'I was the king's slave, and used to go out daily with my brother slaves to certain works on which we were employed. One day as we were proceeding all together to that spot, I felt all of a sudden as if my fetters were being knocked off; I looked down to my feet, when lo! I saw the heavy irons fall down broken on each side.

“ Seeing this, the inspector who was with us came up to me, and charged me with  
 “ knocking off my irons, and trying to escape ; but I assured him upon my oath  
 “ that I had entertained no such design, and that my fetters had fallen off suddenly  
 “ without my being aware of it, or knowing how it could be accomplished. He  
 “ then sent for the smith, and commanded him again to rivet the irons on my  
 “ feet, and to strengthen them with additional nails, which was done ; but no  
 “ sooner did I rise on my feet than the fetters fell again. The Christians then  
 “ consulted their priests on the miraculous occurrence, and one of them came to  
 “ me and inquired whether I had a father. I said, ‘ I have no father, but I have  
 “ a mother.’—‘ Well, then,’ said the priest to the Christians, ‘ God, no doubt, has  
 “ listened to her prayers ; set him at liberty : ’ which they immediately did.”

Al-mundhir  
 ascends the  
 throne.

Some time before his death, Mohammed had appointed his son Al-mundhir, surnamed Abú-l-hakem, to be his successor in the empire. Accordingly, no sooner had the Amír breathed his last than messengers were dispatched to his son, who was then absent with the army, apprising him of his father's death, and requesting him to repair to Cordova. Al-mundhir did so, and was publicly sworn on Sunday the third of Rabi'l-awal (August 7, A. D. 886,) at the hour of noon.<sup>45</sup> The reign of Al-mundhir, however, was of short duration, and mostly spent in war with the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafsún, a man of Christian origin, who rose during the lifetime of his father, and whose craftiness and perfidy are sufficiently demonstrated in the histories of that time. Upon one occasion Al-mundhir besieged him in one of his strongholds, and so pressed him on all sides, that the rebel could not escape. Seeing himself completely surrounded, and having no hope of deliverance, 'Omar had recourse to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Al-mundhir, offering to surrender, and to reside at Cordova, on condition that his life should be spared, and that the Sultán would pledge his word not to molest him or deprive him of his property. Al-mundhir granted his request ; and causing the necessary letters of forgiveness and safe conduct to be issued to him and to his followers, received them in his tent, and treated them with the greatest kindness. 'Omar then humbly asked for a certain number of beasts of burden to carry his baggage to Cordova ; which was also granted, one hundred mules being put at his disposal, besides ten companies of cavalry to escort his family to that capital. Mean while several Kádís and theologians, who had attended the expedition, seeing the war at an end, took advantage of the convoy, and returned to Cordova ; but 'Omar, who meditated treason, followed them at some distance with a band of desperate outlaws, like the hawk hovering over his prey ; and when he saw the opportunity, he pounced upon the convoy, slew the guards, released his family and treasures, and again

fled to the mountains. With this man Al-mundhir had to fight many a pitched battle; but, after defeating him in several partial encounters, Al-mundhir fell a victim to his intrepidity, and was killed in a skirmish near Yobaster towards the middle of Safar of the year 275 (July, A. D. 888),<sup>46</sup> after a reign of two years all but fifteen days. He was then forty-six years old, having been born in 229 (beginning Sept. 29, A. D. 843). His mother's name was Athl.

Is killed in  
battle with  
'Omar Ibn  
Hafsún.

Al-mundhir was a wise and enlightened sovereign: it was a common saying in his time,—“Al-mundhir has rendered Andalus a country of abundance and peace.” Such were his ardour and abilities in the field, that he came off victorious in almost every encounter. The people of Toledo having sent him the customary tribute at the commencement of his reign, he returned it, saying, “You may keep it for the expenses of the war, for I shall soon be upon you, if God be pleased.”

Al-mundhir was succeeded by his brother, 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed. According to Ibnu Khaldún, the revenue of Andalus, before the time of 'Abdullah, amounted to three hundred thousand dinárs; one-third of which went to pay the army, one hundred thousand to the salaries of governors and public officers, the remainder to the coffers of the Khalif. During the reign of 'Abdullah the above sum was considerably increased, and the overplus was spent by him in the civil wars and rebellions with which his reign was troubled, as he had to contend with enemies<sup>47</sup> in every corner of his empire.

Succeeded by  
his brother  
'Abdullah.

'Abdullah was a very pious man, he regularly attended the mosque, and never made use of wine or other intoxicating liquors: he was eloquent and witty. Ibnu Hayyán has preserved us several of his verses composed extempore; among which are the following.

It was the custom of 'Abdullah's Wizírs, whenever they were consulted upon the affairs of the state, to present to him their written answer in a wooden case.<sup>48</sup> One of his Wizírs, named An-nadhr<sup>49</sup> Ibn Salamah, having once been consulted upon certain business, sent up his written opinion in the manner above described. Having perused it with attention, 'Abdullah did not approve of the advice, and wrote the following verses:

“Thou art, O Nadhr! always the same: no good whatever can be expected  
“from thee;  
“Yet I always knew thee ready to sit in the shade, and partake of a good  
“dinner.”<sup>50</sup>

The following [addressed to one of his women] are particularly praised:

“O Mohjah, my beloved! what gives thee pain? O throne of love! what  
“preys upon thy mind?

“ O messenger of the eye! who has looked upon thee with an evil eye?

“ Thou hast run away with my happiness, and taken it to the hall, there to produce it before thy company.”

Death of  
'Abdullah.

After a reign of nearly five-and-twenty years, 'Abdullah died in the year 300 (A. D. 912). His mother's name was 'Ishár, and she lived to a great age, for she died only one year before her son.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

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

## CHAPTER V.

Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Invasion of Galicia—of Navarre—of Alava—Theuda, Queen of Navarre—Battle of Al-handik—Defeat of the Moslems—Ample revenge taken by 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Christian nations court his friendship—Greek ambassadors arrive in Cordova—Other embassies—Reception of the Greek embassy—Conspiracy against 'Abdu-r-rahmán's life detected—Execution of his son 'Abdullah—Conquests in Africa—Death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Revenues of Andalus under his reign—Buildings erected by him—His Hájib and Wizírs—Present made to An-násir.

ON the death of 'Abdullah, his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mohammed, <sup>Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.</sup> who was put to death by his brother Al-mutref,<sup>1</sup> succeeded him in the empire. Although 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then young in years, and his uncles and grand-uncles<sup>2</sup> were still alive, yet not one of his relatives opposed his accession, but forwarded it strenuously [though to their prejudice] rather than disturb the public tranquillity. On his assuming the command, 'Abdu-r-rahmán found the country disturbed by numerous rebels, and distracted by the civil wars and private feuds of its powerful lords. He, however, succeeded in extinguishing the fire of discord, putting down rebellion, and subjecting the whole of Andalus to his authority. He had reigned five-and-twenty years when this was accomplished, and yet he reigned [afterwards] twenty-five years more, during which time the empire of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus reached the highest degree of power and splendour. He was the first sovereign of his family who assumed the titles of Khalif and *Amíru-l-múmentín* (commander of the faithful), and who surrounded his court with a magnificence and splendour which equalled, if it did not exceed, all the pomp and state displayed by the powerful sovereigns of the house of 'Abbás. 'Abdu-r-rahmán waged incessant war with the Christians: at first, he himself led his armies to the field, but having in the year 323 (beginning Dec. 10, A. D. 934) lost the battle of Al-handik, on which occasion God was pleased to afflict the Moslems with a most severe defeat, he abstained thenceforward from commanding his armies in person, although he invariably sent his troops every season<sup>3</sup> to invade the Christian territory. In this manner the Moslems subdued the country of the Franks much

beyond the utmost limits ever reached under the reign of any of his predecessors. The Christian nations beyond the Pyrenees extended to him the hand of submission, and their kings sent him valuable presents, to conciliate his favour. Even the Kings of Rome, Constantinople, and other distant parts, sent him ambassadors asking for peace and suspension of hostilities, and offering to subscribe to any conditions that he should dictate. The Kings of Galicia, Kashtálah (Castile), Pamplona, and other northern nations bordering on 'Abdu-r-rahmán's territory, repaired to his court,<sup>4</sup> kissed his hand in token of obedience, and solicited his friendship and good-will.

According to Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi [Abú 'Amru Ahmed] the accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán took place at the beginning of Rabi'-l-awal of the year 300 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 912); for in a work which that author wrote, entitled *Al-'ikd* (the necklace), he commemorates the above event in the following verses:

“ A new moon has begun ; and the empire has received fresh strength and vigour.

“ O thou [who rulest] by the grace of God, tell me, if I am deficient [in praise], who can pretend to surpass thee?

“ For if the month of fasting (Ramadhán) be followed by its *fitr*, this day is like a festival to the whole age.”<sup>5</sup>

By the first of the above verses the poet means that 'Abdu-r-rahmán ascended the throne at the beginning of the moon of Rabi'-l-awal.

'Abdu-r-rahmán assumed the surname of An-násir lidín-illah (the defender of the religion of God), by which he is generally mentioned by the historians of his age.

One of the first acts of his administration was to ameliorate the condition of his subjects by suppressing many illegal taxes which had been imposed under the preceding reign. The fact is recorded by Ibnu Khaldún, who tells us that no sooner had 'Abdu-r-rahmán ascended the throne, than he abolished all taxes contrary to the spirit of the Sunnah or body of traditional law, and by causing justice to be equally and fairly administered, by encouraging agriculture and trade, laid the foundations of national prosperity.

Invasion of  
Galicia.

'Abdu-r-rahmán was indefatigable in his exertions to humble the pride of the Christians, whom he defeated and slaughtered on several occasions. In the year 308 (beginning May 22, A. D. 920), for instance, he invaded Galicia at the head of a considerable army, and ravaged that country. The King Ordhún Ibn Adefúnsh (Ordoño II., son of Alfonso), assisted by the King of the Franks and the King of the Basques,<sup>6</sup> advanced to defend his dominions, but in vain: 'Abdu-r-rahmán defeated them both, wasted their territories, reduced their strongholds, and demolished several of their fortresses.

Again, in the year 312 (beginning April 8, A. D. 924), he invaded the land of Banbilúnah (Navarre), penetrated far into the theatre of war, wasted the country, took and razed many fortresses, set fire to the towns, and put the inhabitants to the sword; and although the enemy fled to the mountains, and occupied the passes with a view to attack him on his retreat, they were unable to make the least impression upon him. Invasion of Navarre.

After this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had to contend with some of his own subjects,<sup>7</sup> who had revolted against him and sought the assistance of the Christians. After defeating the rebels in several encounters, An-násir turned his victorious arms against the people of Alava, who had favoured the revolt, and took thirty of their fortresses. Of Alava.

In the year 322 (Dec. 21, A. D. 933), An-násir made an incursion into the mountainous districts [of Navarre], whence he marched on Pamplona. Queen Tútah (Theuda?),<sup>8</sup> dreading his vengeance, came out to meet him, and put herself under his power; upon which An-násir invested her son Garcia with the sovereignty of the land. This being done, An-násir turned towards Alava, and, scouring the plains, subdued and razed its fortresses.

Some time after this,<sup>9</sup> 'Abdu-r-rahmán invaded Galicia, where Ordhún Ibn Adefúnsh (Ordoño III.) reigned at the time. Not daring to meet him in the field, the Christian king shut himself up within the walls of Oshmah (Osma); but An-násir besieged him in that fortress, took and demolished Burghosh (Burgos) and several other strong places, and defeated the Christian forces in many encounters; after which he returned victorious to Cordova.

In the year 325 (beginning Nov. 18, A. D. 936), hearing that Tútah (Theuda), Queen of Banbilúnah (Pamplona), had infringed the treaty which subsisted between the two, An-násir invaded her kingdom, subdued the greater part of it, and compelled her to ask for peace; after which he returned triumphant to Cordova. Theuda, Queen of Navarre.

In the year 327 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 938), 'Abdu-r-rahmán undertook an expedition against the Galicians, which ended in the disastrous battle of Al-handik, in which the Moslems were defeated, numbers of them falling under the swords of their enemies. Since the reign of his grandfather 'Abdullah,<sup>10</sup> the Christians of Galicia had held possession of the city of Samúrah (Zamora), on the northern side of the river Dúroh (Duero), which they had fortified with the utmost care, and in which they had placed a numerous and well-appointed garrison. From this place the Christians were making continual incursions into the Moslem territory, leading the defenceless inhabitants of the opposite banks into captivity, and committing all manner of excesses and depredations. There was still another cause for the expedition. A rebellious chieftain, named Umeyyah Ibn Is'hák, Battle of Al-handik.

had taken refuge at the court of the Christian king; and being a shrewd and intelligent man, well versed in military affairs, he gave the enemy the best advice, and often conducted their armies into the very heart of the Moslem territory. This Umeyyah was the brother of Ahmed Ibn Is'hák, one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's Wizírs, whom that Sultán caused to be put to death for some civil offence of which he had been guilty. At the time of his brother's execution, Umeyyah was governor of a frontier fortress called Shantareyn (Santarem). No sooner did he receive intelligence of his brother's fate, than he fled with a handful of followers to the court of Ramiro, King of the Galicians, whose service he entered, guiding his armies to the defenceless points of the Mohammedan frontier, or to the passes and fords at which he could best assail the territories of Islám. However, whilst Umeyyah, who had all the time retained possession of Santarem, was one day enjoying the amusements of the chase, one of his own slaves, who had remained in charge of the fortress, rose and took command of the place, shut the gates against Umeyyah, and sent a messenger to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, apprising him of what had occurred. Umeyyah, in the mean while, fled to the court of his ally, the King of Galicia, who received him with the greatest kindness, and appointed him his Wizír. This was the motive of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's expedition.

As the historian Al-mes'údí has preserved us an account of this war, we shall here abridge his narrative. " 'Abdu-r-rahmán," says he, "having led his army against Zamora, the capital of Galicia,<sup>11</sup> which he besieged, Radmir (Ramiro II.), King of the Galicians, hastened to its relief, and encamped in the neighbourhood. " 'Abdu-r-rahmán's forces amounted to one hundred thousand men; other authors " make their number still more considerable. A contest soon ensued between " the two armies, in which the Moslems came off victorious, this being in the " month of Shawwál, 327 (July or August, A. D. 939), three days after the eclipse " of the sun which happened in the same month.<sup>12</sup> The garrison of Zamora, " having made a sally, were repulsed by the besiegers, who pursued them sword " in hand beyond the moat within the walls of the city. But, as the Moslems " were preparing to follow up the advantage, the Christians fell suddenly upon " them, and killed fifty thousand of their number."

Defeat of the  
Moslems.

The same writer says, in another part of his work, "The city of Zamora was enclosed by seven walls of wonderful structure, the work of one of the early kings [of Galicia]. The space between the walls was occupied by ditches<sup>13</sup> and wide moats filled with water. The Moslems succeeded in forcing their way through the first two enclosures, but when they came to the third, they were furiously assailed on all sides by the Christians, who put to death every Moslem they could overtake. Upwards of forty thousand men, others say fifty thousand,