

“ were drowned in the moats. This was doubtless one of the most signal defeats
 “ ever inflicted upon our brethren of Andalus, either by the Galicians or by the
 “ Basques ; and the victory would have been still more complete, had King Ramiro
 “ pursued the remnant of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's army, which, panic-struck as it was,
 “ he would have had no difficulty in annihilating. But by alarming Ramiro with
 “ the fear of an ambush, and alluring him with the rich spoil left by the Moslems
 “ in their camp, Umeyyah Ibn Is'hák prevented him from following up the victory.
 “ Some time after, Umeyyah applied to 'Abdu-r-rahmán for a safe conduct, and,
 “ having obtained it, fled the court of Ramiro, and arrived at Cordova, where he
 “ was graciously received by the Khalif.”¹⁴

“ Burning to revenge this disaster, An-násir continued to send yearly expe-
 “ ditions under the command of his generals, who invariably came off victorious,
 “ gaining many battles, in which the Galicians lost twice as many men as those
 “ who had fallen on the side of the Moslems at the battle of Al-handik. In short,
 “ at the moment we write (A. H. 330) the Moslems have regained their superiority
 “ over Ramiro, the King of the Galicians.”

Ample revenge
taken by 'Ab-
du-r-rahmán.

Thus far Al-mes'údí. Other writers have preserved details of this battle, the year in which it was fought being well known among the people of Andalus as *'A'mu-l-handik* (the year [of the battle] of Al-handik). We have already said, that ever after this defeat An-násir abstained from leading his armies in person, but that he persevered in the laudable purpose of waging war with the infidels, by directing the governors of the districts on the frontiers of his empire to make incursions into the Christian territory.

On the death of Garcia, son of Sancho, King of the Basques, his mother Tútah (Theuda) succeeded him as regent and guardian of his son. Having shortly after infringed the treaty subsisting between her and the Khalif, it was decided to chastise her for her bad faith. Accordingly, in the year 325 (beginning Nov. 18, A. D. 936) An-násir invaded her dominions, wasted all the territory round Pamplona, and compelled the faithless queen to implore peace.

When the Christian nations saw 'Abdu-r-rahmán's repeated successes, they were filled with terror ; and all hastened to send ambassadors to him, with a view to obtain his friendship and propitiate his good-will. Accordingly, in the year 336 (beginning July 22, A. D. 947) an embassy arrived in Cordova with presents from Constantine, the Emperor of Constantinople. The day in which the ambassadors made their entrance into the capital was a day of festival, and great crowds of people collected by order of 'Abdu-r-rahmán to meet them.

The Christian
nations court
his friendship.

Ibnu Khaldún says that the Khalif's troops received new arms for the occasion, and were completely equipped ; the royal apartments were decorated with the

Greek am-
bassadors in
Cordova.

utmost profusion and magnificence, the great hall of the palace was hung with the richest curtains and draperies, and spread with the most costly carpets, while the throne was surrounded on all sides by the sons, brothers, uncles, and other relatives of the Khalif. The Wizírs, and the officers attending on the royal person, were all drawn out, keeping their proper places in the utmost order. The ambassadors were then introduced to the presence of the Khalif, and were struck with astonishment at the splendour and magnificence displayed before them. They approached the throne, and delivered their credentials into the hands of the Khalif, who commanded the learned of his court to address the assembly in speeches in which they should commemorate the superiority of Islám [over every other religion] and the power of the Khalifate, and return thanks to God for the mercies he had dispensed [to the true believers], through the manifestation and support of the true religion, and the humiliation and discomfiture of its enemies. But when the learned men who were present prepared to execute his commands, all failed in their attempt; and they were so overpowered by dread of the august assembly, that they fixed their eyes on the ground, and kept silence. If any speaker rose to address the assembly, he stammered, and was soon reduced to silence by the terror that this most imposing scene produced in his mind. Seeing this, An-násir intrusted the task to Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, a learned man lately come from 'Irák,¹⁵ and one of the literary characters attached to the suite of his son Al-hakem, the heir-apparent to the throne. Knowing his high literary reputation, An-násir chose him in preference to any other; but he likewise failed, through want of the necessary resolution. Then rose Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd, a native of Fahsu-l-balútt, who, though not accustomed to speak extempore, and not in the least prepared for the occasion, made a most able speech, wherein he developed and explained admirably the subject given to him, and delivered extempore on the same subject a long poem, with which the assembly was extremely delighted: the astonishment he produced by such an extraordinary performance was so great, that a murmur of approbation ran through the assembly, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion; and An-násir appointed him on the spot to the office of *Kádi-l-jam'áh* (chief justice), in which he greatly distinguished himself by his profound knowledge and eloquence. As the harangue which Mundhir delivered on this solemn occasion is given at large by Ibnu Hayyán and other historians, we need not quote it here.

On the departure of the Greek ambassadors, Hishám Ibn Hudheyl accompanied them, with a magnificent present, and with instructions to conclude an alliance, and strengthen the friendship between the two monarchs. At the expiration of two years Hishám returned to Cordova, having faithfully executed the commission intrusted to him. Hishám came attended by ambassadors from Constantine.

After this arrived another embassy from a King of the Sclavonians, whose name was Dhúku,¹⁶ as well as from the King of the Alaman (the Emperor of Germany), and from a King of the Franks beyond the Jebál Al-bort (Pyrenees), named Ukoh (Hugo), besides a similar one from another King of the eastern confines of France, called Kaldoh.¹⁷ These ambassadors were received by An-násir in great pomp and state, and he ordered that the officers of his household and others should go out to meet them. On the return home of the Sclavonian ambassadors, 'Abdu-rahmán sent along with them Rabi', the Bishop,¹⁸ who reached the court of Hoto (Otho), and returned after an absence of two years. Other embassies.

In the year 344 (beginning April 26, A. D. 955) Ordhún (Ordoño II.) also sent an embassy to ask for a continuation of the peace; which was granted to him: and in 345¹⁹ (beginning April 14, A. D. 956) he again sent to request that Ferdeland, Count of Castile (Ferran Gonzalez), should also be comprised in the treaty; to which An-násir also consented.

Garcia, son of Sancho,²⁰ had succeeded to the kingdom of Galicia after the death of his father Sancho, son of Fruela; but the Galicians having risen against him, under the command of the above Ferdeland, Count of Castile, this chief, who was one of the greatest men in the country, declined that dignity in favour of Ordoño, son of Ramiro²¹ (Ordoño IV.), who was accordingly placed on the throne in his stead. But as Garcia, son of Sancho, was the grandson²² of Theuda, Queen of Navarre, this princess took his part, and presented herself to An-násir in the year 347 (beginning March 24, A. D. 958), imploring the continuance of peace with herself and her son Sancho, son of King Ramiro;²³ and requesting at the same time that he would assist her grandson Sancho, son of Garcia, to reconquer his kingdom, and to take the field against his enemies. For this purpose, Theuda and the two princes²⁴ repaired to the court of An-násir, by whom they were received in state; and not only did the Khalif grant the queen and her son the peace which they asked, but he also sent an army to replace Garcia²⁵ on the throne of Galicia; which was speedily accomplished, after depriving Ordoño of it, and causing the Galicians to swear allegiance to him. Seeing this, Theuda dispatched an embassy to thank An-násir, and likewise sent her letters to all the provinces [inhabited by the Christians], acquainting the people with that event, and with the treacherous conduct of Ferdeland, the Count of Castile. The inhabitants believed her statement, and reprobated the conduct of that chieftain; and An-násir, moreover, ceased not to protect and assist him [Sancho] till he died.

With the ambassador of Kaldoh,²⁶ King of the eastern part of France, who, as related, arrived at the court of 'Abdu-rahmán, there came also an ambassador from the King of Barcelona and Tarragona,²⁷ to solicit peace; which was granted. After

this another embassy arrived, sent by the King of Rúmah (Rome), also soliciting An-násir's friendship. The above narrative is borrowed from Ibnu Khaldún, somewhat abridged: we shall now proceed to extract passages from other writers.

Ibnu Hayyán and others state that the empire of An-násir arrived at the highest summit of glory and splendour; that the Greeks and Christians came to him from all parts, courting his friendship, soliciting peace, and sending him immense treasures. "No nation," continues Ibnu Hayyán, "heard of him that did not send him ambassadors. The Kings of the Greeks, those of the Franks, and Majús (Northmen), all sent ambassadors to his court, who invariably returned satisfied and contented. Among the embassies dispatched by infidel kings to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the most celebrated was that of the ruler of Constantinah the Great (Constantinople), who made him a most splendid present, and courted his friendship." We have already stated, on the authority of Ibnu Khaldún, that the ambassadors of the Greek monarch arrived in the year 336 (beginning July 22, A. D. 947); Ibnu Hayyán places their arrival in the month of Safar of the year 338 (August, A. D. 949): which of the two dates is the right one, God only knows. We shall here transcribe the passage of Ibnu Hayyán relating to the arrival and reception of the Greek ambassadors in Cordova.

Reception of
the Greek
ambassadors.

"No sooner," says that diligent historian, "was the Khalif An-násir informed of the landing of the ambassadors sent by the Emperor of Greece at Bejénnah²⁸ (Pechina), than he began to make preparations for their reception, intending to receive them with due honour and attention, and with the greatest possible display. Accordingly he issued orders that Yahya Ibn Mohammed Ibn Leyth²⁹ and other distinguished people of his court should immediately proceed to that place (Pechina), and should wait upon the ambassadors, taking care that they should be provided with every necessary for their journey to the capital. When they approached Cordova, several generals, followed by their respective bodies of troops fully armed and equipped as in time of war, went out to meet them; and when they came still nearer, two of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's chief eunuchs went out to them, with orders from their master to treat them with the utmost attention and respect, thereby intimating how much he desired to honour them; for the eunuchs of those days were amongst the highest functionaries at court, being exclusively employed in the service of the Khalif or in that of his harem, and being, moreover, intrusted with the custody of the royal palace. The ambassadors and their suite were lodged in a country-house called *Munyah Nasr*, which belonged to the Amír Al-hakem, the presumptive heir to the throne, and was situated in the suburb on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Guadalquivir. Here no one, whether noble or plebeian, was allowed to visit them or hold any

“ communication with them, a certain number of Hájibs or chamberlains being
“ selected from among the *maulis* and chief servants of the Khalif's household to
“ keep off all intruders. A guard of sixteen men was moreover stationed at the
“ gate of the palace, who relieved each other four by four, day and night. 'Abdu-r-
“ rahmán then left the palace of Az-zahrá, where he was living at the time, and
“ removed to his palace in Cordova, previous to the reception of the Greek
“ ambassadors. Having appointed Saturday, the eleventh of the month of Rabi'l-
“ awal of the above-mentioned year (338), and fixed upon the vaulted hall in his
“ palace of Az-zahrá as the place where he would receive their credentials, orders
“ were issued to the high functionaries of the state and to the commanders of the
“ forces to prepare for the forthcoming ceremony. The hall was beautifully deco-
“ rated for the occasion, and a throne glittering with gold and sparkling with gems
“ was raised in the middle of it. To the right of the throne stood five of the
“ Khalif's sons in the following order: next to him his eldest son Al-hakem, the
“ presumptive heir to the empire; next to Al-hakem, 'Abdullah;³⁰ then 'Abdu-l-
“ 'azíz Al-asbagh; and lastly, Merwán. To the left of the Khalif stood his sons
“ Al-mundhir, 'Abdu-l-jabbár, and Suleymán; 'Abdu-l-malek, being ill at the time,
“ was not present at the ceremony. Next to them were the Wizírs, each at his post
“ to the right or left of the throne. Then came the Hájibs or chamberlains, the
“ sons of the Wizírs, the freed slaves of the Khalif, and the Wákils or officers of his
“ household. The court of the palace had been previously strewn with the richest
“ carpets and most costly rugs; silk awnings of the most gorgeous description had
“ every where been thrown over the doors and arches. Presently the ambassadors
“ entered the hall, and were struck with astonishment and awe at sight of the
“ magnificence displayed before them, and the power of the Sultán before whom
“ they stood. They then advanced a few steps, and presented the letter of their
“ master, Constantine, son of Leo, Lord of Constantinah the Great (Constan-
“ tinople). The letter was written in Greek upon sky-blue paper,³¹ and the
“ characters were of gold: within the letter was an enclosure, the ground of which
“ was also sky-blue, like the first-mentioned, but the characters were of silver; it
“ was likewise written in Greek, and contained a list and description of the presents
“ which the Lord of Constantinah sent to the Khalif. Upon the letter was a seal
“ of gold, of the weight of four mithkáls, on one side of which was a likeness of the
“ Messiah, and, on the other, those of the King Constantine and his son. The letter
“ was enclosed in a bag of silver cloth, over which was a case of gold with a
“ portrait of King Constantine admirably executed on stained glass. All this was
“ enclosed in a case³² covered with a cloth of silk and gold tissue. On the first
“ line of the *'Inwán* or introduction was written, 'Constantine and Romanin

“ (Romanus), believers in the Messiah, Kings of the Greeks,’ and in the next,
 “ ‘ To the great and exalted in dignity and power, as he most deserves, the noble
 “ in descent, ’Abdu-r-rahmán the Khalif, who rules over the Arabs of Andalus.
 “ May God prolong his life!’

“ Wishing to render this solemn ceremony as imposing as possible, ’Abdu-r-
 “ rahmán ordered that all his Khattíbs (preachers) and poets should attend, that
 “ they might [in the presence of the Greek ambassadors] address the assembly
 “ concerning the power and splendour of his empire, and the consolidation of the
 “ Khalifate under his reign. For this purpose he instructed his son and heir
 “ Al-hakem to select from among the poets of his court, accustomed to extempore
 “ speaking, those who could best accomplish that difficult task.

“ Accordingly, Al-hakem commanded a dependent of his, named the Faquih
 “ Mohammed Ibn ’Abdi-l-barr Al-kasiniáni, to prepare for the occasion, and to
 “ compose an eloquent harangue to be pronounced before the Khalif on that
 “ day. Ibn ’Abdi-l-barr was perhaps the person best qualified for the task, being
 “ a man of immense rhetorical learning and taste, and deeply learned in the Arabic
 “ language; he therefore prepared to execute the commands of Al-hakem, and
 “ on the appointed day repaired to the hall of audience. Scarcely, however, had
 “ he begun to address the assembly, when the sight of the imposing ceremony,
 “ the dead silence kept by all present, the splendour and magnificence which
 “ surrounded the throne of the Khalif, made such impression on him, that his
 “ voice faltered, his tongue clove to his mouth, and he could not articulate a
 “ single word, and fell senseless on the ground. The task of addressing the
 “ assembly was next intrusted to Abú ’Alí Isma’íl Ibnu-l-kásim Al-kálí Al-
 “ baghdádi, the author of the *Amáli* (dictations) and *An-nuwádir* (novelties),
 “ then a guest of the Khalif, having lately arrived from ’Irák, who was reputed
 “ to be a prince in the science of rhetoric, and an ocean of language. ‘Get up,’
 “ said one of the assembly to him, ‘and raise the fallen man.’ Abú-l-kálí rose,
 “ and began addressing the assembly in a clear and intelligible voice: he thanked
 “ and praised God as he deserves, invoked his blessing on the Prophet Mohammed,
 “ but, all of a sudden, he stopped for want of a word which did not occur to
 “ him, and thus put an end to his peroration.”

Such is the account which Ibnu Hayyán gives of this occurrence. Ibnu Khaldún says that it was Abú ’Alí who received in the first instance instructions to address the assembly, and who went to the palace prepared with an harangue: this assertion is corroborated by the author of the *Mattmah* [Ibn Khákán]; but, as Ibnu Hayyán derived his information from men who were present at the ceremony, we hesitate not to give the preference to his version. Be this as it may, it appears certain

that when Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd perceived the failure of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, he got up, and, taking up the subject where the unsuccessful speaker had left it, delivered a peroration, composed of both prose and verse, which to this day stands unequalled as a literary composition; and that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so pleased with the performance, that he appointed him preacher and Imám to the great mosque; and some time after, the office of Kádí-l-jam'áh or supreme judge of Andalus being vacant by the death of Mohammed Ibn 'Isa, he named him to that high post, and made him besides Mokri (reader of the Korán) to the mosque of Az-zahrá.

In the year 339 (beginning June 19, A. D. 950) a conspiracy was discovered at Cordova, the object of which was to put to death the Khalif An-násir and his son Al-hakem, the presumptive heir to the empire. At the head of it was 'Abdullah, one of the Khalif's sons, who, from his ascetic habits and secluded life, had received the epithet of Az-záhíd [the austere]. Intelligence of his wicked designs having been conveyed to his father in time, he ordered him into his presence, and had him executed, together with the principal conspirators, on the day of 'Idu-l-adháhi (festival of the victims) of the year 339 (May 13, A. D. 951). It is said that a celebrated theologian, named Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr,³³ had instigated this unfortunate youth to the attempt on his father's life, and that when that individual heard that the conspiracy had been discovered, he destroyed himself. Others say that Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr was innocent of the crime imputed to him; but God only knows: the fact is, that he ended his days in prison on the same day in which 'Abdullah was executed.

Conspiracy against Abdu-r-rahmán's life detected.

Execution of his son 'Abdullah.

Andalus was not the only country where the arms of 'Abdu-r-rahmán were successful; his armies subdued also a considerable portion of Africa, and established in that country the rule of the Bení Umeyyáh. The causes which led to that glorious event are variously stated by the historians; but the appearance of the Fátimites in that country, the inveterate hatred which the race of Umeyyáh entertained against them, and the mighty consideration of not allowing countries bordering upon Andalus to fall into the hands of those conquerors, are given as the real motives which induced the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán to send his fleets and armies to the assistance of the Bení Idrís, the Bení Sáleh, and other princes attacked, and which led ultimately to the establishment of his rule over the greater portion of Eastern and Western Africa.

Conquests in Africa.

In A. H. 305 (beginning June 23, A. D. 917), 'Abdullah, the Shiite, after reducing the whole of Eastern Africa under his sway, sent his general Mossálah Ibn Habús Al-meknásí against Yahya Ibn Idrís, Sultán of Fez, whom he defeated, and afterwards besieged in his capital. Although Mossálah was then unable to reduce Fez, he returned to Maghreb [Western Africa] in A. H. 309 (beginning

May 11, A. D. 921), took that city, and put Yahya Ibn Idrís to death.³⁴ A relative of the deceased, named Al-hasan, but who was better known under the surname of Al-hojjám,³⁵ succeeded some time after in expelling from Fez the governor appointed by Mossálah, and seating himself on the throne of his ancestors. His reign, however, was not of long duration: Músa Ibn Abí-l-'áfíyyah, who was governor of Western Africa for the Fátimites, attacked him in 311 (April 20, A. D. 923), took his capital from him, and put him to death. Again, in 341 (May 28, A. D. 952), the dynasty of the Bení Idrís regained possession of a great portion of their former dominions, with the exception of Fez, which remained in the hands of a general named Maysúr the Shiite.

Subsequently to this, Abú-l-'aysh Ahmed, a prince of the family of Idrís, seeing his dominions invaded by the Fátimites, swore vassalage to An-násir, and sent to implore his assistance. An-násir, however, would not send him any troops unless the Idrísite gave him as hostages the ports of Tangiers and Ceuta. Abú-l-'aysh having refused to comply with his demand, An-násir dispatched a fleet, which ravaged the coast, and compelled that sovereign to accept the terms offered to him. Once master of those two important fortresses, An-násir extended his sway over the surrounding country, until his power was firmly established in Western Africa, and his rule was obeyed from Tihart to Sijilmésah. From every part of that wide-spread region princes and lords came to the court of An-násir to kiss his hand, in token of obedience and vassalage, and to implore his powerful aid and protection. The princes of the Zenátah and other Berber tribes, the Bení Idrís, and other powerful families which held sway in Western Africa, hastened to court his friendship, and offered to hold their respective dominions in his name.

"In the year 305 (beginning June 23, A. D. 917)," says the historian whose words we transcribe, "several members of the royal family of Sa'íd Ibn Sáleh, King of Nokúr, who had been put to death by the Shiites of Africa, took refuge in Malaga, Bejénnah, and other sea-ports in the south of Andalus. No sooner was the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán informed of their arrival, than he sent them splendid robes and costly presents, and issued orders that they should everywhere be treated with the respect due to their rank, giving them their choice between going to Cordova or any other part of his dominions, or remaining where they were. With the exception, however, of one or two who accepted the Khalif's invitation, and visited him in his capital, the remainder preferred fixing their residence in Malaga, owing to the proximity of that port to their lost dominions, in which they hoped to be re-instated. 'Abdu-r-rahmán promised to aid them against the Shiites of Africa whenever the opportunity should arrive. Accordingly, in the year 306 (beginning June 13, A. D. 918), an

“ expedition was fitted out in Malaga, and after a short contest Sáleh Ibn Sa’id was seated on the throne of his father. When the letters announcing this victory arrived at Cordova, ’Abdu-r-rahmán caused them to be publicly read in all the mosques of Andalus; and he immediately sent re-inforcements, as well as provisions, military stores, and money, to maintain the new king in his conquest.”

In the year 332 (beginning Sept. 3, A. D. 943), Mohammed Ibn ’Abdillah Ibn Abí ’Isa, the Idrísite, Kádí-l-jam’áh or supreme judge of Fez, arrived in Andalus for the purpose of joining in the war against the infidels. We have already alluded, in another part of this work, to the hospitable manner in which he was entertained by the Khalif.³⁶ There came also to Cordova during this reign two other members of the royal family of Idrís, whose names were Hasan, son of Al-kásim, better known under the surname of Janún (Kanún?), and ’Isa Ibn Hanún Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim. They made their entry into Cordova on Monday the 12th of Shawwál of the year 333³⁷ (May 27, A. D. 945). They were kindly received and hospitably entertained by ’Abdu-r-rahmán until the month of Safar of the ensuing year (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 945), when both returned loaded with presents to their native country.

“ On Saturday the 9th of Rejeb of the year 341 (Nov. 28, A. D. 952),” says the historian Ibnu Hayyán, “ Hasan, son of Ahmed Al-fádhel, son of Ibráhím, son of Mohammed, and Mohammed, son of ’Isa, son of Ahmed, son of Ibráhím, both descendants of ’Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, arrived in Cordova; and on Wednesday, the 26th of Rabi’-l-akhar of the ensuing year (Sept. 7, A. D. 953), ’Isa, Abú-l-’aysh,³⁸ Yahya Ibn Hasan, and Hasan Ibn Mohammed, also belonging to the royal family of Idrís. They fixed their dwelling in Cordova, and left a numerous posterity. Yahya died in 349 (beginning March 2, A. D. 960), and Hasan in the following year: both were buried in the cemetery called *Makbaru-r-rabadh* (of the suburb) at Cordova; the chief Kádí of that capital, Mundhir Ibn Sa’id Al-bolúttí, reading the funeral service over their bodies, by the command of ’Abdu-r-rahmán. As to Abú-l-’aysh, it is well known that he met with his death in an encounter with the Christians of the north.”

’Abdu-r-rahmán died at Az-zahrá on the second or third day of the month of ^{Death of ’Abdu-r-rahmán.} Ramadhán³⁹ of the year 350 (October, A. D. 961), of a paralytic fit, at the age of seventy-three. He was born in the year 277 (beginning April 24, A. D. 890), and was only twenty years old when his father Mohammed was put to death. His mother’s name was Moznah. In addition to the honourable appellation of An-násir lidín-illah (the defender of the true faith), ’Abdu-r-rahmán received from his subjects the surname of *Abú-l-motref* (the victorious). Never was the Moham-

medan empire more prosperous, or the true religion more triumphant, than under his reign. The infidels of Andalus were driven back to the mountainous districts of the north, where they insured their safety only by paying tribute to the Commander of the Faithful. Commerce and agriculture flourished; the sciences and arts received a new impulse, and the revenue was increased ten-fold. Notwithstanding the costly magnificence with which 'Abdu-r-rahmán surrounded his person,—the unusual number of troops which he constantly kept in his pay,—the multitude of eunuchs, Slavonians, and other servants employed about his palace,—the bounteous gifts which he distributed to the learned, and the splendid buildings which he caused to be erected in various parts of his extensive dominions, in Africa as well as in Andalus,—it is said, that when he died he left in the coffers of the treasury the enormous sum of five millions of dinárs.

Revenue of
Andalus under
his reign.

The amount of the revenue under this reign has been estimated by several contemporary writers at six millions two hundred and forty-five thousand dinárs; namely, five millions four hundred and eighty thousand arising from the land-tax levied in the towns and districts, and seven hundred and sixty-five thousand being the amount of indirect taxation, and duties imposed upon goods. As to the sums which entered the royal coffers, being the fifth of the spoil taken from the infidels, they were beyond calculation, and cannot be estimated, as no precise account of them was kept in the treasury books.

Buildings
erected by him.

Of this immense sum one-third went to pay the troops and the public officers; another third was destined for the Khalif's own use, and the remainder was spent in public buildings. Many, indeed, were the works of public utility which this just and enlightened monarch caused to be erected in various parts of his extensive dominions. As to his capital, Cordova, he is well known to have embellished it and widened its precincts, so that it equalled, if it did not surpass, in size and splendour the proud metropolis of the Bení 'Abbás. His addition to the great mosque of Cordova, and the construction of the palace of Az-zahrá in the vicinity of that capital, are two splendid erections, which will transmit the name of 'Abdu-rahmán to posterity. Of both those buildings we have elsewhere given as accurate a description as it was in our power; and therefore we need not now return to the subject.

It is said that after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán a paper was found in his own hand-writing in which those days which he had spent in happiness and without any cause of sorrow were carefully noted down, and on numbering them they were found to amount only to fourteen. O man of understanding! wonder and observe the small portion of real happiness the world affords, even in the most enviable position! The Khalif An-násir, whose prosperity in mundane affairs

and whose widely-spread empire became proverbial, had only fourteen days of undisturbed enjoyment during a reign of fifty years, seven months, and three days. Praise be given to him, the Lord of eternal glory and everlasting empire! There is no God but He! the Almighty, the giver of empire to whomsoever he pleases!

As above stated, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the first sovereign of the house of Umeyyah in Andalus who assumed the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful). The authors of the time say that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán saw the state of weakness and abjectness to which the Khalifate had been reduced, and perceived that the Turkish freedmen in the service of the Bení 'Abbás had usurped all authority and power in the state,—when he heard that the Khalif Al-muktadir had been put to death, in the year 317 (beginning Feb. 13, A. D. 929), by one of his *maulis*, called Múnis Al-modhaffer,⁴⁰ he no longer hesitated to assume the insignia of the Khalifate, and call himself *Amíru-l-múmenín*. Assumes the title of Khalif.

'Abdu-r-rahmán has been described by the historians of the age as the mildest and most enlightened sovereign that ever ruled a country. His meekness, his generosity, and his love of justice became proverbial: none of his ancestors ever surpassed him in courage in the field, zeal for religion, and other virtues which constitute an able and beloved monarch: he was fond of science, and the patron of the learned, with whom he loved to converse, spending those hours which he stole from the arduous labours of the administration in literary meetings, to which all the eminent poets and learned men of his court were admitted. The histories of the time are filled with anecdotes, which show his love of justice, and his respect for the learned; but we shall only transcribe the following as a proof of what has been said of this good Khalif. Character of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Wishing once to buy a house in Cordova for one of his concubines named Hadhiyyah, whom he loved passionately, he fixed upon a very suitable residence belonging to the children of Zakariyyá, the brother of Najdah. The house was situated close to [the street of] the sawyers, in the eastern suburb, and separate from every other building except a bagnio, with a very extensive reservoir of water, which adjoined it on one side. It happened, however, that the children of Zakariyyá, the brother of Najdah, were at that time orphans under the tutorship of the Kádí Mundhir. Having previously sent people to value the house, and the price suiting him, An-násir dispatched a man to the executor of the father's will, with orders to treat in his own name, and purchase the house for him. Upon application, the executor stated that he could not proceed further in the matter without consulting the Kádí himself as tutor of the children, without whose authority the sale, he was well aware, could not be effected. Accordingly the Khalif sent to the Anecdote of his justice.

Kádí Mundhir to treat about the purchase of the house, but Mundhir answered thus to the messenger: "Tell the Commander of the Faithful, thy master and mine; that the property of an orphan cannot be sold except for three reasons; necessity, impending ruin, or the offer of more advantageous terms than those on which it was at first obtained. As to the first, my wards are not in want, and therefore they need not sell their property; neither is ruin to be apprehended at present, the house being in good condition, and wanting no repair; as to an advantageous sale, that is the very thing I and my wards desire: and if the Commander of the Faithful chooses to give them such a sum as may make their advantage quite manifest, I have no objection whatever to authorize the executors to sell the property; if not, I shall never give my consent to the transaction." On the receipt of this answer, the Khalif immediately perceived that the refusal to sell the house was merely intended to make him more anxious for its acquisition, and he therefore desisted from any further negotiation. Mundhir, on the other hand, feared lest the Khalif should take a resolution that might be prejudicial to his wards: he ordered the executor to pull down the house, which was done according to his instructions, and made him sell the ground and materials to the agent of the Khalif, for a price higher even than the valuation made by the officers of the Sultán. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, however, having been informed of the transaction, and how the house had been pulled down previous to the sale, summoned the executor to his presence, and asked him whether the charge brought against him was true, and what reasons he had for acting thus. The executor acknowledged the fact; but gave as an excuse that he had been instructed to do so by the Kádí Mundhir. Upon this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent for the Kádí, and, when he was introduced to his presence, spoke to him thus: "Is it true that thou orderedst the house of the brother of Najdah to be pulled down?"—"I did," was Mundhir's answer. "And what was thy reason for doing so?"—"I was guided by those words of the Almighty, (may his name be exalted!) 'As to the vessel, [it belonged] to certain poor men who did their business on the sea; and I was minded to render it unserviceable, because there was a king behind them who took every sound ship by force.'" ⁴¹ 'Abdu-r-rahmán said nothing further, and from that moment treated Mundhir, if possible, with greater deference and respect than before.

Account of
Mundhir Al-
bolúttí.

This Mundhir Al-bolúttí was the most learned theologian of his day. He was deeply versed in all branches of law and literature, and was besides renowned for his probity and his justice. He was born, as before said, at a small town close to Cordova, called Fahssu-l-bolútt (the field of the oak-trees), in the year 265 (beginning Sept. 2, A. D. 878). He filled the office of Kádí-l-jam'áh (supreme

judge) of Andalus during the whole of An-násir's reign, after whose death he was confirmed in it by his son and successor Al-hakem. He died in 355 (beginning Dec. 27, A. D. 965), and left many splendid works on the *Sunnah*, or body of traditional law, on religious duties, and against the opinions of philosophers. He was likewise an excellent poet; and the works of Al-fath,⁴² Ibnu Sa'id, Ibnu Hayyán, and others, are filled with extracts from his poems.

Many other illustrious characters graced the court of An-násir, or flourished under this reign, whose names only would fill a whole volume; as Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi, the author of the *'Ikd* (necklaces); Khalaf Ibn 'Abbás Az-zahráwí, the celebrated physician; 'Abdullah Ibn Yúnas Al-morédí; Abú Bekr Az-zubeydí; Mohammed Al-khoshaní; Ibráhím Ibn Ahmed Ash-sheybání:⁴³ but, brevity being the chief object of our narrative, we shall pass them over in silence, keeping for some other time the mention which they so justly deserve. We cannot, however, refrain from mentioning here one of the most distinguished, namely, Kásim Ibn Asbagh Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Abú Mohammed; he was a native of Baena, a town belonging to the jurisdiction of Cordova. One of his ancestors had been a freedman of the Khalif Al-walíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek. After taking lessons at Cordova from Bakí Ibn Mokhlid, Mohammed Ibn Wadhdháh, Mutref Ibn Kays, Asbagh Ibn Khalíl, Ibn Meysarah, and others, Kásim departed for the East in company with Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Aymen,⁴⁴ and with Mohammed Ibn Zakariyyá Ibn 'Abdi-l-'ala. This was in the year 274 (beginning May 27, A. D. 887). In the course of his travels Kásim visited Mekka, Kúfah, and Basrah, where he attended the lectures of the most eminent professors and theologians of the time, such as Al-mubarrad, Ibn Koteybah, and others. He afterwards went to Cairwán, and returned to Andalus, leaving behind him his two travelling companions. Kásim was deeply versed in the science of traditions, as well as in history; he shone above all in grammar, poetry, and law, being often consulted upon difficult points. He made a collection of all the traditional stories contained in the *Sunan* of Abú Dáúd. The cause of his writing that work was as follows: "Having arrived in 'Irák with his friend Mohammed Ibn Aymen in the year 276 (beginning May 5, A. D. 889), they found that Abú Dáúd, in search of whom they had come, had died shortly before their arrival in that country. Hearing this, both friends conceived at the same time the idea of writing a work on the *Sunan*, following the chapters of the book of Abú Dáúd, in which they might introduce such traditional sayings of the Prophet and his companions as each of them had learned from his different masters. This idea being carried into execution, each produced an excellent work, which is well known now, and very much esteemed by students." Subsequently to this, Kásim Ibn Asbagh

Of Kásim Ibn
Asbagh.

published an abridgment of his own work, which he entitled *Al-mujtani bi-s-sunan* (a selection from the *Sunan*). He began it in the month of Moharram, 324 (Dec. A. D. 935), and dedicated it to the Amír Al-hakem, the son and successor of An-násir, whose preceptor he was. It is divided into four parts, and contains two thousand four hundred and seventy traditional allegations.

Kásim Ibn Asbagh was born on Monday the twelfth day of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, 247 (Feb. A. D. 862).

His Hájib and
Wizírs.

Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jodeyr was An-násir's Hájib: his Wizírs were 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Jeh'war, 'Abdullah Ibn Ya'la, and Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Shoheyd. The latter made his sovereign a present so remarkable for the invaluable articles, costly rarities, &c., of which it was composed, that it became proverbial; it being a common saying among the people of Andalus, when they wished to extol the beauty and value of an object, *Ahsan min hadyati-bn-Shoheyd* (handsomer even than the present of Ibn Shoheyd). As Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Khaldún, and other historians have preserved a list of the articles, &c., composing this present, we shall here transcribe their narrative, and will begin with Ibnu Khaldún, who introduces it in his account of the Bení Umeyyah, as a proof of the great power and unmatched splendour and riches of that dynasty when they ruled over Andalus. That diligent historian has also noted the date of the day in which the present was made, namely, on the twenty-second day of Jumáda-l-awal of the year 327 (March 16, A. D. 939). Here follow his words:

Present made
to An-násir.

“ So magnificent was the present which Ibn Shoheyd made on this occasion to the Khalif An-násir that it became famous for its magnitude all over the Mohammedan world; and that even now the memory of it subsists among the people of this country. No Sultán of Andalus, it is generally agreed, ever received a similar one; and it is added, that An-násir and his courtiers were so struck by its magnificence, that they unanimously declared that such a trait of generosity stood unparalleled in history. Together with the present, Ibn Shoheyd sent an elegant epistle or dedication, in which he expressed his gratitude for the honours conferred on him by An-násir, and thanked that Khalif for his favours. The epistle itself was a model of eloquence, and people eagerly transcribed it or procured copies of it. An-násir was so much pleased both with the letter and the present, that he exalted Ibn Shoheyd in honour and dignity over his fellow Wizírs, and doubled his salary, which he raised to forty thousand dinárs of Andalus, besides one hundred thousand dinárs as a gratuity in the great festivals of the year.

“ He also doubled his functions as well as his salary, for which reason he was called *Dhú-l-wizárateyn* (the holder of the double Wizírate); Ibn Shoheyd being

“ the first functionary of Andalus on whom that title was conferred, in imitation, “ no doubt, of Sá'id Ibn Mokhlid, Wizír of the Bení 'Abbás at Baghdád, [who “ was so called]. To all these honours An-násir added another distinction, namely, “ that his seat in the council-room should be raised higher than those of the “ other Wizírs, and that his name should be the first in the list of the government “ pensioners : in short, his authority and influence at court became immense. The “ following is the list of the articles, &c., of which the present was composed :

“ Five hundred thousand mithkáls of coined gold ;⁴⁵ four hundred pounds of “ virgin gold, worth, in exchange, forty-five thousand dinárs ; and silver bullion to “ the amount of two hundred *bidr*.⁴⁶ (Ibnu-l-faradhí mentions only five hundred thousand dinárs.)

“ Twelve pounds of Indian aloes, capable of bearing an impression like wax ; one “ hundred and eighty pounds of aloe-wood, of the best quality ;⁴⁷ and one hundred “ of another sort, resembling the *muntaki*.”⁴⁸ (However, Ibnu-l-faradhí, who refers to the letter, and to the list of the articles, &c., sent by Ibn Shoheyd, says four hundred pounds of the best aloe,⁴⁹ in which there was a piece weighing one hundred and twenty pounds.)

“ One hundred ounces of pure musk,⁵⁰ of the best quality.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí, quoting the above document, says two hundred and twelve.)

“ Five hundred ounces of pale amber, of the species which preserves its quality “ without previous preparation. Of this, one piece was to be seen of wonderful “ dimensions, perfect in shape, and weighing one hundred ounces.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí says one hundred ounces in all, and one piece of the weight of forty ounces.)

“ Three hundred ounces of the purest camphor, of the best quality ; thirty “ pieces of silk cloth, of various colours and patterns, printed and embroidered “ with gold, and suitable only for the Khalif's dress ; ten pelisses, lined with “ the most costly martens' ⁵¹ fur, from Khorassán.”

Ibnu-l-faradhí's account differs materially from this. He says, “ Of robes of “ various colours, intended for the Khalif's own use, partly white, and partly of “ other colours, thirty ; five cloaks or outer garments, of the same kind and shape as “ those used by the Faquirs of the Sha'ybí sect,⁵² and destined also for the Khalif's “ own use ; ten pelisses of the best martens' fur, seven of which were white, and “ came from Khorassán, and the remainder of various colours [came from other “ countries] ; six square 'Irákian dresses, also fit for the Khalif ; forty-eight “ *milháf* (cloaks)⁵³ worked in flowers, for daily use ; and one hundred more, of “ the same manufacture, to sleep in at night.”

The reader must have observed that with the exception of the thirty pieces of

silk cloth, not one of the above articles of dress is mentioned by Ibnu Khaldún; but we do not hesitate to adopt the account of Ibnu-l-faradhí, which, from the fact of that author having derived his information from the list itself as well as from the keeper of the presents, is unquestionably entitled to more credit.

“ Ten heavy chests containing one hundred sable skins.” (In this statement both authors agree.)

“ Six 'Irákian tents,⁵⁴ and forty-eight horse-cloths made of silk worked with gold, manufactured at Baghdád; four thousand pounds weight of spun silk; and one thousand more of raw silk, of various colours, for spinning; thirty pieces of the stuff called *kaziun*⁵⁵ for saddles.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí agrees with the above account; but he observes that the manufactured silk did not make part of the present, but went directly into the hands of the *Sáhibu-t-tiráz*, or master of the royal robes, who received it from Ibn Shoheyd, and entered it in the books of the wardrobe.)

“ Thirty woollen carpets of different colours and patterns, each measuring twenty cubits in length; one hundred rugs,⁵⁶ intended for kneeling on at prayer time, of the finest texture and choicest patterns.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí adds, ‘ made in the same way as the carpets.’)

“ Fifteen silk cushions of the stuff called *nukha*, having the face of it shorn.” (This, Ibnu-l-faradhí observes, was also a stuff for carpets of the finest quality, and such as was only used by very rich people.)

“ Of arms and weapons there were, eight hundred suits of armour for horses, to adorn them in processions and public exhibitions.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí says only one hundred; but he adds that they were of the most extraordinary workmanship, and highly finished.)

“ One thousand shields manufactured at Sultániyyah; one hundred thousand arrows of the best kind.

“ Fifteen select Arabian steeds of the choicest qualities, and destined for the Khalif's own riding.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí says one hundred more, fit for military incursions, and trained for war.) “ Twenty mules for the Khalif's own riding, fully caparisoned and bridled, and having the seats of the saddles covered with a species of 'Irákian velvet, called *ghaffárl*.” (Ibnu-l-faradhí says one hundred steeds, namely, fifteen barbs for the Khalif's own riding; five more of the same class, but chosen among the rest for their superior qualities, most splendidly harnessed and bridled, and having the seats of the saddles covered with 'Irákian velvet, also for the Khalif's own riding; the remaining eighty were suitable for servants and attendants. Besides the mules above mentioned, Ibnu-l-faradhí counts five ambling mules remarkable for their swiftness and easy pace.)

“ The slaves were as follows : Forty choice male slaves, and twenty females, with their clothing and apparel all complete. The latter were provided, besides, with all their jewels, ornaments, and musical instruments.” (In this both authors agree.)

“ Ten *kintars* (hundred weights) of lump sugar, of dazzling whiteness, and without a speck in it.”

“ And lastly,” says Ibnu Khaldún, “ he presented his sovereign with a valuable villa, and the lands attached to it, in the sowing of which many thousands of *mudd* of grain had been expended by the giver. The stone only for the several buildings erected on the estate had cost eighty thousand dinárs in one year. There were besides twenty thousand trees of the finest and most durable wood, very straight, and in the best condition, the actual value of which was fifty thousand dinárs.”

So far Ibnu Khaldún ; but Ibnu-l-faradhí, who, as we have stated elsewhere, saw and transcribed the epistle which Ibn Shoheyd sent along with the present, has preserved some details which we think worthy of insertion in our present narrative. He says, after mentioning the male and female slaves,—“ For a long time before, Ibn Shoheyd, who accompanied or commanded almost every expedition sent against the Christians, had destined a certain portion of his share in the spoil to purchase handsome captives of both sexes, as he himself informs us in his epistle, where he says that he bought them with the produce of victory, and through the favour dispensed to him by the Amír.”

The epistle ended thus, according to Ibnu-l-faradhí : “ And when I heard that my illustrious master (may God grant him his help !) had deigned to cast his eye over the estate in the Kanbániyyah,⁵⁷ I immediately directed the Sultán’s agent, Ibn Bakiyyah, to purchase it from the owner ; and I did not rest until I heard that he had completely succeeded, and that the deeds were already drawn in the Khalif’s name. The same thing was done with respect to another estate in the vicinity of Jaen, called Sheyrah.⁵⁸ When I heard that it had been described to the Khalif, who was pleased to inquire about it, I never ceased importuning the owner of it until he sold it to me, with all its buildings, plantations, fields, woods, and waters ; the whole being duly transferred to Ibn Bakiyyah, who, I hope, will reap the next harvest thousands of *mudd* of every kind of grain. When, moreover, I ascertained that it was the Khalif’s wish to build upon the latter estate, I immediately gave all my attention to forestall his wishes, and thought of the many spots which his gracious majesty had been pleased to visit, in order to perpetuate his memory in their buildings. (May God prolong his life, and reward him [afterwards] even beyond his expectations !) Knowing

“ that the foundations, the pillars, and the greater portion of the house were
 “ built of free-stone, I conceived and fixed upon a plan of improvement, which I
 “ caused immediately to be executed; having spent in one year only what I
 “ received from his servant, Ibn 'A'ssim, for twenty consecutive years [as the
 “ amount of my salary], since the total expense incurred in the building amounted
 “ to about eighty thousand dinárs, without counting the produce of the estate
 “ during that time, which was likewise spent in the object, nor the sale of timber,
 “ which is so abundant that when his servant Ibn Khalíl wanted upwards of three
 “ hundred and twenty thousand trees [for the purpose of building], and could only
 “ procure about two thousand every year, I undertook to furnish him the remainder
 “ out of this estate, which I did; the value of the timber which I then delivered
 “ into his hands being, at the lowest estimate, between fifty and sixty thousand
 “ dinárs.”

The donor of the above present, Abú 'A'mir Ahmed⁵⁹ Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Al-'adí, belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Andalus. His ancestor Shoheyd had been present at the conquest of that country by Tárík Ibn Zeyád. His father 'Abdu-l-malek had served in the armies of 'Abdullah, and gained great reputation by his courage and his talents; and by him Ahmed was early trained to arms, and acquired that superiority in military affairs which made him the scourge of the infidels and the idol of the Moslems. He was so successful in his expeditions against the Galicians and Franks, that he amassed considerable riches, and was enabled to present the Khalif An-násir with a gift such as no subject ever before presented to his master.

Ibn Bessám relates of him, that he had once a Christian page so exquisitely handsome that no human eyes ever saw the like of him before. This page he once introduced to An-násir, who no sooner cast his eyes on him than he said to Ibn Shoheyd, “ Where and how didst thou acquire such an inestimable jewel?” “ It came to me,” answered Ibn Shoheyd, “ by the blessing of God.” “ By the Lord!” replied An-násir, “ were any one to make me a present of the stars, or let me choose between the moon and this page, I should not hesitate for an instant:” upon which, Ibn Shoheyd, having prepared a suitable present, sent it to 'Abdu-rahmán along with his page, to whom he said on parting, “ Go, my son; thou
 “ must form part of the present I destine for the Commander of the Faithful.
 “ Were it not for the love I bear him, I would sooner have parted with my soul
 “ than with thee.”

The same author [Ibn Bessám] relates another curious anecdote respecting An-násir, which he pretends to have received from a man who held it from another, who had it from the Khalif's own lips. Wishing on a certain day to be bled,

An-násir sat himself down under a pavilion in the palace of Az-zahrá, which overlooked the whole city, and sent for his chief physician, who, having come immediately, took out his lancet, and bound the hand of the Khalif, preparatory to his bleeding him. He was going to operate, when lo! there came a starling,⁶⁰ which perched itself on a beautiful golden vase in the room, and uttered the following two verses, which it continued to repeat all the time the operation lasted.

“ O bleeder! take care how thou treatest the Commander of the Faithful;

“ For wert thou to open one of his arteries, the life of the world might
“ escape through it.”⁶¹

An-násir was exceedingly pleased at these verses, and he much admired the wit contained in them. Having then inquired who had taught the starling, and dispatched him on such an errand, he was informed that the bird belonged to his wife Marjánah, the mother of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the presumptive heir to the throne, who, having previously trained the bird to repeat the verses, had sent him on at the time when An-násir was going to be bled; upon which the Khalif made Marjánah a present of upwards of thirty thousand dinárs.

We should never finish, were we to transcribe here the innumerable anecdotes respecting this Khalif, which are scattered like so many loose pearls over the writings of the Andalusian poets and historians, and will therefore proceed to give a notice of his son and successor, Al-hakem.

CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Al-hakem II.—Ceremonies attending his proclamation—Appointment of a Hájb—Al-hakem's wars with the Christians—Piratical incursions of the Northmen—Ordoño IV. visits Cordova—Preparations made by the Khalif for his reception—Ordoño introduced to the royal presence—His address to Al-hakem—The Khalif's answer—Arrival of ambassadors from Catalonia—and from Navarre—The Countess of Castile arrives at court—Transactions in Africa—Settlers in Andalus under his reign—Al-hakem's love of science—His passion for books—Library founded by him—Notice of literary men living at his court—Character of Al-hakem—His death.

ON the day after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, his son Al-hakem, surnamed Abú-l-'ássin and *Al-mustanser-billah* (he who implores the help of God), ascended the throne. It was on a Thursday.¹ Immediately after his accession, Al-hakem surrounded his person with all the pomp and magnificence of the empire, and sent down his letters to the provinces, apprising the people of his elevation, and calling upon them to swear allegiance to him. On the same day he began to give his attention to the regulation of his empire and the strengthening of his power, to the inspection of the royal palaces, and the review and equipment of the troops. The Slavonians of the palace were the first to take the oath of allegiance to him: first came the eunuchs of the palace, as Ja'far, the master of the horse and of the royal robes, and other superior officers generally employed in the household of the greatest Khalifs, who were ordered to proceed immediately to swear in all the Slavonians under their orders; then followed the remaining officers of the royal household, who were inferior in rank to the above-mentioned, whether kátibs, servants, *mukaddams* (captains), or *'arífs* (officers), all of whom tendered their respective oaths.

Ceremony attending his proclamation.

The people of the palace having been all sworn in, Al-hakem commanded his chief Wizír, Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán, to proceed immediately to the residence of his own brother, Abú Merwán 'Obeydullah,² who kept aloof [from the ceremony], and bring him, without accepting of any excuse, to his presence, for the purpose of exacting from him the customary oath of allegiance. He dispatched in like manner Músa Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jodeyr on a similar errand to his second brother, Abú-l-asbagh 'Abdu-l-'azíz. The two messengers, having taken with them a body

of troops, repaired to the house of the two princes, and escorted them to the palace of Az-zahrá, where every thing was prepared for the approaching ceremony, and where a great concourse of courtiers and nobles had already assembled from every part of the city, to pay their respects to the new sovereign. All the brothers of Al-hakem, who were then eight in number, arrived at the palace at night, and were lodged [according to their rank] in the two wings³ of the palace. The ensuing morning they took their station in the eastern and western halls, whilst the Khalif sat on his throne under the central gilded pavilion, one of those in the southern part of the palace opening upon the marble terrace. The ceremony having commenced, the royal brothers came first: they approached the throne, and inaugurated Al-hakem, reading the formula of inauguration, and taking the customary oath, with all its sanctions and restrictions. Then came the turn of the Wizírs, and of the sons of the Wizírs, and of their brothers, who were quickly followed by the Shortah or body-guard, and by the servants of the palace. This done, the brothers of the Khalif, the Wizírs, and the nobles, took their respective seats to the right and left of the throne, with the single exception of 'Isa Ibn Foteys, who stood in one corner of the hall, that he might swear in the people as they entered. The neighbouring apartments were as usual filled with public functionaries and courtiers who had a right to be present at such ceremonies.

In the hall where the Khalif sat, stood the great eunuchs of the palace, in lines beginning at the right and left sides of the throne, and extending to the end of the apartment, each man keeping his own place according to his rank or dignity. They were all dressed in white tunics, the inner garments⁴ being of mourning; and they were armed with swords. Next to them were the servant eunuchs, covered with mail, and having glittering swords in their hands; these were drawn up in two lines over the terrace. On the adjoining parapets were the eunuchs of the guard, with spears in their hands, and the Slavonian eunuchs, dressed in white, and armed with swords. These were followed by other Slavonian eunuchs of inferior rank; and after these latter came the archers of the guard, with their bows and quivers. Next to the Slavonian eunuchs were the black slaves, splendidly arrayed, and covered with glittering arms; they wore white tunics, Sicilian helmets on their heads, and held in their hands shields of various colours; their weapons, moreover, were ornamented with gold. They were drawn up in two lines [from the terrace] to the last parapet. At the gate of As-suddah (*Bábu-s-suddah*) were the chief door-keepers, and outside of it the horse-guard of black slaves, extending in lines to the gate of the domes (*Bábu-l-akbá*). Next to them was the body-guard, composed of the Khalif's own *maulis* or freed slaves, also on horseback; and after them the rest of the army, and of the slaves, and the archers, succeeding

each other until the lines reached without interruption to the gate of the city leading to the country. The ceremony being over, the Khalif granted the people leave to retire, with the exception of his brothers, the Wizírs, and the officers of the household, who were directed to stay at the palace of Az-zahrá until the body of An-násir should be carried to the palace of Cordova, there to be interred in the cemetery of the Khalifs.

Appointment
of a Hájb.

Al-hakem made no alteration in the administration as left by his father An-násir. He confirmed every one of the Wizírs named by his father, and appointed for his Hájb Ja'far Al-asklabí (the Sclavonian), who is said to have presented him on the day of his nomination with sundry precious objects, a list of which is given by Ibnu Hayyán in his *Muktabis*. The present consisted of one hundred Frank mamelukes, mounted on swift horses, and armed and equipped for war with swords, spears, shields, targets, and Indian caps; upwards of three hundred and twenty coats of mail, of different kinds; three hundred steel helmets; fifty Indian helmets of wood; some European helmets not of wood, called *At-teshtanah*; three hundred European javelins; one hundred shields of Sultániyyah; ten suits of armour, of solid silver, inlaid with gold; and twenty buffaloes' horns, gilt.

His wars with
the Christians.

"No sooner was the death of An-násir divulged," says the historian Ibnu Khaldún, "than the Galicians began to make attacks upon the Moslem frontiers. "In order to check their progress, Al-hakem put himself at the head of his army, "and invaded the dominions of Ferdeland Ibn Ghondisalb [Ferran Gonzalez], "besieged Shant Eshtiban (San Estevan de Gormáz), which he took by force of "arms, and afterwards destroyed, returning victorious [to Cordova]; upon which "the Galicians desisted from their projects, and sought to make their peace with "the Moslems."

After this, Al-hakem dispatched his *mauli* Ghálib to make war on the Galicians. Having arrived at Medínah Sélim (Medinaceli), which was the focus of the war, Ghálib was opposed by a considerable army of the Christians; but he fought with them, putting them to flight, and causing them great loss. After which the Moslems penetrated into the dominions of Ferdeland, which they overran and wasted.

Sancho, the son of Ramiro, King of the Basques (Navarre), having broken the treaties by which he was bound [to preserve peace], Al-hakem sent against him At-tojibí [Yahya Ibn Mohammed],⁵ the governor of Saragossa, with a large body of troops. Seeing this, the King of the Basques implored the help of his neighbour, the King of the Galicians, who hastened to his assistance; but At-tojibí, having met and defeated their united forces near Kúriah (Coria), ravaged the districts round that city, and returned home victorious.

After this, Al-hakem directed his generals Ahmed Ibn Ya'la and Yahya Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí to make an incursion into the territory of Barcelona, which was accomplished; the districts round that city being overrun and wasted by the Moslems. He likewise sent Hudheyl Ibn Hishám and his *mauli* Ghálib into the dominions of the *Komes* (Count) of Castile, which they ravaged.

Great indeed were the victories gained over the Christians during the reign of Al-hakem, and repeated the incursions made by the generals of his frontiers into the enemy's territory. We may give as an example the conquest by Ghálib of the town of Kalherah, in the country of Al-bashkans (Basques), which place Al-hakem caused to be peopled by Moslems, as well as the taking of Kottúbiah⁶ by the Káyid (governor) of Oshkah (Huesca); on which occasion the Moslems gained considerable spoil in money, arms, provisions, and military stores, exclusive of the sheep, cattle, and mares which they caught in the adjoining plains, of the grain and fruits of all kinds which they reaped, and of the innumerable captives, of both sexes, which they made.

In the year 354 (beginning Jan. 6, A. D. 965) Ghálib made an incursion into Alabah (Alava), accompanied by Yahya Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí and Kásim Ibn Motref Ibn Dhí-n-nún. The three generals scoured the country, and rebuilt Hisn-Ghormáj⁷ (San Estevan de Gormáz), which had been destroyed on a former occasion by the Christians.

In the same year (A. H. 354) the ships of the Majús (Northmen) appeared on the coast of the ocean. Having landed close to Lisbon, they overran and ravaged the neighbouring country; but the inhabitants, having risen to arms, fought with them, and drove them to their ships. No sooner was the intelligence of their disembarkation brought to Cordova, than Al-hakem in person repaired to the districts invaded, and provided for the defence of the coast, ordering his *Káyidu-l-bahr* (admiral of the sea), named 'Abdu-r-rahmán [Ibn] Romáhis,⁸ to fit out the fleet and attack them: but it was not necessary; for news soon arrived of their having been defeated every where by the inhabitants of that coast, and their having put to sea in great haste and confusion.

After this, happened the arrival in Cordova of Ordhún Ibn Adefonsh (Ordoño IV.), King of the Galicians. As before related, An-násir had supported his cousin Sancho, son of Ramiro, and assisted him in reconquering his kingdom, which Ordoño had usurped, compelling the Christians to return under his sway; upon which Ordoño had sought and obtained the assistance of his father-in-law Ferdeland (Ferran Gonzalez), Count of Castile. Finding, however, that this chieftain was unable to reseat him on the throne, and that Al-hakem continued to bestow on

⁸Ordoño IV.
visits Cordova.

Sancho the same protection which his father An-násir had so graciously granted to him, he resolved upon appearing at court, and placing himself under Al-hakem's protection. The Khalif received him with all the pomp and state before exhibited on similar occasions, ordering his troops out on the day of his arrival, and commanding the officers of his household to go out to meet him some distance from the capital, as may be read in the work of Ibnu Hayyán, who has preserved an account of this and the preceding arrivals, and of the interview which the Christian king had with Al-hakem. That historian says, that the Khalif bade him sit down, promised him his assistance against his enemies, put on him a *khil'ah* or dress of honour, and wrote a deed with his own hand, by which he engaged to aid him against his cousin Sancho, on condition that he should acknowledge himself the vassal of Islám, and forsake the alliance of the Count of Castile. Ordoño swore to fulfil the stipulated conditions by placing his right hand on the deed, and gave his son Garcia as an hostage. He was then dismissed with presents and horses for himself and followers, being escorted by the principal Christians who lived in Cordova under the protection of the Khalif, that they might the better establish his authority over his subjects, and reseate him on his throne. His son Garcia remained in Cordova according to the stipulation. The following particulars are borrowed from Ibnu Hayyán.

Towards the end of Safar of the year 351 (March, A. D. 962), the Khalif Al-hakem sent out two of his *maulis*, named Mohammed and Zeyád, sons of Aflah An-násirí, with a portion of his guard, to meet Ghálib An-násirí, governor of Medínah Sélim (Medinaceli), who was then escorting to Cordova King Ordhún Ibn Adefonsh (Ordoño IV.) This Ordhún, assisted by some small bands of Galicians, who followed his banners, had been trying for some time to excite dissension in the state, and had disputed the throne with a cousin of his, son of his uncle, Sancho Ibn Radmir (Sancho the Fat), who had reigned before him. Seeing that every attempt to seize on the throne had failed, the accursed Christian bethought him of repairing to the court of Al-hakem, without either previously asking his leave, or making any stipulation. The cause of that sudden resolution was his having heard that Al-hakem was preparing an expedition to march that very year against him;⁹ and not being in a condition to resist him, he decided upon parrying, if possible, the blow aimed against him, and throwing himself upon the mercy of the Khalif, hoping to be able to incline him to his favour. Accordingly, although he had no safe conduct or security whatever from the Khalif, he placed himself at the head of twenty of his followers, and crossed the Mohammedan frontier. Ghálib An-násirí,¹⁰ a *mauli* of Al-hakem, who was then

governor of Medinaceli, having on the arrival of the Christian at that city inquired the object of his journey, Ordhún told him that he wished to go to Cordova for the purpose of swearing vassalage to the Khalif; upon which Ghálib offered to escort him thither at the head of a body of cavalry.

No sooner was Al-hakem informed of their arrival than he sent forward the two sons of Aflah with an army to meet them. Having come up with Ordoño's retinue, the generals of the Khalif encamped for a whole day, after which they struck their tents and proceeded to Cordova. At their approach Al-hakem sent out Hishám Al-mus'hafí with a numerous army completely armed and equipped [as for war]. They advanced straight to the gate of Cordova, and passed close by the gate of the palace. On his arrival at that piece of ground between the *Bábu-s-suddah* and the *Bábu-l-jenán* (the gate of the gardens), Ordhún inquired of one of his escort where the tomb of An-násir lidín-illah ('Abdu-r-rahmán III.) was; and this being pointed out to him opposite the place where he stood within the *rawdha* or cemetery attached to the royal palace, he immediately dismounted, took off his cap,¹¹ and having approached the spot pointed out to him, he went upon his knees and prayed fervently for a length of time. After this he put on his cap, and continued his march towards the dwelling assigned to him by the Khalif, which was the palace called *An-ná'urah* (of the water-wheel). Preparatory to the reception of his guest the Khalif had caused the palace to be strewn with every variety of carpet and cushion, and provided with every description of furniture: his commands were fulfilled in a manner that left nothing to wish for, the Christian king and his suite being treated with the greatest attention and respect. In this manner Ordoño spent the whole of Thursday and Friday. When Saturday came, Al-hakem signified his wish to see the Christian, and accordingly every necessary preparation was made for the forthcoming ceremony. The troops were fully equipped and armed as in time of war; the Slavonian guard was splendidly attired for the occasion; the Ulemas, theologians, Kátibs, and poets were ordered to appear in the audience-hall, whilst the Wizírs and other high functionaries of the state received orders to be each at his post at the appointed hour.

Preparations
made by the
Khalif for his
reception.

When the day came, Al-hakem appeared seated on the royal throne in the eastern hall of his palace of Az-zahrá, which opened into the terrace, having on each side his brothers, nephews, and other relatives, as well as the Wizírs, Kádís, civil magistrates, and distinguished theologians, and other high functionaries, all sitting in rows according to their rank or station. Among them was the supreme judge of Andalus, Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd Al-bolúttí. Presently Ordoño made his appearance in the hall, being introduced by Mohammed Ibnu-l-kásim Ibn Tamís.¹² The upper part of his dress consisted of a tunic of white brocade, of Christian manufacture,

He is intro-
duced into the
royal presence.

and a surtout¹³ of the same quality and colour. He wore on his head a Christian cap ornamented with costly jewels. Ordoño came from his dwelling [in Cordova] to the city of Az-zahrá attended by a select party of the chief Christian residents in Cordova, as Walíd Ibn Khayrún,¹⁴ who was the judge of the Christians in Cordova, 'Obeydullah, son of Kasím Al-matrán (bishop)¹⁵ of Toledo, and others. When close to the palace, Ordoño and his suite entered into a passage formed on each side by bodies of infantry placed in such admirable order that the eyes were dazzled at their uniformity, and so thickly set that the mind was bewildered at their numbers. Such was, moreover, the brightness of their armour and weapons, and the variety and richness of their uniforms, that the Christians were actually stupified at what they saw, and repeatedly crossed themselves in utter amazement at the imposing scene; they looked on with their heads down, their eyelids contracted, and their eyes half-closed [through astonishment] until they arrived at the outer gate of the palace of Az-zahrá, called *Bábu-l-akabá* or 'the gate of the domes,' where all those who had gone out to meet Ordoño dismounted. The Christian king and the counts of his suite continued on horseback until they came to the interior gate called *Bábu-s-suddah*, when all received orders to dismount, and to proceed on foot, with the exception of Ordoño and Mohammed Ibn Tamís, who passed mounted under the gateway. These two alighted at the gate of the central southern pavilion¹⁶ in the building called *Dáru-l-jandal* (the house of the stones) upon a raised platform, the steps of which were covered with silver cloth. In that very spot Ordoño's rival and enemy, Sancho, the son of Ramiro, had alighted when he came to visit 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidín-illah. Ordoño sat himself on the platform, and his suite sat before him [waiting for Al-hakem's pleasure]. Presently one of the Khalif's officers made his appearance, bringing the permission for Ordoño to proceed; which he did on foot, followed by his suite. In this way he advanced towards the terrace. Arrived in front of the eastern hall, where Al-hakem was, Ordoño stopped, uncovered his head, took off his *bornús*,¹⁷ and remained for some time in an attitude of astonishment and respect, under the impression that he was now approaching the radiant throne of the Khalif. Being motioned to proceed, he moved on slowly between the two lines [of soldiers] drawn up along the length of the terrace, which he traversed, until he came to the door of the pavilion where Al-hakem sat. When he had arrived before the throne, he threw himself on the floor, and remained for some time in the most humble position; he then stood up, advanced a few paces, again prostrated himself, and repeated this ceremony several times, until he arrived at a proper distance from the Khalif, when he stretched out his hand, and Al-hakem gave him his. After this he went backwards, without turning away his face, to a

seat covered with gold cloth, which had been prepared for him at about ten cubits' distance from the royal throne, being all the time awe-struck at the imposing scene. Such among his counts and followers, moreover, as had been allowed to enter the royal presence, advanced from behind him with repeated prostrations, and approached the throne of the Khalif, who gave them his hand to kiss; after which they all walked backwards, and placed themselves at each side of their king. Among them came Walíd Ibn Khayrún, who, as before stated, was the Kádí or judge of the Christians living in Cordova, and who acted as interpreter for King Ordoño on the occasion.

Al-hakem kept silence for a while in order to allow Ordoño time to sit down and compose himself; and when he perceived that the Christian had somewhat recovered [from his fright] he broke silence and said, "Welcome to our court, " O Ordoño! may thy hopes be realized and thy wishes fulfilled! Thou wilt " find in us the best advice and the most cordial reception, much beyond thy " expectations." When these words were translated to Ordoño by his interpreter, his countenance expanded and brightened up with joy; he came down from the raised couch on which he sat, and humbly kissing the earth before the Khalif, exclaimed, "I am the slave of the Commander of the Faithful, my lord and " master; and I am come to implore his favour, to witness his majesty, and to " place myself and my people under his protection. May he be pleased to grant " me his powerful patronage, and consent to receive me into the number of his " slaves! I hope that I come to him with a just demand and with a pure inten- " tion." The Khalif answered, "We look upon thee as one most deserving of " our consideration and esteem, and we are ready to grant thee that preference " and advantage over the people of thy sect which may render thee happy and " content. Let us therefore hear the true cause that brought thee to our court, " that we may place thee within the pale of our authority." No sooner was the Khalif's answer made known to King Ordoño than he again prostrated himself, and remained for some time deeply absorbed in prayer. He then proceeded to state his case thus: "I need not remind thee, O Khalif, that my cousin Sancho, " son of my uncle Ordoño, came once to this city to implore against me the " help of thy glorious father and predecessor, the Khalif An-násir, who hesitated " not to grant him the assistance he sought, as the most powerful Kings and " greatest Khalifs are wont to do to all those who seek them and rely on them. " Yet the appearance of Sancho at this court was a compulsory act; his subjects " detested his rule, and so offensive was his behaviour towards them that they " chose me for their king, although, God knows, I had not the least wish to " become such, and had taken no steps whatever to arrive at the throne. How-

His address to
Al-hakem.

“ ever, I did so at the solicitation of my subjects; upon which my cousin was
 “ obliged to fly the country, and take refuge in this city. It then pleased thy pre-
 “ decessor (may God have mercy on him !) to restore Sancho to his lost kingdom,
 “ and to grant him his powerful aid, without paying regard either to the offers of
 “ vassalage I made to him or the rich presents which from time to time I sent to
 “ him. This I bore with resignation, for truly the Commander of the Faithful was
 “ then, as thou art now, my liege lord. Such was the manner in which my cousin
 “ came to Cordova; whereas I am come of my own free will, without having been
 “ compelled to do so by my subjects, or having been expelled from my kingdom
 “ by them, as he was. I am come confidently to place myself, my people, my
 “ castles, and such among my subjects as obey my rule, under the command of
 “ the Khalif, that he may decide between us two in his great wisdom.” The
 Khalif replied,—“ We have listened to thy words and understood their meaning, and
 “ certainly we will soon show thee greater favour, and our benefits shall come down
 “ on thee more profusely even than those of my father ever did on thy enemy.
 “ True, thy cousin Sancho came to our court first, and put himself under the
 “ protection of this our empire; but that is no reason why we should neglect
 “ thee on his account. We will therefore diminish none of our favours, and thou
 “ shalt return to thy country happy and content; we will collect together for thee
 “ the scattered portions of thy kingdom; we will make thee Lord of all the districts
 “ which once acknowledged thy sway and are now in the hands of thy cousin;
 “ we will give thee our letters patent declaring our decision upon thy right [to
 “ the throne] and that of thy cousin; we will, in short, deprive him of his usurped
 “ dominions, and favour and protect thee greatly beyond thy most sanguine
 “ expectations. We take God to witness of the truth of our words.” Again did
 Ordoño prostrate himself before the Khalif, expatiating in praise of his kindness
 and generosity. He then rose to retire, walking backwards so as not to turn
 his face from the Khalif. Having thus arrived where the eunuchs were waiting
 for him, Ordoño was conducted to the western hall opening upon the terrace, where
 he plainly exhibited on his countenance the reverential awe with which he had
 been struck, and his utter astonishment at the magnificence and splendour dis-
 played before him, as indicative of the power and strength of the Khalifate. In
 passing through the hall, the eyes of Ordoño fell on the vacant throne of the
 Commander of the Faithful: unable to repress his feelings, he advanced slowly
 towards it, and, having prostrated himself before it, remained for some time in
 the most humble position, as if the Khalif were sitting on it. He was next
 conducted by the eunuchs to a pavilion in the northern extremity of the [western]
 hall, where he was told to sit down on a raised cushion covered with gold brocade.

The Khalif's
answer.



Whilst there, the Hájib Ja'far Al-mus'hafí approached him from another part of the palace; seeing which, Ordoño rose from his seat, went up to him, made him a most profound bow, and attempted to kiss his hand, but Ja'far withdrew it, and, addressing him in the most friendly terms, embraced him, and then sat down by his side, and began to converse with him, promising him good success in his enterprise, and assuring him that the Khalif would most certainly fulfil his promise; hearing which, Ordoño's joy was doubled.

After this, at a signal made by Ja'far, a dress of honour, which the Khalif had destined for Ordoño, was produced. It consisted of a tunic¹⁸ of gold tissue, and a bornús of the same material, with a belt¹⁹ of the purest gold, set with pearls and rubies of such magnitude and beauty that the eyes of the barbarian rested complacently on them; and whilst Ja'far was dressing him, he fell down on his knees and prayed aloud [for the Khalif's preservation]. This being done, Ja'far sent for every one of the Christians who came in Ordoño's suite, and gave each a dress according to his rank; after which they all left the room with the greatest humility, returning thanks for the signal favour they had just received. After traversing the same halls and the open terrace through which he had come, Ordoño, followed by the Christians of his suite, arrived at the central pavilion where he had alighted, and where by the Khalif's order a generous steed richly caparisoned, and having the saddle and bridle ornamented with pure gold, was prepared for him. Ordoño mounted, and, accompanied by Ibn Tamís, returned to his dwelling in the palace of the Rissáfah,²⁰ which had been provided with every article suitable to one of his rank,—furniture, beds, earthenware, &c. In this palace Ordoño and the Christians of his suite stayed until the moment of their departure, receiving daily the choicest provisions for their consumption, and being otherwise provided with every comfort or luxury. For a long time after, the people of Cordova talked of nothing else than the rejoicings of that day, and the glorious manifestation of Islám. The orators and poets, who were present at the ceremony, failed not, as was the custom on such occasions, to deliver extempore speeches or poems allusive to the scene they had witnessed; but as it would take us far from our subject to quote any of those compositions here, we shall omit them for brevity sake.²¹

In the mean while his cousin Sancho, the son of Ramiro, seeing the tempest gather over his head, sent a message to the Khalif, in his own name as well as in that of the counts and bishops of Galicia and Zamora, offering his submission, and imploring him to accept of it, and to continue to him the favours and protection which his father, An-násir, had dispensed to them. Upon which Al-hakem consented to grant his request, on condition that he would demolish all the fortresses

and castles on the frontiers of his dominions and close upon the Moslem territory ; [which was done.]

Arrival of ambassadors from Catalonia ;

Some time after this, the kings²² of Barcelona, Tarragona, and other cities, solicited a renewal of the treaty of peace, as it existed before, sending as presents twenty Slavonian eunuchs,²³ twenty *kintars* of sable-skins, five *kintars* of martens' fur, ten suits of Slavonian armour, one hundred Frankish swords, and other articles, which the Khalif accepted, granting their request on condition of their dismantling all the fortresses in the vicinity of the Moslem frontier, from which marauding parties usually started,—of their lending no assistance to the people of their faith in their wars with the Mohammedans,—and lastly, of their endeavouring to deter other Christian nations from joining their forces against the Moslems.

and from Navarre.

Then came ambassadors from Garcia, the son of Sancho, King of the Basques (Garcia of Navarre), with a number of bishops and counts of that country, to solicit peace ; which was likewise granted, notwithstanding the procrastination and deceit which that monarch had lately manifested ; upon which they all returned to their country rejoiced and satisfied.

The Countess of Castile arrives at court.

The mother of Count Ludherik Ibn Beláshk (Rodrigo Velasquez) went also to the court of Al-hakem. This Ludherik was a powerful chieftain, whose states bordered²⁴ upon Galicia. Having first dispatched the great officers of his court to meet the Christian princess, the Khalif received her in state, granted the peace she requested on behalf of her son, and gave her a large sum of money to be distributed among her attendants, besides a rich present for herself. The day of her entrance into Cordova was a day of festival, great crowds of people flocking to witness the imposing sight. She came mounted on a swift mule, the saddle and bit of which were richly ornamented with gold, and the covering made of silk cloth, also embroidered with gold. The audience being over, the princess bade farewell to return to her country ; but before her departure [for Castile] she had another audience of the Khalif, who received her as graciously as before, and made her suitable presents for her journey.

Transactions in Africa.

After the death of Abú-l-'aysh, the Idrísite, who, as before related, was killed in an encounter with the Christians of Andalus, his brother, Al-hasan Ibn Kanún, whom he had appointed to govern during his absence, succeeded him in the kingdom.²⁵ Al-hasan persevered in his allegiance to the Bení Umeyyah, and caused the *khotbah* to be said in their name in all the mosques of his dominions. Subsequently to this, Balkín Ibn Zeyrí Ibn Menád As-sanhájí, a Berber chieftain residing in Eastern Africa, who had embraced the religious opinions of the 'Obeydites, invaded also Western Africa, and completed the work begun by Jauhar,