

France, &c., p. 18, *et seq.*, where this and other events connected with the history of that country are treated with great erudition and skill.

¹⁵ *Yaumu-t-tarwiyah* or 'the day of the drinking,' so called because the pilgrims usually drink of the waters of the well Zemzem. It is the 8th day of Dhí-l-hajjah, not the 9th, as erroneously stated by Conde (vol. i. p. 72), and answers to May 10, A. D. 721, which date agrees well with the accounts of the Christian chroniclers, who place the battle of Toulouse in 721. Among the Arabs, however, there are many who postpone the battle till the ensuing year. Besides Conde (vol. i. p. 72) and Adh-dhobí, *apud* Casiri (vol. ii. p. 137), there is Al-azdí (Ahmed Ibn Ahmed), cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxxix.), who says positively that As-samh was killed on the 18th of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 103 (A. D. 722). That author adds that As-samh was slain in Asturias, not in France, fighting with Pelayo. Another writer (Mohammed Abú 'Abdillah Al-hijári) corroborates that statement, and says that the death of As-samh took place in the neighbourhood of Leon, in an engagement with the Asturian prince — **و قُتِلَ السَّمِمْ**

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علي مقربة ليون في المعركة مع بلاي

Don Faustino Borbon has devoted a whole letter (*Carta xvi.*) to prove that As-samh died in Spain in A. H. 103, in battle with Pelayo, not in France at the battle of Toulouse, as generally believed. It would, indeed, appear from the quotations which that author inserts in his work, that As-samh invaded France, took Narbonne, advanced as far as Toulouse, and fought the battle, which he lost, and in which he was wounded **و ضرب السَّمِمْ لنفسه** (another writer says **جرح** **لأنه جرح** 'in which he was near being killed, for he was wounded'). As-samh then returned into Spain, and, hearing that Pelayo had besieged Leon, marched against him, and fought with him the battle in which he was slain. Be this as it may, if As-samh was appointed in Ramadhán, A. H. 100, and his death took place in Dhí-l-hajjah, 102, his administration could not have lasted more than two years and three months,—not eight months, as here stated.

¹⁶ Instead of 30, one of the copies reads 300. The rising of Pelayo, however, took place some years before, during the administration of Al-horr, in A. H. 99 (A. D. 717-8). That governor, being then occupied in a war with the Franks, sent one of his lieutenants, named **علقمة** 'Alkamah (the Alxaman of Rodericus), against the Asturian rebels; but the Moslems were defeated, and their general slain. "In the year 99, Al-horr," says Adh-dhobí (fo. 17), "having heard of the rising of the Christians [in Asturias], sent against them his general, 'Alkamah, who was [defeated and] killed." **و في سنة** **٩٩**—This date, moreover, agrees better with those given by the Christian chroniclers for the rising of Pelayo: "Antequam Dominus Pelagius regnarét, "Sarraceni regnarunt in Hispania annis quinque." See *Cronicon Complutense necnon Chronicon Conimbricense*, *apud* Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* vol. xxiii.; see also Borbon, *Cartas*, p. xiii. *et seq.*

¹⁷ Among the latter is Ibnu Khaldún (fol. 2, *verso*), who says positively that 'Anbasah **استشهد** 'died a martyr to the faith.' Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxlvi.), employs the word **مات** 'he died,' which is generally used to designate natural death. According to Conde (vol. i. p. 78), 'Anbasah died of his wounds, some days after the battle. All, however, agree as to the year of his death (A. H. 107); and Al-azdí (Borbon, *Cartas*, ubi supra) adds that it took place on the 5th of Jumáda

the 1st (Sept. A. D. 725), which agrees better with the length assigned to his administration than the month of Sha'bán.

¹⁸ عذرة or عذرة Ozrah, as in the abridgment. Al-homaydí (fo. 87, verso) calls him عذرة 'Adhrah; Conde, (vol. i. p. 78) Hodeira, which reading he, no doubt, took from Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 53). He governed the country until the appointment of Yahya, in Sha'bán, A. H. 107.

¹⁹ See Conde (vol. i. p. 179), who calls him 'Ben Adra.' Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, treats of a family called the Bení 'Odhrah, who resided in that capital.

²⁰ Conde (vol. i. p. 78) says that the appointment of this governor took place in the beginning of 107, and his removal in 108! How to reconcile these dates with those given by Al-makkarí after Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, it is by no means easy to determine.

As to the difference in the duration of Yahya's rule, which some writers, as Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 2, verso) and Ibn Habíb (see note 7, p. 405), calculate at two years and a half; and others, like the anonymous historian translated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326), at one and a half; it may easily be accounted for by the fact, that during Yahya's administration the Berbers, commanded by one 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah or Abí 'Obeydah, of whom mention will be made hereafter, took possession of Cordova, and deposed the governor. 'Othmán himself remained in power until Hodheyfah dispossessed him. Borbon, *Cartas*, p. cxlviii.

²¹ The next governor was not 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah, as here stated. Al-makkarí was led into error by Ibnu Khaldún: there were two governors of Andalus of the same name; one, 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-kath'amí, whom Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326) calls Al-johaní, *i. e.* of the tribe of Johaynah; and the other, 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah or 'Obeydah Al-korashí, who signed the capitulation with Theodomin. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 57) is very explicit: "Hic (Autuman) [sed lege Autuman] ab Africanis "partibus tacitus properat. Hic quinque mensibus Hispanias gubernavit: post quos vitam finivit, et "missus est alius Autuman nomine."

The period which elapsed between the nomination of Yahya, in Shawwál, A. H. 107, and the arrival of Al-haytham, in Moharram, A. H. 111, that is, three years and about three months, is designated by Al-azdí under the appellation of *Iyánu-l-fitnah* (the days of confusion or civil war). According to another historian, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cliii.), البرابر و القبائل قتلوا عليهم مئابرا ثبورا كثيرا 'the Berbers and the [Arabian tribes] slaughtered each other.' The Arabs themselves were divided, and the two hostile factions of the Yemenites and Modharites fought likewise for the supreme power. This explains why there should be so much discrepancy in the dates assigned for the administration of the four governors who ruled in the short space of three years. Supposing, however, that Yahya's administration lasted eighteen months, from Shawwál, 107, to Rabi' ii. 108,—that 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah usurped the power and ruled until the arrival of 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah, in Sha'bán, 109, not 110, as in the text, which would give him the five months' administration mentioned by Isidorus,—that his successor 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah ruled six months, till the arrival of Hodheyfah in Rabi' the 1st, A. H. 110, and that the administration of the latter lasted eleven months, until the arrival of Al-haytham in Moharram, A. H. 111,—the chronology of this very intricate period of Spanish history would be satisfactorily adjusted.

²² The name of this Amír may be pronounced either Hodheyfah, as in the text, or Hadhífah. In the copy of Ibnu Khaldún preserved in the library of Leyden (No. 1350, fo. 2, *verso*) it is written *حديفة بن الاحوص* Hadhífah Ibnu-l-ahwass; Ibn Habíb has *خديفة* Khadífah. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 56) writes 'Oddifa.' Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xii.) 'Odoýfa.'

²³ Conde (vol. i. p. 80) calls him Al-kenání; so does Al-azdí, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. clii.), and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325). However, the copy of Ibnu Khaldún in the library of Leyden (fo. 2, *verso*) reads Al-kelábí, as here.

²⁴ Ibnu Khaldún makes no such statement; at least, the copy in the library of Leyden (vol. iv. p. 2) has not the passage here alluded to. What is meant by *ارض مقونشة* Ardh Makunshah, which another copy writes *مغونشة* Maghunshah, and the Gotha MS. (fol. 48, *verso*) *مقوشة* Makushah, I have been unable to ascertain. Al-azdí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cli.), says that Al-haytham, whom he also calls Al-kenání, was a native of Mekka.

²⁵ That is to say, till Jumáda the 1st, A. H. 113, when he was deposed from his command, or put to death, according to other authorities. See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. cliii.

²⁶ Conde (vol. i. p. 80) says that this governor went to Spain by the order of the Khalif Hishám. Isidorus Pacensis, who calls him 'Mammet Alarcila' [Mohammed ben Abdilla?], represents him as being sent to Spain by the Viceroy of Africa to inquire into Al-haytham's administration; which is more probable. The text of Ibnu Bashkúwál, which Al-makkarí inserts here, reads *و قدم بعده*

محمد بن عبد الاله الاشجعي فولي شهرين قال ابن بشكوال قدمه الناس عليهم

²⁷ 'Abdu-r-rahmán was not slain, as stated here, in 115, much less in 116. The battle of Tours, or Poitiers, in which that chief fell, was fought, as Ibnu Khaldún afterwards says, in the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 114, which agrees well with the date fixed by the Christian chroniclers, October, A. D. 732. See Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarras.* p. 45, *et seq.*

As to the duration of his rule, it is evident that those authors who state it at two years and a half count the time of his government from the death of As-samh to the arrival of 'Anbasah, and, perhaps, also the short time of his rule after the assassination of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. v. Placing the death of Al-haytham in Jumáda the 1st, A. H. 113, the government of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on this occasion would have lasted sixteen months, or else fourteen, if we count the two months that the provisional administration of Mohammed is said to have lasted.

'Abdu-r-rahmán is occasionally called Al-'akkí, because he belonged to the tribe of 'Akk, son of 'Adnán; see p. 26.

²⁸ Conde (vol. i. p. 89) writes the name of this governor 'Kotan,' but in none of the copies which I have consulted is the word pointed so as to authorize that reading.

²⁹ *حتى بلغ سنني المسلمين اربونة و صار رباطهم علي نهر رونة [رودنه]*—The wars of 'Okbah with the French are not well specified. Al-azdí, however, mentions two expeditions across the Pyrenees;

one undertaken in the year 120 to chastise the Franks for some incursion made into the Spanish territory, and another in 121, in which 'Okbah was at first successful; but upon the arrival of Charles Martel أرطليوس the Moslems were defeated with considerable loss, and obliged to shut themselves up in Barcelona. See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. clxxii.; Isidorus Pacensis, *Cron.* No. 61; Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarrasins, &c.*, p. 56.

³⁰ 'Okbah, called Aucupa by Isidorus, landed in Spain at the end of 116. He was sent by the Viceroy of Africa, 'Obeydullah Ibn Al-hajáb (not Al-hejáj, as Conde, vol. i. p. 90, calls him), to supersede 'Abdu-l-malek, of whose tyranny and excesses he had received formal complaints. 'Abdu-l-malek was absent from Cordova, making war on the Franks, when 'Okbah, accompanied by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb, landed in Spain, and seized on the capital (Borbon, p. clxix.). On his return to Cordova, 'Abdu-l-malek was imprisoned and deprived of his command. He contrived, however, to escape and take refuge in Barcelona, where it appears that he had numerous partisans. 'Okbah marched against him; but having received intelligence, whilst at Saragossa, of the revolt of the Berbers in Africa, he crossed over to that country and relinquished his enterprise. We are not told whom 'Okbah left to command in Spain during his absence, at what time he departed for Africa, and when he returned; but 'Abdu-l-malek again got possession of the government; and in the year 121, according to Ibnu Khaldún, or in the beginning of 123, according to Ar-rázi, he either exiled or put to death his antagonist.

³¹ Adh-dhobí, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. clxxi.), agrees with Ar-rázi in placing the death of 'Okbah in 123; but he makes him die at Cordova, not at Carcassonne, and adds that he was poisoned by 'Abdu-l-malek عقبة بالسم بمدينة قرطبة — Conde (vol. i. p. 96) says that he died in 124; but little or no reliance can be placed on the statements of a writer who never gives his authority, and whose translations are not always faithful. According to his account, 'Okbah landed in Spain in 118, left it for Africa in 120, and returned in 124. Not a word is said of the revolt of 'Abdu-l-malek, who is represented as being upon the best terms with 'Okbah.



CHAPTER V.

¹ Soon after the conquest of Spain, the Berbers who served under the banners of the Arabs, and most of whom, though nominally converted to Islám, still professed the Jewish religion or adhered to the rites of paganism, made several attempts to shake off the yoke of the Arabs. In A. H. 99, under the administration of Al-horr, a Berber, named Khaulán Al-yahúdí (the Jew), rose in arms against the Arabs, and maintained himself in Aragon and Catalonia until he was defeated and put to death in A. H. 100 (Borbon, *Carta XIV. et seq.*). Again, A. H. 107, during the administration of Yahya Ibn Salmah, the Berbers of Spain rose against their masters, and aimed at their total expulsion from that country, saying, "We conquered Andalus, took its cities, and subdued its provinces; we fought against the Rúm and against the Frank; ours therefore is the country, and ours the spoil, not yours;" (Borbon, *loco laudato*, p. cxlix.). It was only through the union of the two hostile factions, the Modharites and the Yemenites, that Yahya was at last enabled to put down the rebellion.

² Conde (vol. i. p. 97) says that Kolthúm died in the action; so does Isidorus Pacensis (*Cronic.*

No. 64), as well as An-nuwayrî (*Journal Asiatique*, tom. xi. p. 446). The last-named writer calls the chief of the Berber insurrection Meysar Al-matgharî.

The name of Kolthûm's successor, Hondhahah, may also be written 'Handhahah.' Ibn Habîb (*loco laudato*, fo. 9, verso) writes it حَنْطَلَة Hantalah.

³ According to Conde, who makes no mention of the siege of Ceuta by the Berbers, Balj with other Syrians crossed over to Andalus immediately after their defeat. The whole, however, is explained by Isidorus Pacensis, whose chronicle abounds with interesting details on the history of this period. See *Cronic. No. 64, et seq.*

⁴ This is no doubt the Zat (Zeyyâd) Sarracenus of Isidorus Pacensis, who attributes to 'Othmán Ibn Abî Nes'ah what is here recorded of 'Abdu-l-malek.

⁵ No details of this rebellion are to be found either in Conde or Borbon; but the author of the *Iktifâ fî akhbâri-l-kholafâ* (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that the chief of the Berbers on this occasion was Ibn Yeferen Az-zenâtî, who, having revolted a second time under the administration of Husâm Ibn Dhirâr Al-kelbî, was taken prisoner in a battle and conveyed to Cordova, where he was nailed to a stake صَلْب with a dog at his right hand, a swine at his left, a lizard in front, and an ape behind; all which animals are considered unclean by the Arabs.

⁶ From the arrival of 'Abdu-l-malek, in Ramadhân, A. H. 114, to his execution, in Dhî-l-ka'dah, 123, is an interval of nine years, which is the aggregate amount of the administrations of 'Okbah and 'Abdu-l-malek, namely, five years the former and four the latter. Ar-râzî, it is true, says that 'Okbah ruled the country for six years and four months; but in so doing it is evident that he only counts 'Abdu-l-malek's second administration, from the death of his rival 'Okbah, in Safar, 123, to his execution in Dhî-l-ka'dah of the same year.

⁷ One of the copies reads سبعين seventy, instead of تسعين ninety.

⁸ All the copies read here الحارة *Al-hârrah* except the abridgment, which has الحرة *Al-harrah*; but I think that الحارة *Al-hârah*, which means 'the street,' is to be substituted. The battle was so called because it was fought at Medina, in the quarter of the city called *Al-hârah Benî Zohrah*, or 'the street of the Benî Zohrah,' between the Syrians, commanded by Moslem Ibn 'Okbah, and the inhabitants of that city, who had revolted against the Khalif Yezîd. See Price, *Chron. Retrospect. of Moham. Hist.* vol. i. p. 416.

⁹ The expression here used is الاقدميون *al-akdmîyûn* (the first comers or settlers). Under this denomination all the Arabian tribes which went to Spain before Balj were comprised.

¹⁰ 'Abdu-r-rahmân entered Spain in the suite of Balj. He had been in that country before, during the administration of 'Okbah As-selûlî. (See above, note 30, p. 410.) His father, Habîb, was killed in Africa by the Berbers, in A. H. 123. See An-nuwayrî, *loco laudato*, p. 446.

¹¹ Beladiún (*i. e.* the people of cities) is the name which the Yemenites or Arabs of the stock of Kahtán gave to their rivals of the stock of 'Adnán; the Syrians who entered Spain with Balj being all Modharites, were descended from the stock of 'Adnán.

¹² 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the son of that 'Alkamah (Alxaman) who was killed in battle with Pelayo. He was governor of Narbonne, and commander of the forces on the French frontier.

¹³ *وكانوا [الشاميون] عسكرياً منصوراً مقتولاً أميراً* — Conde misunderstood this passage; he makes Balj the vanquished, instead of the victor (vol. i. p. 104). Indeed, the whole of that chapter of his work which treats of the civil war between Balj and Ibn Kattan is a tissue of errors and contradictions. Of Umeyyah, and Kattan, the two sons of the unfortunate 'Abdu-l-malek, he makes only one person, whom he calls *Omeya ben Cotan, el hijo de Abdelmelic*; he confounds 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb with 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Okbah; and, lastly, he attributes to the latter the exploit here recounted as achieved by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah. Thus all those writers who have followed Conde in this part of his narrative, Romey not excepted (vol. iii. p. 129), have involuntarily been led into error.

¹⁴ Ibn Habíb says 'seven days after.' Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 77, *verso*), about a month *بشهر أو نحوه* — See also above, *note 7*, p. 405.

¹⁵ From Dhí-l-ka'dah, 123, to Shawwál, 124, are the eleven months here recorded. With the sole exception of Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326), who gives Balj only six months' rule, all others agree in this statement.

¹⁶ Isidorus Pacensis makes no mention of Tha'lebah among the governors of Spain.

¹⁷ *الي ان حضر عيد تشاغلوا فيه* — The manner in which this is expressed makes me suppose that the word *عيد* is here intended for a pagan festivity, a thing not improbable, as most of the Berbers adhered still to their pagan rites. See on this subject the sensible observations of M. Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarras*. p. 28.

¹⁸ For a long time after the conquest of Spain the Berbers continued to lead a nomadic life, shifting their quarters from one end of the peninsula to the other, and taking their wives and children with them even when engaged in military expeditions. Ibnu-l-abbár (Nat. Lib. Madrid, fo. 127) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. of Cordova was the first who conquered their roving habits, made them build villages and towns, and subjected them to a more sedentary life.

¹⁹ Evidently the same 'Othmán who had been governor of Spain on a former occasion, (see p. 36.) although Conde (vol. i. p. 84) and other writers after him identify him with the Munniz of Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 58), who was put to death by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí.

²⁰ If we adopt the date given by Ibnu Hayyán, Tha'lebah had governed the country for about ten months, counting from the death of Balj, in Shawwál, 124. Those who, like Ibnu Khaldún, give him a government of two years, count the time during which he seems to have governed conjointly with Balj.

See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. clxxxv.; Conde, vol. i. p. 103; Ibn Habíb, *loco laudato*, fo. 155. According to Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxci.), Tha'lebah was transported to Africa by order of Abú-l-khattár.

²¹ It was no doubt at the time of this partition that the small kingdom founded by Theodimir the Goth, and in which he had been succeeded by Athanagild, was taken away from the Christians; the lands in the territory of Murcia or Tudmír being allotted to the Arabs of Misr (Egypt).

²² *فتنة العيا* — 'The civil war of the blind men was kindled,' a proverbial expression to denote that a murderous war has begun between two tribes.

²³ The word translated by 'love of tribe' is *عصبية* — which Ibnu Khaldún uses frequently to express that tie or bond which keeps together the members of a family. It may also be found in Ibnu Hayyán and other Andalusian writers.

²⁴ As-samíl or As-somayl, for this name may be pronounced both ways, belonged to the tribe of Keláb, descended from 'Adnán, and was consequently a Modharite. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 68) calls him 'Zumahel;' Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xvii.), 'Zimaël.'

²⁵ The text reads *فامر به فاقم و دع فقا* — In the passage of Ibnu Khaldún, relating to this event, I read *فاقم من مجلسه و تقنع* 'he was made to rise from his seat, and his turban was thrown on one side [in the struggle].' Al-makkari introduces this passage in the second book of the first part, in nearly the same words, after Ibnu Khaldún.

²⁶ *Múrúr* or *Morúr*, which in one of the copies is written thus, *مورود Maurúd*; probably the town of Moron, near Seville.

²⁷ Thuábah was the brother of Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí, who held the government after Balj.

²⁸ *وادي لكة Wáda-leke*, not *Guadalete*, as this river is now called. See vol. i. p. 527, note 67.

²⁹ See Conde (vol. i. p. 118), who attributes the liberation of Husám to the son of 'Abdu-l-malek and to Ibn 'Okbah ['Abdu-r-rahmán Al-lakhmí].

³⁰ *فتداعوا للرحيل ليلاً فبا اصبحوا الا علي اميال* — This alludes to a first battle lost by Abú-l-khattár, in which that governor fell into an ambush prepared by As-samíl. See Isidorus Pacensis, *Cronic.* No. 68.

³¹ According to Adh-dhobí, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxcviii.), Thuábah governed Spain for one

year and some months. He died about the end of 128. Another writer (*ib.* p. ccii.) says that he was put to death or poisoned by Yúsuf *وقيل توفى مسموماً* — It is true that Ibnu-l-faradhí gives him a government of two years, but in so doing that historian does not mean that Thuábah governed two whole years, but that he was governor part of the year 127 and nearly the whole of 128. This manner of counting is unfortunately but too frequent among the Arabian historians.

³² All copies read here *و خلع ابو الخطار بعد اربع سنين و تسعة اشهر و ذلك سنة ١٢٨* 'And Abú-l-khattár was deposed, after four years and nine months' [administration], in the year 128.' But this could not be, if his arrival in Cordova took place, as above stated, in Rejeb, A. H. 125. On the other hand, from the death of Balj in Shawwál, 124, to the appointment of Yúsuf in Rabi' the second, 129, there is only an interval of four years and three months; and yet Abú-l-khattár is said to have governed four years and nine months; Tha'lebah ten months (or, according to others, two years), and Thuábah one year (others say two). We have, besides, to make some allowance for a short interregnum, as well as for the whole year during which the Bení Modhar ruled the country after a previous agreement with the Yemenites. It is, therefore, quite clear that the administration of Abú-l-khattár could not have lasted above two years, and that the four years and nine months mentioned by Ibnu-l-faradhí must be understood *after his taking possession of the government of Eastern Africa*, of which country Abú-l-khattár seems to have been some time governor. (Borbon, *Cartas*, p. clxxxix.) This obstacle once removed, the duration of their respective governments may be thus adjusted: Tha'lebah ten months, from the death of Balj in Shawwál, 124, to the arrival in Cordova of Abú-l-khattár, in Rejeb, 125; Abú-l-khattár two years, till the rising of Thuábah, in Rejeb, 127; Thuábah sixteen months, till his death at the end of 128; and five months of civil war and anarchy, till the death of Abú-l-khattár and the election of Yúsuf, in Rabi' the second, 129.

³³ Ibnu Khaldún is the only historian who mentions this fact. His words are: *و نصبوا الاحكام و نصبوا كثر* — *خاصةً عبد الرحمان بن كثير* — which would seem to imply that the government of Spain was carried on in the name of some Viceroy of Africa, called 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Kethír. By referring to Annuwayrí, I find that the governor of Eastern Africa at the time was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb (not Ibn Kethír), who, having left Spain for Túnis in Jumáda [the first?], A. H. 127, obtained from the Khalif the government of that province, which fact is corroborated by Ibnu Bashkúwál. See above.

³⁴ Shekudah, or Shakandah, became afterwards one of the suburbs of Cordova. See vol. i. p. 328.

³⁵ *اهل الصناعات من اسواق قرطبة* — literally, 'the working men of the markets of Cordova.'

³⁶ Here are no less than three different versions of the same event. According to one, the battle was contested with great fury; according to the other, the Yemenites, taken by surprise, made no resistance. One author makes Abú-l-khattár fall in the battle; the other says that he escaped, but was taken prisoner and put to death. Ibnu-l-faradhí says that Abú-l-khattár was deposed and slain by the Modharites in A. H. 128. Ibnu Khaldún places his death in 129, after a sort of truce concluded with the opposite faction. All these contradictions, however, are but a natural consequence of the system pursued by Al-makkarí.

A writer, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxcvii.), says that Abú-l-khattár was deposed in A. H. 128, and that he fled to Eastern Africa *و اخرج الي افريقية هاربا*

³⁷ The text reads *في سرير رحي*

³⁸ See p. 15. The whole of this account is borrowed from the work of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, with a few important omissions, which I will supply with the aid of a manuscript preserved in the Royal Library of Paris, a copy of which is now in my possession. Almond (Olmundo?) left besides two sons: one called *البطو* Almatto, who is said to have settled at Seville; the other, 'Obbás (Oppas), who died in Galicia *المتوفي في جليقية*—This latter is the Oppa Episcopus, who, according to the Christian writers, was slain, together with 'Alkamah, at the battle of Covadonga.

Artebash, or Ardebasto, left also several sons: one of his posterity was Abú Sa'id Al-kúmis (Comes, or the Count). As to Romulo, he was the progenitor of Ja'far Ibn *الفر* Alfor or Alfaro, Kádí-l-'ajem or judge of the Christians, in Cordova.

“By her marriage with 'Isa Ibn Muzáhim *بن مزاحم* (not Ibráhím as in the text), Sára Al-kúttiyyah (the Goth) had two sons, Ibráhím and Is'hák. 'Isa having died in A. H. 138, the year in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah entered Andalus, his widow Sára had several pretenders to her hand, among whom the most illustrious were, Hayyat Ibn Mulábis, or Mulámis [*sic* *حياة ابن ملامس*] Al-madh'hijí, and 'Omayr Ibn Sa'id Al-lakhmí. The last named obtained his suit, through the intercession of Tha'lebah Al-jodhámí, who was his friend, and applied to 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He had a son named Jilbab *جيلبب* who became the progenitor of the Bení Seyd *سيد* of the Bení Hejáj, of the Bení Moslemah, and others.”

Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, from whom the above particulars are taken, was himself a descendant from the Gothic princess by her son Ibráhím. Hence the surname of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, by which he is generally known. He lived at Cordova, where he distinguished himself by his writings on various subjects, but chiefly on grammar and philology. He was the author of a treatise on the conjugation of verbs *تصريف الافعال* of which his biographer Ibn Khallekán speaks very highly. He does not appear to have written any thing historical; but he, no doubt, communicated to his friends and disciples the traditions preserved in his family. The work attributed to him upon the conquest of Spain by the Arabs is undoubtedly the production of one of his disciples. Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah died at Cordova in Rejeb, A. H. 367 (A. D. 978). See vol. i. p. 460, *note* 96, of this translation.

³⁹ Instead of *لبانة* *Ibn Lebbánah*, as it is written in all copies of this work, I am inclined to read *لبابة* *Lubábah*; for I find that such was the name of one of the masters of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who, according to Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 33), died in A. H. 314. See also vol. i. p. 467, *note* 155, of this translation.

⁴⁰ The same individual mentioned at p. 47. I am not sure, however, whether Abú 'Abdah is part of his name or not. His patronymic, Al-'abadí or Al-'abdí, which last is, I believe, the correct way of spelling it, would lead me to suppose that Abú 'Abdah was part of his name.

⁴¹ العابد Thus in A.—B. and the epitome read العابد—I have followed the former reading, as agreeing better with the profession and habits of Maymún, who is called lower down a faquir.

⁴² These words can only apply to Maymún; but the passage reads as follows: ما تسمعنا أنا قدمنا الي هذا البلد غزاة نحسب ان مقامنا فيه لا يطول و لا نستعد للمقام و لا كثرنا من العدة ثم حدثت بعدنا علي موالينا في اجنادنا ما قد ايسنا معه الي رجوع الي اوطاننا—It is therefore evident that the answer of Artabásh was omitted by Al-makkari whilst transcribing from his authority.

⁴³ شوس This appears to have been the name of the *Xenil* on its passage through Ezija. One of the tributaries of the Guadalquivir is now called Guadajoz.

⁴⁴ That is, counting from Rabi' the second, A. H. 129, when he was appointed by the Bení Modhar, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 138; when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah defeated him, and gained possession of his capital, the city of Cordova. His confirmation by the Khalif was not obtained till A. H. 132. See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. cci.

⁴⁵ Instead of 'A'mir, one of the copies has 'Amer or 'Omar. He was the son of 'Amru, and belonged to the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár. Conde (vol. i. p. 140) attributes to him the taking of Saragossa, which is further down said to have been reduced by Al-habáb.

⁴⁶ الأزرق *Al-azrak* means 'a man who has blue eyes;' in Spanish, *zarcos*.

⁴⁷ The name of this chieftain, whom Conde (vol. i. p. 139) makes the secretary of 'A'mir Ibn 'Amru, might be written equally well *Al-hebbáb* and *Al-hobáb* (the snake).

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

¹ This passage is to be found almost word for word in the history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain by An-nuwayrî, who, no doubt, borrowed it from Ibnu Hayyân. The word, translated by 'forest,' is غَيْضَة *ghaydah*, in Spanish *algyda*.

² This was Hafss Ibn Suleymán Al-hallál, surnamed Wazíru-dín Mohammed (the support of the religion of Mohammed), at that time a Wizír of the Bení 'Abbás. His *kunyá* was Abú Salmah, not Abú Moslemah, as here stated. See Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.* p. 94.

³ 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb is the same chief who is so often mentioned in the course of the preceding Book, (pp. 18, 43, *et passim.*) He was appointed governor of Cairwán in A. H. 127. His father Habíb had been a *mauli* of the Bení Umeyyah. He was the father of Yúsuf Al-fehri, the last governor of Spain.

⁴ Immediately after there follows in the text one of these anecdotes, which I have not thought proper to translate.

⁵ The text reads فوجدت الفتى الذي دعوتها اليه من قوم لو بال احدهم بهذه الجزيرة
غرقتا نحن و انتم في بوله

⁶ Yúsuf is frequently called 'a Sultán' by the historians of Mohammedan Spain, no doubt because he ruled independently, and did not acknowledge the authority of the Khalif.

⁷ Instead of some dinárs, other accounts say five hundred. Among the Andalusians who went over to Africa, An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 437) gives the names of Wahb Ibnu-l-asfar and Shákir Ibn Abí-l-ashmatt, of whom mention is made hereafter.

⁸ According to An-nuwayrî (fo. 438), Yúsuf was at Toledo when the news of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's disembarkation was brought to him.

⁹ On the town of Modrúr or Morúr, see a preceding *note*, p. 413. An-nuwayrî's account (fo. 438)

differs a little from this: he calls the governor of Malaga Ibráhím Ibn Shajrah شجرة and the governor of Seville Abú Sáleh Yahya Ibn Yahya.

¹⁰ This reads differently in all the manuscripts: A. عام خلق — B. عام الخلفاء — My own copy, and that belonging to the Gotha Library, read عام الخلف — which reading I have adopted.

¹¹ مصارة — Thus in Ibn Habíb (*loco laudato*, fo. 156), and Al-homaydí (fo. 4), who describe it as a plain close to Cordova.

¹² Merj-Ráhitt is the name of a place in Syria, where the Khalif Merwán I., of the family of Umeyyah, defeated the followers of Zubeyr. See vol. i. App. p. lxxxix. of this translation. The author of a history of Spain under the Arabs, lately published in the French collection, entitled 'L'Art de vérifier les Dates,' has mistaken Merj-Ráhitt for the name of a place near Cordova, and describes this battle as having been fought there.

¹³ Probably the same individual mentioned at pp. 47 and 71, and note 40, p. 415.

¹⁴ Mohammed Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxvii.), says that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán entered that capital, the wives and daughters of Yúsuf came up to him, and that one of them said أحسن يا ابن عم فقد ملكت — "Be generous, O cousin! after thy victory;" upon which 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent for Yahya Ibn Yezíd At-tojibí, at that time Kádi of Cordova, and intrusted Yúsuf's family to his care.

According to An-nuwayrí, Yúsuf, after surprising Cordova and plundering the palace, retired into the Sierra de Elvira, where he was pursued by 'Abdu-r-rahmán until a peace was concluded between them.

Al-makkarí treats again of Yúsuf in the sixth Book, among the Arabs who settled in Spain. He says that on the day in which that governor resigned the command into the hands of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he repeated this verse of Harakah, the daughter of An-no'mán Ibn Al-mundhir:

فبينما نسوس الناس الامر امرنا . . اذا نحن فيهم سوقة نتنصف

"Whilst we directed the people the empire was ours; for we divided the market [between the dealers]."

CHAPTER II.

¹ Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. vii.

² An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 439) mentions, under the year 147, the departure for Syria of one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's agents, whose instructions were to conduct to Cordova the eldest son of that Sultán, named Suleymán, who had remained behind.

³ Conde (vol. i. p. 170) says ten sons, or brothers; for it is not easy to determine which of the two he meant by "los diez hermanos Merwanes."

⁴ يا نخلة انت فريدة مثلي .: في الارض نايبة عن الاهل
تبكي و هل تبكي مكممة .: عجاآء لم تجبل علي جبل
و لو انها عقلت اذ البكت .: ماء الفراة و منبت النخل
لكنها حرمت و اخرجني .: بغضي بني العباس عن اهلي

⁵ Casiri (vol. ii. p. 32) gives a short notice of this Habíb, who held for some time the government of Toledo.

⁶ According to An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 440), Yúsaf, after collecting his forces at Merida, marched on Cordova, but finding 'Abdu-r-rahmán prepared to meet him, he turned westwards, and proceeded against Seville, by whose governor, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, he was defeated. Conde's narrative is far from agreeing with the above, since among other things he tells us that Yúsaf was defeated by 'Abdu-l-malek near Lorca, in Murcia, and that he died in the action. See vol. i. p. 171, *et seq.*

⁷ The word translated by 'cup' is قاس *kás*, whence the Spanish 'cazo' is derived. Conde relates differently the death of As-samíl, whom he represents as living at Siguenza (no doubt, Shekudah, near Cordova), when he was arrested, conveyed to Toledo, and there executed (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 178). A son of As-samíl, named Hudheyl or Hadhíl هذيل was afterwards executed for being implicated in the conspiracy of Al-mugheyrá in A. H. 166. An-nuwayrî, *loco laudato*, fo. 443.

⁸ This individual is called Dhú-l-jjyúsh in Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.* p. 51; but it is a mistake: his name was Dhú-jaushan, as here stated. He was the officer deputed by 'Obeydullah Ibn Zeyyád to attack Huseyn at Kerbelá. See Abú-l-fedá, *Ann. Mosl.* vol. i. *sub anno Lxi.*

⁹ *Sakr*, whence the Spaniards have made 'sacre,' is a kind of high-bred hawk. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 197) read 'saphar.'

¹⁰ This revolt took place four years later, in 155 (A. D. 772). "In the year 155," says An-nuwayrî, "the people of Seville forsook the obedience [of 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and rose under the command of 'Abdu-l-ghaffár and of Haywat Ibn Mulámis. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then absent from Cordova, carrying on war against Shakiá [the Berber], and he had appointed his son Suleymán to command in the capital [during his absence]. When he received the letters of his son, informing him of the rising [of those two chieftains], and of their having been joined in the movement by all the Yemenites who resided in Seville, he collected his forces [to march] against them, but would not enter Cordova then, [as he did not consider himself secure there,] owing to the repeated news which reached him of the numbers and strength [of the enemy]. He sent forward against them his cousin 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, who marched to Seville, &c."

¹¹ The account of An-nuwayrī agrees with the above; not so that of Conde (vol. i. p. 194), who calls the son of 'Abdu-l-malek, Kásim.

¹² The people of Seville, *i. e.* 'Abdu-l-ghaffár, Ibn Mulámis, and the other chiefs of the Yemenite party, whose rising is above specified. See above, *note* 10.

¹³ The expression in the text is ambiguous; but I find in An-nuwayrī قد انكحت ابني و لي عهدي هشاما ابنتك — which removes all doubt as to the meaning.

¹⁴ An-nuwayrī does not mention the revolt of Al-yezídí, but he does that of Al-mugheyrah, under the year 166.

¹⁵ Conde (vol. i. p. 188) calls this rebel Abdelgafír, and describes him as being Wálí or governor of Meknásah (Mequinez) in Africa, from which country he is said to have crossed over to Spain at the head of an army; but in giving this account it is evident that the Spanish translator confounded the rising of 'Abdu-l-ghaffár [Ibn Hamíd Al-yahssobí] at Seville with that of a Berber named شقيا Shakiá, who revolted about four years before, pretending to be a descendant of the Prophet. An-nuwayrī (*loco laudato*, fo. 441) gives the following account of the latter: "His name was شقيا Shakiá Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed. He was a Berber of the tribe of Meknásah. He could read the Korán and write, owing to which accomplishments he exercised the functions of schoolmaster to his tribe. His mother's name was Fátimah, and he, being an ambitious man, gave himself out as the descendant of Fátimah, the daughter of the Prophet, and took the name of 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed. He rose at شنت بربة Santiberia (not Santamaria, as in the text,) in the year 151 (A. D. 768), and was joined by great numbers of his tribe. He maintained himself until 160, when two of his followers, named Abú Ma'n and Abú Kharím, put him to death, and conveyed his head to 'Abdu-r-rahmán."

¹⁶ حياة ابن ملبس — Thus in all the manuscripts except the abridgment, which reads حيوة Hayát or Haywah. An-nuwayrī calls him Ibn Mulámis; and Conde (vol. i. p. 178) "Hayút Ibn Molemis." The latter author, however, makes him die before, in 143, in great favour with 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He is the individual mentioned at p. 18, and *note* 14, p. 399.

¹⁷ According to An-nuwayrī, the execution of Abú-s-sabáh took place in 149 (A. D. 766). "In this year (A. H. 149) 'Abdu-r-rahmán deposed Abú-s-sabáh from the government of Seville. Hearing, moreover, that the Arabian chief was aiming at revolt, he laid a snare for him, and put him to death;" (*loco laudato*, fo. 441.) The rebellion here recorded is the same which the author has already described at p. 82, *ad finem*, evidently without being aware that they were one and the same. Abú-s-sabáh might as well be written Abú-s-sabbáh or Abú-s-sobáh.

¹⁸ One of the copies reads Huseyn Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn Yahya, &c.

¹⁹ The events here related took place long after the year 157. "In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, A. D. 779)," says An-nuwayrī, "'Abdu-r-rahmán made public his determination to carry the war into

“ Syria, for the purpose of avenging the injuries which the Bení 'Abbás had done to his family; but “ the rebellion of Suleymán Ibn Yokdhán [Al-'arabí] and of Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'id Ibn Sa'd “ Ibn 'Obádah Al-ansári, at Saragossa, prevented him from carrying that project into execution.” An-nuwayrí does not inform us how the rebellion of those two chieftains ended then, but we are to infer from what follows that it terminated in the death of Suleymán, as Al-makkari states it. “ In the year “ 165 (beginning Aug. 25, A. D. 781), Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya got possession of Saragossa by treason, “ and revolted. 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent against him Ghálib Ibn Temám Ibn 'Alkamah at the head of “ considerable forces, and they carried on war for some time against each other. Al-huseyn detached a “ portion of his forces, under the command of his son 'Isa, to attack 'Abdu-r-rahmán; but 'Isa was “ defeated, and his army destroyed. Temám Ibn 'Alkamah [the father of Ghálib] then besieged “ Al-huseyn in Saragossa; but without success. The ensuing year, A. H. 166 (beginning Aug. 14, 782), “ 'Abdu-r-rahmán, in person, came to the siege of Saragossa, bringing with him six-and-thirty *manjanik* “ or war-engines to batter the walls with. He took the city by storm, put to death Al-huseyn, and “ expelled the inhabitants, owing to an oath he had taken previous to his marching thither; but some “ time after he granted them leave to return.”

²⁰ This Suleymán Al-'arabí, whom Al-homaydí (fo. 50) calls Ibnu-l-'arabí, is the “ Ibnelarabi ” of the old chronicles, who is described as having crossed over to France to implore the help of Charlemagne. See the interesting details given on this subject by M. Romey in his *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. iii. pp. 228-245.

²¹ I suspect that both the date of this rebellion and the name of the principal actor in it are incorrectly given, for I find nothing like it in An-nuwayrí, who gives in detail the events of this reign. The reading, too, is different in all the copies. A. *و ثار الرما حسن*—the abridgment *الرماس*—my copy *و ثار* *العزیز*—the Gotha MS. *و ثار الدما حسن بن عبد العزيز*—I should be tempted to establish the reading thus *و ثار الدما [حسين] حسن بن عبد العزيز الكناني* and Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'aziz rose to revenge the murder of Huseyn Al-ansári, &c.

²² Most of the revolts which happened under 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign are to be ascribed to the inveterate feuds existing between the rival tribes of Modhar and Yemen; 'Abdu-r-rahmán being himself a Modharite, naturally favoured the former. As An-nuwayrí has preserved the history of all these rebellions, I will here translate his account of all those which are not mentioned by Al-makkari.

“ *Zoreyk Al-ghosáni*. In the year 143 (A. D. 760), *زريق*, Zoreyk Ibn An-no'mán Al-ghosáni rose at “ Algesiras. He took Shidúnah and Seville; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán having invested those two cities, “ the rebels begged that monarch's forgiveness, and delivered Zoreyk into his hands.” Conde, vol. i. p. 176, calls him “ Barcerah ben Nooman Algasani.”

“ *Hishám Ibn 'Adhrah Al-fehri*, a cousin of Yúsuf Al-fehri. His rebellion took place in the year 144 “ (beginning April 10, A. D. 761), at Toledo. He was besieged in that city by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in “ person, until he surrendered himself on condition that his life should be spared, giving his son Affah as “ a hostage for his future good behaviour; but within the same year Hishám revolted a second time “ at Toledo. He was again besieged by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was not able to reduce that city, and “ returned to Cordova. At last, in the year 146 (A. D. 763), 'Abdu-r-rahmán having sent against him “ his *mauli* Bedr and Temám Ibn 'Alkamah at the head of considerable forces, those two generals “ besieged him in that city, which they took; and conveyed him a prisoner to Cordova, together

“ with حيوة Haywat Ibn Al-walid Al-yahssobí, and 'Othmán Ibn Hamzah Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Omar Ibn Al-khattáb. They were paraded through that city in fetters, mounted on asses, with their heads and beards shaved, and with no other dress on than a coarse woollen *jubbah*; after which they were nailed to stakes.” See Conde (cap. xvi.), who places these events in the year 148.

Sa'id Al-yahssobí; in Conde (vol. i. p. 185), “ Said ben Husein el Yahsebi.”—“ Sa'id Al-yahssobí, better known by the surname of المطري Al-mattarí, rose at Liblah (Niebla) in 148 (A. D. 765). The cause of his rebellion was this:—Being one day intoxicated, he happened to think of the numbers of his comrades, the Yemenites, who had fallen in the battle in which Al-'ala Ibn Mughíth was defeated [by 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and he took a banner and raised it. When he came to his senses, and saw the banner raised, he asked his followers about it, when they told him what had occurred. He then was going to take it down; but upon consideration, he left it as it was, saying, 'By Allah! it shall not be said of me that I raised a banner and put it down again without reason;' upon which he made public his intention to revolt [against 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and was soon surrounded by the Yemenites of that district. Having put himself at their head, he marched to Seville, which he reduced, his forces being greatly increased by the partisans [he had there]. At the news of this revolt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán hastened [towards Seville]. Sa'id shut himself up in a castle called راغوق Raghúk, and fortified himself in it: this happened on the 11th of Rabí-l-awal (June, A. D. 765). Sa'id was immediately besieged by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who invested the castle on every side, and prevented other rebels from joining him. Among the chiefs who on this occasion made common cause with Sa'id Al-yahssobí, was 'Alkamah Al-lakhmí, who, having collected at Shidúnah the chiefs of certain tribes, was preparing to march to the assistance of Sa'id. But 'Abdu-r-rahmán, having received intelligence of their movement in time, detached a division of his army under the command of his *mauli* Bedr, who interposed himself between the castle [of Raghúk] and the enemy, and kept him at bay. The siege, meanwhile, was prosecuted with vigour, until Sa'id, seeing the number of his followers daily diminished by death and desertion, made a sally, and was killed, &c.

“ After the death of Sa'id, a lieutenant of his named Merwán was appointed by the rebels to succeed him: the siege continued with increased vigour, until [some of] the garrison offered to 'Abdu-rahmán to make him master of the castle and of the person of Merwán, if he would only spare their lives. 'Abdu-r-rahmán consented, and Merwán was apprehended and put to death with numbers of his followers. This being done, 'Abdu-r-rahmán marched against Ghiyáth Al-azdí, one of the chiefs who had assisted Sa'id in his revolt. Having besieged him in his castle, he defended himself for some time; but at last he surrendered on condition that his life should be spared, and he was conveyed [prisoner] to Cordova. Some time after, in A. H. 149, Ghiyáth and his friends having again risen in arms against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he was taken and executed.”

²³ The French historians make no mention of this fact. See Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarrasins*, p. 98.

²⁴ For the etymology of this word see vol. i. pp. 88, 210, and p. 387, note 7.

²⁵ تبدت لنا وسط الرصافة نخلة .: . نذات بارض الغرب عن بلد النخل
فقلت شبهي بالتغرب و النوي .: . و طول اكتيأبي عن بني و عن اهلي

نشأت بارض انت فيها غريبة .∴ فذلك في الاقصاب والبناتاي مثلي
سقتك غواذي المزن في البناتاي الذي .∴ يصح و يستمري المساكين بالروبل

²⁶ One of the *jund* or divisions of Arabs who settled in Syria after the conquest of that country, and took their names from the districts in which they fixed their domicile. The *jund* or division of Kenesrín established themselves at Jaen, to which they gave the name of the country whence they came.

²⁷ Ibnu-l-khattáb gives the life of Bedr among those of his illustrious Granadians, no doubt because he resided some time in the city of Elvira; for Granada had not yet risen into importance. He gives him the *kunyá* or appellation of Abú-l-kasr, and says that he was a Greek by birth. An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 442) places his disgrace in the year 156 (A. D. 773), owing to some stretch of authority.

²⁸ Abú Salmah, *i. e.* 'the father of salvation,' was the surname of Khallál Al-hallál, or, as some authors assert, Al-khallál, who was, after Abú Moslem, the principal instrument in the establishment of the Bení 'Abbás in the East. He was put to death by the command of As-seffáh. See a preceding *note*, p. 417.

²⁹ It was not Hishám, but his brother Suleymán, who at that time disputed the empire with him, who put to death Ghálib, the son of Temám.

³⁰ ان لا يقدر ان ينظر في تحسين قبايه in all the copies; but on looking into Al-homaydí, in the life of Ibn Kháled, I find the same quotation from Ibnu Hayyán, and the passage differently written — ان احدا لا يقدر ان ينظر في تحسين عاقبه — which induces me to alter the translation thus: 'no one has the power of insuring prosperity or success to his own posterity.'

³¹ Mohammed Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova, treats at length of those theologians who filled the office of Kádí under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. Yahya Ibn Yezíd At-tojibí (not Al-yahssobí, as stated by Al-makkarí,) was the first. He was originally from Syria; but he was residing in Africa when Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, the governor of that country, appointed him to the office of *Kádhi-l-jund* or judge to the army [of Spain]. He was succeeded by Mu'áwiyah Ibn Sáleh Al-hadhramí Al-hemsí (from Emessa), whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent to Syria for the purpose of inviting to Spain his own sister Ummu-l-asbagh and other members of the family of Umeyyah.

³² 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil Al-ma'aferí, surnamed Abú Hafss, a native of Beja, in Spain, succeeded Mu'áwiyah; but was shortly after superseded by him. He was again replaced two years after, and died in his office. Al-khoshaní, *loco laudato*, fo. 14.

³³ I think that the words *Kádhi-l-jund*, which I have translated by 'judge to the army,' mean a judge of the territorial division called *jund*. (See above, *note* 26.) Al-khoshaní mentions the names of three other individuals who filled the office of Kádí during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; namely, 'Antarah Ibn Faláh, Muhájir Ibn نَوْفَل Naufil (Theophil?) Al-korashí (of the tribe of Koraysh), and Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán Al-hamdání.

³⁴ The author of the *Ahādithu-l-siyásat wa-l-imámat* confirms this statement, and adds that Sa'íd Ibn Abí Leylah took up his abode at Cordova for that purpose.

³⁵ White was the favourite colour of the Bení Umeyyah, as black was assumed by the Bení 'Abbás in opposition to them.

³⁶ Ad-dákhel means 'the enterer, the conqueror,' not the intruder (intruso), as asserted by Conde, vol. i. p. 161. In addition to the above surname, Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi gives him that of Abú-l-motréf. The same historian, who, from the fact of his having lived about a century after the death of that Sultán, must necessarily be entitled to great credit, assigns other dates for the accession and death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He places the former on Friday the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 138; the latter on the 10th of Jumáda the first, A. H. 172. He was twenty-eight years of age when he ascended the throne, and sixty years old when he died. His reign lasted thirty-two years and five months.

³⁷ The Khalif As-seffáh died in A. H. 136 (A. D. 754), two years before 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed in Spain. It was not him, but his brother Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, who sent expeditions to that country.

³⁸ The title of Ímám first appears on silver coins of this prince in A. H. 300.

CHAPTER III.

¹ *حلل* *Halal* or *Holal*; but Al-homaydí (fo. 27) calls her *حورا* *Haurá*, i. e. 'the black-eyed.'

² تعرف من ابية شبايلاً .: من خاله او من يزيد و من حجر
سباحة ذا مع برّ ذا و وفآ ذا .: و بايل ذا اذا صحا و اذا سكر

Thus in all the copies; in the Gotha MS. fo. 72, *verso*, the last verse reads differently:

سباحة ذا و برّ ذا و وفآ ذا .: و نايل

Instead of Hajr, as in the text, Hojr, one of 'Amru-l-kays' ancestors, is to be read.

³ See vol. i. p. 113, where the introduction of the sect of Málík is said to have happened under Hishám's successor.

⁴ *وفى إيامه فتحت أريونة الشهيرة* — which cannot be more explicit. M. Reinaud (*Invasion des Sarrasins*, &c., p. 105) and Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. p. 299) are of opinion that the Arabs did not take Narbonne on this occasion, but merely entered and plundered its suburbs. The French chroniclers do not mention the fact, and it must also be observed that An-nuwayrí, who enters into some details relating to this expedition, does not plainly state that Narbonne was reduced by the generals of Hishám. His

words are—" In the year 177 (beginning April 17, A. D. 793), Hishám sent his general 'Abdu-l-malek " Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth with an army to the country of the Franks. The Moslems penetrated " into their territory, and reached as far as Narbonne and Gerona. They began by Gerona, where " there was a Frank garrison; 'Abdu-l-malek slew the greater part of its defenders, and battered down " its walls; he was on the point of taking the city, when he [suddenly raised the siege and] marched to " Narbonne, where he did the same. He then penetrated far into the territory [of the Franks], " oppressed the land of Seritániah (Cerdagne), exterminated its defenders, and put to death its warriors. " In this manner 'Abdu-l-malek remained for several months in the enemy's country, destroying their " castles, laying their fields waste, setting fire to the villages, and making marauding incursions far into " their country, until the enemy came before him [to implore his mercy]. He then returned [to Cordova], " taking with him immense plunder and numberless captives. This was one of the most successful " expeditions ever undertaken by the Moslems of Andalus."—(*Loco laudato*, fo. 448.)

⁵ The expression translated by 'his Galician vassals' is *العاهدين من اهل جليقية*—but it is not likely that the Galicians should have been employed on such a service, on account of the great distance. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* p. 18), who, no doubt, borrowed most of his information from the Arabs, says that it was the Franks (Narbonnenses et cæteri Christiani). On this occasion Hishám is said also to have caused the brazen knockers of the city gates to be taken to Cordova. See Marmol, *Hist. de Africa*, lib. ii. fo. 100.

⁶ By *ارض القلاع* 'the castles' or 'land of castles' the historian, whose words are here given, means the province of Bardulia, which, from the number of fortresses erected by the Christians to arrest the progress of the Moslems, began then to be called *Castella*, whence its present name, 'Castilla la Vieja.' Alava or Alabah, as the Arabs wrote it, still preserves its ancient name. Mr. Shakespear has every where read 'Ilia' instead.

⁷ The name of this Wizir is variously written in the MSS., some having *بخت Bokht*, as printed; others, *نجدة Najdah*; the abridgment, *نجية Najiah*. Mr. Shakespear (p. 87) reads 'Nujábah'; Conde (vol. i. p. 227), 'Bath,' (Bokht?).

⁸ The same expedition alluded to above, which is said to have ended in the taking of Narbonne.

⁹ These forces were commanded by 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed, the brother of 'Abdu-l-malek; but Al-makkarí has no doubt confounded here two campaigns, that of 178 and that of 179. Let us hear An-nuwayrí. " And in the year 178 (beginning April 6, A. D. 794) Hishám sent an army, under the " command of 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth, to the country of the Franks (*read* " Basques). 'Abdu-l-kerím invaded Alabah (Alava) and the [land of] castles (Castile), where he " collected plunder and made captives. Another army, under the command of his brother 'Abdu-l- " malek Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed, invaded the land of the Galicians, destroyed their capital *دار ملكهم* " threw down its churches, and collected considerable spoil. However, as the Moslems were returning " from this expedition, their [Christian] guides deceived them, and they were afflicted by a great defeat, " in which numbers of them fell by the sword of the enemy, and the army lost all its provisions and " baggage. Few only escaped this disastrous affair.

“ And in the year 179 (beginning March 26, A. D. 795) Hishám again sent his general 'Abdu-l-malek with a numerous army to make war against the infidels. This time the Moslems marched until they reached Ashtorkah (Astorga), where the King of the Galicians was, with considerable forces raised in his own dominions, or sent him by the kings his neighbours. On the arrival of 'Abdu-l-malek the Christian king struck his tents and fled; but that general followed him closely, laying waste every thing on his passage, and making his queen prisoner *ملك الجلائقة حريم هناك* — After this, having heard that the king had fortified himself in a deep valley, 'Abdu-l-malek marched against him, and, having attacked him on Friday, the 27th of Jumáda the 2nd, (A. D. 795,) he defeated him, and made great slaughter among his nobles and knights. This being done, 'Abdu-l-malek returned [to Cordova] in safety. Another army, however, which Hishám sent from another quarter, also made its entry into Galicia in search of 'Abdu-l-malek; but as the Moslems were returning home with their spoil, after laying waste the country through which they had passed, they were opposed by the army of the Franks, who at first gained a slight advantage over them, and caused the Moslems some loss; but in the end the Moslems were able to extricate themselves, and they arrived safe in their own country.”

¹⁰ See vol. i. p. 212. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* p. 18) says that a new bridge was constructed by Hishám above the Roman one; but the word *جدد* 'he restored,' used by our author, removes all doubt.

¹¹ Al-khoshaní (*loco laudato*, fo. 204) treats of Zeyád among those who would not accept the office of Kádí. He does not give the year of his death, but Al-homaydí (*Jahwatu-l-muktabis*, fo. 91, *verso*) asserts, on the authority of his master, Ibn Hazm, that it took place in the year 204. Al-makkari gives the life of Zeyád in the fifth book of the first part, among those of illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East.

¹² According to An-nuwayrí, Hishám died on Thursday, the 13th of Safar of the year 180 (April 27, A. D. 796), at the age of thirty-nine years and four months. If we place his accession in Jumáda the first, A. H. 172, which is the date given by Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi (*note 36*, p. 424), his reign lasted seven years and eight months.

¹³ Saken or Sahn Ibn Ibráhím was one of the historians of Mohammedan Spain. Ibnu Hayyán quotes him frequently in his history of the Bení Umeyyah, fo. 2, 6, *et passim*.

¹⁴ According to Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi, the accession of Al-hakem took place on the 14th day of Safar, A. H. 180 (April 28, A. D. 796). Al-homaydí, cited by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 199), says on the 16th.

¹⁵ These were Suleymán and 'Abdullah, who had already disputed the throne with his father Hishám. Defeated in several encounters by their brother, they had been compelled to accept the terms offered to them. Suleymán crossed over to Africa, and settled at Tangiers; 'Abdullah was allowed to reside in Toledo. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 232, and Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 33.

¹⁶ This was not the first invasion of the Franks under this reign. In the year 797 (A. H. 181) they had reduced the cities of Narbonne and Gironne, which Al-hakem in person is said to have retaken

within the same year. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 234, and Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. p. 321. An-nuwayrí, under the year 185, mentions the taking of Barcelona by the Franks; but nowhere does he say that they had previously taken Narbonne, and that Al-hakem retook it. Under the year 186 he records the loss of Tuteylah [Tudela], which, he says, was taken by the Franks, assisted by a rebellious governor of those districts, [Bahlúl Ibn Marzúk?].

¹⁷ The author of the *Iktifá* says his brother, Al-mundhir; Conde (vol. i. p. 245), his cousin, Casim (Kásim), who, he adds, was the first to disclose to Al-hakem the plans of the conspirators. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, p. 451) calls him Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim Al-merwání, and says that he not only informed Al-hakem of the conspiracy against his life and throne, but had spies of that Sultán concealed about the house, that they might hear and report to Al-hakem the intentions and designs of the conspirators, and take their names as they went into the house.

¹⁸ According to other authorities the revolt took place in the suburb of Shakandah or Secunda, which adjoined the capital on the southern or south-eastern extremity. See vol. i. p. 206. The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says in the southern suburb, contiguous to that of Secunda, on the opposite (or left) bank of the Guadalquivir.

¹⁹ Al-makrizí, in his history of Egypt, records the arrival of the Andalusians in Alexandria and the disturbances which they caused there until they were banished the country. See M. Quatremère's translation of that historian, *art. Alexandrie*, fo. 94.

²⁰ It was not the Franks, but the Greeks under Armetas, son of Constantine, who retook the island of Crete in A. D. 961. See Cedrenus, vol. ii. p. 508.

²¹ The Ἀπόχαψ or Ἀπόχαψις of the Byzantine historians. Conde (vol. i. p. 254) says that he was born at Fahssu-l-bolútt, another town close to Cordova.

²² The life of this theologian is given by Al-makkarí among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East (Part V. fo. 101), in nearly the same words as those in the text.

²³ An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 449) says that Suleymán landed in Spain in A. H. 182. He was defeated by the troops of his nephew, and compelled to retire to Merida, where he was overtaken, made prisoner, and conveyed to Al-hakem, who put him to death and sent his head to Cordova.

²⁴ All the copies I have consulted read here طرسونة Tarasúnah, a corruption of Turiaso or Turiasone, but this can hardly be the place meant. Mr. Shakespear (p. 89) reads Tarragona. Perhaps طرطوشة Tortosa, a city on the banks of the Ebro, ought to be substituted, as it was about that time besieged by Louis le Débonnaire and relieved by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom his father, Al-hakem, had sent to the assistance of the besieged. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 247, and Cardonne, vol. i. p. 122. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, p. 45) says, "And in this year لدويق Ludhuwik, King of the Franks, marched to attack "Tortosa; but Al-hakem, having received intelligence of his movements, sent against him his eldest son " 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who penetrated into his territory, and defeated him before he had set foot on the "land of Islám."

²⁵ The rebellion of the Toledans under this reign is so slightly mentioned by Al-makkari, and so inaccurately described in Conde (vol. i. p. 279), that I think it necessary to supply the deficiency with the text of An-nuwayri.

"In the year 219," says that historian, "'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his son Umeyyah against Toledo, whose inhabitants had revolted some time before. Umeyyah marched thither at the head of considerable forces and besieged the city; he cut down the trees, destroyed the crops, and laid waste every thing in the neighbourhood. Still the people of Toledo persevered in their rebellion; Umeyyah, however, being unable to reduce the city, raised his camp and returned [to Cordova]; leaving a portion of his forces at Kalát Rabáh (Calatrava) under the command of an officer named Meysarah, better known by his surname of *Fata Abí Ayúb* (the page of Abú Ayúb). The people of Toledo, hearing of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's retreat, left the city in large numbers and marched against Meysarah, thinking that they would find him unprepared, and might gain some advantage over him. The contrary, however, happened; for Meysarah, having received intelligence of their movements, prepared to receive them. Having laid in ambush for them on the road to Calatrava, he attacked them, threw them into confusion, and made incredible slaughter in their ranks; some few only of their number succeeded in reaching Toledo. The heads of the slain were then collected and carried before Meysarah, who, seeing them in such numbers, was seized with horror; melancholy lodged in his heart, and he died a few days after.

"In the year 220 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent another army [against Toledo]. The Sultán's troops fought frequently with the inhabitants, but gained no decisive advantage over them. In 221, in consequence of the siege of Calatrava by the rebels of Toledo, all the Sultán's forces assembled and besieged that city, which they kept closely invested until the year 222, when 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own brother Al-walíd, son of Al-hakem, to take the command of the besieging army. The defenders of Toledo had been so reduced in numbers by the sword, and the privations consequent on so long a siege, that Al-walíd had no difficulty in gaining possession of the city, which he took by storm on Saturday, the 8th of Rejeb of the same year. Al-walíd ordered the restoration of a strong tower which defended the entrance of the bridge, and which had been destroyed by the command of Al-hakem; and after staying in Toledo until the end of Sha'bán of the year 223, to provide for the government of the place, he returned to Cordova."

²⁶ An-nuwayri gives some interesting details on this campaign, which is also mentioned by Conde, vol. i. p. 247. "In the year 200," he says, "Al-hakem sent out an army against the Franks. The Moslems were commanded by 'Abdu-l-kerím, who marched into the very heart of the [Christian] territory, plundering and laying waste the country, demolishing numbers of their castles, and appropriating to himself the treasures of their owners [or feudal lords]. However, when the Christian king saw what was passing [in his dominions], he wrote to all the kings [or feudal lords] of those districts to come to his help, which they did, hastening to his assistance with all their forces from every part of the Christian world. Thus re-inforced, the Christian king went out to meet the Moslems, and encamped opposite to them on the bank of a river which separated the two hosts. After some days spent in skirmishing, the Moslems wishing to cross the river and the Christians preventing them, 'Abdu-l-kerím removed his camp to some distance from the river; upon which the Christians crossed it, and a battle ensued in which the infidels were defeated with great loss, and compelled to fall back upon the river, against which they were so pressed by the Moslems that few of them escaped captivity or the sword; the greater part of their [feudal] lords, officers, and counts remaining prisoners in the hands of the faithful. After this the Franks again collected in great force to prevent the Moslems crossing the

“ river, upon which there were thirteen days of continual skirmishing between the two hosts : at last the rainy season came on, the river swelled, and 'Abdu-l-kerím, perceiving that it was no longer time to cross it, raised his camp on the 7th day of Dhí-l-hajjah, and returned to Cordova.”—(*Loco laudato*, fo. 455.)

There can be no doubt that the above account refers to an engagement which, according to Sebastian of Salamanca, took place on the banks of the river Anceo. “ Uno namque tempore unus in loco qui vocatur Naharon, alter in fluvio Anceo perierunt,” *Chron.* No. 18. The Arabs, however, are there said to have been worsted.

²⁷ Ibnu-l-khattib, who gives the life of Al-hakem among those of his illustrious Granadians, (no doubt because he visited that city at some time during his reign, perhaps when he was waging war against his brothers,) speaks of this poet, whom he calls 'Abbás Ibn Sáleh.

²⁸ طلح الزمان بازمة جلت .: جلا تلك الكريهة جوده الغمر
نكد الزمان فامنت ايامه .: من ان يكون بعصره عسر

The verses lower down, attributed to the same poet, are—

تمللت في وادي الحجارة مسدا .: اراعي نجوماً يردن تغيرا
اليك ابا العاصي نضيت مطيتي .: تسير بهم سارياً ومهجرا

²⁹ Abú 'Abdillah Sufyán Ibn 'Adnán At-thaurí, (not At-thúrí, as in the text,) a celebrated traditionist, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.* No. 265).

³⁰ This is, no doubt, the Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of Shabattín, who was Kádi of Cordova in Hishám's time. See above, p. 100.

³¹ Al-khoshaní (*loco laudato*, fo. 14) gives the life of Mos'ab Al-hamdání, as well as that of his successor in office, Mohammed Ibn Bashír. The former was the son of 'Imrán, son of Shofa, son of Ka'b, son of Ka'bar, son of Zeyd, son of 'Amru, &c.; he went to Spain before 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and settled at a place to the north of Almodovar called عليار 'Alyár. He was a favourite of that Sultán, who married a sister-in-law of his. On 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil, see a former note, p. 423.

³² Ibn Bashír had formerly been a Kátib or secretary of Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán.

³³ فكيف حبيت للتمتع بالوجوه الحسان و التبتن للكواعب الغيد و ما شاكل ذلك من الشهوات

³⁴ ردا البصفر—The *ridá* was a cloak or mantle worn by faquirs or dervishes. As to the word *al-mu'asfar*, which I have translated by 'deep yellow,' it may also mean of a tawny colour, like that of the fox, lion, &c.

³⁵ The text says نعل صرارة—that is to say, 'soles of leather tied with strings to the ankle,' which the Spaniards call *abarcas*.

³⁶ ابعء من الثريا — A proverbial expression, used to denote excess in any thing.

³⁷ The word translated by 'tooth-powder' is سواك *siwák*, which means any dentrifice whatever, and also a small piece of wood used by the Arabs instead of a tooth-brush.

³⁸ زامر *zámir*, from *zamara*, to play the instrument called *mizmar* or to sing to it, may mean either a flute-player or a musician in general.

³⁹ Músa Ibn Semá'h was صاحب الخيل or master of the horse to Al-hakem.

⁴⁰ He was replaced by Faraj Ibn Kenánah Al-kenání, a native of Shidúnah (Sidonia), who had just returned to Spain from a journey to the East. Al-khoshaní (*loco laudato*, fo. 24) says that Faraj accompanied 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed in one of his expeditions to Galicia, as general of the vanguard; and that, having been sent on against Astorga, he came up with the Christians and defeated them with great loss. A son of this Faraj, named Ahmed, is said to have written a history of his own times.

⁴¹ مدلا واثقا — The meaning of which, as of most law terms, is not sufficiently explained in the dictionaries.

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CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA
CHAPTER IV.

¹ This 'Obeydullah was the son of 'Abdullah Al-balensí, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. His father was called Al-balensí, or the Valencian, because during his contention for the throne with his brother [Hishám] and nephew [Al-hakem], he had always been favourably received by the inhabitants of that city, who defended his cause to the last. An-nuwayrí describes thus the events here alluded to.

"In the year 224 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched an army to the enemy's country under the command of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Abdullah Al-balensí, who reached Alava and the [land of the] castles and met the infidels, when, after much hard fighting and great slaughter, the Christians were defeated; such numbers of them being slain that when their heads were piled up in the field of battle a horseman could not see his comrade."

'Obeydullah had been twelve years before in command of an expedition to the land of the Franks (Catalonia?), from which he likewise returned victorious.

² This Fortún Ibn Músa and his brother Músa Ibn Músa, mentioned lower down, belonged to the powerful family of the Tojibites, who had extensive domains in the *Thagher* (Aragon). See the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán hereafter given.

³ This campaign, the only one which 'Abdu-r-rahmán commanded in person, is mentioned by An-nuwayrí under the year 225. "In this year 'Abdu-r-rahmán in person marched against the infidels

“ at the head of considerable forces. Having penetrated into the land of the Galicians, he took several fortresses, plundered and laid waste the land, made numbers of prisoners, and returned victorious to Cordova.”—*Loco laudato*, fo. 461.

⁴ Músa Ibn Músa, the governor of Tudela, having quarrelled with one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's courtiers, named *خوز بن موفق* Khúz Ibn Muwaffek, threw off the allegiance of that Sultán and made an alliance with Garcia, King of Pamplona. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then sent against him one of his generals, named Al-háarith Ibn Yazígh, who at first gained some slight advantage over that rebel; but, having fallen into an ambush prepared by his enemy, was himself taken prisoner and his army destroyed. Being anxious to revenge the defeat which his arms had sustained, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own son Mohammed at the head of considerable forces. Mohammed besieged Músa in Tudela, and compelled him to sue for peace. He then directed his arms against Pamplona, defeated the Christians, and killed their king, Garcia. An-nuwayrî, *loco laudato*, fo. 460.

M. Romey, after Conde, has erroneously placed these events in the reign of Mohammed; he has also laboured to identify the Muza Ben Zeyad El Gedái of Conde (vol. i. p. 288) with the Músa Ibn Músa mentioned in this passage. In this, as in many other instances, the French writer, notwithstanding his extensive reading and sound criticism, has been led into error by the Spanish translator.

⁵ The Arabs give the name of Majús indifferently to all the nations inhabiting the northern parts of Europe.

⁶ *Mehriyyah* is the name for a camel of a very fine breed which is mostly to be found in Africa.

⁷ M. Romey (vol. iii. p. 434) says that *Al-ghazzál* means 'the composer of gazelles,' and that Yahya was so called because he excelled in that species of poetry. Such, however, is not the fact. Yahya was so called owing to his personal beauty; it is so stated by Al-makkarî, Part I. book v. fo. 131, *verso*, where he gives the life of that individual.

⁸ An-nuwayrî furnishes us with some interesting details respecting these people.

“ In the year 230 the Majús went out of the remote districts of Andalus against the territory of the Moslems. They first showed themselves at Lisbon in Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 229 (Aug. or Sept. A. D. 844). After remaining in that city for about thirteen days, during which time they had many severe battles with the Moslems, they marched to *قاييس* Káyis (perhaps *قاديس* Cadiz), and thence to *شيدونه* Shidúnah, where they fought a great battle with the Moslems. From thence they advanced against Seville, where they arrived on the 8th of Moharram (Sept. 24, A. D. 844), and encamped at twelve parasangs from that city. Four days after, on the 12th of Moharram (Sept. 28), the Moslems went out against them; but they were defeated with great slaughter. The Majús then came closer to the city, and encamped at the distance of two miles from it. Again did the citizens of Seville go out to fight the enemy, but they were a second time defeated with great loss in killed and prisoners, and the sword of the Majús was not lifted either from man or beast until they actually gained possession of the city. This last defeat happened on the 14th day of Moharram (Sept. 30). After staying in Seville one day and one night, the Majús departed to their ships.

“ Meanwhile the troops of the Sultán were marching against them, which being known by the Majús, they went forward to meet them, and a bloody conflict ensued; but the Moslems having summoned up

“ all their courage, fought with desperation, and drove them to their ships, after slaying about seventy of their number. The Moslems allowed them to embark unmolested and withdrew from them. Soon after another body of troops, sent by the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán, made its appearance in the same districts, upon which the Majús [left their ships and] attacked them with great fury, and obliged them to retreat. The Moslems, however, returned to the attack, and on the 2nd of Rabi' the first (Nov. 16, A. D. 844) fought with them a second time. Provisions came in from every district, and the army was swelled by volunteers; the Majús were attacked and defeated with the loss of about five hundred men, and four of their vessels, which, after being emptied of all their valuables, were set on fire.

“ The Majús then went to لسة (Leslah?), and surprised شينبا (Shinebá?). They landed on an island close to قوديس (Cadiz?), where they proceeded to divide the spoils which they had taken; but, whilst they were thus engaged, the Moslems sailed up the river and killed two of their men. From thence the Majús marched to Shidúnah, where they arrived by night, taking possession of all provisions and stores they found, and making captives of the inhabitants. The Majús remained two days at Shidúnah; but hearing that 'Abdu-r-rahmán's fleet had arrived at Seville, they proceeded to لبله Liblah (Niebla), which they surprised and sacked; thence they went to الكشونية [lege لة] Oksunobah (Ossonoba); thence to باجة Beja; and lastly to اسنوية [sed lege لشونة] Lishbúnah (Lisbon). This place was the last where they committed their ravages; for they sailed away and nothing more was heard of them for some time.”

⁹ See vol. i. p. 121 of this translation, where Zaryáb is said by mistake to have entered Spain under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. I find that Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova, fo. 206, writes his name thus, زرياب Ziryáb.

¹⁰ This account of Zaryáb, which the author of an improved edition of Al-makkari in my possession intercalated into 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign, may be found in the sixth book of the first part, fo. 217, of the original work, together with many other interesting anecdotes respecting that celebrated musician. Zaryáb is there said to have left eight sons, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Obeydullah, Yahya, Ja'far, Mohammed, Kásim, Ahmed, Hasan, and two daughters, Hamdúnah and 'Aliyyah, the latter of whom was married to the Wizír Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz.

¹¹ وان يجري علي زرياب من المعروف ثلاثة الف دينار — The word *ma'rúf*, used in this sense of a gratuity or sum to be received on certain festivals of the year, is not to be found in our dictionaries.

¹² نوروز *nauruz* and مهرجان *mahraján* are two Persian words having the meaning given to them in the translation.

¹³ وكذلك يحكي عن ابراهيم الموصللي في لحنه البديع المعروف بالباخوري
All the copies I have seen give this passage incorrectly, except that belonging to the library of Gothá, which has it as above. This induces me to alter the translation as follows: “The same is related of

"Ibráhím Al-maussilí, who said that the Jinn used to dictate to him his admirable tune called "*Al-makhúrí*."

¹⁴ *murtak* مردتک and *murdásang* مرداسنگ are two Persian words, both meaning 'litharge,' a semi-crystalline protoxide of lead which is obtained in separating silver from lead ores.

¹⁵ عيد عنصرة *is* the feast of Pentecost.

¹⁶ جبة *a* kind of waistcoat, called in Spanish 'aljuba' and 'chupa' also. Golius interprets the word *malham* ملحم by 'genus vestis pannive;' and *mulahham* in Persian means also a species of garment and a silk cloth. It is likely that it denotes some article of dress worn close to the skin. As to the word *محر* which I have translated by 'warm,' I have nowhere found its meaning explained. One of the copies reads و الحرير

¹⁷ Al-makkari gives the life of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 96, as well as that of his son Mohammed.

¹⁸ See vol. i. p. 113 and the corresponding notes.

¹⁹ An-nuwayrî puts the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on the night of Thursday, the 3rd of Rabi' the first, A. H. 238; but he adds that other writers fixed it in the ensuing month of Rabi' the second. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi gives the latter date, and adds that he was sixty-two years old when he died; so do Ibn Habíb (fo. 157), Ibnu-l-khattáb (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199), Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím, the author of the *Iktifá*, and others. Al-homaydí is the only author who puts it on the last day of Safar. See Conde, vol. i. p. 285; Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199.

²⁰ He is sometimes called Abú-l-modhaffer, which means likewise 'the father of the victorious.'

²¹ As-soyúttí, in his *Tárikhu-l-kholafá* or 'history of the Khalifs' (Brit. Mus., No. 7325, fo. 230), says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán introduced into Spain the knowledge of [Greek] philosophy. He compares him with Al-mámún in love for the sciences and anxiety to procure the works of ancient philosophers.

²² See vol. i. pp. 110, 233, and the corresponding notes.

²³ Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi and Ibn Habíb allude to a magnificent palace surrounded by gardens which this Sultán caused to be erected on the outskirts of Cordova.

²⁴ See Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* p. 23). An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 463) says that he was the first who conveyed good spring water to Cordova, by means of pipes, and built a large cistern or reservoir for the use of the public.

- 25 بنيت لله خير بيت .: يخرس عن وصفه الانام
 حج اليه بكل اوب .: كانه المسجد الحرام
 كان محرابه اذاما .: حف به الركن و المقام
- 26 بني مسجداً لله لم يكن مثله .: ولا مثله الله في الارض مسجد
 سوي ما ابتني الرحمن والمسجد الذي .: بناه نبي المسلمين محمد
 له عمد حمر و خضر كانها .: تلوح يواقيت بها و زبرجد
 الا يا امين لا زلت سالها .: ولا زلت في كل الامور تشدد

²⁷ As-soyúttí (*Tárikhu-l-kholafá*, Brit. Mus., fo. 230) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán II. was the first Sultán of his race who introduced into Spain the use of the *tiráz* (or royal robes with the Khalif's name woven into the pattern), and who established a mint in Cordova. "Before his time," he adds, "there was no coinage in Spain, all silver or gold money being taken thither from the East." As-soyúttí, however, was mistaken when he made this latter statement. As early as the year 139, that is to say, one year after the establishment of the dynasty of Ummeyyah in Spain, coins were struck at Cordova. I

possess a silver one bearing the following inscription: *بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بدينة الاندلس* 'In the name of God, this dirhem was struck at Medínat Al-andalus (Cordova) in 139.' "Abdu-r-rahmán was also the first," says An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 461); "who had a number of Faquihis or theologians attached to his suite, and made them dispute in his presence on points of controversial divinity."

²⁸ An-nuwayrí says only eighty-seven, forty-five of whom were males.

- 29 خاطم للملك اضحي .: حكمة في الناسر ماضي
 عابد الرحمان فيه .: بقضاء الله راض

³⁰ Elsewhere called Tarab.

- 31 اذاما بدت لي الشمس النهار .: طالعة ذكرتني طروباً
 انا ابن الشاميين من غالب .: اشوب حروبا و اظفي حروبا
- 32 عدائي عنك مرار العدا .: و قودي اليهم سهاماً مصيباً
 فكم قد تحطيت من سبب .: و لاقيت بعد دروب دروباً

الاقبي بوجهي سُوم الهجير .: ان كان منه الحصا ان يذوبا
تدارك بي الله دين الهدى .: فاحييته رغم انف الصليب
وسرت الي الشرك في حجل .: ملأت الخزون به و السهوبا

³³ This expedition of Músa Ibn Músa is placed by An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 463) in the year 243.

³⁴ The battle of وادي سليطة Guadacelete happened in the year 240. See Conde, vol. i. p. 289, and Rodericus Toletanus, *Hist. Arab.* cap. xxvi. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi gives an ode composed by 'Abbás Ibn Firnás, one of the poets attached to Mohammed's court, in commemoration of that victory.

³⁵ The incursions made by the Northmen under this reign are thus described by An-nuwayrí. "In the year 245 the Majús went out in their ships to Andalus; they reached as far as Seville and set fire to its mosque; they then crossed over to Africa, and, after plundering the cities on that coast, returned to Andalus and landed [on the coast of Murcia]. Having defeated the people of Tudmír in an encounter, they took the castle of Orihuela *خليطة افرنجة* made several incursions into the interior, and took plunder and prisoners, after which they set sail and went away. They were, however, attacked at sea by Mohammed's fleet, which took two of their vessels and sank two more. The Majús, irritated at their loss, renewed the attack, when several Moslems died martyrs for the faith [in the conflict]. The ships of the Majús sailed on their course until they reached *برشلونة* [sed lege *برشلونة*] Barcelona, which they surprised, making its king, Garcia, the Frank, their prisoner. Garcia, however, obtained his liberty by paying ninety thousand dinárs for his ransom."

Alfonso III. is the king called *Ludherik* by our author; for, as I have observed elsewhere (vol. i. p. 325, note 60), the Arabian writers thought that all the kings of Asturias were descended from the last Gothic monarch.

³⁶ The abridgment reads *ابن ونقه* the son of *Unekoh*, as printed; all other copies, including that of Gotha, read *وبقة* *Ubekoh*, by the mere transposition of one point. There can be no doubt, however, that the individual here mentioned was no other than Garseanus or Garcia, surnamed Enecho (Iñigo) and Arista, *Ἀριστος*, who about that time revolted against his liege lord Ordoño I., son of Ramiro (not of Alfonso, as in the text), and proclaimed himself independent, in conjunction with Músa Ibn Músa, whose daughter he is said to have espoused (Sebast. Salmant. *Chron.* No. 26). Yet, as this same Garseanus, whom Rodericus Toletanus (lib. v. cap. 21) calls Enecho, is said to have been slain in the battle of Albelda (a corruption of *البيضا* Albeydhá) or Clavijo some years before, he cannot be the sovereign intended.

³⁷ It is not quite clear that Alfonso III. of Leon was the king here designated under the general appellation of *Ludherik*. His father and predecessor, Ordoño, was still living in 865.

³⁸ Conde (vol. i. p. 302) places about this time a maritime expedition which left Cordova for the coast of Galicia. But An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 464) places it seven years before, under the year 246.

The following are the words of the latter historian. "In the year 246 (beginning March 27, A. D. 860) Mohammed ordered the building of several vessels at Cordova. After descending the river to Seville they entered the ocean, and sailed for the shores of Galicia; but a storm at sea scattered them, and scarcely two of their number returned."

³⁹ No account of this rebellion is to be found in my copy of An-nuwayrī, which, like its original in the library of Leyden, wants a few pages; but that author records several other insurrections of the people of Merida, the most formidable of which happened in 213, under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. "In the year 213 the people of Merida put to death their governor, and civil war broke out among them. At the news of their revolt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent against them an army which besieged that city, destroyed their plantations, and cut down the [fruit] trees, until they were compelled to return to their obedience and give the Sultán hostages for their future good behaviour. The army then left them, after pulling down the city walls. In order, however, to prevent any further resistance on their part, and from fear they should be tempted to repair the fortifications, 'Abdu-r-rahmán directed his officers to have the stones thrown into the river; but when the people of Merida saw this, they returned to rebellion, seized on their governor, and repaired the city walls, which they made even stronger than before. In the year 214, 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched another army to Merida with the hostages given by the inhabitants; but, although the city was closely invested by the royal troops, they could not reduce it. At last, in the year 218, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent a third army, which took the city, although the principal actors in the rebellion had time to escape. In their number was a man named Mahmúd Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár Al-máridí (a native of Merida), who fled with numbers of the inhabitants to a castle called منت شلوط Monsalut, and from thence deserted to Galicia, &c."

An-nuwayrī goes on to relate how Mahmúd, who is no other than the Mahzmuth of Sebastianus Salmanticensis (*Chron.* No. 22), having taken a castle, called Santa-Christina, which belonged to Alfonso III., that monarch marched against him in a pitched battle, and put him to death in the month of Rejeb, A. H. 225.

⁴⁰ ويل لهادة التي مردت .: و تكبرت عن عدوة الدهر
كانت تري لهم بها زهد .: فخلت من الزهرات كالقفر
فالويل ثم الويل حين غزا .: بجمعهم من صاحب الامر

⁴¹ This last expedition was directed in the first place against Sarogossa, where a son of Músa Ibn Músa, named Lob, had just revolted. The royal troops under the command of Al-mundhir laid waste the environs of that city, and took by storm the castle of روطة Roda (the Rotalyehud of Conde, vol. i. p. 299). From thence the army went to دير بروجة Borja, then to Lerida, and lastly to the district called Birtánieh, from whence they penetrated into Castile and Alava.—An-nuwayrī, *loco laudato*, fo. 460.

⁴² Mohammed died either on the last day of Safar, or on the first day of Rabi' the first. Al-homaydí (fo. 6) and Conde (vol. i. p. 316) give the former of these dates; Ibnu-l-khattib (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199), Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi (fo. 62), and Ibn Habíb (fo. 147), the latter; An-nuwayrī (*loco laudato*, fo. 464) gives the one and the other. He was surnamed Al-amín 'ala-illah (he who trusts in God).