

“ the fire of civil war raged more fiercely than ever. This rebellion broke out
“ on the 3rd of Rabi’ the first, of the year 891 (March 9, A. D. 1486), and lasted
“ till the middle of Jumáda the first following (June, A. D. 1486).

“ Whilst the two parties were thus contending, the intelligence was received at ^{He besieges}
“ Granada that Abú ’Abdillah had taken possession of the city of Loxa, and that ^{and takes}
“ he showed a disposition to settle his differences with his uncle Al-zaghal, who still ^{Loxa.}
“ held the castle of Granada, and to make peace with him. Abú ’Abdillah offered
“ to leave his uncle the undisturbed possession of Granada and the rest of his
“ dominions, on condition that he would give him, as a fief to be held of his crown,
“ Loxa or any other city, which it should please him to grant him, and that both
“ sovereigns should in future act in concert against the enemies of their faith.
“ While these negotiations were on foot, the King of Castile invested Loxa with a
“ numerous army, well provided with all the necessaries for a siege. The Sultán
“ Abú ’Abdillah occupied it with a body of troops raised among the inhabitants
“ of the Albayzin, who, on hearing of his entrance into Loxa, had repaired thither
“ to the assistance of their chief, and in order to fulfil the duties of the *jihad*. The
“ people of Granada, however, and those of other places, fearing lest the siege
“ of Loxa should only be a stratagem of the enemy, never went to the relief of that
“ city. The Christians in the mean time pressed the siege with increased vigour,
“ until alarming rumours began to circulate among the besieged, purporting that
“ the attack had been preconcerted between the Castilian and Abú ’Abdillah during
“ the captivity of the latter. This and the taking of one of the suburbs induced
“ the inhabitants of Loxa to surrender their city on the 26th day of Jumáda
“ the first, of the year 891 (May 23, A. D. 1486).

“ After the taking of Loxa, most of the inhabitants took refuge in Granada; Abú
“ ’Abdillah only remained behind, which circumstance convinced the Granadians
“ that his entrance into Loxa had been for the mere purpose of putting the
“ Christians in possession of that city, in pursuance of a plan preconcerted between
“ him and the King of Castile, and no doubt as the price of his ransom. To this
“ it must be added, that the Sultán’s son, who had been retained as a hostage by the
“ Castilians, was now liberated, and that several messages and negotiations passed
“ between him and his partisans of the Albayzin, so that no doubt remained as to
“ the truth of their suspicions. After the reduction of Loxa, the King of Castile
“ returned to his own states, again taking with him the captive Sultán. About
“ the middle of the ensuing month of Jumáda the second (June, A. D. 1486), he
“ attacked Al-birah;²⁰ and after he had demolished part of the walls with his
“ artillery, the inhabitants capitulated and removed to Granada. He next besieged

“ the fortress of Moclin,²¹ the inhabitants of which defended themselves with great
 “ courage; but perceiving that they were surrounded on every side, that pro-
 “ visions were getting scarce, and that they had no hope whatever of relief, they
 “ also capitulated and retired to Granada. As to the people of Columbera, they
 “ surrendered without making any resistance, and, like the people of the other
 “ towns and castles, betook themselves to Granada.

“ After these conquests the enemy besieged the fortress Mont-ferid,²² into which
 “ they threw combustible matter and other projectiles. Having in this manner set
 “ fire to a magazine where the provisions and military stores of the garrison were
 “ kept, the place capitulated, and the inhabitants removed also to Granada. The
 “ Christian king next attacked Sakhras,²³ which he reduced in like manner, and
 “ having taken several more of the neighbouring fortresses, he filled them with
 “ men and stores, in readiness for the intended siege of Granada.

“ The Castilian then returned to his dominions, taking his prisoner with him.
 “ Before his departure, however, he entered into an agreement with Abú 'Ab-
 “ dillah, that whoever voluntarily submitted to his rule should enjoy peace and
 “ security. The rumour of this treaty soon circulated about the country, as also
 “ that this concession was owing to a war which had just broken out between the
 “ Castilian and the King of France. In pursuance of this plan, the captive Sultán
 “ presented himself at Velez-Malaga, where he was well received by the inha-
 “ bitants. From thence he sent to all the neighbouring towns, describing himself
 “ as the bearer of peace and security, and promising that whoever submitted to
 “ his authority should have nothing to fear in future from the hostilities of the
 “ Christians, such being the condition of a treaty which he said he had in his
 “ possession, signed by the King of Castile, and to the observance of which that
 “ sovereign had pledged his word. Very few people, however, placed any reliance
 “ in these promises, if we except the inhabitants of the Albayzin, who rose imme-
 “ diately in favour of Abú 'Abdillah, and accepted the peace which he offered,
 “ making themselves the advocates of his truth and sincerity, and even using
 “ reproachful and insulting language towards the inhabitants of Granada, who
 “ adhered to the party of his rival; whereby discord and confusion reached the
 “ extreme. Not contented with this open manifestation of their sentiments, the
 “ people of the Albayzin wrote to inform Abú 'Abdillah that were he to repair
 “ among them, with such proofs and documents as he said he was the bearer of,
 “ they would undoubtedly rise in his favour and acknowledge him for their
 “ sovereign. Accordingly Abú 'Abdillah entered the Albayzin secretly, and when
 “ he was least expected; and, having made himself known to the inhabitants of that

Abú 'Abdillah
 is proclaimed
 in the Albayzin.

“ suburb, caused a proclamation by the Christian king to be read in the markets
“ and at other public places, promising security and protection to all those who
“ would acknowledge his rule.

“ The people of Granada, however, having called to mind his treacherous con-
“ duct at Loxa, placed no reliance on his words, and would not accept the peace
“ which he offered to them. The entrance of Abú 'Abdillah into the Albayzin
“ is said to have taken place on the 16th of the month of Shawwál of the year 891
“ (Oct. 17, A. D. 1486). His uncle, who was then in the Alhambra, retired to the
“ fortress, and civil war commenced; the King of Castile assisting his ally with
“ men, arms, money, wheat, gunpowder, and other articles; so that the power of
“ the rebel increased, war raged more fiercely than ever, and men became accustomed
“ to massacre and plunder. This state of things lasted until the 27th of Moharram
“ of the year 892 (Jan. 24, A. D. 1487), when the people of Granada, with the Sultán
“ at their head, attempted to storm the Albayzin, the doctors of the law having
“ previously declared that whoever formed alliance with the Christians, or tried to
“ subdue the country through their assistance, as also all those who abetted Abú
“ 'Abdillah in his plans, were guilty of rebellion against God and his Messenger.
“ Their attack, however, being feebly conducted, did not succeed.

“ After this the Sultán of Granada sent for the military chiefs and governors
“ of all the principal cities and districts in his dominions, such as Baza, Guadix,
“ Almeria, Almuñecar, Velez, Malaga, and others; and, being all assembled in the
“ capital, they bound themselves by a most solemn oath to act unanimously
“ against the enemies of their religion, and to hasten to each other's assistance
“ in case of attack from the Christian. The news of this compact having reached
“ the Albayzin, the Sultán [Abú 'Abdillah], who reigned there, was so terrified
“ that he sent immediately to apprise his ally, the King of Castile, of the deter-
“ mination taken by the Moslems; he himself shortly after quitted the Albayzin,
“ and repaired to the neighbourhood of Velez with all his forces. From thence
“ Abú 'Abdillah dispatched his Wizír to Malaga and to Hisn-Al-munshát,²⁴ to
“ induce the inhabitants of those two places to submit to him, by showing them
“ a copy of the treaty which he had concluded with the King of Castile, and
“ alarming them with the prospect of danger from the Christians. This so far
“ succeeded that the inhabitants of Malaga and Hisn-Al-munshát submitted to
“ him, chiefly through fear of the Castilian king, and of his vengeance, and urged
“ on by their ardent wish for peace. It was not so with Velez; for when the chief
“ men of Malaga met the inhabitants and explained their motives for acknowledging
“ the authority of Abú 'Abdillah, the latter refused to depart from what they had
“ promised to the Granadians and to the other Moslems of Andalusia.

“ The King of Castile then advanced towards Velez-Malaga, and laid siege to it
 “ in the month of Rabi' the second, of the year 892 (April, A. D. 1487). When the
 “ news of this expedition reached Granada, the Sultán assembled his council, and,
 “ having consulted them as to what was to be done, it was unanimously decided to
 “ march to the assistance of the besieged, according to the agreement entered into
 “ with them. The Sultán therefore left Granada on the 24th of Rabi' the second
 “ (April 23, A. D. 1487), at the head of the forces of Guadix, and various detach-
 “ ments from the Alpuxarras.

Revolution at
Granada.

“ When the Moslems came in sight of Velez-Malaga they found the Christians
 “ besieging that city by sea and land. Having encamped on a hill in the neigh-
 “ bourhood, they soon after attacked the Christians with great vigour, and uttering
 “ their war-cries, but in very little order. Whilst the Moslems were advancing
 “ to the charge, news came to the Sultán Az-zaghal that the Lord of the Albayzin
 “ had been proclaimed in Granada. The Moslems therefore engaged the Christians
 “ irresolutely, and the consequence was that before the action became general,
 “ they fled in great disorder, although their opponents gave evident signs of terror
 “ at their approach. There is no power or strength but in God!

“ The revolt at Granada having become known amongst the people, the army
 “ retired to Guadix, and the Christians, who had raised the siege of Velez in order
 “ to encounter the Granadians, recommenced their operations against that place;
 “ and, having carried the suburb by storm, pressed closely on the besieged.

Taking of
Velez-Malaga.

“ The revolt in Granada took place on the 5th of Jumáda the first. When
 “ the people of Velez saw the determination of the enemy to take possession of
 “ the city, and that no hope of succour was left them after the retreat of the
 “ Moslem army, they offered to capitulate, and the terms being agreed upon, they
 “ marched out of the city on Friday, the 10th of Jumáda the first, of the same
 “ year.

“ After the taking of Velez, all the towns east of Malaga, including the fortress
 “ of Komáresh (Comares), surrendered to the Christians, who, elated with success,
 “ proceeded to the siege of that capital. The inhabitants of that city, as before
 “ related, deemed themselves included in the peace subsisting between the King of
 “ the Christians and the Sultán of the Albayzin, to whom they had submitted; but,
 “ regardless of the treaty, the Christian king encamped before Malaga, amply pro-
 “ vided with ammunition and every kind of military stores. Some time previous,
 “ and whilst he was besieging Velez, the people of Malaga had sent the Christian
 “ king a present by their governor, who was a Wizír of the Sultán of the Albayzin;
 “ and in order the more to propitiate the Christian monarch they sent along with
 “ the present the Christian governor of Xeres, who had been a prisoner in their hands

“ ever since the defeat of the Christians near that city; but the King of Castile,
“ unmoved by these marks of allegiance, persisted in his determination, giving out
“ as an excuse that the fortress of Jebal-fároh (Gibralfaro) still obeyed the Sultán of
“ Guadix.

“ The King of Castile invested the city by sea and land; the inhabitants made a Malaga be-
sieged and
taken.
“ most desperate defence by discharges of their artillery from the ramparts of the
“ city, as well as by frequent sallies of cavalry and infantry. The siege was prose-
“ cuted with increased vigour, and maintained with equal constancy, until the
“ blockade, being more effectually established by means of ditches and outposts
“ on the land side, and of additional vessels by sea, all assistance from without
“ was intercepted. However, a chosen body of Morábits having succeeded in
“ escaping the vigilance of the Christians, made their entrance into the city, and,
“ with their assistance, new sallies were made against the enemy and severe battles
“ were fought. But the enemy, having succeeded in bringing their artillery to bear
“ against the walls, got possession of one of the suburbs, from whence they so
“ annoyed the inhabitants, and guarded so effectually the avenues of the city,
“ that the scarcity of provisions began to be severely felt, and after some days
“ the people were obliged to feed on the flesh of their camels, horses, and asses.
“ In this extremity the Moslems implored the help of their countrymen at home
“ and of the Africans on the opposite shore; but all in vain,—no one stirred
“ in their defence. Famine soon spread its ravages in the city, whose bravest
“ defenders daily fell victims to its fury. Yet with all this the ardour of the
“ inhabitants was unimpaired, and the same obstinate resistance was offered to
“ the attacks of the Christians as before. At last, weakened by their losses, and
“ despairing of receiving any assistance, either by land or sea, the inhabitants of
“ Baza began to negotiate with the Christians, and to ask for such terms as had
“ been granted to other places taken by them. They were told, that if they would
“ only surrender the castle and the fort, the king could not fail to treat them well.
“ This, however, was a mere deception on the part of the Christians, for, once
“ in possession of the city, they made all the inhabitants captives. The taking
“ of Malaga, which was followed by the surrender of every town or village in its
“ immediate neighbourhood, happened about the end of Sha’bán of the year 892
“ (August, A. D. 1487).

“ In the year 893 (A. D. 1488), the enemy marched to the districts of Ash-sharkiyah
“ (Axarquía) and of Velez, notwithstanding their being both comprised in the treaty.
“ In vain did the inhabitants sue for peace; their prayers were completely disre-
“ garded; and although, as above related, the whole of that district was comprised in
“ the capitulations granted to the Sultán of the Albayzin, the Christians, regardless

“ of their promise, treated the inhabitants as enemies, and subjected the country to
 “ their rule.

Siege and
 taking of Baza.

“ After this the King of Castile returned to his dominions ; but in Rejeb of the
 “ following year (June or July, A. D. 1489), he again returned to the district of Baza,
 “ and having reduced all the fortresses and castles in the neighbourhood of that
 “ city, laid siege to the capital itself. Baza happened to be well garrisoned and
 “ provided for a long siege ; for, when the Lord of Guadix²⁵ heard of the intentions
 “ of the enemy, he hastily collected the troops of Almeria, Almuñecar, and the
 “ mountainous districts of the Albusharát (Alpuxarras), and threw himself into that
 “ city shortly before the arrival of the Christians before its walls. A series of
 “ bloody battles was fought between the assailants and the besieged, in which the
 “ Moslems had generally the advantage, upon which the Christians, despairing
 “ of taking the city by assault, removed their camp to some distance from the
 “ walls, and the inhabitants could go in and out of the town without being
 “ molested. Things remained in this state during the months of Rejeb, Sha'bán,
 “ and Ramadhán, the Moslems remaining all the time encamped outside the walls
 “ and ready to repel the attacks of the enemy. After this the Christians began
 “ to press the siege with greater vigour ; and having brought their heavy artillery
 “ and battering engines nearer to the walls, they made repeated assaults, and
 “ possessed themselves of some of the avenues leading to the city, so as to render it
 “ very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to leave or enter the town. In Dhí-l-
 “ ka'dah and Dhí-l-hajjah things grew still worse, and provisions of all kinds
 “ became exceedingly scarce. About the end of the latter month the Moslems,
 “ having examined the extent of their stores, found that they had but very few
 “ in their magazines ; but they still persevered in their resistance, in the hope that
 “ the Christians would raise the siege at the approach of winter. But, alas ! what
 “ was their astonishment when, instead of returning to their country, they saw them
 “ actually building houses and huts, no doubt with the intention of passing the
 “ winter before their city ! At sight of these preparations the inhabitants of Baza
 “ were seized with terror and despair, and they accordingly began to negotiate a
 “ capitulation on the same terms as had been granted to the surrounding places. The
 “ Christian king, however, thinking that the besieged had no provisions left, and
 “ that their only object was to obtain favourable conditions, sent officers into the
 “ city to examine and report to him the state of the garrison ; but the Moslems,
 “ guessing what his intentions were, put together all the provisions they had in the
 “ city, and displayed them in the markets and other public places on the passage
 “ of the Christian officers, so that they might be deceived, and think that
 “ the garrison could hold out much longer ; whereas they were all reduced to the

“ last extremity. War, indeed, is nothing more than fallacy and deceit. The plan
 “ was executed as it was conceived ; one of the Spanish grandees entered the city
 “ on the excuse of settling the terms of the capitulation, but in reality to look
 “ about and to ascertain the true state of the garrison, their means of defence, the
 “ provisions which they had in store, &c., and to gain thereby a knowledge to guide
 “ the Christians in the negotiation. Being deceived by appearances, the Christian
 “ proposed to grant the people their lives and property, with liberty to remove
 “ wherever they chose. These terms, however, were made to extend only to the
 “ citizens of Baza, and on no account to the troops who had come to their as-
 “ sistance from Guadix, Almeria, and Almuñecar, who, by an article of the treaty,
 “ were to be expelled from Baza by the inhabitants themselves before the capita-
 “ tion was signed. However, the people of Baza not choosing to subscribe to these
 “ terms, the negotiations were interrupted for some time, until at length the
 “ Moslems, fearing lest their miserable condition, which they had so well managed
 “ to conceal from the enemy, should become manifest, gave their full assent to
 “ the proposed terms ; namely, that the capitulation should not include the people
 “ of Guadix, Almeria, Almuñecar, and the Alpuxarras. The whole of those ex-
 “ tensive districts then entered under the dōminion of the Christians by means of
 “ stipulations mutually agreed on between both nations, and with circumstances
 “ some of which became public whilst others remained always a secret. Some of
 “ the great people received money, and had other advantages and preferments.

“ On Friday, the 10th of Moharram of the year 895 (Dec. 4, A. D. 1489), the
 “ Christians entered the castle of Baza and took possession of it, without the people
 “ of the town knowing on what terms it had been surrendered. They were told
 “ that such of the Moslems as chose to remain in the town should enjoy peace
 “ and security, while those who preferred settling elsewhere would be allowed
 “ to quit it with their arms and property. After this the Christians expelled the
 “ Moslems from the city, and forced them to reside in the suburbs through fear of
 “ their revolting.

“ From Baza the King of Castile advanced towards the district of Almeria, the
 “ whole of which submitted to him. Some time previous the Sultán of Guadix
 “ had gone to Almeria for the purpose of meeting the Castilian king and putting
 “ the Christians in possession of all his towns, castles, and fortresses ; and having
 “ done so, the infidel king gave him the investiture of all those dominions on
 “ condition that he would do him homage for them. This done, both sovereigns
 “ went together to Guadix, where Az-zaghal put the King of Castile in possession
 “ of the citadel about the beginning of Safar of the same year (December 24,
 “ A. D. 1489).

Surrender of
Almeria.

The Sultán
Az-zaghal
makes his
submission.

“ All the dominions under the Sultán of Guadix having thus passed in the twinkling of an eye from the hands of the Moslems into those of the Christians, nothing was left to the former except Granada and its immediate dependencies ; the King of Castile, therefore, having placed garrisons in the fortresses lately reduced, followed up his plans of conquest as steadily as ever. By his orders the governors of castles and towns adjacent to the Moslem territory began to court the friendship of our governors, by giving them money and presents in the name of their master, who, they said, was impressed with their fidelity and good qualities ; but, in reality, his object was only to increase his preparations of men and stores, and to provide such things as were requisite for his military projects.

“ He then took Borju-l-maléhah and other castles, and having repaired their fortifications, and garrisoned them with troops, he converted them into so many outposts from which to besiege the capital. Meanwhile the King of Castile showed the greatest friendship for the Sultán of Guadix, and remained faithful to the treaty concluded with him ; but at the same time he circulated false reports respecting the Sultán of Granada, and endeavoured to surround him with his artifices and wily stratagems. He accordingly dispatched that same year a messenger to Granada, who, in an interview with the Sultán, proposed to him the surrender of the castle of the Alhambra, in the same manner and on the same terms that his uncle had surrendered Almeria, Guadix, and other fortresses and towns ; in return for which the Christian king his master offered to give him great riches, and the sovereignty of any city he should choose in Andalusia. Now, some people pretend that the Sultán of Granada, dazzled by these inviting offers, feigned to accept the tendered proposition, and that the Christian king immediately marched his army to take possession of the Alhambra and of the city of Granada, agreeably to the secret contract entered into by the two sovereigns. At this crisis the Sultán of Granada assembled the officers of state and military commanders, the divines, the nobles and plebeians, and informed them of what the Christian king required, and how his uncle, by becoming the subject of the Christians, had been the cause of the breach of the contract formerly agreed to between him and the King of Castile. ‘ We have only to choose,’ said the Sultán to them, ‘ between submitting to him or fighting for our independence.’ It was unanimously agreed to adhere strictly to the conditions of the treaty ; but, if necessary, to have recourse to arms and defend the country to the last. Accordingly, the Sultán went out of Granada at the head of his army.

“ Some time after this, the King of Castile encamped with his host in the

Abú 'Abdillah
summoned to
surrender his
capital.

“ meadow of Granada, and began to summon the inhabitants to surrender to him, threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy their crops. An answer in the negative being returned to him, he put his threat into execution, and burned and destroyed fields and plantations. This happened in the month of Rejeb of the year 895. After several skirmishes between the Moslems and the Christians, the latter became convinced that nothing of any importance could then be undertaken against Granada; and after demolishing some forts, and repairing the fortifications of others, for example, Borju-l-maléhah and Hamadán, which they garrisoned and provided with every necessary, they returned to their territory. During the enemy's absence the Sultán of Granada attacked one of the castles held by the Christians, and, having taken it by storm, put the garrison to the sword; after which, leaving a sufficient force in it, he returned victorious to Granada.

Makes preparations of defence.

“ In the same month of Rejeb, Abú 'Abdillah made an incursion into the Alpuxarras, and entered some villages, the population of which, composed of Christians and treacherous Moslems, their friends, took to flight at his approach: proceeding from thence to Andarax, he made himself master of that fortress. This success was speedily followed by the entire submission of the districts of the Alpuxarras, which, being recalled to Islám, again acknowledged the authority of Abú 'Abdillah, and shook off the Christian yoke.

“ A war now ensued between Abú 'Abdillah, the Sultán of Granada, and his uncle Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Az-zaghal, who marched to the Alpuxarras at the head of considerable forces. In Sha'bán, A. H. 895 (Aug. A. D. 1490), Abú 'Abdillah sallied forth against him, but as his uncle retreated to Almeria, and shut himself up in the castle, the whole of the Alpuxarras, as far as Berja, fell into the hands of the Moslems. However, in the ensuing month of Ramadhán, Abú 'Abdillah, assisted by the Christians, besieged and retook the fort of Andarax. On the other hand, the Sultán of Granada laid siege to Hamadán, a large town, defended by a castle of great strength, filled with men, stores, and ammunition. After battering its walls with their artillery, and making various assaults, in which many a brave soldier fell, the Moslems demolished three towers, one after the other. The besieged then betook themselves to a fourth, which was the principal one; but this last having also been demolished by the artillery of the Moslems, the whole of the garrison, amounting to one hundred and eighty men, were made prisoners, and the conquerors found the town filled with stores, guns, and ammunition, which they took. Towards the end of Ramadhán, the Sultán of Granada marched against Almuñecar; on his way to that city he laid siege to the town of Salobreña, which he took by storm. The castle, however, offered some resistance, especially as the garrison

War between Abú 'Abdillah and Az-zaghal.

Abú 'Abdillah reduces some fortresses.

“ was re-inforced by troops which came by sea from Malaga. As the place was
 “ exceedingly strong, the besieged were enabled to repel the attacks of the Moslems,
 “ who were pressing the siege. Whilst things were in this state, intelligence
 “ reached the camp of the Moslems that the King of Castile was again advancing
 “ towards the meadow of Granada; and accordingly, on the third of Shawwál, the
 “ Sultán raised the siege and retired to his capital, where he had no sooner arrived
 “ than he heard of the appearance of the enemy in the Vega, accompanied by
 “ such among the traitor Moslems as had forsaken their religion, or become the
 “ subjects of the Christians.

“ After staying eight days in the Vega, the King of the Christians returned
 “ to his states, having previously dismantled and caused to be evacuated the
 “ fortress of Borju-l-maléhah and another castle. On his way back to his dominions
 “ the infidel passed through the city of Guadix, from which he expelled all the
 “ Moslems, so that no true believer remained either in the city or in its suburbs.
 “ After this he demolished the castle of Andarax, fearing, no doubt, that the sur-
 “ rounding country would revolt against his authority.

“ When the Sultán Az-zaghal, viz., Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd, the
 “ uncle of the Sultán of Granada, saw this, he hastened to cross over to the
 “ opposite shore of Africa, and arrived at Oran, and from thence at Telemsán,
 “ where he settled, and where his descendants are residing to this day, being well
 “ known there under the appellation of *Bena-s-sultáni-l-andalus* (the sons of the
 “ Sultán of Andalus).

“ After this the King of Castile repaired to the extreme frontiers of his kingdom,
 “ a war having broken out between him and the Franks. In the mean while, the
 “ Sultán of Granada marched against Burshénah (Purchena), which he besieged and
 “ took, making the garrison prisoners of war. About the same time the inhabitants
 “ of Finiana made an attempt to shake off the Christian yoke; but the Christian
 “ governor of Guadix having marched against them, the undertaking failed and the
 “ Moslems were defeated.

“ In the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year, the Sultán of Granada with-
 “ drew the forces which he had in the Send, and the inhabitants of that district,
 “ [seeing that they had no defence against the enemy], deserted their homes.

“ On the 12th of Jumáda the second, of the year 896 (March 22, A. D. 1491), the
 “ King of Castile marched his army into the plain of Granada, and began destroying
 “ the crops, demolishing the towns and villages, and subduing the whole country.
 “ He also laid the foundations of a town with walls and a ditch, the building
 “ of which he superintended in person. It had been reported at Granada that
 “ the Christians intended to raise the siege of that capital and return to their

Az-zaghal
crosses over
to Africa.

Granada be-
sieged.

“ country ; but if they had any such intention they changed their determination,
“ for, instead of raising their tents, they remained encamped in the city which
“ they had built, and pressed the siege with greater vigour than ever. The contest
“ lasted for seven consecutive months, and the Moslems were reduced to great
“ extremities ; but still, as the Christians were encamped at some distance from
“ Granada, and the communication between that city and the Alpuxarras was not
“ yet intercepted, the inhabitants received abundant supplies from the district of
“ Jebal-Sholayr (Sierra Nevada). But when the winter came on, and frost and snow
“ covered the ground, the produce of the earth grew less, its conveyance to Granada
“ became more difficult, and provisions became gradually so scarce, that famine
“ began to be felt in that capital. The enemy, too, had purposely taken possession
“ of almost every patch of ground out of the city, so that it became impossible to
“ gather any crops from the surrounding fields, and the condition of the besieged
“ became every day more distressing and hopeless. This was about the beginning
“ of the year 897 (Nov. A. D. 1491). It was evident that the enemy’s design
“ was to reduce the city by famine, and not by force of arms. Things being
“ brought to this plight, great numbers of the inhabitants quitted Granada and
“ fled to the Alpuxarras. Provisions grew every day more scarce, and in the month
“ of Safar of the same year (Dec. A. D. 1491) the privations of the people became
“ almost intolerable. The inhabitants began to deliberate among themselves
“ as to the expediency of surrendering to the enemy. They therefore sought the
“ advice of their Ulemas and other learned men, who recommended them to look
“ to their own safety, and consult over the matter with the Sultán.

“ Agreeably to this opinion, the Sultán convened his officers of state and coun-
“ cillors, when this important affair was discussed in his presence. The people
“ then said, ‘ The Christians are daily receiving re-inforcements, while we have
“ none to expect ; we all thought and expected that, at the approach of winter,
“ the Christians would have raised the siege and retired to their country, whereas
“ our hopes have completely failed ; they have built a town in front of our city,
“ and pressed the siege closer than ever. We ought, therefore, to provide for
“ our safety and that of our children.’ It was then unanimously agreed to adopt
“ this last determination, and it soon became public that the officers of the army,
“ fearing for their lives and those of the inhabitants, had for some time been
“ treating with the Christians about the surrender of the city. Negotiations then
“ commenced, and a capitulation was drawn up on the same terms as that of
“ Guadix, although with some additional articles ; as, for instance, that the Pope
“ should be a guarantee for the faithful execution of the treaty, and the strict
“ observance of every one of the articles therein contained, before the Christians.

Surrenders to
the Castilians.

“ should be put in possession of the Alhambra and the other forts; and that
 “ the king should bind himself by oath, after the Christian fashion, to observe
 “ the treaty. The deputies sent by the people of Granada insisted upon the
 “ insertion of this clause; but it was reported that when they came to discuss
 “ the article together, the Christians bribed the Moslem envoys, and gave them
 “ considerable sums of money, to have it omitted in the capitulation. The treaty
 “ was then read over to the inhabitants, who approved of it and gave it their
 “ sanction, some of the principal citizens signing it with their own hands, and
 “ pledging their allegiance to the Castilian king, who accepted it. This done,
 “ the Sultán of Granada left the Alhambra on the second day of Rabi' the
 “ first, of the year 897 (Jan. 3, A. D. 1492), and the Christian sovereign immediately
 “ took possession of it, as well as of the other fortresses in Granada, not without
 “ having first received five hundred of the principal inhabitants of Granada as
 “ hostages, to guard against any treachery on the part of the inhabitants.

Terms of the
 capitulation.

“ The capitulation contained sixty-seven articles, among which were the fol-
 “ lowing, viz.: ‘ That both great and small should be perfectly secure in their
 “ persons, families, and properties. That they should be allowed to continue in
 “ their dwellings and residences, whether in the city, the suburbs, or any other
 “ part of the country. That their laws should be preserved as they were before, and
 “ that no one should judge them except by those same laws. That their mosques,
 “ and the religious endowments appertaining to them, should remain as they were
 “ in the times of Islám. That no Christian should enter the house of a Moslem,
 “ or insult him in any way. That no Christian or Jew holding public offices by
 “ the appointment of the late Sultán should be allowed to exercise his functions
 “ or rule over them. That all [Moslem] captives made during the siege of Granada,
 “ from whatever part of the country they might have come, but especially the
 “ nobles and chiefs mentioned in the agreement, should be liberated. That such
 “ Moslem captives as might have escaped from their Christian masters, and taken
 “ refuge in Granada, should not be surrendered; but that the Sultán should be
 “ bound to pay the price of such captives to their owners. That all those who
 “ might choose to cross over to Africa should be allowed to take their departure
 “ within a certain time, and be conveyed thither in the king's ships, and without
 “ any pecuniary tax being imposed upon them, beyond the mere charge for passage;
 “ and that after the expiration of that time no Moslem should be hindered from
 “ departing, provided he paid, in addition to the price of his passage, the tithe
 “ of whatever property he might carry along with him. That no one should be
 “ prosecuted and punished for the crime of another man. That the Christians who
 “ had embraced the Mohammedan religion should not be compelled to relinquish

" it, and adopt their former creed. That any Moslem wishing to become Christian
 " should be allowed some days to consider the step he is about to take; after
 " which he is to be questioned both by a Mohammedan and a Christian judge
 " concerning his intended change, and if, after this examination, he still refuse
 " to return to Islám, he should be permitted to follow his own inclination. That
 " no Moslem should be prosecuted for the death of a Christian slain during the
 " siege; and that no restitution of property taken during the war should be
 " enforced. That no Moslem should be subject to have Christian soldiers billeted
 " upon him, or be transported to provinces of this kingdom against his will. That
 " no increase should be made to the usual imposts, but that, on the contrary,
 " all the oppressive taxes lately imposed should be immediately suppressed. That
 " no Christian should be allowed to peep over the wall, or into the house of a
 " Moslem, or enter a mosque. That any Moslem choosing to travel or reside
 " among the Christians should be perfectly secure in his person and property.
 " That no badge or distinctive mark be put on them, as was done with the Jews
 " and Mudejares. That no *muezzin* should be interrupted in the act of calling
 " the people to prayer, and no Moslem molested either in the performance of his
 " daily devotions or in the observance of his fast, or in any other religious
 " ceremony; but that if a Christian should be found laughing at them he should
 " be punished for it. That the Moslems should be exempted from all taxation for
 " a certain number of years. That the Lord of Rome (Pope) should be requested
 " to give his assent to the above conditions, and sign the treaty himself. These,
 " and many others that we omit, were the articles of the treaty.

" This matter being settled, and the Christians having taken possession of the
 " Alhambra, and of the city, the king appointed a governor to that fortress, and
 " civil officers and magistrates to govern the inhabitants. On learning the conditions
 " granted to the people of Granada, the inhabitants of the Alpuxarras agreed to the
 " treaty, and made their submission upon the same terms. The King of Castile
 " then ordered the necessary repairs to be made in the Alhambra, as well as in the
 " other fortresses and towers, and applied himself to strengthen its fortifications.
 " Whilst these works were going on, he came daily to the Alhambra, but returned
 " every night to his camp, fearing, no doubt, some treachery on the part of the
 " inhabitants, and he continued to do so until his fears were entirely dissipated.
 " He also entered the city and visited its different quarters, so as to gain exact
 " information of the feeling of the inhabitants towards him, and learn other par-
 " ticulars which he wished to ascertain.

" After this the infidel king ordered the Sultán of the Moslems to repair to the
 " Alpuxarras, which he said should be his, and to fix his residence at Andarax.

The King of
 Castile makes
 his entrance
 into the
 Alhambra.

“ In compliance with this order, the [deposed] Sultán repaired to that town, and
 “ the Christian troops which occupied the Alpuxarras were immediately withdrawn.
 “ However, some time after, the king made use of the following stratagem to
 “ induce the Sultán to leave Andalus and cross over to Africa; he pretended
 “ that the latter had expressed to him the wish of leaving the country, and wrote
 “ to the governor of Almeria in the following terms: ‘ On the receipt of this
 “ our letter, let no one hinder Muley Abú 'Abdillah from going to whichever
 “ port of Africa he likes best. Let all those who read the present letter facilitate
 “ every thing for his passage, and observe towards him the conditions stipulated
 “ in the treaty.’ Agreeably to the intimation contained in this letter, Abú 'Abdillah
 “ set forth immediately for Almeria, and having embarked at that port, he sailed
 “ for the coast of Africa and landed at Melilla. From thence he went to Fez,
 “ where he settled. His first intention, however, had been to fix his residence
 “ at Morocco, but hearing, on his landing, that the provinces of that empire were
 “ sadly afflicted by famine, pestilence, and other calamities, he desisted from his
 “ project.

Ultimate fate
 of Abú 'Ab-
 dillah.

“ The Sultán Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, under whose reign the Mohammedan
 “ empire in Andalus was overthrown, was the son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, son of
 “ the Sultán Sa'd, son of the Amír 'Alí, son of the Sultán Yúsuf, son of the Sultán
 “ Al-ghani-billah [Mohammed V.], he who was the central pearl in the necklace
 “ [of the Nasserite dynasty], the founder of an empire resting upon the most solid
 “ foundations, the true Sultán of that illustrious race, he who lost his throne and
 “ took refuge in the dominions of the Bení Merín of Fez, and was restored by
 “ them to his kingdom, after his pious and generous acts had reached to the
 “ highest pitch, and spread the sweetest odour; in short, the Sultán who had for
 “ Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, son of the Sultán Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf, son of
 “ the Sultán Isma'íl,—who defeated and killed the Christian king Don Pedro in the
 “ plain of Granada,—son of Faraj, son of Isma'íl, son of Yúsuf, son of Nasr, son of
 “ Kays Al-ansárí Al-khazrejí. The mercy of God be upon them all! After his
 “ landing at Melilla, the Sultán directed his course towards the city of Fez, where,
 “ complaining of his unlucky fate, and regretting the kingdom he had lost, he
 “ settled with his family and his adherents, and built some palaces in imitation
 “ of those of Granada, which we ourselves saw and visited during our residence
 “ in that city. He died in Fez in the year 940 (A. D. 1538), (may God forgive
 “ him!) and was buried in front of the chapel outside of *Bábu-sh-shari'at* (the gate
 “ of the law). He left two male children, one named Yúsuf and the other Ahmed,
 “ whose posterity may still be traced in Fez; for in our time, when we visited
 “ that city in 1037, we were acquainted with some of his posterity, who were

“ reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon the charitable allowances made to the
 “ faquirs and poor people out of the funds of the mosques, and who in fact were
 “ nothing more than mere beggars.

“ Not many years elapsed before the Christians violated the treaty entered into The capitulations are violated.
 “ with the Moslems, and began to infringe one by one the settled stipulations.
 “ Things even went so far that in the year 904 (beginning Aug. 18, A. D. 1498),
 “ they set about forcing the Moslems to embrace the Christian religion under
 “ various pretences, the most specious of which was that their priests had written
 “ [books] on the conveniency of compelling such Christians as had become
 “ Moslems to embrace their former religion. Notwithstanding the clamour excited
 “ among the Moslem community by so revolting an injustice, the people being
 “ helpless, the measure was carried into execution. Not satisfied with this breach
 “ of the treaty, the Christian tyrants went still farther; they said to a Moslem,
 “ ‘ Thy ancestor was a Christian, although he made himself a Moslem; thou must
 “ also become a Christian.’

“ When these proceedings became public, the people of the Albayzin rose up in
 “ arms and slew their magistrates; but this was also made an excuse for more
 “ rigorous measures, for, soon after, the poor Moslems were told, ‘ the king has
 “ promulgated a law by which any one who revolts against his magistrates is
 “ condemned to death, unless he immediately becomes a Christian; so you must
 “ either die or be converted to Christianity.’

“ In short, every Moslem, whether residing in Granada or in the neighbourhood, The Moslems compelled to embrace the Christian religion.
 “ was enjoined to embrace the religion of the idolaters within a certain time. A
 “ few, however, refused to comply with this order, but it was of no avail to them;

“ seeing which, they had recourse to arms, and rose in several towns and villages,
 “ such as Belefique, Andarax, and others. Thither the enemy marched his forces,
 “ attacking and pursuing the inhabitants, until they almost exterminated them, Their revolt in the Alpuxarras.
 “ killing a great number, and making the rest captives, except such as fortified
 “ themselves in Jebal-Balanca, and to whom God Almighty was pleased to grant
 “ victory over their enemies; for in a battle which took place there they killed
 “ a great number of the Christians, and amongst them the Lord of Cordova. After
 “ this the Moslems obtained terms of capitulation, and were allowed to cross over
 “ to Fez with their families and moveable property, although they were not per-
 “ mitted to take with them more money than that required for their journey.

“ Such of the Moslems as still remained in Andalus, although Christians in Their feigned conversion.
 “ appearance, were not so in their hearts; for they worshipped Allah in secret,
 “ and performed their prayers and ablutions at the proper hours. The Christians
 “ watched over them with the greatest vigilance, and many were discovered and

Their ultimate
expulsion.

“ burnt. In the mean time they were forbidden the use of arms, and even small
“ knives, or any other sharp instrument made of iron. At last, these and other
“ cruelties having driven the Moslems to despair, they again rose in arms in the
“ mountainous districts, and on different occasions. But the Almighty not being
“ pleased to grant victory to their cause, they were every where overpowered and
“ slain, until they were ultimately expelled from the territory of Andalus,—an
“ event which took place in our times, in the year 1017 of the Hijra (A. D. 1610).
“ Many thousands of the unfortunate emigrants went to Fez, thousands to Telem-
“ sán (Tremecen) from Wahrán (Oran); the greater part took the road to Túnis.
“ Few, however, reached the place of their destination; for they were assailed
“ on the road by the Arabs and such as fear not God, and they were plundered
“ and ill-treated, especially on the road to Fez and Telemsán. Those who directed
“ their course to Túnis were more fortunate; they, for the most part, reached that
“ place in safety, and peopled the desert towns and districts of the country, as also
“ Tetwán, Salé, and the plain of Metidja, near Algiers. Some entered the service
“ of the Sultán of Maghrebu-l-akssá, who formed them into a body, and allotted
“ them for a residence the port of Salé, where they have since made themselves
“ famous by their maritime expeditions against the enemy of God; they have also
“ fortified the castle, and built themselves houses, palaces, and baths, and still
“ continue to reside in that place. A few went to Constantinople, to Egypt,
“ Syria, and to other countries where Islám is predominant, and settled there,
“ inhabiting now, as we have been told, the same places at which they first fixed
“ their residence. God, indeed, is the master of all lands and dominions, and gives
“ them to whomsoever he pleases.”

TO THE READER.

SINCE the publication of the first volume of this translation I have had access to new sources of information, which, as they will be frequently cited in the following Notes, I think it necessary to point out. During a late residence in Oxford I made copious extracts from a volume (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxxvii.) containing the history of 'Abdullah, seventh Sultán of Cordova of the dynasty of Umeyyah, by the celebrated Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalaf Ibn Huseyn Al-umawí, better known by the surname of Ibnu Hayyán, of whom I gave a short notice in the Notes to the first volume, p. 310, *note* 3. The volume, which appears to have been the third in the original set, forms part of the history of Mohammedan Spain, entitled *Al-muktabis fí táríkh rejáli-l-andalus* (the imparter of information: on the history of eminent Andalusians), and it contains the history of Spain from the death of Al-mundhir, in A. H. 275 (A. D. 889), to the accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., in A. H. 299 (A. D. 912), a period of about twenty-four years. By means of extracts from this precious volume I have been enabled to supply the deficiency to be observed in Al-makkarí, whose account of the reign of 'Abdullah is contained in a few lines. It is a volume in quarto, containing fifty-eight folios, and written in the African character upon coarse brown paper, probably about the middle of the fifteenth century.

I have also used a volume of the Historical Cyclopædia, entitled *Al-'ikd* (the necklaces), by Abú 'Amru Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, a writer of the tenth century, which, among other learned treatises upon the history of the Arabs both in the East and West, contains a valuable history of Mohammedan Spain, from the establishment of the race of Umeyyah till the year 322 (A. D. 934); besides a poem of some length upon the yearly campaigns of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., the Sultán of that dynasty under whose reign and at whose court the author lived. It is a large volume in folio, written in the Eastern hand, in A. H. 1100 (A. D. 1689-90), and forms part of the rich collection of oriental MSS. in the possession of Nathaniel Bland, Esq., to whom I am indebted for the loan of it. I am also indebted to my esteemed friend Dr. R. Dozy, of Leyden, for an accurate transcript of that

portion of An-nuwayrî's work which treats of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain, as well as of that chapter of Ibnu Khaldún's history of Africa which gives the chronology of the Amírs or governors of Mohammedan Spain under the Khalifs.

The works of Ibn Habíb, Ibn Bessám, and Mohammed Al-khoshaní,—all in the Bodleian,—I have likewise used to supply such portions of Al-makkari's narrative as were either obscure or defective; and I have also given occasional extracts from the volume of Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, upon the conquests and settlements of the Almohades in Spain.

DECEMBER, 1842.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

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

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

¹ Mohammedan writers generally give the appellation of *as'háb*, *i. e.* 'friends or companions,' to all those Arabs who were personally acquainted with their Prophet, or who saw him during their lifetime, and handed down to tradition any of his sayings. The name of *tábi*' (follower) is given to those Arabs who did not see the Prophet, having been born after his death, but who had an opportunity of conversing with the *as'háb* and preserving traditions delivered by them, whether respecting the sayings and doings of Mohammed, or the dogmas of the religion preached by him. Both the *as'háb* and the *tábi*'s are divided into *tabakát* (orders or classes), according to the age in which they lived.

It is evident, however, that none of the first class, and very few, if any, of the second, could have entered Spain; since the death of the Prophet happened in A. H. 8 (A. D. 629), and Músa, in whose suite most of them are said to have come, did not land in Spain till A. H. 93 (A. D. 712), an interval of eighty-five lunar or Mohammedan years; but the historians of Spain were not behind those of other Mohammedan countries in extolling the advantages of their native soil. Abú-l-fedá, *De Vita et Rebus Gestis Mahometis*, p. 156.

² This author is the 'Abdu-l-malek or 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb so often mentioned in the course of this translation (vol. i. pp. 37, 40, 113, *et passim*). The work here cited is in the Bodleian Library, together with other short treatises of the same sort, and an account of the invasion and conquest of Spain, to which I shall occasionally refer in these Notes. See Nicoll's Cat., No. 127.

³ Probably the individual mentioned in vol. i. p. 283 of this translation, although his patronymic differs essentially; he being there called *البجلي* *Al-bajeli*, and here *الجبلي* *Al-jiyali*, or *الجبلي* *Al-hobli*, as in the abridgment. However, as both Ibn Habíb (*loco laudato*, fo. 143) and Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 35) write and point the word thus, *الجبلي* *Al-jobeli*, (perhaps because he was born at a place called Jobeyl,) I have followed their reading.

⁴ The same individual mentioned in vol. i. pp. 283, 536, and App. p. xlix. I find his name written Ibn Abí Joblah or Jabalah in one of the copies.

⁵ Instead of Bení 'Abdi-d-dár, one copy reads Bení 'Abdi-l-kádir. I have already alluded (vol. i. p. 519) to the various meanings of the word *mauli*, which in its primitive sense implies 'one who clings to another for protection,' 'an adherent.' Slaves liberated by their masters became generally *maulis*. The old Spanish word "paniguado" (one who partakes of the bread and water of another man) would seem the most appropriate translation for it; and it is not unlikely that the word *maula*, meaning in that language 'a shrewd man,' 'one who lives by his wits,' may be derived from it.

⁶ B. reads Thábit instead of Thákib. The *Tekmilah* (complement) is an historical work by the celebrated Ibnu-l-abbár (Abú Bekr Al-kodha'i).

⁷ Al-muneydhir, whom Conde (vol. i. p. 35) calls 'Almonacir,' is the diminutive of Al-mundhir, and means 'the little counsellor.'

⁸ That is, Yúsuf Ibn 'Omar, &c., (see vol. i. pp. 37, 182,) whose *Isti'áb fí ma'rafati-l-as'háb*, or 'comprehensive history of the companions,' is mentioned by Hájí Khalfah (Fluegel's transl. vol. i. p. 276).

⁹ Elsewhere written Al-wádheh and Al-wadháh; the meaning, however, is the same. His entire name was Mohammed Ibn Wadhahá Ibn Yazigh يزيغ Abú 'Abdillah. Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 40, verso) says that he was a *mauli* of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and that he made a journey to the East in search of learning. He died at Cordova in A. H. 286.

¹⁰ Hájí Khalfah (vol. ii. p. 148) mentions this author among the historians of Egypt. His entire name was 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed Ibn Yúnas Al-munajjem, or the astronomer. He died in A. H. 399 (A. D. 1008-9.)

¹¹ فج البيدة 'the pass of the table,' or 'the pass of Almeйда;' but whether so called from the shape of the mountain, or from the table of Suleymán, is not stated. This pass is the defile leading from the mountains in the vicinity of Cordova to the plain wherein that city stands. Ibnu Hayyán (*Al-muktabis*, fo. 70), treating of an incursion made by the rebel Ibn Hafssún within sight of Cordova, during the reign of 'Abdullah, says, ان اسري من مدينة استجة عملة ليلا حتي وقف بفج البيدة 'he stole out of Ezija, where he had his quarters, at night, and marched until he stood on the mountain-pass of Almeйда, which commands the gate of Cordova.'

¹² During the first years after the death of Mohammed, whenever a mosque was to be erected, the laying of the foundations تسيس was intrusted to one of his companions.

¹³ All the copies I have consulted read distinctly عند باب اليهود بغرب —but Conde, (vol. i. p. 64,) on what authority it is not stated, says that he was buried near the southern gate of Saragossa. His death is said to have happened A. H. 98, after he had held for some years the government of Saragossa. The word حش which I have read 'Hansh,' may also be pronounced 'Hanash.'

¹⁴ The year of Yarmúk, or the 13th year of the Hijra, in which the Arabs, under Abú 'Obeydah Ibnu-l-jerráh, defeated the generals of Heraclius. In like manner the Arabs of Spain called the 479th year of the Hijra 'A'mu-l-zalákah (the year of Zalaca), and the 591st 'A'mu-l-alarkosh (the year of Alarcos), in commemoration of the two victories gained at those places over the Christians. But there must be some mistake here; for how could 'Alí Ibn Rabáh be present at a battle fought in A. H. 13, and be still living in Spain in A. H. 98? In vol. i. p. 536 of this translation, I have called this *tábi* 'Alí Ibn Rabi', by mistake.

¹⁵ ذات السواري is the name of a station on the northern coast of Africa, between Tripoli and Alexandria. This battle is said to have been fought in A. H. 31, and the Moslem fleet to have been commanded, not by 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'd or Sa'id, but by 'Abdullah Ibn Rabi'ah. See Price, *Chron. Retrosp. of Moham. Hist.* vol. i. p. 164.

¹⁶ The same has been said of Músa Ibn Nosseyr elsewhere. See vol. i. p. 298.

¹⁷ Ibnu-l-khattáb, in his history of Granada, frequently quotes this historian, whom he makes a native of Cairwán.

¹⁸ B. says "at five-and-twenty days' march," which is, no doubt, a mistake of the copyist. The distance, however, is considerably greater than twenty-five miles.

¹⁹ The abridgment reads "in his *lesser* work." Al-bokhári (Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Isma'il) made three editions of his history of the Mohammedan traditionists; the "greater," the "middling," and the "lesser." The first he is reported to have written at Medina on the tomb of the Prophet. See Háji Khalfah, *Lex. Bibl. Ency.* sub voc. *Tárikh*.

²⁰ تنبيه و التعيين لمن دخل الأندلس من التابعين is the title of this work, which was unknown to Háji Khalfah.

²¹ 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah Al-fehrí (see App. vol. i. p. lxii.) He was the son of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', the African conqueror.

²² Called elsewhere Al-leyth Ibn Sa'd. He must have been present at the taking of Toledo and other large cities in Spain; for Ibn Habíb and other ancient historians frequently cite him, as well as his brother Yahya Ibn Sa'd, as their authority for the principal events of the conquest. See App. vol. i. p. lxxiv.

²³ The word translated by 'measures' is اكيال *akyál*, the plural of كيل *kíl*, which means 'a measure for grain.' From *kíl* comes *makílah*, i. e. the toll [in grain] which a miller receives for his grist, and hence the Spanish words 'maquila' (the toll), and 'maquintero' (the man appointed to receive it).

²⁴ This officer is called Zayde Ben Kesadi el Sekseki by Conde (vol. i. p. 36), who attributes to him the taking of Granada. See also vol. i. p. 529, note 77, of this translation.

²⁵ Elsewhere called Mansúr Ibn Abí Khozaymah.

²⁶ *Yaumu-l-jemal* (the day of the camel), or the day of the celebrated battle fought in A. H. 36 (A. D. 656) between 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb and the partisans of 'Ayesah, the widow of the Prophet, who appeared borne in a litter placed upon the back of a camel.

CHAPTER II.

¹ For an account of this work, see vol. i. p. 318, note 28.

² ركبنا سفينا للمجاز مقيرا .: عسي ان يكون الله منا قد اشترى
نفوساً و اموالاً و اهلاً بجنة .: اذا ما اشتبهنا الشبي فيها تيسرا
و لسنا بنالي كيف سالت نفوسنا .: اذا نحن ادركنا الذي كان اجدرنا

³ Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah says that the eldest was named *الهند* Almond or Elmond, (Olmundo?); the second *رمله* Romulo, and the third *ارطباس* Artébás or Ardebasto.

⁴ The word *Thagher* may mean here either the province of Toledo or that of Aragon; it is, however, impossible to determine which of the two is intended, for want of an adjective. If *al-adant* (nearest), it would be Toledo; if *al-'alí* (upper), Aragon.

⁵ The name of this general may be written, either *مُغَيْث* 'Mugheyth,' as I have it, or *مُغِيث* 'Mughith,' which would seem to be more correct. I have, however, chosen the former reading, because Rodericus Toletanus, who was well versed in the language of the Arabs, calls him *Mogeit*.

⁶ It would appear that Rodericus Toletanus had consulted the author whose narrative is here introduced by Al-makkarí. See *Rerum in Hisp. Gest. Chron.* lib. III. cap. xxiii. In the *Cron. Gen.* (edit. of Zamora, 1541, fo. cciv.) we find, "e dizen que ninguno de los otros Señores de España fue preso "a vida salvo este solo, ca los otros defendieronse ellos por sí o se pleytearon."

⁷ وقد اعدت له خرقة مسمومة لتسمم بها ذكره عند وقاعها

⁸ See vol. i. pp. 292-4. The Arabian writers keep silence as to Tárík's ultimate fate: I have, in vain, turned over many volumes in the hope of finding some further account of him; but, after his arrival at Damascus, no mention is made of the conqueror of Spain.

⁹ Ibnu Hayyán, Adh-dhobí, and other writers, allude frequently to a palace which preserved still, in the twelfth century, the name of its owner, Mugheyth, the conqueror of Cordova.

¹⁰ The author of the *Kitābu-l-iktifā fī akhbāri-l-kholafā* (see vol. i. App. D.) says positively that Mugheyth died at Cordova in the palace known by his name (Balātt Mugheyth), and that he left a son, named 'Abdu-l-wāhed. Adh-dhobī says that he was in Aragon in A. H. 96. See *Cartas para ilustrar la hist. de España*, p. lxxxv.

¹¹ اعنكم و لكن لا وفيتم . . فسوف اعيث في غرب و شرق

¹² 'Ammār Ibn Yāsir, one of the most favourite companions of the Prophet, who used to say of him that "truth and justice would ever be found on his side." He was one of the insurgents who revolted against the Khalif 'Othmān; and he followed the banners of 'Alī against 'Ayeshah and Mu'āwiyah, until he was slain at the battle of Sefayn, in A. H. 38.

¹³ Instead of 'Ibn Abī 'Obeydah,' the abridgment reads 'Ibn 'Abdah.' See also vol. i. p. 283. The name of this officer, one of those who signed the treaty concluded with Theodimir the Goth, in A. H. 94, (see Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 106,) is differently written by the authors whom I have consulted. Some, like Ibnu Khaldūn, write it 'Habīb Ibn 'Abdah;' others, 'Habīb Ibn 'Obeydah;' others, again, 'Habīb Ibn Abī 'Obeydah Ibn 'Okbah;' whilst there are not wanting writers, as Al-homaydī, who call him 'Habīb Ibn [Abī 'Obeydah] 'Okbah,'—thus making him the son, instead of the grandson, of the celebrated conqueror of Mauritania. I have, however, followed the reading in A., which is also that given by An-nuwayrī in his history of Africa. See the translation of M. de Slane, in the *Journal Asiatique*, ser. III. tom. xi. p. 564.

¹⁴ This statement is confirmed by Al-homaydī (*loco laudato*, fo. 84, verso), who calls him *Ibn Mulāmis*, instead of *Ibn Mulābis*.

¹⁵ 'Othmān Ibn Abī 'Abdah is another of the chiefs who signed the treaty of Orihuela. عبدہ 'Abdah is frequently written عبيدة 'Obeydah in copies of this work. If so, 'Othmān was the brother of Habīb Ibn Abī 'Obeydah.

¹⁶ Abū Zor'ah might also be pronounced Abū Zar'ah, and might be identified with the 'Abuzara' of Isidorus Pacensis, *Chron.* No. 34.

CHAPTER III.

¹ Ibn Ghālib (Abū Ghālib Temām) is the same author as is mentioned in vol. i. pp. 35, 77, and p. 332, note 23. The title of his work is sometimes written *Forhatu-l-anfus* instead of *Forjatu-l-anfus*; but the meaning is the same.

² Huseyn, the son of 'Alī, was put to death in A. H. 61, under the Khalifate of Yezīd Ibn Mu'āwiyah, the second Sultān of the race of Umeyyah.

³ I find this word written ^حذرة; in every copy of Al-makkarí, except that belonging to the library of Gotha, which does not give the vowels. Jewharí writes it *Zahrah*, and says that *Zahrah* was the mother of Keláb, son of Morrah, &c.

⁴ According to Al-kalkashandí (Brit. Mus., No. 7353, fo. 7, *verso*), the sons of 'Adí, son of Kossay, son of Keláb, together with other branches of the family of Koraysh, were called *Adh-dhawáhir* (the external), because they dwelt out of the precincts of the temple.

⁵ By the Bení Al-kásim the author means the family of Abú 'Abdillah Kásim Ibn. Kásim, Lord of Alpont or Alpuente, mentioned in vol. i. p. 171, and p. 449, *note* 11. The life of a poet, named Abú Mohammed Ibnu-l-kásim, who was, no doubt, descended from the same stock, is given in the *Mattmah* by Ibn Khákán (Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 124).

⁶ No doubt the same author mentioned in vol. i. pp. 37, 171, and p. 334, *note* 31; since, according to Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 118), he wrote a work on the genealogy of the Arabian tribes which settled in Spain.

⁷ Our author here transcribes the words of Ibn Ghálib, who, no doubt, introduced a notice of this traveller under the head of his native place. The clan or family here named the Bení Waksh or Wakash gave their name to a small town, still called Huecas, in the neighbourhood of Toledo.

Al-makkarí gives the life of Ibn Jobeyr in Part I. Book V., among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain to travel in the East. "Abú-l-huseyn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jobeyr Al-kenání Al-andalusí Ash-shátibí Al-balensí, the author of the celebrated book of travels, was the descendant of Dhamrah Ibn Bekr Ibn 'Abdi-m-menát ^{عبد المناة} of the tribe of Kenánah. He was born at Valencia on the night of Saturday, the 10th of Rabi' the first, of 540 (Sept. A. D. 1145). Other dates, however, are assigned for his birth. He studied at Shátibah (Xatiba) under his father Ahmed, and under Abú 'Abdillah Al-assílí (from Arsila), and Abú-l-hasan Ibn Abí-l-'aysh; the latter being his instructor in the science of reading the Korán. Ibn Jobeyr started from Granada on Thursday, the 8th of Shawwál of 567 (A. D. 1172), and arrived in Alexandria on Saturday, the 29th of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year, after a passage of thirty days from Andalus. He also visited Mekka, Medína, and Al-kods (Jerusalem), Syria, 'Irák, Jezírah (Mesopotamia), and other countries. The cause of his leaving Andalus is thus related by Ibnu-r-rakík. Ibn Jobeyr was the secretary of Abú Sa'id, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, governor of Granada. Having once been summoned to his presence to write a letter in his name, Ibn Jobeyr found Abú Sa'id drinking wine, of which he presented him a cupful; but upon Ibn Jobeyr refusing to drink the liquor, on the plea that he had never tasted wine before, Abú Sa'id said, "By God! thou shalt now drink seven bumpers instead of one;" upon which Ibn Jobeyr, seeing no way to avoid the will of the governor, drank the seven glasses of wine, one after the other, as commanded, after which the governor filled him the cup seven times with gold dinárs. Ibn Jobeyr then determined to spend the money he had received upon a pilgrimage to Mekka by way of atonement for his sin: he therefore told the governor that he had made a vow to make a pilgrimage that very year, and Abú Sa'id granted him the permission he required. Ibn Jobeyr returned to Andalus in 581 (A. D. 1185); but, after spending some time in that country, he again sailed for the East, and died at Alexandria on Wednesday, the 27th of Sha'bán of the year 614 (A. D. 1217). Ibnu-r-rakík says that he died in the ensuing year (A. H. 615)."

The remainder of Ibn Jobeyr's biography, which occupies upwards of seventy pages in some of the copies, is filled with extracts from his travels relating to Damascus and other cities in the East. Al-makkari, too, takes the opportunity of introducing many long passages from a work of his own, entitled 'sweet odour of the flowers on the history of Damascus.' See the Account of the Author and his Writings, vol. i. p. xxxiii.

Ibnu-l-khattib, in his history of Granada, gives also the life of Ibn Jobeyr, with much more detail. One of his ancestors ('Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Jobeyr) entered Spain in the suite of Balj the Syrian, in the month of Moharram, 123, and settled at Shidhúnah (Sidonia or Cidueña). He made three journeys to the East: the 1st in 578 (beginning May 6, A. D. 1182), when he started from Granada on Thursday, the 8th of Shawwál, and returned to that city eight days before the end of Moharram, 581 (Aug. A. D. 1185). When he heard of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, he determined upon journeying a second time to the East, and left Granada on Thursday, the ninth of Rabi' the first, 585 (April, A. D. 1189), returning on Thursday, the 13th of Sha'bán, 587 (Sept. A. D. 1191). He passed some time at Granada, then at Malaga, and, lastly, at Ceuta. On the death of his wife, the daughter of the Wizír Abú Ja'far Al-wakshí, Ibn Jobeyr, who was much attached to her, determined upon making a third pilgrimage. On his return from Mekka he settled at Alexandria, where he died. He left, besides his book of travels, a collection of his own poems, entitled نظام الجمان في التشكي من اخوان الزمان and several others.

⁸ Midrakah, from *daraka*, 'to overtake one in the race,' means a very swift runner. It was the surname of 'Amru Ibn Elyás, who, it is said, used, when young, to run faster than his father's camels.

⁹ Abú-t-táhir is the appellative of Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf At-temimí Al-mázeni, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-eshterkúní, who, according to Háji Khalfah, and Casiri (vol. ii. pp. 73, 163), died in 538 (A. D. 1143), and wrote a book of Makámát (sittings) in imitation of those of Harírí, entitled *Makámátu-s-sarakostiyah* (the sittings of Saragossa). Háji Khalfah (voc. *Makámát*) says that they were also known by the title of *Al-kortobiyah* (the sittings of Cordova), because they were written in that city after the author had perused the celebrated ones by Harírí. As to the title of *Al-lazúmiyyah*, it appears that they were so called owing to their being written in the kind of poetry called *luzúm*. Some of the Makámát of Abú-t-táhir were published at Amsterdam, with a Latin translation, by J. Asso del Rio, a Spaniard; "Bibliotheca Arabica Aragonensis," Amstelodami, 1782, 4to.

¹⁰ Bení Júda or Júdí جودي as written by Ibnu Hayyán. To this family belonged the celebrated Sa'id Ibn Suleymán Ibn Júdí Ibn Asbatt, who, after the death of Sawwár Ibn Hamdún Al-kaysí, in A. H. 277, was elected chief of the Arabian tribes inhabiting Elvira and Granada, then at war with the Muwallads, or people of mixed blood. Having been confirmed in his office by 'Abdullah, the Sultán of Cordova, Sa'id took the field against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún (chief of the party of the Muwallads), whom he defeated in several sanguinary encounters, until he himself fell a victim to treason, and was assassinated in A. H. 284 (A. D. 897). Ibnu Hayyán, from whom the above details are borrowed, says that Asbatt, the great-grandfather of Sa'id, had been *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or captain of the guard of Al-hakem I. of Cordova, and that Sa'id possessed the ten qualities which ought to grace a chief; namely, horsemanship, beauty, generosity, facility in writing verses, eloquence, strength, and dexterity in the handling of the spear and the sword, as well as in shooting arrows. Ibnu Hayyán, *Muktabis*, fo. 22.

¹¹ Called بغیضا Baghídhá by Ibn Koteybah.

¹² That is, the tribes which remained after the destruction of Thamúd, alluded to in the Korán. See chapter 27 of Sale's translation.

¹³ I find this name written *Jozaymah* in every copy I have consulted; but there can be no doubt that Al-makkarí meant Khozaymah, the son of Midrakah. Jozaymah was likewise the name of a tribe forming part of that of Rabi'ah. See Ibn Koteybah, *apud* Eichhorn, Table viii.

¹⁴ إیاد—but I find it written إیاد Iyád in As-sam'ání, Al-kalkashandí, and other genealogists.

¹⁵ To this family belonged the three physicians known in the middle ages, and frequently confounded together under the generic name of Avenzoar or Abinzohar. See vol. i. App. A.

¹⁶ This distinction between the Bení Modhar بني مضر or Arabs from Yemen, who were descended from the stock of 'Adnán, and the sons of Kahttán, or Beledí Arabs, as they are otherwise called, has been completely overlooked by Conde and most of the authors who have written after him. It is, however, of the greatest importance for the historical observer, as it furnishes him with a clue to those inveterate feuds, the source of so many civil wars which distracted the Mohammedan empire in Spain, and ultimately caused its ruin. Conde invariably read اقبال مصر (the tribes of Misr or Egypt), instead of اقبال مضر (the tribes issued from Modhar), which, I need not remark, has led his translators into a variety of mistakes. M. Romey, the author of an excellent history of Spain in French, now in course of publication, is, as far as I am aware, the only one who seems to have understood all the importance of this distinction. He was, however, mistaken in supposing that the 'Abdárís, or Arabs of the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár, were descended from the stock of Kahttán, and were therefore comprised among the Arabs of Yemen. 'Abdu-d-dár was the son of Zeyd, son of Keláb, the descendant of Modhar, son of Nezar, son of Ma'd, son of 'Adnán. See Ibn Koteybah, *apud* Eichhorn, p. 63.

¹⁷ Even if the subsequent pages did not afford abundant proofs that the conquerors of Spain lived in most instances in clans or tribes, the study of Spanish topography would convince us of the truth. The names of Alfaharin (Fehr), Beniaux (Aus), Beni Calaf (Khalaf), Jorairata (Horayrah), Julina (Khaulán), Mazan (Mázin), Zalamea (Salámah), and several more towns that I could point out, are all derived from the tribes or families which settled in them.

¹⁸ Ibn Koteybah calls him Nábit. See Eichhorn, *Monum. Antiq. Hist. Arab.* p. 61.

¹⁹ Probably the descendants of Muhlib Ibn Abí Sofrah, whose son Yezíd was the favourite of the Khalif Suleymán, and interceded with him in behalf of Músa. See vol. i. App. p. lxxxvi.

²⁰ The tribes of Aus and Khazrej, two brothers, who were the sons of Harithah Ibn Tha'lebah, &c. See Ibn Koteybah, *apud* Eichhorn, p. 146, and Table xiii. They obtained the surname of Ansár (helpers), because a few individuals of each tribe assisted the Prophet in his flight from Mekka to Medína. They were very numerous in Spain, especially about Saragossa, where they settled on their arrival.

²¹ I read plainly *عك بن عدنان* 'Akk the son of 'Adnán in all the copies; but it is evidently a mistake, since the author is now speaking of those tribes derived from Kahtán, and not of those descended from 'Adnán. Perhaps *عدنان* 'Adathán, who was the son of Hazzán, son of Azd, is to be substituted.

²² Instead of *Aushalah*, mentioned as one of the ancestors of the Bení Hamdán, one of the copies reads *Ausalah*. There were in the territory of Granada several places named after this tribe, but the one here alluded to was in the Taa or district of Poqueyra. See Marmol, *Rebellion de los Moriscos*, fo. 64.

As to the Bení Dhaha *ضحى* which word Ibnu-l-khattíib writes *أضحى* Odh'ha, they were an influential family of Granada. That historian gives the life of one, who was preacher to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. of Cordova, and died in 316. Ibnu Hayyán (*Al-muktubis*, fo. 23) speaks also of a chief named Mohammed Ibn Odh'ha Ibn 'Abdi-l-lattíf Al-hamdání, who was the sworn enemy of Sa'id Ibn Júda (see above, note 10, p. 401), against whom he made war at the head of his tribe.

²³ From this family were descended the Abencerrages of Granada so celebrated in romance.

²⁴ Instead of Morád, son of Málík, son of Odad, the abridgment reads Morád, son of Ghálib, &c., which is decidedly a mistake. See Ibn Koteybah, *loco laudato*, p. 141.

²⁵ Concerning this castle, now in ruins, and which has long been supposed to have been inhabited by Count Julian, see my note, vol. i. p. 538.

²⁶ All the copies but one read here *المغافر* Al-mugháfer, by the addition of one point; but I have had no hesitation in adopting the reading as in the text, especially as Al-kalkashandí (*loco laudato*, under the letter *mim*) says that Al-ma'áfer was a clan of the tribe of Hamdán *المغافر هو حي من حمدان*

²⁷ I am unable to determine whether the author here called Al-házemí is the same Ibn Hazm, mentioned at p. 21, or not.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ It is doubtful whether 'Abdu-l-'azíz in person made war on the Christians. He had concluded a peace with Theodomir, which he not only would not break himself, but prevented others from doing so, defending the Gothic prince even against the attacks of his own countrymen. (Borbon, *Cartas*, fo. lxxxiv.) In the north of Spain his arms were not inactive. Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah Al-fehrí, whom Músa had left in command of part of the forces, with instructions to prosecute the conquest, made an incursion into Galicia; whilst Ayúb Al-lakhmí and Mugheyth carried on the war against the people of Aragon and Navarre; but at none of these expeditions was 'Abdu-l-'azíz present.

² 'Abdu-l-'azíz was not put to death by the army, but by emissaries of Suleymán. (See App. A. at the end of this volume.) As to the causes which prompted that Khalif to order his execution, they have been variously stated; some saying that he made an alliance offensive and defensive with the fugitives of Galicia; others, that he embraced the Christian religion, and was meditating the massacre of the Moslems (Adh-dhobí, *apud* Borbon, *Cartas*, p. lxxxii. *et seq.*); but his having married Roderic's widow, his determination to keep the treaty made with Theodomir, the slight and irreverent manner in which he spoke of his sovereign, when he heard of his father's treatment, and last, not least, his wish, real or pretended, to shake off the yoke of the Khalif,—of which we find ample testimony in Isidorus, (*Chron.* No. 42.)—were sufficient motives to induce that revengeful monarch to order his death.

³ ام عاصم 'Umm 'A'ssem' is a common name in the East, and does not mean 'she of the precious necklaces,' as asserted by Conde (vol. i. p. 58). Adh-dhobí and Ibn Habíb say that her Christian name was ايلة Eylah. The Spanish chroniclers call her 'Egilona.'

⁴ The text reads *و سكن معها في كنيسة باشبيلية* — the historical fragment published by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325) *اشبيلية [بقربة] ربيدة بقرية* — which that author translates by *Templo Salvatoris*, but which means 'at the synagogue of the Jews.' Conde, who met with the same passage, mistook the words *Kenisah Rabbínah* (the synagogue of the Rabbís) for the name of the village whereat 'Abdu-l-'azíz was residing (vol. i. p. 62); but that a synagogue, and no other place, is here meant, is clearly proved by a passage from Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. lxxxii.), wherein it is expressly stated that 'Abdu-l-'azíz took up his residence in a synagogue *في كنيسة اليهود* — At the time of the invasion of Spain by the Arabs, the Jews were no longer allowed to profess their religion in public; but the building wherein 'Abdu-l-'azíz dwelt might have been in former times a synagogue, or else have been converted into one; since the Jews of Spain are known to have been restored to all their rights and privileges by the conqueror, in reward for their services at the time of the invasion.

⁵ With the single exception of the anonymous author of a fragment published by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325), all other writers whom I have consulted place the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz in the last days of Dhí-l-hajjah, ا. ه. 97. The author of the *Ahádithu-l-siyásat wa-l-ímámat* (vol. i. App. E. p. xc.), says, it is true that 'Abdu-l-'azíz was put to death at the end of the year 99; but as the words *سبع* (seven) and *تسع* (nine) are easily mistaken, and my copy, moreover, is far from being correctly written, the statement cannot invalidate the testimony of so many other writers: Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 63; Borbon, *Cartas*, p. ci.; Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 324; Al-homaydí, fo. 5, &c. The duration of his government is likewise generally stated at two years; but if his father, Músa, left Spain in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, ا. ه. 94, as asserted (vol. i. p. 292), the government of 'Abdu-l-'azíz must have lasted *three* years; and indeed we find it so stated in Isidorus Pacensis (*Chron.* No. 42). The difficulty can only be surmounted by supposing Músa to have departed from Spain in the year 95, instead of 94, as stated in vol. i. p. 292.

⁶ لعنة الله عليه ان كان الذي قتله خيراً منه Conde (vol. i. p. 65) did not fully understand the meaning of these words. Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. v.

7 Some writers do not include Ayúb in the number of the Spanish Amírs; no doubt because his appointment, having emanated from the army, was considered illegal. Others, like Al-hasan Al-laghúwí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. xcvi.), do include him; but they make him succeed Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah, the murderer of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. The author of the *Siyásat wa-l-imámat* (App. p. v.) says, that immediately after the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, the army chose 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán [*lege* 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah] Al-gháfekí to be his successor, and that Habíb and his accomplices repaired to Damascus. I shall often have to point out in the Notes to this chapter and the following, how far the historians, whose works are known to us, disagree respecting the chronology of the Spanish Amírs. Indeed, upon no period of Mohammedan history does there seem to hang so much obscurity as upon that anterior to the establishment of the race of Umeyyah in Spain. The Arabs were then far from having attained the historical acquirements by which they became afterwards so celebrated; and a few verbal traditions are the only records remaining of those early times. With a view, therefore, to illustrate this part of Al-makkarí's narrative, and to establish, if possible, in a more satisfactory manner the chronology of this period, I here subjoin a translation of two Arabic fragments, giving the series of the Spanish Amírs, and the length of their respective reigns; one by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxvii. fo. 143); the other from the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb*, a species of Arabic cyclopædia, of which I possess a copy.

Chronology of the Governors of Andalus according to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb.

We were told by 'Abdu-l-malek, who held it from Ibráhím Ibn Al-mundhir Al-hidhámí (Al-jodhámí?), who held it from Al-wákedí. He said: Tárik stayed in Andalus one year, counting from the day of his entrance until he quitted it. After him governed Músa Ibn Nosseyr two years and one month; then his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz two years; then Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí two years and eight months; then As-samh Ibn Málík Al-khaulání two years and nine months; then 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí four years and five months; then Yahya Ibn Salámah [*Salmah*?] two years and six months; then Hodhayfah Ibnu-l-ahwass Al-'absí was governor one year; then 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-kath'amí five months; then Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd four months. After him governed 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah two years and eight months; then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí four years; then 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj As-selílí five years and two months; then Balh (Balj) Ibn Beshr Al-kaysí eleven months; then governed after him, some say conjointly with him, Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí five months; then came the rising of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb, of Umeyyah, and Kattan, and of Yúsuf, with their followers, who, having joined their forces, attacked Balh, defeated and wounded him; and he (Balh) died seven days after the battle. After this Abú-l-khattár governed two years; then [Abú] Thuábah Al-hidhámí [Al-jodhámí] governed one year; then Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán seven [or nine] years and nine months, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed and took the country from him.

The same, according to the Reyhánu-l-lebáb wa rey'ánu-sh-shebáb fí marátibi-l-adab, by Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím.

After the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-kaysí governed Andalus for two years and three months. After him As-samh Ibn Málík Al-khaulání governed two years and nine months; then 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí governed four years and five months; then Yahya Ibn Moslemah *مسلمة* (*lege* Salmah) two years and six months; then Hodheyfah Ibnu-l-ahwas Al-kaysí one year; then 'Othmán Ibn Sa'd *سعد* (*lege* Nes'ah) Al-kath'amí five months; then Al-haytham Ibn

'Obeyd [Al-kelábí] five months; then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí Al-'akkí two years and eight months; then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan four years; then 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj [As-selúfí] five years and two months; then Balj Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyrí ruled eleven months, and died in a battle against 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb [a chief], who had risen in arms against him; then Abú-l-khattár Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kelbí two years; then Thuábah Al-jodhámí one year; then Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí nine years and nine months.

⁸ Kashtélah, or كشتلة Kashtellah, as written elsewhere. Castile (Castella) was at that time called 'Bardulia.'

⁹ If Al-horr arrived in Andalus at the end of 98, the government *ad interim* of Ayúb Ibn Habíb must have lasted one whole year, not six months, as here stated. An author cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. c.) says distinctly, that "Ayúb governed Spain from the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz in Dhí-l-hajjah of 97, to the same month of 98, when he himself was deposed by Al-horr; and that the appointment of Ayúb proceeded from the army, not from the Khalif." This explains why the anonymous writer translated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325), and followed by Conde (vol. i. p. 64), says that Spain remained one year without a governor, which must be understood to mean without a governor appointed by the Khalif.

¹⁰ The account of Ibnu Hayyán is the most probable, as it agrees with the duration of Al-horr's administration. As-samh or As-samah is the Zama of Isidorus Pacensis, who, by some unaccountable mistake, makes two governors out of one. See also Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xi.), who fell into the same mistake, calling the first Zama and the second 'Azam[ah] ben Melich.'

¹¹ See vol. i. p. 212, where the author attributes the erection of the bridge either to As-samh, in A. H. 101, or to his successor 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xi.) says that it was built by the former in A. H. 102; but in all probability it was begun under As-samh, and completed under 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Conde (vol. i. p. 75) attributes its erection, or rather its restoration, to 'Anbasah.

¹² The text reads *و امره ان يخمس من ارض اندلس ما كان عنوة*—Ibnu Khaldún has only *ان يخمس ارض الاندلس*—Conde (vol. i. p. 75) translated *khamasa* by 'divided into five portions,' a signification of which that word may admit; but which, in this instance, cannot with propriety be given to it. The districts which still remained in the hands of the Christians were too inconsiderable to be divided into five portions, much less to be worthy of a description. What 'Omar wanted was a descriptive account of Spain, as well as the fifth of the spoil, or of the taxes levied on the Christian population, which belonged to him by right. See Isidorus Pacensis, *Chron.* No. 48.

¹³ Ibnu Hayyán wrote after the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, and when the conquests of Ferdinand III. of Castile and Ramiro I. of Aragon were daily narrowing the limits of the Mohammedan empire.

¹⁴ The word *بلاط balátt*, which seems a corruption of 'platea,' means here the Roman causeway, near Toulouse, in the vicinity of which the battle was fought. See Reinaud's *Invasion des Sarrasins en*