

by putting an end in that country to the rule of the Bení Umeyyah. This state of things continued until Mu'izz Ibn Ismá'il, the Fátimite,<sup>26</sup> having heard that the power of the Cordovan Khalifate was daily waxing stronger, decided upon sending into Western Africa his general, Jauhar, to stop the progress of their arms. Ya'la Ibn Mohammed Al-yeferení, chief of the tribe of Yeferen, whom An-násir had put in command of Tangiers, went out to meet the Shiite general, but was defeated and slain. Jauhar then laid siege to Fez, which he reduced, putting to death the governor appointed by An-násir, after which he returned to Eastern Africa. When this disastrous news reached Cordova, all good Moslems were greatly afflicted; for the appearance in the neighbouring country of a power so hostile to the principles of the *Sunnah* or traditional law could not but deeply concern all those who wished for the glorious manifestation of Islám in its full purity. Accordingly, in the year 362 (Oct. 11, A. D. 972), Al-hakem sent his *mauli*, Ghálib, to Africa, at the head of considerable forces, with instructions not to return to Andalus until he had completely exterminated all his enemies. Ghálib's first step was to invest the impregnable fortress of Hajar-n-nasr,<sup>27</sup> wherein Al-hasan Ibn Kanún had shut himself up with his women and his treasures. Having reduced it, and taken Al-hasan prisoner, Ghálib proceeded to Fez, which he entered without opposition, re-establishing in that capital, as well as in all Western Africa, the supremacy of the Bení Umeyyah. After this, Ghálib prepared to return with his royal captive to Cordova. Having left Fez about the end of Ramadhán, 363 (June, A. D. 974), he proceeded to Ceuta, where he embarked with all his suite. On his landing at Algesiras he dispatched a messenger to Al-hakem, informing him of the victories he had gained, and of the princes of the house of 'Alí who came [like so many prisoners] with him. Al-hakem had no sooner heard the message than he issued orders that all the civil functionaries of his court, all the Kádís and theologians, accompanied by their respective *tabakát* (classes of students), and strong detachments from every division of the army, should go out to receive and greet the victor. The Khalif himself went out some distance from the capital, attended by his courtiers, the principal officers of his household, and his Slavonian guard, mounted on milk-white steeds richly caparisoned and covered with glittering mail. "The spectacle was truly grand and imposing," says that most judicious and entertaining of all historians, Ibnu Hayyán; "Ghálib rode a beautiful chestnut horse; he was armed *cap-à-pié* in a suit of steel armour inlaid with pure gold. At his right was Al-hasan Ibn Kanún, who had no sooner perceived Al-hakem in the distance, than he dismounted and proceeded on foot to kiss the hand of the Khalif, who received him most graciously, and pardoned him his offences, as well as those of the other [prisoners] who came

“ with him, whose number was very considerable, and distributed suitable presents  
“ among them.”

Settlers in An-  
dalus under  
this reign.

We have already mentioned the arrival, under his father's reign, of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, the author of the *Kitábu-l-amálí* (the book of dictations), who came from Baghdád, and who, being welcomed and distinguished by An-násir, settled in Cordova, and imparted his immense learning to the people of Andalus. He became also a favourite of Al-hakem, who failed not to profit by his instruction. Al-kálí, however, was not the only person of eminence who left the East to settle in the dominions of Al-hakem; for the fame of his repeated successes both in Africa and in Andalus, of his liberality to the learned, and of the tranquillity which prevailed in the territories subject to Islám owing to his wise measures and to his zeal for the administration of justice, induced numbers of illustrious Moslems to repair to Andalus. We shall here mention a few.

Abú Bekr Al-azrak, a descendant of Moslemah, son of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán: having left Cairo, his native city, for Africa in the year 343 (beginning May 4, A. D. 954), he arrived at Cairwán, where the Shiites were then all-powerful; but as he refused to embrace the cause of those sectarians, he was persecuted and confined in a dungeon at Mehediyyah. He was afterwards released, and crossed over to Andalus in 349 (March 2, 960), and arrived in Cordova, where he settled, and was [afterwards]<sup>28</sup> kindly treated by Al-hakem. Abú Bekr was a learned and virtuous man. He was born in 329 at Cairo; he died at Cordova in the month of Dhí-l-k'adah of the year 385 (Dec. A. D. 995).

Thafar Al-baghdadí, the chief of the scribes of his time, came from Baghdád, and settled in Cordova. He was one of the many excellent scribes who lived in that capital about the same time, and whom Al-hakem kept in his pay, as Al-'abbás Ibn 'Omar As-sikilí (from Sicily), Yúsuf Al-bolúttí,<sup>29</sup> and their disciples. Being one of the best for correctness and beauty of hand-writing, soon after his arrival in Cordova the Khalif took him into his service, and employed him in transcribing books, of which duty he acquitted himself in a most admirable manner.

Ismá'il Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alí Al-korayshí, a descendant of 'Abd Ibn Zam'ah, the brother of Sawádah, the mother of the believers and wife of the Prophet. (May the favours of God be on her!) On the occupation of Egypt by the 'Obeydites, he left Cairo, his native city, and went to Western Africa, whence he crossed over to Andalus, and settled at Seville. He became celebrated for his works on various subjects.

Al-hakem's  
love of science.

The Khalif Al-hakem surpassed every one of his predecessors in love of literature and the sciences, which he himself cultivated with success and fostered in his

dominions ; indeed he is well known to have converted Andalus into a great market whereto the literary productions of every clime were immediately brought for sale. He would besides employ merchants and agents to collect books for him in distant countries ; to which end he would remit to them large sums of money from his treasury, until the number of books thus conveyed to Andalus exceeded all calculation. He would likewise send presents of money to celebrated authors in the East, with a view to encourage the publication of works, or to obtain the first copies of them. In this manner, knowing that Abú-l-faraj, of Ispahán, who belonged to the [royal] family of Umeyyah, had written a work entitled *Kitábu-l-aghání* (the book of songs), he sent him one thousand dinárs of pure gold ; upon which the author forwarded him a copy of his work, even before it had appeared in 'Irák.<sup>30</sup> He did the same thing with Abú Bekr Al-abharí Al-málekí, who published a commentary on the *Mokhtassar*<sup>31</sup> of Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem ; and with other illustrious authors of his days. Al-hakem, moreover, collected round him and employed in his own palace the most skilful men of his time in the art of transcribing, binding, or illuminating books ; and such literary treasures were amassed in Andalus as no sovereign ever possessed before or after him, if we except the library which is said to have been collected by [the Sultán] An-násir, son of Al-mustadhí-billah,<sup>32</sup> of the house of 'Abbás. This immense collection of books remained in the palace of Cordova, until, during the siege of that capital by the Berbers, the Hájb Wádheh, who was a freedman of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, ordered them to be sold, the remainder being shortly after plundered and destroyed on the taking of that city by the Berbers. So far Ibnu Khaldún, whose narrative we have abridged ; but in order to give an idea of the number of books collected by Al-hakem we shall here transcribe the words of Ibnu-l-abbár in his *Tekmilah* (complement) : “ Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm says, I was told by Talíd, the eunuch, “ who was the keeper of the library and répository of the sciences in the palace of “ the Bení Merwán, that the catalogue only of the books consisted of forty-four “ volumes, each volume having twenty sheets of paper, which contained nothing “ else but the titles and descriptions of the books.”<sup>33</sup>

His passion for books.

Another historian, after transcribing the above passage, says, “ Al-hakem was “ the most virtuous and liberal of men ; and he treated all those who came to “ his court with the utmost kindness. He amassed such a collection of books “ that it is impossible to estimate even approximatively either their value or their “ number, some writers stating that they amounted to four hundred thousand “ volumes ; and that when they were removed [from the palace] six months were “ expended in the operation. Al-hakem was a man of irreproachable conduct ; “ he was learned, and had a quick understanding : his tutors in the various sciences

Library founded by him.

“ were, Kásim Ibn Asbagh, Ahmed Ibn Dahim,<sup>34</sup> Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám Al-khoshaní, Zakariyyá Ibn Khattáb, and Thábit Ibn Kásim. The latter gave him permission to cite him [in his writings]; and Al-hakem did so, as well as a great number [of other doctors]. He caused works on all subjects to be conveyed to Cordova from every country, however remote, lavishing his treasures in the acquisition of them, until the number of books thus collected was such that they could no longer be contained in his libraries. He was, moreover, so fond of reading, that he preferred the pleasure of perusing his books to all the enjoyments which royalty can afford; by which means he considerably increased his learning, doubled his information, and improved his taste. In the knowledge of history, biography, and genealogy, he was surpassed by no living author of his days. He wrote a voluminous history of Andalus, filled with precious information; and so sound was the criticism which he displayed in it, that whatever he related [as borrowed from more ancient sources] might be confidently believed to be a fact.”

“ To give an idea of Al-hakem's immense erudition,” says the historian Ibnu-l-abbár, “ it will only be necessary to record here a well-ascertained fact—though, strange to say, neither Ibnu-l-faradhí nor Ibn Bashkúwál have mentioned it in their works—namely: that not one book was to be found in Al-hakem's library, whatever might be its contents, which the Khalif had not perused, writing on the fly-leaf, the name, surname, and patronymic of the author; that of the tribe or family to which he belonged; the year of his birth and death; after which followed such interesting anecdotes about the author or his work as through his immense reading he had derived from other writers.”

Notice of literary men living at his court.

We shall conclude our account of Al-hakem by mentioning a few only of the most eminent authors who flourished under this reign, and who contributed by their works to diffuse the rays of science throughout Andalus.

Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún Al-'odhrí, the celebrated physician, was one of the most eminent men of Al-hakem's court. In order to improve his learning in medicine and botany, in both of which sciences he was already very proficient,<sup>35</sup> he travelled to Egypt, where he obtained for some time the direction of an hospital. He then returned to Andalus, and was greatly distinguished by Al-hakem, who appointed him his chief physician.

Ibn Mufarraj [Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed]. This was a learned theologian, who wrote for the use of the Khalif several treatises on the legal decisions of Az-zahrí [Mohammed Ibn Moslem] and on those of Al-basrí [Abú Sa'íd Al-hasan Ibn Yesár]. The poet Ibn Mughíth<sup>36</sup> made likewise for the Khalif's own library a collection of the verses of the Bení Umeyyah, similar in size and design to that

which As-súli had previously made of those of the Bení 'Abbás. Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf At-táríkhí, better known by his surname of Al-warrák (the paper-merchant), wrote by the command of Al-hakem several works on the history and topography of Africa.<sup>37</sup> 'Isa Ibn Mohammed Abú-l-asbagh became celebrated for his excellent history of Elvira and the lives of eminent men, natives thereof. Abú 'Amru Ahmed Ibn Faraj,<sup>38</sup> a native of Jaen, compiled from the most authentic sources a voluminous history of Andalus, dwelling principally on the commendable deeds of the Sultáns of the house of Merwán (the Bení Umeyyah); and lastly, Ya'ish Ibn Sa'id Ibn Mohammed Abú 'Othmán,<sup>39</sup> who had been a disciple of the celebrated Kásim Ibn Asbagh, of Baena, was also the author of a general history of Andalus. Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Hishám Al-makúwí, Yúsuf Ibn Hárún Ar-rámedí, Abú-l-walíd Yúnas Al-bathaliósi, Ahmed Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ibráhím Al-hamdání, were all distinguished poets of Al-hakem's court, and enjoyed the favour of that Khalif. Mohammed Az-zubeydí, the author of the celebrated *Kitábu-l-'ayn*, one of the best Arabic dictionaries that exist, whom Al-hakem appointed preceptor to his son Hishám; Ibnu-s-síd, who wrote a valuable treatise on the language, besides another work on the same subject in the form of a dialogue, consisting of upwards of one hundred volumes; Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, who, besides his historical cyclopædia, entitled *Al-'ikd* (the necklace), composed many excellent works which are to this day the delight of the lovers of literature; and several other authors of note, whose names we omit for the sake of brevity, flourished under this reign.

Al-hakem was a just and enlightened ruler; he attended public worship every Friday, and distributed alms to the poor. Being himself very strict in the observance of religious duties, he caused all the precepts of the *Sunnah* to be enforced throughout his dominions. Perceiving that the use of wine and other spirituous liquors forbidden by law had become quite common in Andalus, owing to the tolerance or negligence of former Sultáns, he ordered that all the vines in his dominions should be rooted up; but upon being told by one of his wisest counsellors that many poor people would be ruined in consequence of the measure, and that, moreover, if the people were inclined to sin they might import wine from the Christian countries, or make it themselves with figs and other fruits possessing inebriating qualities, he recalled the order, although he directed the Kádís and other public officers to inflict summary punishment on all those who were convicted of dealing in spirituous liquors, or of having used them at weddings and other festivities. In taste for building he was surpassed by none of his predecessors, if we except perhaps his father An-násir. His addition to the great mosque of Cordova—in which he is reported to have spent no less than one hundred and

Character of  
Al-hakem.

sixty-one thousand dinárs out of his own share in the spoil taken from the infidels of Andalus—would of itself be a deed highly meritorious in the eyes of his God and Creator. He lavished, besides, countless treasures in the construction of mosques, houses of reception for the poor, hospitals for the sick, and colleges for the youth; and he ornamented his capital, as well as other large cities in his dominions, with baths, inns, markets, fountains, and other works of public utility.

His forbearance in the exercise of power, and his extreme attention towards learned or pious people, has become proverbial, and we shall give a remarkable instance of it in the words of an author named Abú-l-kásim Ibn Mufarraǵ. “I was  
“ of a contrary opinion to that followed by the Faquih Abú Ibráhím on several  
“ points of law and traditions, and yet I was in the habit of attending the lectures  
“ which he delivered on those sciences at a mosque close to his house, of which  
“ he was Imám. The mosque was called the mosque of Abú 'Othmán, and it  
“ stood to the north-west of the royal palace; the hour was between the two  
“ prayers of noon and sun-set, and the concourse of Talbes [students] and others  
“ on that day happened to be greater than usual. We were all listening in silence  
“ to what Abú Ibráhím had to say, when behold! in came one of the eunuchs  
“ of the palace belonging to the class of the letter-bearers, who brought a message  
“ from the Khalif Al-hakem. On entering the mosque the eunuch stooped, saluted  
“ Abú Ibráhím, and addressed him thus: ‘O Faquih! the Commander of the  
“ Faithful (may God prolong his life!) wishes to see thee, and he is waiting for  
“ thee; so make haste: make haste; quick, quick!’—‘I hear the Sultán’s order,’  
“ said Abú Ibráhím, ‘and would willingly obey it, were it not that I am prevented  
“ and cannot [at present] use speed. Go back to thy master and mine, (may  
“ God pour his favours on him!) and tell him how thou hast found me in one  
“ of the houses of God, (may his name be exalted!) surrounded by a number of  
“ students, to whom I am recounting traditions respecting his uncle (the Prophet).  
“ Tell him that these students are attentively listening to my words and profiting  
“ by my lesson, and that it behoves me not to interrupt the subject upon which  
“ I am lecturing to them until the sitting be at an end and the hour come for  
“ my dismissing them. Tell him that this consideration only prevents me from  
“ repairing immediately to his presence, and that the very moment that I feel  
“ free from this assembly of people who are here retained by the bonds of the  
“ Almighty and are trying to obtain his grace, I will go to him in person, if God be  
“ pleased.’ Having spoken thus, Abú Ibráhím resumed his lecture, and the eunuch  
“ went away not a little astonished at the answer he had received, and greatly  
“ concerned about the time he had spent in the delivery of his message. Having,  
“ however, communicated to Al-hakem the answer made by Abú Ibráhím, the

“ eunuch returned shortly after to the mosque in all haste, and said, ‘ O Faquih !  
“ I have faithfully reported thy answer to the Commander of the Faithful, and  
“ he has directed me to say that he hopes God will reward thee for the good  
“ thou art doing to religion, and to the Moslems who are profiting by thy lessons ;  
“ and that when thou hast put an end to thy lecture, thou art to go to him straight.  
“ I have been commanded to stay here until thou hast done, in order to conduct  
“ thee to his presence.’ Abú Ibráhím replied, ‘ Very well—only that I am too  
“ weak and too old to walk to the *Bábu-s-suddah*, and moreover it is very painful  
“ for me to ride, owing to my advanced age, which has considerably weakened  
“ all my limbs. *Bábu-s-saná’ah* (the gate of the fabric), which is the nearest  
“ gate of the royal palace from here, is shut. If the Commander of the Faithful  
“ will condescend to have it opened, in that case I may easily walk to his palace  
“ without any injury to my person. I therefore desire thee to return to the Sultán  
“ and acquaint him with this my determination, in order that I may hear his  
“ pleasure and act accordingly. Go ! I see thou art a steady, well-meaning youth,  
“ and I wish thee all sorts of prosperity.’ The eunuch took his departure, and  
“ returned some time after, saying, ‘ O Faquih ! the Commander of the Faithful  
“ has granted thy request, and ordered the *Bábu-s-saná’ah* to be opened for thy  
“ reception ; he himself is waiting for thee close to it, and through it I left the  
“ palace to come here. My instructions this time are to remain by thee, until  
“ thou hast finished thy present occupation, and to remind thee of the object of  
“ my visit.’—‘ I will do so shortly,’ was Abú Ibráhím’s reply. The eunuch then sat  
“ down, and waited until Abú Ibráhím had finished his lecture, and had expounded  
“ according to his daily practice without suppressing one sentence. The lecture  
“ being over, Abú Ibráhím got up and went to his dwelling, where he washed and  
“ dressed ; after which he repaired to the presence of Al-hakem, entered the palace  
“ by the gate of Saná’ah, dispatched the business for which he had been called,  
“ and went out by the same gate, which was immediately locked after his  
“ departure.”

Abú-l-kásim Ibn Mufarraǵ continues: “ I happened that very evening, after  
“ quitting the mosque in which Abú Ibráhím had been lecturing, to pass by the  
“ gate of Saná’ah, which by the order of the Khalif was continually kept shut,  
“ and, to my great astonishment, I found it wide open, as the eunuch had stated,  
“ and filled with servants and porters bustling and moving to and fro under  
“ the gate-way, and expecting the arrival of Abú Ibráhím. Great was my surprise  
“ when I witnessed such a scene, and for a long time after I spoke of nothing  
“ else [to my friends] than of what I had seen.” So far Ibn Mufarraǵ, whose  
“ anecdote we have introduced here to show the reader how the Sultáns and the

learned of those times behaved towards each other. (May God bless their souls!)

Death of Al-hakem.

Al-hakem died on the second day of Safar, A.H. 366 (Sept. 29, A.D. 976), at the age of sixty-three,<sup>40</sup> and after a reign of upwards of fifteen years. He was born in the year 303 (beginning July 16, A.D. 915); his mother's name was Marján. He left no other male children except Hishám, whom he designated for his successor some time before he died. We have already stated that he used the appellative Abú-l-'áassin, and that on his accession to the throne he assumed the pious surname of Al-mustanser-billah (he who implores the assistance of God).



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

## CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Hishám II.—Conspiracy in favour of his uncle Al-mugheyrah detected—Execution of Al-mugheyrah—Origin of 'Al-mansúr—Administration of Ja'far Al-mus'hafí—Intrigues of Al-mansúr—His alliance with Ghálib—who is appointed Hájb—Al-mus'hafí falls into disgrace—Is imprisoned and put to death—Al-mansúr's disagreement with Ghálib—Death of that chief—Al-mansúr seizes the treasures of Hishám—Takes Berbers into his pay—Builds himself a castle—Usurps the royal power—Campaigns of Al-mansúr against the Christians of Andalus—Destruction of Leon—Transactions in Africa—Taking of Barcelona—Zeyrí Ibn Menád sends an embassy to Cordova—Visits that capital—Returns to Africa—Quarrels with Al-mansúr—Is forcibly dispossessed of his government—Dies in exile—Campaigns in Andalus—Invasion of Galicia—March of the Mohammedan army—Taking and destruction of Santiago—Death of Al-mansúr.

ON the death of Al-hakem, his son Hishám, surnamed *Al-muyyed-billah* (the assisted by God), who was only nine years old at the time,<sup>1</sup> succeeded to the throne. A man, however, named Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, whom Al-hakem had promoted from the rank of Kádí to that of Wizír to his son,<sup>2</sup> succeeded by his intrigues in usurping all the authority of the state, and reigning, as it were, in his name.

According to Ibnu Khaldún, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir rose in favour with Al-hakem. When that Khalif died and was succeeded by his youthful son Hishám, it was Mohammed who accepted and fulfilled the commission of putting to death Al-mugheyrah, the brother of Al-hakem, who aspired to the throne. This Al-mugheyrah, who was the son of the Khalif An-násir, was at the head of a considerable party in Cordova, who preferred him to his nephew Hishám on account of his more mature age and greater experience in affairs of government; but with the assistance of Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí, who had been Al-hakem's Hájb (chamberlain), of Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, and of the Slavonian eunuchs of the palace, whose chiefs at the time were Fáyik and Júdhar,<sup>3</sup> Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir surprised Al-mugheyrah in his dwelling and put him to death two days after the death of Al-hakem, when Hishám was proclaimed without opposition. This being done, Ibn Abí 'A'mir formed the design of seizing

Accession of  
Hishám II.

the person of Hishám and usurping his authority. To this end he began to plot against the great officers of the state, and to raise dissensions among them, setting them against each other, and employing one to kill the other. As he himself belonged to one of the tribes of Yemen, that of Ma'áfer, being the descendant of one 'Abdu-l-malek, who entered Andalus with Tárík and took a prominent part in the conquest of that country, he had no difficulty at all in attaching to his interests the chiefs of the Yemenite faction, which was then all-powerful. Through their means he rose gradually into importance and became completely the master of Hishám; he forbade the Wizírs to approach the person of their sovereign except on particular days, when they were allowed merely to salute him and then depart. He moreover lavished his gifts on the army, honoured and exalted the learned, and destroyed all those who opposed him. He was wise, provident, brave, had great military talents, and unparalleled zeal for religion. All those functionaries of the state who opposed him and resisted his authority, he destroyed one by one, either by depriving them of the offices they held, or by making them slay each other. All this he did under Hishám's own signature and by his orders; and he contrived so well, that within a short time after his elevation he rid himself in some way or other of all those who stood in his way. His first attacks were directed against the Sclavonian eunuchs of the palace, who formed part of the Khalif's body-guard. Having instigated the Hájb Al-mus'hafí against them, this functionary expelled them all from the palace, although their number exceeded eight hundred. He then contracted an alliance with Ghálib, the *mauli* of the Khalif Al-hakem, whose daughter he married, and by courting his friendship and showing great obsequiousness towards him, he succeeded in obtaining his assistance against Al-mus'hafí, whose influence in the state he ultimately destroyed. Against Ghálib he employed Ja'far Ibn Alí Ibn Hamdún, Lord of Masílah, and general of the Shiites [of Africa], who had a considerable body of Berbers and Zenátah at his command, the same individual who had opposed the authority of Al-hakem at the beginning of that Khalif's reign.<sup>4</sup> Ja'far he slew with the assistance of 'Abdu-l-wadúd Ibn Jeh'war Ibn Dhí-n-nún, and other grandees of the state, who were the chiefs of the Arabian party.

Conspiracy in favour of his uncle Al-mugheyrah detected.

Ibn Bessám, copying Ibnu Hayyán, says, "When the Khalifate of the Bení Merwán in Andalus came to Al-hakem, the ninth Imám of that family, an event took place which produced the most serious consequences. Among other virtues Al-hakem possessed that of paternal love in such a degree that it blinded his prudence and induced him to appoint a son of his, who was then a child, to be his successor, in preference to any of his brothers or nephews, all men of mature age, well versed in the management of affairs and in the command of

“ the armies, capable of making their mandates obeyed, and of maintaining themselves in power.

“ It has been observed,” continues Ibn Bessám, “ that the empire of the Bení Umeyyah was never so prosperous nor so durable as when the sons succeeded the fathers ; for when it descended to the brothers,<sup>5</sup> and they inherited it one from another, it declined and showed visible symptoms of decay. Perhaps Al-hakem foresaw this, and wished to avoid the troubles that might arise, and he accordingly designated his son Hishám for his successor. However this may be, no sooner had Al-hakem breathed his last, than two of his Sclavonian eunuchs, named Fáyik and Júdhar, foreseeing the troubles and calamities that might arise from such a measure, conceived the idea of having his brother, Al-mugheyráh, raised to the throne instead of the youthful Hishám. ‘ Methinks,’ said Fáyik one day to Júdhar, ‘ we shall never be able to carry our plans into execution as long as Ja’far Al-mus’hafí lives ; he must die.’ — ‘ And are we to begin our undertaking,’ answered Júdhar, ‘ by assassinating an old man, who is our master and our protector ?’ — ‘ By Allah ! I see no other way,’ replied Fáyik. They then sent a message to Ja’far, to announce to him the death of Al-hakem, and at the same time to communicate to him their plans respecting Al-mugheyráh, requesting him to give his opinion and advice on the subject. Al-mus’hafí’s answer was thus conceived : ‘ It is for you two to act, and for me to follow ; your offices as master of the household and governor of the palaces give you respectively great authority.’ Upon which the two eunuchs agreed to carry their project into execution. Al-mus’hafí, however, left the palace, and, having assembled the troops and their officers, announced to them the death of Al-hakem, and informed them of the plans of Fáyik and Júdhar to place Al-mugheyráh on the vacant throne, to the prejudice of Hishám, the appointed heir. ‘ If we remain faithful to our master’s son,’ said Al-mus’hafí to them, ‘ the empire is in our hands ; if, on the contrary, we consent to have another sovereign, we shall lose all power and authority in the state.’ The soldiers answered unanimously, ‘ Thy opinion is also ours.’ Al-mus’hafí then hastened to dispatch Mohammed Ibn Abí ’A’mir with a body of troops to the residence of Al-mugheyráh, with instructions to put him to death. Ibn Abí ’A’mir found Al-mugheyráh in complete ignorance of what had occurred ; he told him of his brother’s death, and how his nephew, Hishám, had been seated on the vacant throne. At the receipt of this intelligence, Al-mugheyráh was thunderstruck ; but soon after recovering, he said, ‘ I hear and obey the orders [of my new master].’ Not knowing how to act, Ibn Abí ’A’mir sent a written message to Al-mus’hafí, acquainting him with what had occurred, and asking for further instructions. The answer was,

Execution of  
Al-mugheyráh.

“ ‘Seize him, and put him to death; if thou do not like the commission, I will send another to execute it.’ Al-mugheyrah was accordingly strangled.”

Origin of Al-mansúr.

The man who executed this sentence, and who was destined to render Islám triumphant, was the son of 'Abdullah, son of 'A'mir, son of Abú 'A'mir, son of Al-walíd, son of Yezíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek Al-ma'áferí;<sup>6</sup> that is to say, of the tribe of Ma'áfer, a branch of Himyar. Mohammed was born in A. H. 327, (A. D. 939). His mother's name was Boreyhah, and she was the daughter of Yahya Ibn Zakariyyá Ibn Bartal At-temímí. All those writers who have treated of him, such as Ibnu Hayyán, in the history he wrote of the 'A'mirite dynasty,<sup>7</sup>—Al-fath, in his *Mattmah*,—Al-hijári, in his *Mas'hab*,—and Ash-shekundí, in his *At-taraf*,—agree that Al-mansúr was originally from a town called Toresh [Torres?], in the neighbourhood of Algesiras. His ancestor, 'Abdu-l-malek, was one of those noble Arabs who entered Andalus at the same time with Tárik Ibn Zeyád. His father, 'Abdullah, surnamed Abú Hafss, was born at Algesiras, but removed when young to Cordova, where he learned [sacred] traditions from Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lubábah, Ahmed Ibn Kháled, Mohammed Ibn Foteys,<sup>8</sup> and other eminent theologians of his time; composing also various works on the subject. 'Abdullah left Andalus for the East, where he fulfilled all the duties of a pilgrim. He was an honest and virtuous man, very religious, and he led a very austere life, keeping aloof from kings and great men. He died in Africa as he was returning from his pilgrimage; some say at Tripoli, others at a place called Arkádah.<sup>9</sup> The year of his death is not stated, but it is generally believed that he died towards the close of An-násir's reign.

When still young, Al-mansúr travelled to Cordova, where he studied and settled. Having established a shop or office close to the gate of the royal palace, he for some time earned his livelihood by writing letters or petitions for such among the servants of the royal household as stood in need of them. At last, one of the Sultan's wives, named Sobha,<sup>10</sup> who was the mother of Hishám, happening to want a confidential secretary, one of the eunuchs of the palace, who was an intimate friend of Al-mansúr, recommended him to that princess, who at first employed him in writing several things she wanted, and afterwards appointed him her secretary. Being a shrewd and intelligent man, Al-mansúr had no difficulty in gaining the favour of the princess, who introduced him to her husband, the Sultán Al-hakem, requesting him to confer on her protégé some lucrative appointment. Al-hakem then made him Kádí of a town; and as Al-mansúr distinguished himself in that capacity, he was shortly after promoted to the office of collector of tithes and duties upon inheritances at Seville. He then returned to Cordova, where he so contrived to gain the heart of Sobha, by the rich presents he made her, and

his attention to her service, that no man in Cordova enjoyed so much favour. His next office was that of master of the mint, which he filled for some time. An interesting anecdote has been preserved, showing his kindness and his excessive liberality even towards strangers, which happened at the time he was at the head of that establishment. Mohammed Ibn Aflah, one of Al-hakem's pages, had once occasion to go to the mint for the purpose of selling some silver ornaments which he possessed. "I had spent at my daughter's wedding," said the page to the author who preserved the anecdote, "more money than I could well afford, so that I was actually reduced to poverty, and had nothing left save a bit and bridle ornamented [with silver],<sup>11</sup> which I took to the mint, in order to obtain its value in money. Being introduced to Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who was at that time master of the mint, and whom I found sitting behind piles of coined dirhems, I made known to him my errand, and told him how I had been reduced to poverty by my daughter's wedding. Having listened attentively to my account, he seemed greatly rejoiced; and having weighed bridle, iron, leather, and all, he gave me the weight in dirhems, with which he filled my cap. I could hardly believe my senses: such a trait of generosity on the part of Mohammed towards a stranger, whom he had never seen, so far captivated my heart, that had he then asked me to enter into a conspiracy to deprive my master Al-hakem of the throne, by Allah! I really think I should have accepted his proposition. I need not add, that, upon counting down the money, I found there was enough to pay my daughter's dowry; which I did, and had besides a large sum left for my own private use."

It was also during his occupation of that office that Al-mansúr caused a palace of silver to be wrought, which he presented to Sobha. It was carried to the dwelling of that princess on the heads of several men; and she was so pleased with the present that from that day forward she became his patron, and that she again introduced him to the presence of her lord and master, Al-hakem, who spoke to his courtiers about it, and exclaimed, "By Allah! this youth (meaning Al-mansúr) has won the hearts and affections of our women with his presents." It is also related that Al-hakem, who was greatly addicted to astrology and the science of divination, fancied that Ibn Abí 'A'mir (Al-mansúr) was the man mentioned in [the book of the] prophecies. He used to say to those among his courtiers who followed the same pursuits, "Do you not observe the tawny colour of his hands?" On another occasion he said, "If he has a sabre-cut on the head, he is doubtless the man announced." And so it was; for God Almighty decreed that some time after the death of Al-hakem, Al-mansúr should receive some such wound in a scuffle with Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, as we shall hereafter

relate. This conversation passed in Al-hakem's lifetime, and before Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir had reached the summit of eminence at which he afterwards arrived. Al-mansúr in the mean time did not neglect to make himself agreeable to the Hájb Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí, whose protection and good-will he also secured.

On the death of Al-hakem, his son Hishám Al-muyyed, who was then twelve years old, succeeded him. The Rúm (Christians) having collected their forces, and made some hostile demonstration upon the frontiers, Al-mus'hafí, who still retained the post of Hájb, sent Al-mansúr with an army against them. God Almighty permitted that the Christians should be defeated, and that Al-mansúr should return victorious from the expedition. This circumstance gained him the affections of the people; and as he was a shrewd and intelligent man, and very liberal [to those who seemed disposed to serve him], he began gradually to open for himself a path to power. To rid himself of the Sclavonian guard, he united himself with Al-mus'hafí, against whom he afterwards employed Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, whose daughter Asmá he married; the nuptial festivity being celebrated with a pomp that surpassed any thing of the sort in Andalus. He next destroyed Ghálib, by raising up against him an enemy in Ja'far, the African, the same prince in whose praise the celebrated poet, Ibn Hání,<sup>12</sup> composed one of his best *kassidas*. In like manner he employed against Ja'far another chieftain named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Hishám At-tojibí.<sup>13</sup> In short, such were his craftiness, foresight, and courage, that the historian Ibnu Hayyán has filled one volume with nothing but the enumeration of the well-planned expedients he put into practice, in order to obtain the supreme power. Such is the abstract of Al-mansúr's origin and the principal incidents of his life, as derived from the works of Ibnu Sa'íd and other historians; but what follows will, perhaps, throw greater light on the career of that celebrated usurper.

Administration  
of Ja'far Al-  
mus'hafí.

By the murder of his uncle, who was dispatched in the manner above related, Hishám saw himself firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors, and [Ja'far] Al-mus'hafí had the entire control of affairs. Ja'far began his administration by showing great zeal for the welfare of the people, as well as great humility and forbearance in the exercise of his functions. He laid aside all unnecessary pomp, and sat along with the Wizírs and other members of the council on a seat similar to theirs. These, however, may be called his only good acts; for soon after he began to distribute the offices of the state [among his friends and relatives], and to retain the public treasures for himself. Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who was in character the very reverse of Al-mus'hafí, observed a different conduct. To the avarice and exclusiveness of that Hájb he opposed the most unbounded liberality, and to his reserve and haughtiness of temper the most

agreeable and prepossessing manners, by which means he so captivated the affections of the people, that Al-mus'hafí bethought him of taking him for his partner in the administration, and appointing him to the post of Wizír. The zeal and talents with which Mohammed fulfilled the duties of his office, and his renewed attention to Sobha, the mother of Hishám, soon procured him the favour of that princess, and he accordingly rose in power and influence. By his courtly demeanour and fascinating manners, he so gained the affections of Sobha, that he became the most esteemed officer of the royal household; and an order from the Khalif Hishám came down enjoining his Hájb Al-mus'hafí to consult him upon the most arduous affairs of the government, and not to do any thing without his previous consent. In obedience to that command, Al-mus'hafí admitted Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir to his privacy, and treated him as a kind father would his own son, concealing nothing from him, and consulting him upon all business submitted to his consideration. But whilst Al-mus'hafí acted thus towards Mohammed, and relied confidently on him, the latter was secretly betraying him, and trying to destroy him in the princess's favour,<sup>14</sup> by always following a contrary advice, and charging him with the result of such measures as were not agreeable to the people.

Mohammed persevered in this path [of intrigue and deception] until he succeeded in working the ruin of Al-mus'hafí, and opening for himself the way to exclusive power, as we shall presently relate. Certain of Al-hakem's officers<sup>15</sup> being an obstacle to his ambitious views, he exiled some, and put others to death, until he had scattered and dispersed them all, intrusting their offices to creatures of his own, or to people in whom he could confide. He did the same with the Slavonian guard, which he dissolved and scattered through the country, putting to death the most influential among them, or those who appeared most obnoxious to his views. But as the events which we have just rapidly sketched have been fully related by many diligent historians of those times, we will proceed to give a few particulars from the most authentic and approved writers.

According to Ibnu Hayyán, there existed between the Hájb Al-mus'hafí and Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, the Sheikh of the *maulis*, and the champion of Andalus,<sup>16</sup> a bitter enmity and great rivalry, which caused them always to be at variance with each other. Ghálib being a very influential man, Al-mus'hafí saw his power gradually diminish and his orders continually disobeyed [by Ghálib], until having complained of him to his fellow Wizírs, he was advised to try every means of conciliation and to make his peace with him. No sooner was Al-mansúr informed of Al-mus'hafí's determination, than, fearing his reconciliation with Ghálib, he applied himself to court the friendship of the latter, with a view

Intrigues of  
Al-mansúr.

His alliance  
with Ghálib.

to accomplish the ruin of Al-mus'hafí through his means. It happened soon after, that Ghálib went out of Cordova to take the command of the army on the frontiers, whilst Al-mansúr also left that capital upon his second expedition against the infidels. Having met together on their return from their respective campaigns, the two generals held a conference together, and pledged themselves to effect in common the ruin of Al-mus'hafí. Al-mansúr returned to Cordova victorious and laden with spoil, by which his fame spread far and wide, and his reputation as a general increased. An order then came down from the Khalif Hishám, removing Al-mus'hafí from the office of Wáli-l-medínah,<sup>17</sup> which he held at the time, and giving it to Al-mansúr, who was also invested with a *khi'l'ah* or dress of honour by his sovereign's hands; all this being done without Al-mus'hafí being previously made aware of it. By obtaining the command of the *shortah*, or police force, Al-mansúr opened for himself the gate [to power]. His next care was to put in practice all manner of stratagems against Al-mus'hafí, to isolate him [from his friends], and to curtail his influence, until he succeeded in leaving but a small share of real power in his hands. All this he accomplished with the help of Ghálib, who, as before related, had agreed to connive with him at the destruction of Al-mus'hafí.

Meanwhile Al-mansúr filled the functions of his office (Wáli-l-medínah) in so satisfactory a manner that the citizens of Cordova had no reason to regret the loss of their former governors and magistrates. The greatest tranquillity and order prevailed [through the city], and justice was speedily administered to the delinquent. He continued, moreover, to court the friendship of Ghálib, and to conciliate his favour by every means in his power. Al-mus'hafí, on the other hand, being made aware of the plans which Al-mansúr was forming for his destruction, wrote a letter to Ghálib, asking for a reconciliation, and applying, at the same time, for the hand of his daughter Asmá for his son 'Othmán. Ghálib consented, and the proposed marriage was about to be celebrated, when Al-mansúr, who happened to hear of it, stirred himself and wrote to Ghálib, cautioning him against Al-mus'hafí, reviving his envy and hatred of that personage, and telling him to guard against some treacherous act of his. He did more: he persuaded the relatives and clansmen of Ghálib to write to him on the subject, until that chieftain, yielding to their solicitations, broke off all negotiations with Al-mus'hafí, and gave Al-mansúr the hand of the very daughter [Asmá] whom he had promised to 'Othmán. This alliance was concluded in the month of Moharram of the year 367, on the night of *nauruz* (new year's day), August, A. D. 977, the marriage being celebrated with unusual pomp and magnificence: the bride was first conducted to the royal palace, where the Khalif Hishám received her in state, accompanying her after-

wards to the bridegroom's dwelling. These marks of distinction increased the power and influence of Al-mansúr, and doubled the number of his followers and adherents, until, compared with him, Ja'far became a mere cipher.

After this the Sultán [Hishám] appointed Ghálib to the office of Hájb (chamberlain), conjointly with Ja'far Almus'hafí, who, despairing of ever being able to supplant his rival, gave up all resistance, and ceased to oppose him in the affairs of the administration. Al-mansúr, on the contrary, opposed him secretly, as well as in public, detaching all his partisans, and gaining them over to his party, until Ja'far was actually deserted by all his friends, and had to go alone morning and evening to the palace, enjoying none of the prerogatives and power of his office, which was merely nominal; a deserved punishment for the murder of Al-mugheyrah and his help to Hishám's accession!

Subsequently to this, Al-mansúr [Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir] instigated his sovereign Hishám against Al-mus'hafí, his children, relatives, friends, and every thing appertaining to them. A close account was demanded from them of all sums [belonging to the state] which had passed through their hands; and on the slightest pretext they were fined heavy sums, and reduced to poverty. By this means Al-mansúr succeeded in ruining and destroying that powerful family. A nephew of Al-mus'hafí, named Hishám, was the first to feel all the weight of his vengeance. This youth had accompanied Al-mansúr in his third expedition against the Christians; and as that general was returning to Cordova with a great number of heads stored in bags, as trophies of his victory, he stole one of the bags, and rode off to the capital, where he bethought him of presenting them to his sovereign before the arrival of his general. No sooner was Al-mansúr made aware of the fact, than he had the youth seized and confined in a dungeon, where he was afterwards put to death. As to Ja'far, he soon shared the fate of his nephew; for when Al-mansúr had ruined him and reduced him to poverty, so much so that he was compelled to sell him his house in the Rissáfah, which was one of the most magnificent residences in Cordova, he persecuted him for two consecutive years, keeping him sometimes in prison, and sometimes out of prison,—sometimes residing at court, at other times exiled,—always fined in heavy sums of money, until he annihilated him entirely and broke his spirit, when he was cast into one of the dungeons of Az-zahrá, where he ended his days, according to some authorities, from the effects of poison administered to him; and, according to others, from grief and disappointment.

Treating of this unfortunate Wizír, the author of the historical work entitled *Raudhatu-l-azhár wa bahjatu-n-nafus wa nozhatu-l-absás* (the flower-garden, the delight of the mind, and the recreation of the eye),<sup>18</sup> says, "When, in pursuance of

Ghálib is appointed Hájb.

Al-mus'hafí falls into disgrace.

Is imprisoned and put to death.

“ Al-mansúr's orders, Al-mus'hafí was arrested and confined in one of the dungeons  
“ of Az-zahrá, those among his friends and relatives, who had accompanied him  
“ thither, took an affectionate leave of him, and, with tears in their eyes, gave  
“ him the embrace of separation. ‘ Friends!’ said Al-mus'hafí to them, ‘ this  
“ is the last time that you will see me alive; for the moment is come when  
“ a prayer must needs be fulfilled, which I have been expecting for upwards of  
“ forty years.’ His friends having expressed a wish to know what the prayer was,  
“ Al-mus'hafí informed them how, during the reign of An-násir, he had been  
“ instrumental in committing to prison a man, who remained long in confinement.  
“ ‘ One night,’ said Al-mus'hafí, ‘ I dreamed that I heard a voice saying to me,  
“ Take such a one out of prison, and whatever prayer he may happen to make in  
“ thy behalf will be attended to. I did as I was commanded, and liberated the  
“ man. Having then made him come to my house, I acquainted him with my  
“ dream, and asked him to form a prayer; upon which he said, I ask God that  
“ whoever was concerned in my committal to prison may himself perish in the  
“ narrowest dungeon! After this, friends!’ added Al-mus'hafí, ‘ there can be  
“ no doubt that the man's prayer is about to be fulfilled, since I was one of  
“ those who put him in prison, although I afterwards repented of the deed when  
“ it was too late.’ ”

However, Al-mus'hafí, as before related, died in prison, when his body was given up to his friends for interment; for the following anecdote has been preserved by one of the Kátibs of Al-mansúr, named Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl. “ I once  
“ accompanied Mohammed Ibn Moslemah to Az-zahrá for the purpose of delivering  
“ the body of Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí to his friends and relatives, according  
“ to the instructions given us by Al-mansúr. We proceeded to the apartment  
“ of the deceased, whom we found stretched on his bed, and covered with an  
“ old tattered cloak which one of the gaolers had thrown over him. The body  
“ was then washed upon the back of a door, which had been torn from its hinges  
“ from one of the rooms; after which it was carried to the burial-place, followed  
“ by none save the Imám of the mosque, who had been engaged to recite the  
“ funeral prayer over him, and by such among his sons as happened to be in  
“ Cordova at the time. The sight of such a scene made me reflect upon the  
“ inconstancy of fortune; I recollected having once seen Ja'far ride from his  
“ own dwelling to the royal palace, followed by a numerous suite of relatives and  
“ adherents. The streets and markets through which he passed were thronged  
“ with people of every description, who were desirous to see him or had some  
“ petition to present to him. I myself having a memorial to place in his hands,  
“ made my way through the crowd, and delivered it to one of the Kátibs or

“ secretaries who rode by his side. Shortly after this, Al-mansúr became the  
 “ enemy of Ja’far, had him imprisoned, and made him follow him in all his  
 “ campaigns, treating him with the greatest contempt. I happened, in one of  
 “ our expeditions to Galicia, to pitch my tent close to that of Ja’far. I recollect  
 “ very well that Al-mansúr had issued orders that no fires should be lighted  
 “ that night in the camp, for fear the enemy should discover our position, and  
 “ defeat his plans of attack; and, by Allah! I saw Ja’far with a little brazier  
 “ of charcoal, which he dexterously concealed under his clothes, blowing now  
 “ and then into it, lest the fire should go out. I saw more; I saw ’Othmán,  
 “ the son of Ja’far, carrying to his tent, and actually bending under the weight  
 “ of it, a large trough full of flour kneaded with water, the only food which he  
 “ and his father had to keep themselves from starvation. I then heard ’Othmán  
 “ repeat the following verses :

‘ I strove in vain for a change of my fortune ; I saw it return as often  
 ‘ and faithfully as the free maiden to the appointed meeting.

‘ By Allah ! the days roll on, but I cease not to be tormented by the  
 ‘ agonizing thought of my evil fate.

‘ Days [these are] which invariably bring round a succession of calamities,  
 ‘ and from which all happiness and joy have taken their departure :

‘ Nights, the wearisome hours of which no pastime beguiles ; and in which  
 ‘ my misfortune itself sees nothing [pleasant] to be angry at.

‘ But what are days but clouds, which pour down their contents sometimes  
 ‘ to benefit and sometimes to injure the earth ? ’ ’ 19

Thus died Ja’far Ibn ’Othmán Al-mus’hafí : as to Ghálib An-násirí,<sup>20</sup> he soon  
 shared a similar fate. Having accompanied Al-mansúr in one of his campaigns,  
 both generals happened to ascend to the top of a castle for the purpose of recon-  
 noitring the neighbouring country. A dispute having arisen between Al-mansúr  
 and Ghálib [as to the best plan to be adopted], the latter grew exceedingly angry,  
 and said to Al-mansúr, “ Thou dog ! it was thou who spoiledst the monarchy  
 “ and dismantledst the fortresses [on the enemy’s frontier], with a view to the  
 “ usurpation of the royal power.” He then drew his sword and attacked Al-  
 mansúr, whom he wounded on the head ; and he would undoubtedly have killed  
 him, had not some officers, who were present, prevented him by seizing his arm.  
 Fearing lest he might renew the attack upon his person, Ibn Abí ’A’mir preci-  
 pitated himself from the top of the ramparts ; but God permitted that he should  
 find something in the air which broke his fall, and prevented his destruction.  
 His followers then took him up and conveyed him to his tent, where they took  
 care of him until he was entirely recovered. Ghálib, moreover, went over to

Al-mansúr’s  
 disagreement  
 with Ghálib.

Death of that  
chief.

the Christians, and made common cause with them; upon which Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at the head of the Moslem forces, attacked and routed him, until destiny permitted that Ghálib should die, and that Ibn Abí 'A'mir should obtain by his death that for which he had been toiling. Thus did Al-mansúr rid himself of all those who proved an obstacle to his ambition.

Some time after these events, some coolness was visible in the relations between Hishám and Al-mansúr, owing to the calumnies of ill-intentioned people. Being aware that the mischief could proceed from no other than the servants of the palace, Al-mansúr directed his attacks to that quarter, and he scattered them, or ruined them, leaving none in place except those in whom he could trust, or those from whom he had nothing to fear. He then learned that some of the women of the harem had secretly laid their hands on the treasures of the Khalif, which were always kept within the palace; he ascertained that Sídah (the queen mother) Sobha, the sister of Ráyik,<sup>21</sup> whose feelings towards him were changed, had taken large sums of money out of the royal coffers, having upon one single occasion abstracted no less than one hundred sealed jars containing gold and silver, which by her commands had been removed on the shoulders of the Sclavonian servants, after substituting in their room one hundred others, filled with drugs and other things, taken from the palace of the Khalifs, causing labels to be fixed to them similar to those on the jars which had been removed: she then managed to deceive the city governor, so that she was enabled to take the greater part of her plunder out of Cordova unobserved. The amount of money in gold and silver thus taken out of the royal treasury is said to have been eighty thousand dinárs. Ibn Abí 'A'mir having become informed of all these particulars, summoned to his presence a number of the household, and informed them how the Khalif Hishám, by his natural disposition, was averse to the hoarding of treasures, and that he was besides very much given to devotion, and that should the coffers of the state be drained [through his want of care], great detriment to the public cause would ensue: he therefore advised them to transfer the said treasures to a place of safety where they might be kept; and they were accordingly removed to a strong castle, called Az-záhirah, which Ibn Abí 'A'mir had caused to be built at some distance from Cordova. Five millions and seven hundred thousand dinárs in specie is said to have been the amount of treasure which was taken from the royal palace on this occasion. Sobha, too, was obliged to restore all the sums which she had taken from the treasury and had not yet removed from the palace. Ibn Abí 'A'mir became as intimate as ever with the Khalif Hishám, and made himself known to him for his virtue and his zeal in upholding the foundations of the state; the tongue of envy became dumb, and the plans of the malevolent were defeated.

Seizes the  
treasures of  
Hishám.

Having in this manner rid himself of all those who stood near the throne or from whom he might apprehend opposition in the government, Al-mansúr turned his attention towards the army, which he began to remodel so as to place it entirely at his own disposal. For this end he sent people to Africa, to enlist a number of Berbers and Zenátah, whom he divided into companies, the command of which he gave to African chiefs of the tribes of Senhájah, Maghráwah, Bení Yeferen, Bení Birzál, Meknésah, and others. This being done, he seized the person of Hishám and concealed him from the sight [of his subjects]: he then usurped all the authority in the state, and from his private dwelling in Cordova he filled the world with the greatness of the Khalifate and the reverential awe which it inspires, having his absolute will in all things; declaring and carrying on war against the infidels and others, and enjoying all those prerogatives which appertain only to royalty. In order the better to strengthen himself in the position which he had taken, he removed the Arabs from all posts of honour and distinction, and advanced the Berbers, the Zenátah, and others, whom he had invited from Africa. In this manner he accomplished his purpose, usurping the sovereignty, and ruling with absolute sway. He moreover built himself a strong castle and a palace to reside in, which he named Medínat Az-záhirah,<sup>22</sup> into which he conveyed all the treasures and military stores [of the state], and where he sat, as above related, on the throne of the kings, and caused himself to be addressed in royal style, assuming the titles of Al-hájib and Al-mansúr (the chamberlain, the victorious). All letters, proclamations, and commands, were moreover issued in his own name: he ordered that a prayer should be offered up for him from the pulpit after the usual one for the Khalif Hishám. The rights and insignia of the Khalifate were entirely obliterated, and nothing remained to Hishám Al-muyyed except the putting of his name on the coins and on the skirt of the royal robes called *tiráz*, two prerogatives which Al-mansúr also enjoyed at the same time; for he caused his own name to be struck on the silver and gold coins,<sup>23</sup> and to be woven into the stuff called *tiráz*. All other rights and prerogatives were dexterously, and by degrees, snatched from the helpless monarch, who preserved only such a share of authority as his powerful Hájib was pleased to allow him. Al-mansúr moreover formed into an army the Berbers and Mamelukes, and surrounded his person with a multitude of slaves and foreigners, by the help of whom he maintained himself in the position [which he had usurped], and was enabled to overwhelm all those who offered him any opposition, or who attempted to compete with him; and through whose means he accomplished whatever he undertook. He led his armies to the theatre of war, and fought during his administration fifty-six pitched battles, in which he invariably came off victorious; since upon no occasion was the army he

Takes Berbers  
into his pay.

Builds himself  
a castle.

Usurps the  
royal power.

commanded, or even a detachment of it, defeated by the enemy; and never did his banner vanish before them. He sent over his forces to Africa, where he excited dissension among the native tribes and the princes [ruling over them] until they destroyed each other and he became the absolute ruler of Western Africa, the chiefs of the tribe of Zenátah submitting to him and acknowledging his sway. He sent over to Africa his son, 'Abdu-l-malek, against the Bení Khazr and their chief Zeyrí Ibn 'Atiyah, at that time Lord of the Maghráwah and ruler of Fez. Having heard that the Berber chieftain, who had formerly been on very good terms with him, had spoken disrespectfully of him on several occasions, and had often alluded to the state of confinement and seclusion in which he kept his sovereign Hishám, Al-mansúr determined upon chastising him: for which end he prepared a large expedition, the command of which he intrusted to his eldest son, 'Abdu-l-malek, who defeated the rebel and deprived him of his states, as will be related hereafter.

But to proceed with our narrative. "Soon after the death of Al-hakem," says Ibnu Hayyán, "the Christians collected their forces and attacked the Moslems " on the frontiers, extending their incursions till within sight of Cordova; owing " chiefly to their not having found in Al-mus'hafí either the resources or the vigour " which ought to have been opposed to them. They say that upon one occasion " the people of Kal'ah Rabbáh (Calatrava) having complained to him of the frequent " inroads which the Christians were making into their territory, he ordered them to " destroy the bridge<sup>24</sup> upon their river (the Tagus), under the impression that he " would thereby prevent the incursions of the enemy. But this measure was far " from producing the desired effect; and, although the army was then numerous, " and the coffers of the state were well filled, [yet the Christians continued their " incursions.] This was one of Al-mus'hafí's errors. Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, " on the other hand, having received intelligence from Calatrava, advised Ja'far " to collect his army and march against the enemy, reminding him at the same " time of the eternal chastisements reserved for those who do not wage war against " the infidels. Moved by his arguments, the Hájb summoned the Wizírs to a " council of war, and having taken their advice, decided upon making an incursion " into the enemy's territory; the command of the army being intrusted to Mo- " hammed [Al-mansúr], who received the sum of one hundred thousand gold dinárs " [for the payment of the forces]. Mohammed departed at the head of the army, " and having reached the *Thager Al-jawfi* (the north-western part of the province " of Toledo), laid siege to a fortified town called Al-hámmah, entered and plundered " its suburb, and, after an absence of fifty-two days, returned to the capital " triumphant, bringing with him a number of captives and considerable spoil.

Campaigns of  
Al-mansúr  
against the  
Christians of  
Andalus.

“ The news of this success filled the inhabitants of Cordova with joy, and gained Mohammed the hearts of the soldiers, who, perceiving his virtues and his talents, were eager to die in his service.”

In the year 372, (beginning June 25, A. D. 982,) Al-mansúr made an incursion into the land of the Galicians, with a view to the destruction of Ashtorikah (Astorga) and Liúnish (Leon), two populous cities of those districts. The Christians, however, having received timely intelligence of the immense preparations made by Al-mansúr, deserted those cities, and fled to the mountains with such valuables as they could remove; upon which Al-mansúr gave up his undertaking, and, after laying waste the country, returned to Cordova. In the spring of the ensuing year (April—June, A. D. 984,) Al-mansúr made a sudden irruption into Galicia (Asturias) and marched without opposition to Liúnish (Leon), which he invested and took, putting the inhabitants to the sword. He next ordered the demolition of the fortifications; but finding that, owing to the strength and thickness of the walls, the operation was likely to last some time, he gave up his purpose, and proceeded to Ashtorikah (Astorga), which he also took.

Destruction  
of Leon.

“ In the year 375,” (beginning May 23, A. D. 985,) says one of the historians of Africa, “ Al-mansúr sent over his cousin Abú-l-hakem 'Omar with a powerful army against Al-hasan Ibn Kanún, the Idrísíte, who had taken possession of the city of Basrah in Maghreb (Western Africa). After besieging him for some time, Abú-l-hakem compelled his enemy to surrender at discretion and throw himself upon the mercy of Al-mansúr; who was accordingly consulted as to Al-hasan's future destiny. But Al-mansúr, tutored by experience,<sup>25</sup> would not listen to the voice of mercy, and sent orders for the execution of the unfortunate prince, whose head was accordingly forwarded to Cordova.”

Transactions  
in Africa.

In the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 374 (May, A. D. 985,) Al-mansúr left Cordova on a campaign to Catalonia, this being his twenty-third<sup>26</sup> expedition to the land of the infidels. He had previously made immense preparations, and great levies of troops, causing the *jihád* or holy war to be proclaimed throughout the dominions of Islám. In order to provision his army, he directed his march through the eastern provinces: he thus passed through Jaen, Elvira, Bastah (Baza), and Tudmir. From the latter place he went to Valencia, and, after allowing some rest to his troops, he entered the dominions of Boreyl (Borel), King of the Franks, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, pursuing him till in sight of his capital (Barcelona), which he besieged and took by the sword on Monday the 15th of Safar, A. H. 375 (May, A. D. 985). As usual, Al-mansúr took with him to this expedition a number of poets and authors, that they might record his high deeds during the campaign. As their names have been preserved by a

Taking of Bar-  
celona.

diligent historian of that age, who also attended the expedition, we shall repeat them here, in order that our readers may form an idea of the pomp and splendour with which Al-mansúr generally marched, and the cultivation of letters during his administration. They were as follow: Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Hasan At-tabí;<sup>27</sup> Abú-l-kásim Huseyn Ibn Al-walíd, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-'aríf;<sup>28</sup> Al-wadhdháh Ibn Shahíd; 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed; Abú-l-'ala Sá'id Ibn Al-hasan Al-laghúyí (the rhetorician), the author of the *Fossúss* (gems) and other works; Abú Bekr Ziyádatullah Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hasan Al-yemení (a native of Yemen); 'Omar Ibn An-najm<sup>29</sup> Al-baghdádí (from Baghdád); Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Al-korayshí Al-'abbássí; 'Abdu-l-azíz Ibnu-l-khattíb [surnamed] Al-mahdúd;<sup>30</sup> Abú 'Omar Yúsuf Ibn Hárún [Al-kindí] Ar-rámedí;<sup>31</sup> Músa Ibn Tálib; Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán;<sup>32</sup> Yahya Ibn Hudheyl Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Hudheyl, [surnamed] Al-makfúf (the blind?); Sa'd Ibn Mohammed; the Kádí Ibn 'Amrún Al-korayshí Al-merwání; 'Alí An-nakkás<sup>33</sup> Al-baghdádí (from Baghdád); Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn Umeyyah Ibn Wahb; Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Az-zubeydí,<sup>34</sup> the author of the *Mokhtassar fí-l-loghah*, or compendious dictionary of the Arabic language, and many other excellent works on rhetoric, grammar, and history; Ahmed Ibn [Mohammed Ibn] Darráj Al-kastáli (from Cazalla), surnamed the Mutennabí of Andalus; Abú-l-faraj Maneyl Ibn Maneyl<sup>35</sup> Al-estijí (from Ezija); Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-bassír; the Wizír Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Shoheyd, the author of the *Hánútu-l-'attár*; Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Hajúr; Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Al-korayshí, originally from the East; Abú 'Obeydah Hossán Ibn Malek Ibn Hání;<sup>36</sup> Táhir Ibn Mohammed, better known by the surname of Al-muhandas (the geometrician); Mohammed Ibn Motref Ibn Shakhís;<sup>37</sup> Sá'id Ibn 'Abdillah Ash-shantareyní (from Santarem); Walíd Ibn Moslemah Al-morédí; Ghálib Ibn Umeyyah Ibn Ghálib; Aghlab Ibn Sho'ayb<sup>38</sup> Abú-l-fadhil; Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wahháb; Ahmed Ibn Abí Ghálib Ar-russáfí; Mohammed Ibn Mas'úd Al-balehí;<sup>39</sup> 'Obádah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Máí-s-semá; 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí-l-fehr Al-albírí (from Elvira); Abú-l-hasan Ibn Al-madhí Al-bajelí; the Kátib 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Sahl; the Wizír 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Idrís Al-jezírí (from Algesiras), surnamed Abú Merwán; Kásim Ibn Mohammed Al-jayyéní (from Jaen); the Wizír Hasan Ibn Malek Ibn Abí 'Abdah.

Zeyrí Ibn Menád sends an embassy to Cordova.

“ In the year 381,” (beginning March 19, A. D. 991,) says the diligent historian Ibnu Hayyán—who, as is well known, has dwelt longer on the events of that time than on any other comprised in his voluminous work—“ there arrived in “ Cordova an embassy from Zeyrí Ibn 'Atiyah Al-maghrawí, Lord of the Zenátah, “ with a valuable present consisting of various rarities and productions of Africa ;

“ among which were two hundred generous steeds ; fifty camels of the species called “ *mehriyyah*, which are renowned for their fleetness ; one thousand shields covered “ with the skin of the *lamt* or hippopotamus ; several loads of bows and arrows “ made in the country of Záb,<sup>40</sup> many civet-cats,<sup>41</sup> giraffes, and other quadrupeds of “ the desert, as rhinoceroses, elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, and so forth ;<sup>42</sup> “ one thousand loads of the best dates ; one hundred and fifty ostrich-feathers ; “ eight thousand pounds weight of the purest ivory,<sup>43</sup> and other curiosities of that “ country. There were besides several loads of bornuses and other articles of “ woollen cloth manufactured in Africa.” The object of the ambassadors was to announce to Al-mansúr the extensive conquests which their master, Zeyrí, had just made in Western Africa, the greater portion of which he had reduced, causing the Khalif Hishám to be proclaimed in all the mosques thereof. The news of this success filled the inhabitants of Cordova with delight, and Al-mansúr dismissed the ambassadors with suitable presents and a letter for the Lord of the Zenátah, wherein he granted him in Hishám’s name the investiture of all those dominions which he had wrested from the enemies of the house of Umeyyah.

The ensuing year (A.H. 382, beginning March 8, A.D. 992) Zeyrí Ibn ’Atiyah in person visited Al-mansúr in Cordova. This time he brought with him a present Visits that capital. still more valuable than the former, containing, among other inestimable objects, a bird that could speak both Arabic and Berber, a musk bull, a wild ox, in shape resembling a horse (the gnu?), and several other extraordinary quadrupeds ; two immense lions in iron cages, many loads of dates of the best quality and unusual size. Zeyrí came attended by three hundred black slaves, all mounted on horseback, and three hundred more on foot, besides a large retinue of followers from his own tribe. He was received in state and with due pomp by Al-mansúr, who lodged him in the palace which had belonged to Ja’far Al-mus’hafí, honoured and distinguished him greatly during his stay in Cordova, conferred on him the title of Wizír, made him a valuable return for his present, and confirmed him in the possession of his African states. But whilst Zeyrí was in Cordova news came that the chief of the Bení Yeferún,<sup>44</sup> named Yadu Ibn Ya’la, taking advantage of his absence, had suddenly marched to Fez and entered the *’Idwatu-l-Andalus*, (or that part of the city peopled by the Andalusians,) where he fortified himself. Zeyrí returned in all haste to Africa, and, having put himself at the head of his Returns to Africa. forces, marched against his adversary, with whom he had many sharp encounters, until at last he defeated and slew him, and regained possession of the capital in the year 383 (beginning February 25, A.D. 993).

In the course of time, however, Zeyrí Ibn ’Atiyah betrayed the cause which he had espoused, and became the bitterest enemy of Al-mansúr. What induced

Quarrels with  
Al-mansúr.

that chieftain to take such a determination is not well known, but the fact is that he began to speak of the Hájib in the most injurious terms; which reaching the ears of Al-mansúr, he issued orders for the withdrawal of the pension which Zeyrí received yearly from the treasury of Cordova in his quality of Wizír. Enraged at this, Zeyrí commanded that Al-mansúr's name should no longer be mentioned in the *khotbah* or public prayer as before; although he persevered in his allegiance to the Khalif Hishám, whom he acknowledged as his rightful sovereign. He then prepared to resist any attacks that should be made upon him.

Is forcibly dis-  
possessed of his  
government.

Al-mansúr first sent an army under the command of a Sclavonian eunuch, named Wádheh, who landed at Tangiers and proceeded towards Fez; but, being opposed by Zeyrí at the head of his Zenátah, he was defeated with great loss, and obliged to fall back upon Tangiers, where he was immediately besieged by the victor. Al-mansúr then sent his son 'Abdu-l-malek, who not only defeated Zeyrí in a pitched battle near Wáda-mena, on the 15th of Ramadhán, 387 (Nov. A. D. 997), but laid siege to Fez, and took that city, which he gave in sovereignty to the chiefs of the Zenátah, together with the rest of Western Africa, comprising the province of Sijilmésah and others.

Dies in exile.

When the news of this victory reached Cordova, Al-mansúr ordered that his son's letter to him should be read to the people in the mosque of Cordova, as well as in the principal cities of his dominions, and that public rejoicings should be made in commemoration of so signal a victory. He himself liberated fifteen hundred slaves, and distributed large sums of money to the poor. Zeyrí, however, after the loss of his capital, retired to Tihart, where he spent some time; but, not considering himself secure, even in that remote spot,<sup>45</sup> he went still further [to Ashír, in the country of the Senhájah], where he died in the year 391 (beginning Nov. 30, A. D. 1000). Zeyrí was succeeded by his son Al-mu'izz, who hastened to make his submission to Al-mansúr; upon which the Hájib, being pleased to pardon his father's offence, gave him possession of his family dominions on condition that he should acknowledge himself the vassal of the Khalif Hishám, and should yearly remit to Cordova a certain stipulated tribute. Al-mu'izz did so; and remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah until the overthrow of their empire by the Sultáns of the race of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib.

Campaigns in  
Andalus.

Whilst the events above related were passing in Africa, Al-mansúr was prosecuting his success against the Christians of Andalus. In the year 375 (beginning May 23, A. D. 985,) he made an incursion into the country of the Galicians, and took by storm one of their most populous and best-fortified cities.<sup>46</sup> Some time after, he overran and wasted the districts of Alava and Pamplona, and in the ensuing year he took and destroyed the city of Zamora. We should

never have done, were we to enumerate all the expeditions undertaken by Al-mansúr to chastise the rebellious Christians of Andalus, and to establish among them the supremacy of Islám. Suffice it to say, that during the long period of his administration, he never failed to conduct his army twice every year, either against the Franks or against the Galicians; and that in all his campaigns, which appear to have been fifty-two in number, God Almighty was pleased to grant victory to his arms, and to send down confusion and disappointment on the obdurate unbelievers. We cannot, however, dismiss this interesting subject without transcribing from the work of Ibnu Hayyán his account of Al-mansúr's fiftieth<sup>47</sup> expedition into the land of the infidels, which ended in the taking and destruction of their capital, as it will afford our readers an idea of the march and arrangements of Al-mansúr's armies, and the prosperous issue of all his military undertakings.

“ Shant Yakoh (Santiago) is a city in the most remote part of Galicia, and  
 “ one of the sanctuaries most frequented, not only by the Christians of Andalus,  
 “ but by the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent, who regard its church  
 “ with veneration equal to that which the Moslems entertain for the Ka'bah at  
 “ Mekkah; for their Ka'bah is a colossal idol (statue) which they have in the  
 “ centre of the church. They swear by it, and repair to it in pilgrimage from  
 “ the most distant parts, from Rome as well as from other countries beyond [that  
 “ city]; pretending that the tomb, which is to be seen within the church, is that  
 “ of Yákob<sup>48</sup> (James), one of the twelve apostles, and the most beloved by 'Isa  
 “ (Jesus). May the blessing of God and salutation be on him and on our Prophet!  
 “ The Christians call this Yákob (a word which in their language means Ya'kúb)  
 “ the brother of Jesus, because, while he lived, he was always with him. They say  
 “ that he was Bishop of Jerusalem, and that he wandered over the earth preaching  
 “ the religion [of Christ], and calling upon the inhabitants to embrace it, until  
 “ he came to that remote corner of Andalus; that he then returned to Syria, where  
 “ he died at the age of one hundred and twenty solar years. They pretend likewise  
 “ that after the death of Yákob his disciples carried his body and buried it in that  
 “ church, as the most remote part where he had left traces [of his preaching].  
 “ None of the Moslem sovereigns [who preceded Al-mansúr] had ever thought  
 “ of penetrating as far as that city, or reducing it under the sway of Islám, owing  
 “ to its inaccessible position, the strength of the spot on which it is situated, and  
 “ the many dangers to be encountered on the road to it. The undertaking was  
 “ reserved for Al-mansúr.

“ That general left Cordova in the summer of the year 387, on Saturday, the  
 “ 23rd of Jumáda-l-akhar (July 3, A.D. 997), this being his forty-eighth<sup>49</sup> ex-  
 “ pedition against the unbelievers. Al-mansúr entered the enemy's territory by

Invasion of  
Galicia.

March of the  
Mohammedan  
army.

“ the city of Kúriah (Coria). On his arrival at the city [capital] of Galicia<sup>50</sup> he  
“ was met by a considerable number of the Christian counts, who acknowledged  
“ his authority, with their respective forces, all mounted and equipped [for war].  
“ Having joined the Moslem troops, all together crossed the Christian frontier.

“ Al-mansúr had previously given orders that a considerable fleet, well manned  
“ with experienced mariners, and having a body of infantry on board, should  
“ be fitted out at a port of the western coast of Andalus, called Kasr Abí Dánis.<sup>51</sup>  
“ He had also caused provisions, arms, and every kind of military stores [for  
“ the use of his army] to be put on board as evidence of his foresight in military  
“ affairs. Following his instructions, the fleet sailed along the coast to a port  
“ called Bortokál (Oporto) at the mouth of the river Dúroh (Duero), which it  
“ ascended to the spot where Al-mansúr intended to cross over to the opposite  
“ bank. There the fleet cast anchor, opposite to a fortress situated [on the right  
“ bank]. A bridge was then constructed with the vessels, by means of which  
“ the troops crossed over [to the other bank]; and having been plentifully supplied  
“ with the provisions on board the fleet, they prosecuted their march into the  
“ enemy's country. Thence the army directed its course to Santiago, traversing  
“ extensive districts, and crossing large rivers and deep estuaries, into which the  
“ green sea [Atlantic Ocean] pours its tides. The army then spread itself over  
“ the rich plains and well-cultivated districts of Fortárish<sup>52</sup> and the neighbouring  
“ country. They then came to a high inaccessible mountain to which there  
“ was no approach or path, and the sides of which were so precipitous that the  
“ guides [confessed] they had never seen the like of it; but by the command  
“ of Al-mansúr the pickaxe was employed upon the rock, and after much exertion  
“ and labour a passage was opened sufficiently large to allow the army to pass  
“ through it. The Moslems, however, were amply rewarded for their fatigues  
“ on this occasion; for no sooner had they passed that range of mountains and  
“ crossed a river called Wáda-Minoh (Míño) than they found themselves among  
“ wide-spread plains and well-cultivated lands, through which they arrived at a  
“ monastery called Deyr Kasán,<sup>53</sup> then at the valley of Balanbu<sup>54</sup> upon the shores  
“ of the ocean, and next at the fortress of Shant Beláy (Sanpayo), which last  
“ was taken and plundered of every valuable. From this place the army crossed  
“ over to a neighbouring island on the ocean, where a great number of the  
“ population of the districts attacked had taken refuge; but the Moslems took  
“ all those who were on the island prisoners. Thence the army went to the  
“ mountain of Morasiah, which is surrounded on most sides by the ocean, and  
“ having traversed it in all directions, expelled all those who were on it, and  
“ collected considerable spoil. After this the Moslems crossed two estuaries of

“ the sea by certain fords which their guides pointed out to them ; and having  
“ also crossed the river Ulah (Ulla), found themselves in the midst of rich  
“ extensive plains, well cultivated and filled with inhabitants. Thence the army  
“ went to a place where there was a church dedicated to St. James. This  
“ sanctuary is held in great estimation by pious Christians, who look upon it  
“ as second only in sanctity to the church where the tomb is kept, and repair  
“ to it from the most remote parts [of Christendom], from Nubia, from the land  
“ of the Kobts, and other distant countries. This place the Moslems completely  
“ destroyed.

“ The next march brought the army to Santiago, the doomed city. This was Taking and  
destruction  
of Santiago.  
“ taken on Wednesday, the second day of the month of Sha'bán (Aug. 10, A. D.  
“ 997). The Moslems found the city deserted ; they took all the spoil which could  
“ be found, destroyed the public buildings and fortifications, and razed its church  
“ to the ground : the tomb only of St. James was preserved, Al-mansúr having  
“ appointed people to take care of it, and prevent any profanation. All the public  
“ buildings [of Santiago] were very solid and of wonderful structure ; yet they  
“ were so completely destroyed, that nobody could have imagined [to see the flat  
“ surface] that they had stood there only the day before.

“ After wasting the neighbouring country the army arrived at the island  
“ (peninsula) of Shant Mánikas (San Cosme de Mayança), where that region  
“ terminates abruptly upon the ocean, a spot which no Moslem had ever reached  
“ before, and which no human foot had trodden except that of its native inhabitants.  
“ There being no land to be seen beyond that island where the horses could move,  
“ Al-mansúr ordered a retreat, after having penetrated where no Moslem had  
“ ever been before him. Passing again by Santiago he directed his march to  
“ the country occupied by Beremund Ibn Ordhún (Bermudo, son of Ordoño,) with  
“ a view to the destruction and wasting of his territory. Having in this way  
“ arrived at the districts of the allied counts who were in his army, he ordered  
“ his soldiers to desist from further ravages, and passing rapidly through their  
“ territory, arrived at a castle called Beliko,<sup>55</sup> which he had reduced [on a former  
“ occasion]. Having there assembled the Christian counts who had assisted  
“ in the enterprise, he rewarded each man according to his rank, distributing  
“ dresses of honour among them and their followers ; after which he dismissed  
“ them to their respective countries. In this campaign Al-mansúr gave away  
“ to the Christian princes and others who had shown themselves the friends of  
“ the Moslems, two thousand two hundred and eighty-five pieces of the silken  
“ stuff called *tirázi*, of various colours and patterns ; twenty-one dresses of seal-  
“ skin ;<sup>56</sup> two dresses of the stuff called *anbar* ;<sup>57</sup> eleven of scarlet cloth ; fifteen

“ *marishát* ; seven horse-cloths made of brocade ; two dresses of the same stuff  
“ manufactured in Greece ; and two others lined <sup>58</sup> with weasel-skin.

“ From Beliko Al-mansúr dispatched messengers to Cordova with letters, in  
“ which he informed [the people] of the conquests he had achieved, the victories  
“ he had gained, and the immense spoil which the Moslems under his orders had  
“ taken from the infidels. The whole of the army then reached Cordova loaded  
“ with plunder, after experiencing [during the whole campaign] the favours and  
“ protection of the Almighty. They say that the Moslems found no living soul  
“ at Santiago except an old monk who was sitting on the tomb of St. James.  
“ Being interrogated by Al-mansúr as to himself and what he was doing in that  
“ spot, he answered, ‘ I am a familiar of St. James ;’ upon which Al-mansúr  
“ ordered that no harm should be done unto him. It is also related that Al-mansúr  
“ ordered the bells of the church to be removed to Cordova on the shoulders  
“ of Christian captives, to be suspended [as lamps] from the ceiling of the great  
“ mosque, to which a considerable addition was then being built by his orders.”  
But we have already recorded the fact in our description of that capital.

We have elsewhere slightly alluded to the state of confinement and seclusion  
in which Al-mansúr kept his sovereign Hishám. Indeed all contemporary historians  
relate that his person was so carefully concealed from the sight of the public,  
that many of his subjects never saw him once during their lives. It is true  
that now and then Hishám would ride out with some of his women to some  
garden or pleasure-house [in the neighbourhood of Cordova] ; but on such occasions  
he and his women were covered with bornuses, which concealed their figures and  
prevented their being recognised by the people passing : a numerous escort,  
moreover, cleared the road by which they had to pass. In this manner Hishám  
reached the place of his destination, and, after spending some hours there, was  
conducted back to his palace with equal care and secrecy. If Al-mansúr was  
absent from Cordova on some military expedition, he took care to appoint  
confidential people, who saw his orders executed and kept a vigilant eye over  
Hishám, taking care that none of his subjects should see him or approach him  
on any consideration. However, towards the close of his administration, Al-  
mansúr relaxed a little in his conduct ; for, hearing that the people of Cordova,  
most of whom had never seen Hishám, murmured at his confinement, and even  
gave out that he had put him to death, he produced him in public, and rode  
that celebrated cavalcade, to witness which an innumerable concourse of people  
left their dwellings. Hishám rode out ornamented with all the insignia of the  
Khalifate, whilst Al-mansúr walked before him with a rod in his hand, leading his  
master’s steed by the bridle. In this manner they paraded the principal streets