

⁴³ Ibn Abí Sheybah is, I believe, Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán (Ibn Abí Sheybah) Al-kúfí, to whom Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Tárikh*, attributes a general history.

⁴⁴ The life of this doctor is to be found also in the fifth book of the first part, among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East; but the author of the improved edition of Al-makkarí, in my possession, has in this instance, as in many others, mixed the biographical notices scattered through the work with the narrative of events.

⁴⁵ An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 465) says that Al-mundhir, to whom he gives the *kunyá* or appellative of Abú-l-hakem, was publicly sworn at Cordova three days after the death of his father. His mother's name was Iyyal *ايل* (stag), not *اثل* Athl or Athol, as is afterwards stated.

⁴⁶ Ibnu Hayyán (fo. i.), Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, and Al-homaydí, agree in placing the death of Al-mundhir at *بيشتر* Bishter or Yobaster. The first-named historian says, *و قُتِلَ البندر علي باب* و قُتِلَ البندر علي باب *بيشتر الشرقي و هو محاصر لابن حفصون*—“Al-mundhir was slain close to the eastern gate of Bishter, whilst he was besieging [‘Omar] Ibn Hafssún [in that fortress].” An-nuwayrî is the only author I know who says that Al-mundhir died during the siege of Toledo. His words are as follow: “Al-mundhir then took a most solemn oath never again to make peace [with ‘Omar Ibn Hafssún] or raise the siege of Toledo,—even if he should be obliged to transfer to his camp the markets of Cordova,—until that rebel should be in his power. He accordingly besieged him in Toledo, and died during the siege.”

Ibn Hazm, in his *Noktatu-l-'arús* or ‘history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain,’ extracts from which may be found in Ibn Bashkúwál, accuses ‘Abdullah of having caused the death of his brother Al-mundhir by bribing his surgeon to poison the lancet with which he bled him, which circumstance would lead to the belief that ‘Abdullah was not killed in action, as the word *قُتِلَ* used by Ibnu Hayyán and other historians would seem to indicate. Ibn Hazm, however, agrees with the above writers in placing the death of Al-mundhir at the camp before Bishter. Conde (vol. i. p. 324) says that Al-mundhir was slain in battle near Hisn-Webdeh (Huete); but what reliance can be placed in the statement of a writer who makes ‘Omar Ibn Hafssún die in 270, of wounds received during the reign of Mohammed, when it is an ascertained fact that he lived during the whole of ‘Abdullah’s reign, and was not killed until A. H. 306?—who gives him a son called Kaleb, fighting battles with the Sultán’s troops in various parts of the peninsula; whereas ‘Omar Ibn Hafssún had no such son?—who makes Navarre, Toledo, Catalonia, and Granada, together and at once the theatre of that robber’s exploits; when he is known seldom to have made incursions beyond the provinces of Malaga and Jaen, where his principal force was? The origin of all these blunders,—which, I need not observe, have found their way into every modern history of Spain,—lies in a nut-shell. ‘Omar Ibn Hafssún, being a Christian renegade and at the head of the Muwallad party, is frequently mentioned in history under the surname of *كلب* *kelb* (dog), coupled with his more usual appellation of Ibn Hafssún; Conde, therefore, who had a very imperfect knowledge of the Arabic language, seeing the words *كلب ابن حفصون* ‘the dog Ibn Hafssún,’ mistook *kelb* for a proper name, and gave ‘Omar a son named *Kaleb ben Hafsun*, who fights at Toledo, in Navarre, in Galicia, and every where, and who, I need not repeat, is no other than ‘Omar Ibn Hafssún himself.

It now remains to ascertain the situation of 'Omar's favourite stronghold, the castle of Yobashter or Bishter, (for it may be pronounced both ways, according as it is found written *بيشتر* or *بيشتر*). Idrísí mentions a town called Bishter in the district of Rayyah, that is to say, in the province of Malaga, which was so called because the Arabs from Ray or Reistán settled in it. Al-homaydí (*Jadhwatul-muktabis*, fo. 54) says that Bishter or *بيشتر* Yobashter, as the word is invariably written in the Bodleian manuscript, was a castle *حصن من عمل رية* of the district of Rayyah, and he also mentions a strong fortress near Malaga called *بباشتر* Bobáshter, which word may easily be transformed into Yobáshter by the single addition of a point. See the Appendix to this volume, p. xviii. Conde (vol. i. p. 295) says that 'Omar's favourite stronghold was a castle called Yebaster, in the mountains of Ronda; and he again mentions a place so called belonging to the Bení Idrís of Malaga (vol. ii. p. 16). The same author states in his notes to the geography of Idrísí (p. 44) that Bishter was the modern town of Vilches, situated between the rivers Guadalen and Guarizaz, which is erroneous, for the district of Rayyah never extended beyond what is now called the province of Malaga. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi frequently mentions a castle called *بيشتر* Bishter, *في ناحية ملقة* in the neighbourhood of Malaga. Lastly, Ibnu Hayyán, who writes Bishter also, mentions it in a manner which leaves no doubt as to its being the same place which other authors write Yobashter, Yobáshter, or Bobashter, all the difference consisting in the transposition of the first letter of that word and the addition of one point.

In one passage, especially, he speaks of it in very explicit terms. He says that after the taking of Hisn-Belay (Espeluy) by 'Abdullah in A. H. 278, 'Omar fled to Archidona; but that the inhabitants of that town having refused him admittance, he went further to Bishter, where he was soon besieged by 'Abdullah. From the above and many similar passages which I might adduce, I am inclined to think that 'Omar's castle was situated somewhere between Archidona and Ronda, in that mountain chain extending from Granada to Gibraltar, and which, as well as the neighbouring districts of Malaga, Jaen, Granada, Seville, and Algesiras, was the scene of that robber's exploits; but whether Bishter or Yobashter is to be read, is a point which it is almost impossible to settle, as no place bearing either name remains at present in those parts, with the exception of a small hamlet called Abistar in the Axarquia or mountainous part of Malaga, which might very well be the place called Bishter by the Arabs. However, as the copy of Ibnu Hayyán, which is both ancient and faithful, has always *بيشتر* Bishter, I should have been tempted to adopt this reading, had not the four copies of Al-makkarí, which I have used, and the Gotha MS., afforded me the reading *بيشتر* Yobashter or *بيستر* Yobaster.

⁴⁷ Immediately after the above notice of the public officers at the court of 'Abdullah, Ibnu Hayyán proceeds to give a detailed account of all the rebellions and wars by which the long reign of that Sultán was troubled, and the names and genealogies of the principal actors in them. As this period of Spanish history is but imperfectly known, notwithstanding its great interest,—for it was then that the two hostile races in the peninsula, the Arabs and the Muwallads, or people of mixed blood, fought for the possession of power,—I here give some extracts from that valuable work.

"Inauguration of 'Abdullah.

" On the death of Al-mundhir, 'Abdullah returned to Cordova, carrying the body of his brother upon a camel. He arrived at the palace, called Mun'yat An-na'urah, situated on the banks of the Guádalquivir

“ below Cordova قرطبة أسفل علي الشط on Sunday, fourteen days before the end (the 15th) of Safar,
 “ A. H. 275.

“ On the following morning at dawn of day 'Abdullah removed to the royal palace in Cordova, and,
 “ having read the funeral service over the body of his brother, caused it to be interred in the cemetery
 “ called Ar-raudhah, within the palace. On the same day he sat to receive the oaths of the public
 “ officers and high functionaries of the state, and sent messengers into the provinces, that the governors
 “ might do the same.

“ Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi, however, says that the inauguration of 'Abdullah took place on Saturday,
 “ thirteen days before the end (the 16th) of Safar; and another historian, named Saken Ibn Ibráhím,
 “ says that he was proclaimed by the troops on the same day his brother Al-mundhir died, that is to say,
 “ on the 15th of Safar, but that he did not enter Cordova till the 17th.

“ *Names of those individuals who resisted the authority of the Amír 'Abdullah, or revolted against him,*
 “ *kindling the fire of civil war in the provinces of his empire.*

“ *ديسم Deysam Ibn Is'hák.*—This individual took possession of Lorca and Murcia; he was fond of
 “ poets, and very generous towards them. One called 'Obaydis wrote verses in his praise.

“ *'Obeydullah Ibn Umeyyah Ibn Ash-sháliyiah.*—This rebel assumed authority in the mountains of
 “ *شبتان Somontan*, near Jaen. He went so far as to lay his hands on *قسطونة Cazlona* and other
 “ important cities. Defeated by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah, one of the generals of 'Abdullah, he was
 “ obliged to hide himself; but he appeared again and proclaimed 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, to whom he
 “ became connected by giving his own daughter in marriage to Ja'far, one of the sons of that chieftain.
 “ He was at last reduced by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who gave him Cordova for a residence and employed
 “ him in his army.”—Compare Casiri (vol. ii p. 47), and Conde, who with his usual inaccuracy designates
 “ this chieftain under three or more different names, calling him at p. 331 (vol. i.) “Obeidala ben Umia,
 “ el conocido por Asalat,” p. 337 “Abdala ben Asaliat,” and p. 364 “Obeidala ben Omeya.”

“ *Ibráhím Ibn Hejjáj (or Hajjáj) Ibn 'Omayr Al-lakhmí*, Lord of Seville and Carmona, where he ruled
 “ for many years, almost independent. He had a body-guard of five hundred horsemen, appointed the
 “ Kádís and public officers in his dominions, and used the robes called *tiráz* inscribed with his own name,
 “ while he affected obedience to the Sultán, whose vassal he acknowledged himself to be on every
 “ occasion. He was fond of science, and liberal towards the poets who visited his court.”—See Casiri,
 “ *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35.

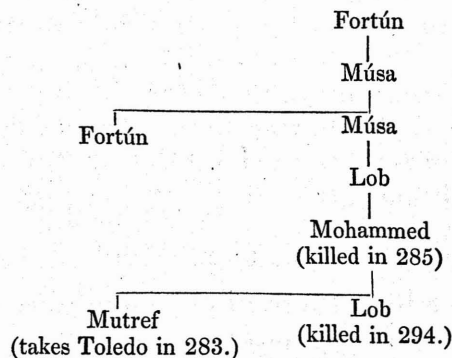
“ *'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Merwán Ibn Yúnas*, better known as *Ibnu-l-jalíkí* (the son of the Galician) and
 “ *Al-morédí* (the native from Kal'ah Moréd). This chief revolted at Badajoz, where he fixed his court,
 “ embracing the party of the Muwallads against the Arabs. He was besieged in Merida and obliged to
 “ surrender. He revolted again, seized on the castle of *الحنش Alhanje*, and was one of the chiefs who
 “ fought under Sa'dún Ibn Fatah *السرنابقي As-sarnábekí* against Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, 'Abdullah's
 “ general, whom they defeated at a place called *كركر Karkar*. This 'Abdu-r-rahmán peopled Badajoz
 “ and surrounded it with walls. A grandson of his, named 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed, lived some time
 “ in Cordova at the house of the hostages *بدار الرهن* and succeeded his grandfather and uncle in the
 “ government of that city.

“ *'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-jawwád*, Lord of Beja, Mertola, and the adjoining territories, made common

“ cause with the former and with Abú Bekr, Lord of Ossonoba, and, like them, embraced the party of the Muwallads.

“ *Bekr Ibn Yahya Ibn Bekr.*—This man was the grandson of a Christian named ذلف, Zadlaf. His father, Yahya Ibn Zadlaf, rose in favour of the pretensions of the Muwallads, and fixed his quarters at Santa Maria de Algarbe, in the district of Ossonoba, where he built a strong fortress, the gates of which were lined with iron. His son Bekr, who succeeded him, was pardoned by 'Abdullah, who granted him the government of Silves. He nevertheless continued to lend his assistance to the 'Ajemís (Christians) and Muwallads, whose cause he had espoused. He died at the beginning of the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

“ *Mohammed Ibn لب Lob Ibn Músa Ibn Músa Ibn Fortún القسوي Al-kasawi.*—This chief revolted in Aragon at the commencement of 'Abdullah's rein. He besieged and took تطيلة Tudela, and put to death its governor, Mohammed Ibn طبلس Tamlas. Having enlisted a number of adventurers, he commenced war with his sovereign, and upon one occasion marched against Cordova. He fought also with the infidels of Alava and Pamplona bordering upon his dominions, and defeated them in several encounters, and chiefly in 278. He next gained possession of the city of Toledo in 283, and, leaving his son Lob to command in his absence, returned to his states of Aragon. As he was besieging Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán At-tojibí in Saragossa, he was killed in a sally made by the garrison, in Ramadhán, 285, and his head was sent to Cordova. His son Lob returned to the obedience of the Sultán, who granted him سجلة the government of Tudela, Tarazona, and the surrounding districts, wherein he kept himself faithful, until he was killed in battle with the Christians in 294 (A. D. 907).”—Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 305, who calls him *Abu Abdallah Muhamad ben Lobia*; Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35; and the *Cronica General*, Part III. fo. ccxxxiii. *passim*. The similarity of the names of the members of this illustrious family has led to much confusion among the writers of Spanish history, who have frequently mistaken Mohammed Ibn Lob (or the Abenlope of the *Cronica General*) for his son Lob Ibn Mohammed (Lope). Conde has added to, instead of diminishing, the confusion, thereby leading into error Romey, who, with all his acuteness and sound criticism, has been unable to explain satisfactorily this period of history. See *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. chap. XIII. In order, therefore, to clear up the many difficulties of this intricate period of history, I here subjoin the genealogical tree of the Bení Fortún or Bení Lob.



“ *The sons of Músa Ibn Dhí-n-nún.*—These were three, Yahya, Al-fat'h, and Mutref. They were the sons of a Berber chief, named Músa Ibn Dhí-n-nún, governor of شنت برية Santiberia, a descendant from As-samh, one of the Berber chiefs who were present at the conquest of Andalus. The influence

“ of this family originated thus : Suleymán, the father of Músa, was living at Santiberia when a favourite eunuch of the Sultán 'Abdullah fell dangerously ill, on his return from the frontiers of Aragon ; Suleymán received him in his house, and took care of him ; with which the eunuch was so well pleased that he prevailed upon his master the Sultán to confer on Suleymán the government of his native town and the neighbouring district. Notwithstanding the rebellion of his son Músa, who revolted several times against his sovereign, Suleymán remained faithful until 274 (beginning May 27, A. D. 887), when he died. Músa succeeded to his father's estates ; but he was soon after killed in an engagement with the troops of the Sultán.

“ *Yahya* succeeded his father Músa in part of his feudal dominions, and at first maintained fidelity to his sovereign 'Abdullah. At the time when Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-bekrí Ar-riyáhí revolted against the Sultán and seized on the fortress of ملقون Malagon, it was he who marched against him, made him prisoner, and sent his head to Cordova, in Rabi' the second of the year 303 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 915). As a reward for this signal service, Yahya received a royal diploma conferring on him the tenure of his father's estates ; but having afterwards shown symptoms of disobedience, 'Abdu-rahmán III. sent against him his Wizír 'Abdu-l-hamíd, Ibn Basíl, who took him prisoner, and sent him to Cordova with his family, in 321 (A. D. 933). He died at Saragossa in 325 (beginning Nov. 18, A. D. 936).

“ *Al-fat'h Ibn Músa* was Lord of Uclés, and made war on the people of Toledo. Having upon one occasion gained a signal victory over them, he followed his fugitives with too much ardour, and was killed by a soldier named Al-akra' (the bald). This happened in 303.

“ *Mutref Ibn Músa* inherited from his father the town of وبدة Webdeh (Huete), which he strengthened with new fortifications. He was taken prisoner by Sancho, King of Navarre, and taken to Pamplona ; but he afterwards made his escape with only three of his followers. He was present at the battle of Al-handik, near Zamora, in 327 (A. D. 939), and distinguished himself by his conduct. As a reward for his gallant behaviour on that occasion, 'Abdu-rahmán conferred on him the government of Medínat-Al-faraj الفرج (now Guadalajara), where he died in 333 (beginning Aug. 23, A. D. 944).

“ The *Bení Al-muhájir* or *Tojibites*, who aimed at independence in Saragossa. The origin of this family is thus related. When the Bení Kasí rose in Aragon, during the reign of the Amír Mohammed, 'Abdu-rahmán, son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of 'Abdullah, son of Al-muhájir, chief of the powerful tribe of the Tojibites, was intrusted by that Sultán with the arduous task of re-establishing his authority in those parts. Having succeeded in part, he made himself master of Saragossa ; but, being deprived of the government of that city by 'Abdullah, Mohammed's successor, he rose in arms, together with a son of his, named Abú Yahya Mohammed, and, in 276, surprised and put to death the governor appointed by the Sultán. After a variety of events which it would take too long to relate, 'Abdullah deemed it prudent to temporize with him, and, in the year 278, granted him the government of Saragossa, which he held till the time of his death in 313 (beginning March 28, A. D. 925).

“ *Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-rahmán Al-khozá't*, better known by the surname of *Sheikhu-l-islami*, rose in the castle of قليوشة (Callosa?), in the province of Tudmír. Having made his submission about the close of the reign of 'Abdullah, he obtained the government of the districts which had been the theatre of his rebellion. He revolted again under 'Abdu-rahmán III., who dispatched an army against him. He was besieged in the castle of Alicante حصن لقت and compelled to make his submission ; but shortly after he revolted a third time. Having been taken prisoner by Ahmed Ibn

“ Is'hák, the Korayshite, one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's generals, he was taken to Cordova, where he died in 323 (A. D. 935), at the age of one hundred.

“ *Abú Wadhdháh 'Abdu-r-rahmán*. This individual was the son of 'Abdullah, son of Mohammed, son of Al-huseyn, son of Wadhdháh, son of Yahya Ibn Wadhdháh, a *mauli* of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán. During the civil war he took possession of Lorca, in the province of Tudmír, and was sometimes obedient and sometimes rebellious under the reign of 'Abdullah and part of that of his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán, until the latter gave him the city of Cordova as a residence and employed him in his armies. He died in 322.

“ *Abú Farank* or *Faránik* *فارانك*; *Za'lal*, son of Ya'ysh, son of *فارانك* *Faránik An-nefezáwí*. He rose in a castle of his called Umm-Ja'far, in the *Jauf* or north-western districts of Andalus. He maintained his independence for upwards of twenty years, when he died, and was succeeded by his nephew 'Abdullah Ibn 'Isa Ibn Kúttí, who ruled unmolested for five years, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. reduced him to obedience.

“ *As-sarnabáki* (السرنابقي elsewhere written السرنابقي *As-sarnábeki*) *Sa'dún Ibn Fatah*. This man, who was the friend and ally of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-jalíki (see above, p. 439), took possession of a castle called *قفبرولة* between the Tagus and the city of Kolimbriah (Coimbra). He was taken prisoner by the Majús (Northmen) in one of their incursions during the reign of Mohammed. A Jewish merchant paid his ransom, and freed him, intending to make a good profit; but far from acknowledging his gratitude to him, *As-sarnabáki* escaped from the Jew, and took refuge in the mountains between Coimbra and Santarem, where he led a life of plunder, attacking alike Christians and Moslems, until Alfonso, King of Galicia, took him prisoner and put him to death.

“ *Ibnu-s-selím*. His name was Mundhir, and he was the son of Ibráhím, son of Mohammed, son of As-selím, son of Abí 'Ikrimah, son of Yezid, son of 'Abdullah, a *mauli* of the Khalif Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. He raised the standard of revolt at a town of the territory of Shidúniyah, which is still called *Medínat Bení Selím* from the name of his family. This happened during the reign of 'Abdullah, and he persevered in his rebellion until a mameluke of his, named *علاء* 'Alando, killed him by treachery. He was succeeded in command by Walíd Ibn Walíd, who in the course of time submitted to the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

“ *Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-kerím Ibn Elyás* rose in rebellion in a castle of the province of Sidonia, called *ورد* Ward, where he maintained himself during the whole reign of 'Abdullah, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. compelled him to reside in Cordova, where he died, and left posterity.

“ *Sawwár Ibn Hamdún Al-moháribí Al-kaysí*, chief of the Arabian party in the province of Elvira, rose against 'Abdullah in the year 276. He was the friend and companion of Yahya Ibn *صقالة* Sukálah, the first Arab of those parts who made war against the Muwallads and 'Ajemís; and he succeeded him in command when that chief was treacherously slain by the Muwallads of Elvira. The first step of Sawwár was to revenge the death of his friend. He marched against the Muwallads, who were commanded by Nábil and Shokhays, and, having overtaken them near *منت شاكر* Mont-shékar (Montexicar), defeated them with great slaughter. This done, Sawwár proceeded towards the castles of the *مسالبة* renegades and Christians, and reduced them one after the other, slaying all those of the enemy who fell into his hands. The Muwallads then implored the assistance of Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, governor of Jaen, who granted their request, on condition that they should return to the allegiance of the Sultán. Having united his forces with those of the Muwallads, Ja'd marched against

“Sawwár; but he was defeated and taken prisoner. Meanwhile 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, hearing of the unhappy plight of his partisans in the province of Elvira, hastened thither at the head of considerable forces; but he was defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to fly to his strongholds, leaving his lieutenant, named Hafss Ibn Al-marrah, in command of his forces. Shortly after, in 277, Sawwár fell into an ambush prepared by the Muwallads, and was killed. His body was taken to حاضرة البيرة the capital of the district of Elvira, where the excitement produced by the sight of his mangled corpse was such that it was cut into small pieces and distributed among the women, most of whom ate of it.”—(Compare the narrative of Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 36, and that of Conde, vol. i. p. 333. The latter, however, says that Sawwár was defeated and slain by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Bedr, one of the generals of 'Abdullah.)

“*Khayr Ibn Shákir*, one of the most active and enterprising chiefs of the Muwallad party, who were commanded by 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, rose at شودر Shaudar (now Xodar), in the province of Jaen, and made war against the Arabs of that district. He was killed in 277, by an assassin paid by 'Omar Ibn Hafssún.

“*'Omar Ibn مضم Modhamm الهتروني Al-haterúll*, better known under the surname of Al-maléhi, because he was originally from a town of the province of Jaen called Maléhah. He was a Berber, and a common soldier. Having gained possession of a castle called منتليون Monteleon, in the above province, he defended himself against the generals of 'Abdullah until, being deserted by some of his friends, he was taken prisoner and conveyed to Cordova, where he died.

“*Fehr Ibn Asíl*, a soldier of the Sultán's body-guard, who joined the rebels during the civil war. Having a brother in prison as a hostage, he planned the following stratagem for his liberation. One day while the prisoner was walking out with one of his keepers, Fehr attacked and slew the latter, and released his brother. After this they made themselves masters of a castle called بس Bes, in which they defended themselves against the troops of 'Abdullah. At last, another rebel, named Sa'id Ibn Walíd Ibn مستنة Mustanah, who rose in the district of باغة Beghah, and had conceived an enmity against him, succeeded in taking him prisoner and sending him to Cordova, where, by the command of 'Abdullah, he was nailed to a stake by one of the gates of the royal palace, called بابو-ل'adal (the gate of justice).

“*Sa'id Ibn Hudheyl*.—The rebellion of this individual happened in the castle of Monteleon, in the province of Jaen. The Sultán 'Abdullah having sent against him some troops under the command of one of his generals, named 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah, he defended himself gallantly; but was at last obliged to capitulate. He again revolted and joined 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, Sa'id Ibn Walíd, and other chiefs of the Muwallad party, in an attack upon Jaen; but Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah, who commanded in that city, went out against them and defeated them with great slaughter near a fortress called حصن جريشة Hisn-Jerishah, in the neighbourhood of Jaen.

“*Sa'id Ibn Walíd Ibn Mustanah*, the friend and companion of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, rose in the district of Beghah, in the province of Jaen. He had four castles of admirable strength, where he resided habitually. The names of these were اقوط — لقونش — النظرة — الغالية Al-gháliyah, An-nadhrah, Lá-kúnesh, and Akútt. He was assisted in his rebellion by the three sons of Mattrúh,—Háarith, 'Aún, and Tálút. The Sultán 'Abdullah went out in person against him in 279 (beginning April 2, 892), when his castles were taken one after the other, and among them that of كركبولة Karkabúliyah, where he himself resided: he was, in short, compelled to make his submission, but soon after revolted, and died in his rebellion.

“ The four sons of Hábil,—and first, *Mundhir Ibn Haríz*. This rebel rose in the territory of Jaen, and having taken possession of a castle called *عبرودة* repaired its fortifications and built two strong towers, called *برغيطة* Yarghittah and San Estevan. He led a life of excess, slaying or plundering all those who came near his castle, until he was reduced to obedience during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., and compelled to reside in Cordova.

“ *Abú Karámah Hábil Ibn Haríz Ibn Hábil* rose conjointly with his brother Mundhir during the reign of 'Abdullah, and was likewise reduced by 'Abdu-r-rahmán and compelled to reside in Cordova. He escaped, however, and seized on a castle called *مرهريطة* Marharittah (Margarita?), which had once belonged to his brother, asked 'Abdu-r-rahmán's pardon, was forgiven, and obtained the government of the castle.

“ *'A'mir Ibn Haríz Ibn Hábil* rose in the castle of *اشتبن* San Esteban at the same time with his two brothers. He made his submission to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who employed him in his army and promoted him. He died a martyr for the faith in the battle of *شبت مانكش* Shebt-mánikas (Simancas), in the expedition of Al-handik in 327.

“ *'Omar Ibn Haríz Ibn Hábil*.—His history is the same as that of his three brothers. He accompanied 'Abdu-r-rahmán to the campaign of Badajoz in 327 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 938), and was killed by an arrow-shot at the siege of Beja.

“ *Ibn 'Attáf Al-'okaylí*.—This individual, whose name was Is'hák, was the son of Ibráhím, son of Sakhar, son of *عطاف* 'Attáf, son of Al-hasan, son of *الدجن* Ad-dajen, son of 'Abdullah, son of Mohammed, son of 'Omar, son of Yahya, son of 'A'mir, son of Malek, son of *خويلد* Khowylad, son of Sam'an Al-'okaylí. During the reign of Mohammed he remained faithful and accompanied that Sultán in all his expeditions; but when the civil war between the Arabs and the Muwallads broke out, he embraced the party of the latter, and having made himself master of a castle called *منتلشة* Montalesa, he defended himself in it against Ibn Hafssún and his followers. In 310 he made his submission to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who compelled him to reside in Cordova.

“ *Sa'id Ibn Suleymán Ibn Júda* or *جودي* *Júdí* became general of the Arabs of Granada in 277, after the death of Sawwár, who had been the first to raise the banner against the Muwallads of those districts. His election having been confirmed by the Sultán 'Abdullah, he marched immediately against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, whom he defeated in several encounters. On one occasion he fought personally with that chief, and would have killed him had not his followers snatched him from his hands. Sa'id was treacherously slain, in Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 284 (Dec. A. D. 897), by two influential men of his own party, named Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Seyd and Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-sellám.

“ *Ibn Adhha*.—Mohammed Ibn Adhha Ibn 'Abdillatif Al-hamdání, one of the most illustrious Arabs of the province of Elvira. He was the sworn enemy of Sa'id, who persecuted him incessantly, following him from place to place. The inhabitants of a fortified town called *بوالش* Buélash having invited him to come among them, he accepted their invitation, and took the command of the place. After the death of Sa'id in 284, he obtained the command of the Arabs of Elvira. He maintained fidelity to the Sultán 'Abdullah, who appointed him governor of that district. In 313 he was conveyed to Cordova, and obliged to settle there.

“ *The sons of Muhallib*.—These were two, Khalíl and Sa'id, and they belonged to the Berbers of Elvira. The former made himself master of a castle called *قرديرة* Kazdeyrah, and the latter of the

“ fortified town of أشبرغرة Esparraguera, both belonging to the province of Elvira. Khalíl having
 “ shown some disposition to return to the obedience of the Sultán, they were both invested with the
 “ government of their respective castles, and directed to make war against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún and
 “ his partisans, which they did. On the death of Khalíl, his brother Sa'id obtained the command of both
 “ castles, which he held till his death.

“ *The sons of Jorj.*—'Abdu-l-wahháb, son of Jorj, a *mauli* of Abú 'Othmán 'Obeydullah Ibn 'Othmán,
 “ and his cousin Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Jorj, belonged to the rebels of Elvira. The
 “ former made himself master of a castle called Nokúr. He died in 303 (beginning July 26, A. D. 915),
 “ and was succeeded by his cousin Mohammed, who embraced the party of 'Obeydullah Ibn Sháliyyah,
 “ and built a castle called مورانية Morania, not far from Xodar, in the province of Jaen. Subdued
 “ by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., he was conducted to Cordova like the other rebels, and obtained command
 “ in the armies of that Khalif. Having accompanied Ahmed Ibn Is'hák Al-korayshí in the expedition
 “ against the rebels of Tudmír, he was killed at the siege of Alicante.

“ *Account of the poets of his court.*

“ Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi and Al-kalafátt were two of the most eminent poets of 'Abdullah's
 “ court; they employed their pens in writing verses in praise of that Sultán, and of the various
 “ independent chieftains who rose during his reign. They were rivals and enemies. Al-kalafátt gave
 “ Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi the surname of الطلاس At-talás, and whenever the book of the 'Ikd, which
 “ was the composition of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, was mentioned in his presence, he used to say,
 “ ذلك حبل الثوم لاعدد الدر—'It is a string of heads of garlic, not a pearl necklace.' The third
 “ place after the two above-mentioned poets was occupied by 'Obeydullah Ibn Yahya Ibn Idrís
 “ Al-kháledí. 'Obeydis Ibn Mahmúd was another of the distinguished poets of the court of 'Abdullah.
 “ He was a clerk in one of the offices in the royal palace; he fled from Cordova and joined the rebel
 “ 'Obeydullah Ibn Sháliyyah, who appointed him his secretary. Isma'il Ibn Bedr was likewise a
 “ distinguished poet, but it is my intention to treat of him under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

“ *Poets of the tribe of Koraysh, or belonging to the royal family of Umeyyah.*

“ Al-mundhir Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, son of 'Abdullah, son of Al-mundhir, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II.;
 “ —Malek, son of Mohammed, son of Malek, son of 'Abdullah, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of 'Omar,
 “ son of Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, better known under his patronymic Al-merwání; he was likewise
 “ an accomplished grammarian and a writer on general literature;—Mohammed and 'Omar, the sons
 “ of Ibráhím Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah the Korayshite; they were both known as the
 “ sons of *Ibni-l-musnu'*; the younger, Mohammed, lived to the times of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí;—the two
 “ sons of Abú Sefwán, also of the tribe of Koraysh, Ahmed Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Kolzam, and Kásim Ibn
 “ 'Abdi-l-wáhed العجلي Al-'ajelí; this latter travelled to the East; on his return to Cordova in
 “ 293 (beginning Nov. 1, A. D. 905) he was assassinated by some of his enemies;—Sa'id Ibn 'Abdi-r-
 “ rabbihi, a cousin of Abú 'Omar Ahmed [Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi], who, besides being a good poet, excelled
 “ also in the knowledge of medicine, which he practised in Cordova;—Is'hák Ibn Isma'il, better known
 “ by the surname of الهادي Al-munádí;—Sa'id Ibn 'Abdi-l-kabt قبط—these two last were very
 “ good scribes;—Yezíd Ibn Rabi' Ibn Suleymán Al-hijári, known as Yezíd Al-bárid;—'Akír Ibn Mas'úd;

“—’Abdu-l-malek Ibn Jehwar, the Wizír;—’Abdu-l-malek Ibn ’Omar Ibn Shahíd [or Shoheyd], the Wizír;—Mohammed Ibn ’Abdi-s-sellám, better known as Ibn Kalmún;—’Amru and Ahmed, the sons of Faraj, and several others, who will be more fully mentioned in our next volume.”

[After the above passages there follows in the manuscript a chronological history of the reign of ’Abdullah, from which I will only extract a few of the most important events.]

“*Events of the year 275 (beginning May 15, A. D. 888).*—According to ’Isa Ibn Ahmed Ar-rázi, one of the first acts of ’Abdullah’s reign was to take measures to put down the rebellion of ’Omar Ibn Hafssún. No sooner, however, had that rebel heard of the death of Al-mundhir, than he sent to Cordova his son Hafss, with one of his principal officers, Ibráhím Ibn Dhamír.

“’Abdullah received ’Omar’s ambassadors with every honour; he gave orders that Hafss and his suite should be well lodged and entertained, and having granted them an audience he accepted Omar’s submission, and appointed him governor of the district of Rayyah, on condition of sharing the government with an officer appointed by him, whose name was ’Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn ’Abdi-r-rúf. ’Omar accepted the condition, and remained faithful for some months; but at the end of that time he again revolted, and began committing all manner of depredations upon the peaceable inhabitants of the province, carrying his devastations as far as Ezija and اشونة Osuna, in the province of Cordova. The rebels were commanded on this occasion by ’Omar himself, or by a lieutenant of his, named Hafss Ibnu-l-marrah, who was a man of great experience and courage.

“When the intelligence of these disorders reached Cordova, ’Abdullah sent against him one of his generals, named ’Abdu-l-malek Ibn Moslemah Al-báji; but the royal troops, having met the rebels near Osuna, were defeated and their general slain, which success so elated ’Omar that he expelled from Rayyah the governor appointed by the Sultán, and remained sole master of the province. About this time the feuds between the ’Ajemís (Christians living under the Moslem rule) and Muwallads on one side, and the Arabs on the other, grew fiercer than ever, and they made war against each other in every province of Andalus.

“In the same year ’Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-ghamr Ibn Abí ’Abdah, governor of Jaen, marched against a rebel named Sa’id Ibn خنجر Khanjar, and besieged him in the castle of جريشة Jerishah, where he had fortified himself. He was on the point of reducing the place when he received orders to raise the siege and to repair the fortifications of حصن اندوشر Anduxar, and to people it with peasants from the neighbourhood. Scarcely, however, had he begun to put his orders in execution, when he was attacked by the [inhabitants of the] البراجلة و الاسند Al-borájelah and Al-asnad, commanded by their respective chiefs, Nábil and Shokhays, who were re-inforced by a body of cavalry which Ibn Bartíl brought from Tudmír to their assistance. Having been attacked by the royal forces, the rebels were defeated with the loss of seventy-five of their principal officers.

“Whilst these events were taking place the district of Sidonia revolted against the Sultán, and the rebellion soon spread to those of Algesiras, Rayyah, and Liblah (Niebla). The cause of these troubles was a feud between the Yemenites or Arabs from Yemen and the Bení Modhar.

“In this year ’Omar Ibn Hafssún laid siege to القمين Al-kameneyn, a castle belonging to the Bení Kháled; but the garrison defended themselves vigorously, and Ja’d Ibn ’Abdi-l-gháfir, governor of the province of Elvira, hastening to their assistance, they drove the enemy off their walls.

“In Sha’bán of this year the inhabitants of Tortosa sent to Cordova to ask for a governor, and the Sultán granted their request, sending them ’Abdu-l-hakem Ibn Sa’id Ibn ’Abdi-s-sellám. ’Abdu-r-

“rahmán Ibn Merwán, better known by his surname of Ibnu-l-jalíkí (the son of the Galician), applied for a confirmation of his government [of Merida], and the Sultán granted his request.

“The mariners and merchants of Bejannah (Pechina) solicited permission to trade with the coast of Africa, and to build castles for their defence; 'Abdullah granted their request, and the advantages of their port having soon attracted thither people from all the provinces of Andalus, they built upwards of twenty castles, such as Al-hámah (Alhama la seca), Burshenah (Purchena), Al-khábiyah (Al-habia), 'A'liyah (Olias?), Bení Tárik, and Hisn-Náshir (Nixar). These mariners of Bejannah were Africans who settled on that coast about the close of Mohammed's reign.

“*Events of the year 276 (beginning May 5, A. D. 889).*—In this year 'Abdullah left Cordova at the head of his army and laid siege to Bishter; but being unable to reduce that castle, into which 'Omar Ibn Hafssún had thrown himself with all his forces, he returned to Cordova, leaving the command of the besieging forces to Mohammed Ibn ذنين Dhanin, who took up his quarters at حاضرة رية Malaga. 'Omar, however, having evaded the vigilance of that governor, united his forces with those of Al-khalí At-tekerání, of Tekerná, and having surprised the town of اصطبة Estepa, expelled the governor, and advanced to Osuna, where he did the same. Having, whilst there, received a deputation from the people of Ezija, he repaired thither and took possession of the city. The Sultán sent against him his uncle Al-mundhir, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-hakem, who had no sooner arrived at Guadajoz than he was met by a deputation from 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who implored forgiveness for his past offences, and promised fidelity for the future, if the Sultán would grant him the government of the district of Rayyah, which was done.

“About this time also took place the revolt of Sawwár Ibn Hamdún in the district of the Al-borájelah بناحية البراجلة in the province of Elvira. This Sawwár had been the friend and companion of Yahya Ibn Sukálah, a noble Arab, who was the first to rise in that district against the 'Ajemís, the Muwallads, and the Musálimah or renegades. After the death of Yahya, who was treacherously slain by the Muwallads of Elvira, in A. H. 276 (A. D. 889), Sawwár succeeded him. He made war against the Muwallads, defeated them in several encounters, and took their strongest castles. Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, one of the Bení Kháled, who was governor of Jaen, having concluded an alliance with the Muwallads, marched against Sawwár; but he was defeated with great loss and taken prisoner. The Muwallads then, seeing that the royal forces in that quarter were insufficient to defend them from the Arabian party, applied to their old chief, 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who hastened to their assistance. 'Omar was defeated and wounded in a bloody battle, and obliged to return to his usual haunts; he, however, left behind his lieutenant, Hafss Ibnu-l-marrah, to prosecute the war, who, having some time after laid an ambush for Sawwár not far from Gharnáttah (Granada), put him to death.

“According to the poet 'Obádah, in whose hand-writing I have read the events here related, the war between the Muwallads and the Arabs in the district of Elvira originated thus. When Yahya Ibn Sukálah rose in rebellion to assert the pretensions of the Arabs بدعوة العرب a number of his countrymen منتشاة البرابر stationed in those parts surprised and took the castle of Montexicar of the Berbers which they repaired and fortified. This being made known, the Muwallads and 'Ajemís, who were very numerous in the province, and who nourished an implacable hatred against the Arabian faction, began to stir in every direction, and having appointed a chief of their own, named Nábil, who was a man of courage and determination, they marched against Yahya, whom they defeated and obliged to shut

“himself up in the castle of Montexicar. Yahya, moreover, was some time after decoyed into Elvira, where the chiefs of the Muwallads were, and treacherously put to death about the beginning of the year 276 (May, A. D. 889).

“Yahya was succeeded by Sawwár, who, as above related, was at the head of the Arabian party until the month of Moharram of the year 277 (June, A. D. 890), when he was killed. The poet 'Obadah relates the following anecdote, which I here transcribe. 'I was once told by one of the elders of Granada that upon one occasion the Muwallads of Elvira laid siege to the castle of Granada *حصن غرناطة* where Sawwár was at the time. The walls being crumbled and the fortifications out of order, the besieged fought in the day and worked at night to repair them. One day the Muwallads shot into the castle a hollow reed *بطاقة* containing a scroll with the following verses :

منازلهم منهم قفار بلا قع تجاري السفا فيها الرياح الزعاع
وفي القلعة الحمراء تدير زيغهم و منها عليهم تستدير السواقيع

'Tenantless and roofless are the houses [of our enemies]; invaded by the autumnal rains, traversed by tempestuous winds.

'Let them within the Al-hamrá (red castle) hold their mischievous councils; perdition and woe surround them on every side.'

“These verses were the composition of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed *العبي* Al-'ablí (from 'Ablah). Sawwár immediately ordered his poet Mohammed Ibn Sa'id Ibn Mokhárif *الاسيدي* Al-asídí to reply to them, which he did on the spot, in verses full of spirit and elegance.'

“*Troubles in Liblah (Niebla).*”

“According to 'Isa (Ibn Ahmed Ar-rázi), in the year 276 an Arab named 'Othmán, better known by his surname of Ibn 'Amrún, rose at Liblah (Niebla), on pretence that he was going to make war against the Muwallads and the Musálimah (renegades) of that province. Having made a night attack upon the palace of the governor, whose name was 'Amru Ibn Sa'id Al-korayshí, Ibn 'Amrún slew the guards, plundered the palace, expelled 'Amru, and remained sole master of the place. He then made an incursion into the province of Seville, upon which 'Abdullah sent against him his general, 'Othmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, who reduced Ibn 'Amrún to obedience. But war breaking out again between the Muwallads and the Arabs, Ibn 'Amrún took possession of *حصن قرقة* Hisn-Karkabah, whilst Ibn Khassíb and Ibn 'Ofeyr rose in favour of the Muwallads, the former at Montemayór, the latter at Jebal-'oyún (Gibraleon).

“*The rebellion spreads to Seville.*”

“In the year 276 the spirit of disaffection and revolt spread to the province of Seville, the inhabitants of which city renounced their allegiance to 'Abdullah. According to Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-ash'ath, who wrote a history of Seville, the first rebel of those districts was *كريب* Koreyb Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khaldún, who, hearing of the rising of Suleymán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek in the district of Shidhúnah, of 'Othmán Ibn 'Amrún in that of Niebla, and of *جنيد* Jeníd Ibn Wahb Al-karmúní, who had likewise taken arms with the Berbers of his district [Carmona], declared himself in open revolt against the Sultán. As each of these chiefs had raised a banner and proclaimed a party, —Suleymán that of the tribe of Lakhm, to which he belonged, 'Othmán Ibn 'Amrún that of *خشين*

“ Khoshayn, and Jeníd that of the Berbers, called Beránis, Ibn Khaldún proclaimed also the party of the Yemenite Arabs and the tribe of Hadhra-maut, to which he belonged. No sooner had the Muwallads who inhabited Seville and the neighbouring districts heard of the rising of the Arabian chieftains above mentioned, than they entered into a defensive alliance with the Botar and the Bení Modhar, the former of whom were the sworn enemies of the Beránis, and the latter of the Yemenites. Koreyb began by taking possession of a town called بلاط Balát or Albalate, close to Seville, where he fortified himself, persuading the inhabitants of the Axarafe to join his banners. When the news of his rebellion reached Cordova, 'Abdullah appointed a governor, named Músa Ibnu-l-'ássi, who proceeded to Seville, and who by his moderation and talents succeeded in allaying the fire of civil discord; but Koreyb and his lieutenant Jeníd dispatched messengers to the Berbers of the districts of Merida and مدلين Medellin, to inform them that the province was badly guarded, and that, if they were to make an incursion, they would undoubtedly meet with the most complete success. Their intention was to harass and molest the Sultán's troops until they should oblige them to evacuate the province. The Berbers did as they were directed; they invaded the province of Seville, laying waste and destroying every thing on their passage, and, having surprised the town of Tablada, near Seville, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their wives and daughters. Músa then went out against them, and pitched his tents on a hillock called *Kud'yat Az-zeytún* (the hillock of the olive-trees), three miles from Tablada; and the two hosts prepared for the ensuing contest. The night preceding the battle, Ibn Khaldún [Koreyb], who was in Músa's camp, sent a secret message to the Berbers, to say that in the hottest of the fight he would desert the royalists and go over to them, which he did, the consequence being that the Sultán's troops were defeated with great loss, being closely pursued by the victorious Berbers to a town called Kariat وبر Wabr or Wabar, in the district of البير Al-barr, [elsewhere written الير Aleyr.] After remaining three days at Tablada, the Berbers returned home laden with spoil.

“ After this came the invasion of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Merwán Al-jalíkí, who hastened to that district from Badajoz. Having pitched his tents near a town called مورة Mora, in the district of Aleyr [or Al-barr, as above], distant three parasangs from الحاضرة the capital, he began to commit every sort of depredation in the neighbourhood, without any one going out to check his progress.

“ These different troubles contributed in a great measure to diminish the authority of the Sultán in those parts, as the inhabitants, seeing that they were neglected, no longer respected the authority which did not protect them against their enemies.

“ Moved by these considerations, the Sultán deposed Músa from the government, and appointed in his room Huseyn Ibn Mohammed البوري from Mora. Meanwhile a native of Ezija, named Mohammed Ibn Ghálib, applied to the Sultán for permission to build a castle and raise troops with which to repress the excesses of the Berbers who infested that province, and principally of one named الطباشكة At-tamáshekah. As Mohammed was a Muwallad, he soon saw himself surrounded by numbers of his party, *maulis* or freedmen, and Berbers of the tribes of Botar, who willingly took up arms against the Arabian party, commanded by Ibn Khaldún and Ibnu-l-hejáj and their allies the Beránis.

“ Whilst these events were passing, Suleymán Ibn Mohammed, the rebel of Shidhúnah, built a strong castle not far from نبريشة Nebrixa. Having by this means collected round him great numbers of adventurers, he once made an incursion into a neighbouring island, where Al-mundhir, the Sultán's uncle, kept his stud, and, having put to death the director of the establishment, carried away all the horses and mares he found, and retired to a strong castle named قورة Korah, at the extremity of

“ the Axarafe, and about ten miles from Seville. At the same time 'Abdullah Ibnu-l-hejáj, assisted by
 “ Jeníd the Berber, took possession of Carmona, and expelled Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn يزنيغ
 “ Yezigh, who commanded in the Sultán's name. All this was accomplished on the same day by mutual
 “ agreement between the conspirators. When the news of the taking of Carmona reached Seville,
 “ Mohammed, the son of 'Abdullah, who commanded there, wrote to his father, the Sultán, apprising
 “ him of what had happened, and asking for assistance. 'Abdullah summoned his Wizírs and asked their
 “ advice. Some were for putting to death Mohammed Ibn Ghálib, and giving satisfaction to the Arabian
 “ party; others for rewarding him and making use of him to reduce Ibn Khaldún, Ibnu-l-hejáj,
 “ and their followers, to obedience. The former opinion, which was also that of the Sultán, prevailed;
 “ and orders were accordingly sent to Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, brother of Umeyyah, who had been
 “ governor of Seville, enjoining him to put Ibn Ghálib to death. Ja'd went out of Seville with his army
 “ as if he meant to besiege Carmona, and when Ibn Ghálib had joined him with his forces, he seized him
 “ and put him to death. By this means tranquillity was somewhat re-established, and the rebels sur-
 “ rendered Carmona to the troops of the Sultán.

“ When the intelligence reached Seville, the Muwallads, commanded by their chiefs ابن شبرقة
 “ Ibn Shabarkah and ابن البجليلين Ibnu-l-bajileyn, rose in arms, crying aloud for vengeance. They
 “ surrounded the palace of the governor, Mohammed, and would have put him to death, had not
 “ Umeyyah come to his assistance and delivered him from their attacks. Mohammed, not considering
 “ himself safe in Seville, returned to Cordova. This happened in Jumáda the second, [A. H. 276.]

“ Some time after these events, Umeyyah was killed [by the insurgents], upon which 'Abdullah
 “ appointed his uncle, named Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, to be governor of Seville, and gave
 “ him as lieutenant Sa'id Ibnu-l-'abbás. Shortly after, Al-mutref, one of the sons of the Sultán,
 “ went out against the rebels of Seville at the head of considerable forces. Having defeated them in
 “ several encounters, he returned to Cordova, bringing with him as prisoners Kháled Ibn 'Othmán Ibn
 “ Khaldún, the brother of Koreyb, Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hejáj, and Moslemah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-
 “ malek, of Sidonia.

“ Then came the murder of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah, whom Al-mutref caused to be put to
 “ death, because he was his personal enemy; but 'Abdullah was so angry when he heard of it, that
 “ he had his own son executed for it. After the death of Al-mutref, 'Abdullah sent ابن خير
 “ Ibn Khamír (or ضمير Dhamír) to Al-gharb, with instructions to depose the governor, Mohammed
 “ Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-'abdí, and put him to death if he offered any resistance. Ibn Khamír executed
 “ his commission faithfully. He surprised the governor at a village called ارنبسة Aranbasah, and had
 “ him beheaded in sight of the inhabitants.

“ About this time the power of the Muwallad faction becoming greater, 'Abdullah was advised by
 “ some of his Wizírs to grant liberty to the Arabian chiefs who were prisoners in Cordova, and to
 “ employ them. They were accordingly conveyed to Seville and set free, after they had severally
 “ taken a most solemn oath never again to rise against their lawful sovereign, but to employ all
 “ their energies in reducing the Muwallad faction. No sooner, however, had they returned to their
 “ respective districts, than they again declared themselves in open rebellion, and refused to pay the
 “ customary tribute. 'Abdullah, however, having through his Wizír, 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn
 “ Abí 'Abdah, succeeded in dividing them, the rebels made war upon each other, until Ibráhím Ibnu-l-
 “ hejáj took both Kháled and Koreyb prisoners, and put them to death, by which means the Sultán's
 “ authority was re-established in Seville.

" Ibráhím wrote to announce his victory to 'Abdullah, and asking to be appointed governor of Seville. The Sultan granted his request, on condition that he should yearly remit to Cordova the sum of seven thousand dinárs, after defraying all the government expenses in the province. Ibráhím consented, and Kásim Ibn Walíd Al-kelbí was given him as lieutenant; but some time after, at the solicitation of Ibráhím, Kásim was recalled, and that chieftain remained sole governor of Seville and its district.

" Rebellion in Saragossa.

" According to 'Isa [Ar-rázi], in this year Abú Yahya Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz At-tojibí, better known by the surname of *الانقر* Al-ankar, rose in Saragossa and slew the governor. This last event took place on the 17th of Ramadhán. Subsequently to this another chieftain of the Thagher, named Mohammed Ibn Lob *القسيوي* Al-kasawí, quarrelled with Abú Yahya, besieged him in Saragossa, and made war against him for twelve consecutive years, until he was slain in one of his attacks upon that city by a Korayshite, who shot him with a javelin from behind a garden fence.

" By the death of Mohammed, the star of the Bení Kasí was eclipsed, and that of the Tojibites gained the ascendant. The few individuals who remained of the former family surrendered their castles, and, forsaking the alliance of the people of Pamplona, made their submission to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. There was one, however, who would not submit; his name was Isma'íl Ibn Músa, Lord of Lerida. Assisted by his two sons, Músa and Mutref, he persisted in his rebellion, and made incursions into the province of *سربطانية* Cerdagne. Having in one of these forays taken prisoner a young man named 'Abdu-l-malek, who was the son of *شبريط* Shebrit At-tawíl, (or the tall,) Lord of Oshkah (Huesca), the latter retaliated and made incessant war against them, until he slew Músa, took Mutref prisoner, and obtained possession both of Lerida and *بربطانية* (*sic*) Britániyah.

" Treacheries of Ibn Hafssún.

" In this year (A. H. 276) 'Omar Ibn Hafssún left Bishter and laid siege to *البلاط* Albalate, where a chief named Abú Harb Shákir Al-bornasí or *البرنسي* Al-beránisí commanded in the Sultán's name. Abú Harb made a valiant and protracted defence; but having been killed by a random shot, the place surrendered to the rebel. From Albalate 'Omar marched to Algesiras, but the governor, Ibráhím Ibn Kháled, met him on the road and obliged him to return to Bishter. Some time after, the people of Algesiras, having expelled their governor Ibráhím, appointed two of their people, called Hafssún Al-beránisí and Músa Az-zeyyát, to command them. About the same time, the Arabs of the district of Sidonia rose against the Sultán.

" In this year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, having made himself master of a strong castle called *بلاي* Hisn-Belay (Espiel or Espeluy?), in the district of Cabra, began to molest the inhabitants of the Kan-bániah, or territory of Cordova, with frequent incursions. A Christian count, named *شربيل* Sherbil, who was the son of Hajjáj Al-kúmis (the Count), fearing for his life, owing to some offence which he had committed, fled from Cordova, and joined Ibn Hafssún, who gave him the command of part of his forces. Sherbil then began to infest the neighbourhood of the capital to such a degree that the inhabitants dared not go out of the walls, and they lived in as great anxiety and fear as if they were close to the Christian frontier. At length the Sultán sent some troops, who took Sherbil and brought him to Cordova, where he was beheaded, together with Count Hajjáj.

“ *Events of the year 277 (beginning April 24, A. D. 890).*—In this year 'Abdullah sent his general, Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah, against Jaen, where Khayr Ibn Shákir had just revolted; but Khayr having been treacherously slain in the interval by one of his own partisans, the presence of the royal troops in that district was no longer necessary.

“ In the same year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún strengthened the fortifications of Hisn-Belay, from which he made frequent incursions into the districts of Cabra and Al-yasánah or Alisánah, which latter place was peopled by Jews *اليسانة اليهود الذمة*

“ *Events of the year 278 (beginning April 14, A. D. 891).*—In this year the power of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún having greatly increased through the enlistment of thousands of adventurers who flocked to his banners from every province, he conceived the design of having the 'Abbássides proclaimed in Andalus. To that end he dispatched an embassy with presents in the Khalif's name to Ibnu-l-aghlab, governor of Africa, offering to have his master proclaimed; but Ibnu-l-aghlab refused to give his assent, and returned a contemptuous answer, which became celebrated in Andalus.

“ Meantime 'Omar continued to make incursions till within arrow-shot of the walls of Cordova, and close to the village of Shekundah, on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir. One night he was daring enough to attack the *مضرب* pavilion of the Sultán, intending to destroy it; but, although there were only a few night watchmen and a score of mamelukes, they defended themselves so well that they repulsed his attack and drove him away.

“ At length 'Abdullah, wishing to put a stop to the incursions of the brigand, left Cordova at the head of his forces and took the road to Hisn-Belay. On his arrival at *وادي الفوشكة* Wáda Al-fúshekah or Alfoseca, which is two miles distant from that fortress, 'Abdullah ordered his troops to halt, and encamped on its banks. 'Omar then sallied out of Hisn-Belay, and drew up his forces in front of those of the Sultán. A battle ensued, in which the rebels were completely defeated, and obliged to shut themselves up in their castle. A general assault was then ordered, and 'Omar would have fallen into the hands of 'Abdullah, had he not made his escape on an ass *بردون* which a Christian procured him. 'Abdullah prosecuted his victorious march to *ارشيدونة* Archidona, and thence to Bishter, whither 'Omar had fled without stopping. The siege of that fortress was then commenced, and in a skirmish with the rebels no less than five hundred of their number were killed. This happened on Saturday, the first of Rabi' the first, [A. H. 278.] Despairing, however, of reducing that impregnable fortress, 'Abdullah returned to Archidona, to *الفننين* Al-faneneyn (or Al-kameneyn, see above, p. 446), a castle belonging to the Bení Kháled, and thence to *تسطيلة* *حاضرة البيرة* Kastilah, the capital of the district of Elvira, whence, after receiving hostages from the inhabitants, he returned to Cordova.

“ In the same year the troops of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún evacuated Jaen, and the authority of 'Abdullah was re-established there. One of that rebel's partisans, named As-serráj, who stayed behind, was taken prisoner and nailed to a stake. About the same time, according to Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám Ash-shebenísí, who relates it in one of his works, one of the sons of Count Servando,^a son of Hossán *شربند بن حسان القومس*—who was a valiant knight, being offended with 'Abdullah, because one of his brothers had been imprisoned, fled from Cordova and joined 'Omar Ibn Hafssún.

^a Evidently the same person and event mentioned above; the words *شربيل* Sherbil and *شربند* Sherband being written nearly alike.

“ In the same year Mohammed Ibn Lob, Lord of *الثغر الاعلى* Aragon, defeated the Christians with great slaughter.

“ About the end of Dhí-l-hajjah (March, A. D. 892), the Sultán appointed 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn *العمر* Al-amr Ibn Abí 'Abdah Ibn Al-'abbás Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr to the government of Tortosa, in the room of 'Abdu-l-hakem Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám, who held it.

“ *Events of the year 279 (beginning April 2, A. D. 892).*—In this year the traitor 'Omar Ibn Hafssún had again recourse to his usual deceit. Having shown some inclination to return to the obedience of his sovereign, his hostages were given up to him; but he had no sooner attained the object of his wishes than he revolted again.

“ *Expedition to Karkabúliyah.*

“ In the same year [A. H. 279] the Sultán in person set off for the mountainous districts of *باغة* Bágah (Vega), to make war against Sa'íd Ibn Mustanah. After reducing all his castles in succession, 'Abdullah besieged the rebel chief in *كركبولة* Karkabúliyah, and compelled him to surrender. This was the last expedition which 'Abdullah commanded before he died: he had under him his general 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah.

“ Whilst 'Abdullah was occupied in the siege of Karkabúliyah, the people of Elvira revolted, and sent a message to 'Omar Ibn Hafssún to come and take possession of the town. 'Omar hastened thither at the head of his forces, and having repaired the fortifications and put the *kassábah* in a state of defence, prepared to attack Sa'íd Ibn Júdí, the chief of the Arabian party at Granada.

“ *Events of the year 280 (beginning March 22, A. D. 893).*—In this year Al-mutref [the son of 'Abdullah] went out against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, and besieged him in his castle of Bishter. Having ordered his soldiers to demolish a palace belonging to that rebel, as well as a church which his father Hafss had erected, the infidel dog *الكلب* attempted to prevent it, and a series of skirmishes ensued in which the troops of the Sultán had the advantage, the rebels being repulsed with considerable loss, and the two buildings destroyed. Among the Muwallads slain on this occasion was Hafss Ibnu-l-marrah, one of 'Omar's lieutenants.

“ *Peopling of Zamora.*

“ In this year Adefunsh (Alfonso), son of Ordhún (Ordoño), King of Galicia, went to the city of Zamora, and, having repaired its buildings and fortifications, peopled it with Christians of the neighbouring districts. The builders were people from Toledo.

“ In the same year 'Abdullah deposed Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr from the command of the forces on the frontier of Tortosa, and gave it to Músa Ibn Foteys.

“ *Events of the year 281 (beginning March 12, 894), and expedition to سنجيلة Sinjilah.*—In this year Al-mutref went out of Cordova to make war against the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafssún. His general on this occasion was 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah. He left Cordova in the month of Safar, and directed his course towards that rebel's haunts. Having arrived at the *نهر سنجل* river Sinjíl (Singilis), he encamped on its banks, and sent his light cavalry to lay waste the land. He then encamped at *كرتش* Kartash, opposite to *حصن اشد* Hisn Ashad or Ashd. Here he was attacked by the rebels, but Al-mutref drove them before him. On the following day there was another skirmish, in which Zeyd Ibn Khaldún was killed. The rebels fled to *حصن طرش* Torrox, being pursued by

“ the Sultán's troops. From Torrox, which he destroyed, Al-mutref went to *لوشة* Loxa, to *الفنتين* Al-faneteyn,^b to *سحنة* Sahnah, and to *الفندق* Al-fondak. Having laid waste the whole country between Vega and Kal'at Yahssob (Alcala la Real), he arrived at the city of Sinjilah *مدينة سنجيلة*. Thence he returned to Kal'at Yahssob, to *برشانة* Purchena, to *مورليانة* Murliánah, to the halting-place of *خشخاش* Khaskhash, and to Mun'yat Nasr, a country villa near Cordova. He had been absent in all three months.

“ *Events of the year 282 (beginning March 1, A. D. 895), and execution of Ibn Umeyyah* [*Abdu-l-malek*].—In this year happened the expedition against Seville and Sidonia. Mutref left Cordova in the month of Rabi' the second, accompanied by his general, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah. On the arrival of the army at a place called *طربيل* Tarbíl, upon the banks of the river *واد ايرة* Guadaira, two miles from Seville, Al-mutref ordered his men to halt. One morning he had 'Abdu-l-malek seized and put to death. He then sent for Ahmed Ibn Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibn Háshim, and gave him the command of the army, directing him to assemble the Korayshites, and tell them that he had ordered the execution of 'Abdu-l-malek because he knew him to be very negligent in his duties, and not to treat the soldiers as they deserved. The Korayshites, however, not being satisfied with that excuse, sent a deputation to Cordova, requesting the Sultán to have the death of their general investigated.

“ Meanwhile the army was marching towards its destination. After encamping at a place called *ابن برسيس* Ibn Barsis, opposite to Carmona, they removed to *منت فيق* Montefique, a fortress built on the banks of the *واد ايرة* Guadaira by a man named Tálib Ibn Maulúd. Thence the army proceeded to *حصن امرينه* Hisn-Amarina, on the Wáda-lekah or Wáda-lekeh (Guadalete), near Shidhúnah, thence to *قلسانة* Kalsánah, and lastly to Sherish (Xerez). After remaining some days at the latter place, the army marched to Medínat Ibn Selím, and thence to Bishter, which was immediately invested and taken. From Bishter Al-mutref went to the island of Kádís (Cadiz). After passing some days in the island, Al-mutref took the road to Seville. Passing again by Kalsánah and Nebríshah (Nebrixa), a castle belonging to Suleymán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, which he took on the way, he arrived before Seville about the end of Jumáda the second. Soon after, Al-mutref gave orders that Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hejáj, Kháled Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khaldún, 'Abdu-l-malek of Shidhúnah, and their followers, who were kept as hostages in his army, should be brought into his presence. Three days after, he ordered them all to be strangled, together with Mohammed Ibn Malek Al-korayshí. Sahnún, the Kátib, was punished with four hundred lashes, and had his tongue cut besides. This done, Al-mutref returned to Cordova.

“ In the same year the tribute of Seville, Niebla, and Montemayor, having been received in the capital, 'Abdullah gave orders that all those of the partisans of Ibnu-l-hejáj, Ibn Khaldún, and [Ibn] 'Abdi-l-malek, who were still in prison, should be set at liberty.

“ *Events of the year 283 (beginning Feb. 18, A. D. 896).*—In this year an uncle of the Sultán, whose name was Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-hakem, went out of Cordova to make war against Ibn Hudheyl, the rebel of Tudmír. Hishám left Cordova at the end of Rabi' the second, accompanied by Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah, one of the generals of the

^b This word is written in three different ways in these extracts, Al-faneneyn, Al-kameneyn, and Al-faneteyn; but I cannot decide which is the correct reading.

“ Sultán. The troops marched till they came to a place called قامرة Kámirah, on the banks of the river
 “ بلون Belún. Having encamped in the neighbourhood of a castle called الاشعث قلعة Kal'at Ash'ath,
 “ Hishám sent detachments of cavalry to lay waste the dominions of Ibn Hudheyl.
 “ In this year Lob Ibn Mohammed began to build the castle of Monteleon, on the banks of the
 “ Wáda-z-zeytún (the river of the olive-trees), in the province of Birtániyah. Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-
 “ malek At-tawíl, Lord of Huesca, who was the enemy of Lob, armed his retainers and tried to prevent
 “ him; but Lob defeated him in several encounters, and took a brother of his, named Fortún, prisoner.
 “ In the same year Mohammed, the son of Lob Ibn Mohammed, took possession of Toledo, in the
 “ month of Dhí-l-hajjah (January, A. D. 897).

“ *Events of the year 284 (beginning Feb. 7, A. D. 897).*—In this year an expedition left Cordova for
 “ Xerez, commanded by the Amír Abán, one of the sons of 'Abdullah. Abú-l-'abbás Ibn Abí 'Abdah
 “ accompanied him. They left Cordova at the end of Rabi' the first (May, A. D. 897). The object
 “ of the expedition was to chastise several rebels who, perched up in their castles, defied all the power of
 “ the Sultán.

“ The troops had no sooner returned from this service than they were again summoned to war.
 “ Commanded by the Amír Abán and the general Abú-l-'abbás, as before, they departed from
 “ Cordova on the 18th of Rejeb (Sept. 1, A. D. 897). The itinerary of the army was as follows:
 “ to منت شنت Mont Sant, to Tarifa, to Algesiras, to Mersa Ash-shajrah, to Khandak Al-jennat,
 “ to Tarík-khoshayn, to Sohayl, to Dhekuwán, to the river. Thence the army returned to Kasr Bineyrah
 “ (Pineira), and the next march took them to Wáda Beni 'Abdi-r-rahmán, or the river of the Beni
 “ 'Abdi-r-rahmán, opposite to Bishter. After besieging the rebel in his castle, and doing all possible
 “ harm to the districts which obeyed his rule, the army returned by the Alpuxarras and Jaen to
 “ Cordova.

“ On Thursday, seven days before the end of Sha'bán, the Sultán 'Abdullah ordered the arrest of his
 “ own brother, Hishám Ibn Mohammed, of Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah,
 “ of Sa'id Ibnú-l-walid, the Syrian, of Ahmed Ibn Hishám, the grandson of the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahman II.,
 “ and lastly, of Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Zeyyád. Three days after, on Saturday, the 21st of the same
 “ month, they were all executed, together with Yúsuf Ibn Hamdún Ibn Basíl, who had been arrested
 “ some time before.

“ In the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year, Sa'id Ibn جودي Júdí, chief of the Arabian party of
 “ Granada, was put to death by his own people.

“ In the same year Lob Ibn Ahmed Al-kasawí, Lord of the upper *Thagher* (Aragon), besieged and
 “ took the castle of اورة Aurah, in the territory of Barcelona, then the court and residence of the King of
 “ the Franks. A count of that country, named عنقديد بن الينذر القومس 'Ankadid Ibn Al-mundhir,
 “ having attempted to arrest his progress, Lob defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to
 “ return to his capital, where he died shortly after of a wound which Lob had inflicted on him. 'Ankadid
 “ was succeeded by his son شينر Shinir (Sunarius?).

“ In the same year, about the month of Ramadhán, Lob began to build the castle of بلغي Balaghi
 “ (Balaguer), in the district of Lerida.

“ *Events of the year 285 (beginning Jan. 27, A. D. 898).*—In this year 'Abbás Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz made
 “ war in the district of كركر Karkar or Karki, and in the mountains of جبل البرانس Beránis.

“ subjecting all that country to the authority of the Sultán, after having put to death Ibn Yámín and Ibn Maujúl, two of the leaders of the insurrection.

“ In the same year Lob Ibn Mohammed had an interview with 'Omar Ibn Hafssún in a castle called *فينلجة* Finilejah, near Jaen. Whilst there, Lob received news that his father, Mohammed, had been killed before Toledo on the 18th of Ramadhán (November, A. D. 898).

“ *Events of the year 286 (beginning Jan. 16, A. D. 899).*—In this year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún showed his partiality towards the Christians, and gave out that he was about to assist them in shaking off the yoke of the Moslems, which being reported to *خلع التكراني* Khali' of Tekerná, Yahya Ibn *انتلة* Intalah, and others among his partisans, they took the first opportunity to desert his cause and make their submission to the Sultán.

“ *Events of the year 287 (beginning Jan. 6, A. D. 900).*—In this year the general Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed left Cordova at the head of considerable forces, and marched to the district of Múrúr, which, as well as those of Rayyah and Shidhúnah, he entirely purged from rebels. Having taken prisoner a chief named Is'hák, who was one of the staunchest partisans of the infidel 'Omar, he had him nailed to a stake and burnt in front of the army.

“ *Events of the year 288 (beginning Dec. 25, A. D. 900).*—In this year 'Omar made propositions of peace, and offered to make his submission. His offer being accepted, he sent hostages to Cordova.

“ In the same year happened the rebellion of Ahmed Ibn Umeyyah, surnamed Ibnu-l-kitt (the son of the cat), who, having assembled a number of adventurers, made an incursion into the Christian territory, and laid siege to Zamora. Having been attacked by Alfonso (III.), son of Ordoño, King of Galicia, he was defeated and put to death on the 20th of Rejeb (July, A. D. 901).

“ *Events of the year 289 (beginning Dec. 15, A. D. 901).*—In this year the traitor 'Omar Ibn Hafssún broke the treaty which he had sworn to keep; for which reason three out of the four hostages given by him were put to death.

“ *Events of the year 290 (beginning Dec. 4, A. D. 902).*—In this year Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed besieged and took Jaen, where he found a rebel named 'Omar Ibn Modham, whom he took with him to Cordova.

“ In the same year, at the request of Mutref Ibn Habíb and Yahya Ibn *قظام* Kadhám, two of the chief inhabitants of Toledo, Lob Ibn Mohammed sent thither his brother Mutref at the head of a large body of troops. Mutref made himself master of the city without opposition.

“ In this year, on Wednesday, the 28th of Dhí-l-hajjah (Nov. 21, A. D. 903), there was an eclipse of the sun visible in Cordova.

“ *Events of the year 291 (beginning Nov. 23, A. D. 903).*—In this year, on Thursday, the 6th of Jumáda the second (April 28, A. D. 904), the Amír Abán, and the general Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah, left Cordova for the district of Rayyah, at the head of considerable forces. Having arrived at Bishter, the capital of the district called *حاضرة وادي بيشتر* Wáda Bishter, they besieged it for some time and laid waste the neighbouring country, but, despairing of reducing that fortress, returned to Cordova.

“ *Events of the year 292 (beginning Nov. 12, A. D. 904).*—In this year there was also an expedition against the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, under the command of the above-mentioned general. The traitor this time came down from his stronghold, and was bold enough to engage the royal forces; but he was defeated with great loss, close to the river *يلوز* Yelúz, and obliged to shut himself up in his castle.

“ *Events of the year 293 (beginning Nov. 1, A. D. 905).*—In this year the Amír Abán and Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed left Cordova at the head of the army, and marched to the province of Jaen, where a rebel, named Fehr Ibn Ased, was committing great depredations, and practising all manner of cruelties on the peaceful inhabitants of those districts. Having besieged the castle of يش Yemes, where the rebel had taken refuge, Abú-l-'abbás took it by storm and made prisoner Fehr, who was sent to Cordova under a strong escort, and, on his arrival there, nailed to a stake. Abú-l-'abbás then repaired to the district of Tekerná, where he also took by assault the castle of القنيط Al-kanítt.

“ *Events of the year 294 (beginning Oct. 21, A. D. 906).*—In this year the Amír Abán received orders from his father the Sultán to proceed to the district of Algesiras, where serious disturbances had been raised. He left Cordova and repaired to the seat of the rebellion, and having put to death such among the rebels as fell into his hands, re-established his father's authority in the province, and returned to Cordova with a great number of prisoners.

“ *Events of the year 295 (beginning Oct. 11, A. D. 907).*—In this year the Sultán determined upon sending an army against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún. Having assembled considerable forces, he gave the command of them to his son Abán and to his general Abú-l-'abbás Ibn Abí 'Abdah, who besieged the traitor in his castle and laid waste the neighbouring country, until, the autumnal rains coming on, they were compelled to raise the siege and to return to Cordova.

“ *Events of the year 296 (beginning Sept. 29, 908).*—In this year there was another expedition against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún. The army was commanded, as in the former years, by Abán and Abú-l-'abbás [Ahmed Ibn Abí 'Abdah].

“ *Events of the year 297 (beginning Sept. 19, A. D. 909).*—In this year an expedition left Cordova against 'Omar. This time the army was commanded by Abú Umeyyah العاصي Al-'assi, another of the Sultán's sons, accompanied by Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed. After besieging and taking بلدة Beldah, one of the strongholds of 'Omar, they proceeded to شنت برية Santiberia, which they also took; thence to طليحة Talheyrah, and to Hisn-Shubiles (Jubiles), near Granada; after which they returned to Cordova by way of Jaen, taking on the road the castles of Baeza and حريسة Harísah (Ariza?).

“ In this year there was a dreadful famine in the province of Jaen, which caused the death of thousands, and the emigration of innumerable of families, who went over to Africa.

“ *Events of the year 298 (beginning Sept. 8, A. D. 910).*—In this year a body of troops left Cordova against the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who was infesting the neighbourhood of Cabra. Not far from the river وادي الفة Guadalfeo, in the hamlet called مطلناة Matalanátah, there was a collision between the troops of the Sultán and those of the traitor, in which the former had the advantage. Calatrava and اشر Asher, in the district of Rayyah, were taken on this occasion.

“ *Events of the year 299 (beginning Aug. 28, A. D. 911).*—In this year considerable forces left Cordova to hunt the rebel [Ibn Hafssún] in the mountain districts of Bishter. On the 28th of Shawwál there was an eclipse of the sun.”

Such is in substance Ibnu Hayyán's account of a reign which lasted upwards of five-and-twenty years, and upon which no details are to be found in the historians known to us. This unusual laconicism on the part of writers to whom the works of Ibnu Hayyán were known, and some of whom are even

said to have been his disciples, can only be explained by a natural wish not to dwell upon a reign the greater part of which was spent in civil wars and dissensions, and which no triumph over the infidels signalized. To judge from the great mass of historical information contained in the volume,—the only one known to exist of Ibnu Hayyán's *Muktabis*,—it may be safely asserted that, until the remaining volumes are found no reasonable hopes can be entertained of ever seeing the history of the Peninsula fairly disengaged from the mass of error and contradiction by which it is at présent disfigured.

One very important fact, among others, is gained by the attentive perusal of the above extracts, namely,—that for a considerable length of time two powerful factions disputed with each other the empire of Mohammedan Spain, and threatened in their convulsions to overthrow the throne of Cordova. As one of those factions, the Muwallads, is but imperfectly known, the works of Conde and Casiri containing no allusion whatever to them, a few words of explanation may perhaps be desirable. After the battle of Guadalete, which gave the Moslems the empire of the Peninsula, thousands of the Christian population in the southern provinces of Spain were cut off from their countrymen of the north; for it is an error to suppose, as some writers have done, that the Christians fled every where before the invaders, and took refuge in the mountain fastnesses of the Asturias or beyond the Pyrenees. Thousands of the vanquished population preferred remaining in the districts and towns of their birth, under the comparatively mild rule of the Arabs, to whom they paid a moderate tribute, rather than share the privations and dangers of their brethren among the mountains, which became afterwards the cradle of Spanish liberty. Many there were who, tempted by the brilliant offers made to them, renounced the faith of their fathers, served in the army, fought against their former brethren, and opened to themselves the path to honours and riches. The Arabs, however, always looked upon them as outcasts, and a distinction was established between the proud Isma'élite and the infidel newly admitted to the rights and privileges of the Mohammedan community; and in the same manner as the Moriscos or their sons, converted to Christianity after the taking of Granada, were called *Cristianos nuevos* (new Christians) by the Castilian fidalgo, proud of his unstained pedigree and boasting of his religion, the Christian renegades were known by the appellation of *مسالمة* *Mosálimah*, the plural of *Mosálim*, a word meaning 'one newly converted to Islám.' The sons and descendants of these were called *مولد* *Muwallad*, signifying 'any thing or person which is not of pure Arabic origin,' and which, being pronounced then, as it is now, in Barbary, *mulad*, gave origin to the Spanish words *mulato* and *mula*.

Notwithstanding their great numbers, and their influence in the state, the Muwallads were always treated by the Arabs with the greatest contempt. Had the Arabian and African settlers been less intolerant and more united together, the Muwallad faction would probably never have raised its head; but during the interminable wars and sanguinary feuds which raged between the tribes of Arabian or African origin inhabiting the Peninsula, between the Arabs descended from Modhar and those of Yemen, between the Berbers of Botar and those of Beránis, the Muwallads sided occasionally with one or other of those great factions, often obtaining from the victorious party an increase of power. The Sultáns of Cordova, moreover, frequently found it their best policy to nourish the hatred between the hostile factions, and to help even the Muwallads against the Arabs; and whenever a sudden coalition of the tribes of Yemen, or the revolt of some powerful governor, came to disturb the state, they never failed to obtain the assistance of the Muwallads against their more powerful enemies. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if, during the reign of 'Abdullah, when the Arabian tribes established in the various provinces of Spain seem to have come to the determination not to obey the rule of the Bení Umeyyah, the Muwallads should arm in defence of their rights, no longer protected by a central government. Assisted by the *Mosálimah* (Christians converted to Islám), by the *Ahlu-dh-dhimmah* (Christians paying tribute), by the *Ajem* (Christians not subdued), and, lastly, by the *Muraddiin*

(Moslems who had deserted their faith),—all which classes, according to Ibnu Hayyán, enlisted under their banner,—they more than once raised the standard of revolt against the Arabs, whether Yemenis or Modhais, and, led by chiefs of their own, like 'Omar Ibn Hafssún and others, carried plunder and desolation to the very gates of Cordova.

⁴⁸ بطاقة—in Spanish 'butaca' or 'petaca,' which means the same thing.

⁴⁹ An-nadhr Ibn Salamah Al-kaysí is mentioned by Ibnu Hayyán (*Al-muktabis*, fo. 4) among the Kádís, not the Wizírs, of 'Abdullah. The following is the account given by that historian of the public functionaries during the reign of that Sultán.

"The names of persons selected by the Amír 'Abdullah to bear with him the weight of the government.

"*Hájibs*.—'Abdullah confirmed in this office 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Umeyyah Ibn 'Isa Ibn Shahíd; but "after some time he replaced him by Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-selím, who discharged the functions "of that post until about the close of 'Abdullah's reign, when a slave وصيف named Bedr was "appointed to the vacant office.

"*Wizírs*.—These were Al-'abbás Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-merwání; البر Al-barr Ibn Málik Al-korayshí; " 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah, who was also commander of the forces; Merwán Ibn " 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah; 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah; Hafss Ibn Mohammed Ibn Basíl, who "held at the same time the office of *Wáli-l-medínah* or police magistrate; Mohammed Ibn Wálid Ibn " Ghánim; Abú 'Othmán 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah; Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Abí " 'Abdah; Selám Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí 'Abdah; 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Hamdún Ibn Abí 'Abdah;—these four "belonged to the same family, and were of the posterity of Abú 'Abdillah Hossán Ibn Málik Ibn Abí " 'Abdah;—Asbagh Ibn Foteys; 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Az-zejálí; Suleymán Ibn Mohammed Ibn " Wansús or Wanesús; Ahmed Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, who was also commander of the forces; " Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, also general of his armies; Umeyyah Ibn 'Alkamah; and Ibráhím Ibn " Dhamír.

"The generals of his armies were: 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah; 'Obeydullah Ibn " Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdillah; Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah; Asbagh Ibn Foteys; جعد " Ja'd [Ja'far?] Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir; Ibráhím Ibn Dhamír.

"*Kátibs*.—'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah; 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Az-zejálí.

"*Kádís*.—An-nadhr Ibn Salamah Al-kaysí; Músa Ibn Zeyád Al-jodhámí, a native of Sidonia; " Mohammed Ibn Salamah Al-'otbí, who was likewise Imám or president of the public prayer; Ahmed " Ibn Zeyád, better known by the nickname of Al-habíb or the rag-picker (*Span.* Alhabibe). When " 'Abdullah ascended the throne, the office of Kádí was held by Abú Mu'áwiyah 'Amir Ibn Mu'áwiyah " Al-zeyádí Al-lakhmí, but he deposed him some months afterwards."

Ibnu Hayyán then gives the names of the most eminent theologians who either lived in Cordova under 'Abdullah, or who had distinguished themselves under the reigns of his father Mohammed and his brother Al-mundhir.

⁵⁰ انت يا نضر دايماً . . . ليس ترجي لفائدة
انما انت عِدَّة . . . لكنيف ومأيدة

يا مهجة البشتاق ما اوجعك .: و يا سرير الحب ما اخشعك
 و يا رسول العين من لحظها .: بالرد و التبليغ ما اسرعك
 تذهب بالسر فتاتي به .: في مجلس يخفي علي من معك
 كم حاجت انجزت ابرارها .: تبارك الرحمن ما اطولك

CHAPTER V.

¹ The events connected with the execution of Mohammed, the father of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., are vaguely told by the Arabian writers. Conde (vol. i. cap. LXII.) says, that soon after the accession of 'Abdullah, his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán (who is no other than the Al-mutref here mentioned) informed him that Mohammed, assisted by his brothers Al-kásim and Al-asbagh, had revolted in Seville, and had refused him admittance in that city. On the receipt of this intelligence, 'Abdullah intrusted the siege of Toledo to his generals and returned to Cordova. The same author states (vol. i. cap. LXIII.) that immediately after his arrival in Cordova, 'Abdullah dispatched his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-modhaffer (Al-mutref?) against his rebellious son Mohammed. 'Abdu-r-rahmán made his entry into Carmona and Seville, which last city his brother evacuated at his approach. Al-mutref having started in pursuit of his enemy, a battle ensued, in which the rebels were defeated with great loss; Mohammed and his brother Al-kásim falling wounded into the hands of the victor. Mohammed was confined in a dungeon, where he died of his wounds, others say of poison administered to him by his brother, others, again, by his father's order, on the 10th day of Shawwál, A. H. 282 (Nov. A. D. 895). Such is, in substance, the account given of these events by Conde, who afterwards says (p. 283), that Al-mutref himself was assassinated at Cordova in Ramadhán of the same year. It is, however, remarkable, that Conde should call the murderer of Mohammed 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whereas Ibnu Hayyán, An-nuwayrî, Al-homaydí, and every other historian I have consulted, agree in giving him the name of *Al-mutref*. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35) adds nothing to the above facts, except that Mohammed had made an alliance with 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, and that he was killed in action.

An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 467), whilst alluding to 'Abdullah's tyranny, says ان ابنه مطرفا قتل اخاه محمد بن عبد الله والذ الناصر فلم ينكر عليه بذلك بل قال له قد سوغتك قتل اخيك "Such was his want of feeling that, when his son Al-mutref put to death his brother " Mohammed, 'Abdullah not only did not upbraid him for the act, but even told him, ' Much good may " thy brother's death do thee;' Allah! Allah!" But neither does the author explain the cause of Mohammed's rebellion, nor does he give the particulars or the date of his death.

Ibnu Hayyán is the only author who might have cleared up the obscurity; but strange to say, although he generally enters into long and interesting details, he is most despairingly laconic with respect to the death of Mohammed, which he mentions only incidentally in two places of his work. To what cause Ibnu Hayyán's silence is to be attributed, is a question not easily solved, for he is, without dispute, the most diligent, as well as the most accurate, historian of Mohammedan Spain. Nor can we suppose that it was owing to a wish not to throw the blame upon 'Abdullah; for, at the time he wrote,

the influence of the Bení Umeyyah was no longer felt in Cordova, and he frequently condemns in the strongest terms some of the acts of 'Abdullah's reign.

The only facts to be gleaned from his narrative are as follow: In Jumáda the second of the year 276 (Sept. A. D. 889) Mohammed was already governor of Seville; but whether he had been appointed to that office by his uncle Al-mundhir or by his father 'Abdullah, when he ascended the throne, is uncertain. About the end of 276 (A. D. 890), in consequence of a civil war which had broken out at Seville between the Arabs and Muwallads, Mohammed's authority was disobeyed; he was besieged in his palace, and would have been massacred by the insurgents, had not an Arabian chieftain, named Umeyyah, saved him from the hands of the infuriated mob. Soon after Mohammed returned to Cordova by his father's order. An uncle of the Sultán, named Hishám, succeeded Mohammed in the government of Seville; but he seems also to have failed in the attempt to put down the insurrection, for in the same year Al-mutref left Cordova at the head of an army. What became of Mohammed until A. H. 282 (A. D. 895), when he appears at the head of the insurgents in Seville, we are not informed. In the spring of that year Al-mutref, accompanied by one of the Sultán's generals, named 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah, a relation of that chief who had saved the life of Mohammed, started for Seville; but, before he reached that city, he had 'Abdu-l-malek arrested and put to death. An-nuwayrí gives as a reason for the perpetration of that murder, that Al-mutref had frequently attempted to remove 'Abdu-l-malek from the command of the forces, but had never been able to accomplish it, owing to the great favour which that general enjoyed with his father the Sultán. He had him accordingly seized under some specious pretext, and put to death. و كان مطرف قد عزم علي خلعه فلم يكد ذلك لكان ابن

و غضب و عبد الله علي ولده المطرف لقتل عبد الهلك بن عبد الله بن امية غضبا الي الامر به فيه —اميه فعمل عليه حتي قتله
و غضب عبد الله علي ولده المطرف لقتل عبد الهلك بن عبد الله بن امية غضبا الي الامر به فيه
 "When 'Abdullah heard of the death of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah
 "Ibn Umeyyah, whom Al-mutref had killed to revenge some private quarrel of their own, he was
 "exceedingly angry with his son for having done so, and he dispatched him after his victim."

In a separate chapter, entitled باب الذم (section of vituperation or abuse), where Ibnu Hayyán passes in review the defects and vices imputed to 'Abdullah, after charging him on report with having poisoned his brother Al-mundhir, he adds, "'Abdullah put to death two of his own sons, one after the other; Mohammed, the father of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who reigned after him, and his brother and enemy Al-mutref. He also put to death his two brothers, Hishám by the sword and Al-kásim "by poison."

The above is what we know of Mohammed's fate; but what the objects of his rebellion were, which of the two parties then contending for power—the Arabs or the Muwallads—favoured his views, and, lastly, whether he was the victim of his brother's personal hatred, or of his father's unflinching severity, are points for the critic to decide. The expression of which Al-makkarí makes use here — محمد قتيل — "Mohammed, he who was murdered by his brother Al-mutref," by no means removes the difficulty, since it might have been in obedience to his father's orders.

² An-nuwayrí says that Mohammed left thirty-three sons when he died, and that the number of those whom he had by his different wives was one hundred. He likewise says that Al-mundhir left behind him eight sons,—a statement, however, which is contradicted by Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi, who, in his

history of the Bení Umeyyah, asserts that Al-mundhir died childless. From the narrative of Ibnu Hayyán, however, we gather that 'Abdullah had two brothers, Hishám and Al-kásim, and amongst others, two sons, أَبَان Abán or Ibán and Abú Umeyyah Al-'ássi, who commanded his armies, and obtained many a victory over the enemy. Conde mentions, besides, another of 'Abdullah's sons, named 'Abdu-rahmán Al-modhaffer, who is said to have commanded afterwards the armies of his nephew, 'Abdu-rahmán III.

³ During the whole of 'Abdu-rahmán's reign, one or more expeditions left Cordova yearly to make war against the Christians or to chastise the different rebels who resisted the authority of that Khalif. Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, in his history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain, forming part of his historical cyclopædia, introduces a long poem, in which he recounts all the expeditions of 'Abdu-rahmán, from his accession down to the year 322, when that author wrote his work. See vol. i. note 38, p. 338.

⁴ The expression is a remarkable one, *و وصل الي سددته*—The word *suddah* is often used by the writers of Mohammedan Spain as a synonyme of *báb* (door). There was, moreover, in the royal palace of Cordova a gate called *Bábu-s-suddah*. See vol. ii. p. 173 of this translation.

⁵ *بدا الهلال جديدا .: والملك غض جديد*
يا نعمة الله زيدي .: ان كان فيك مزيد
ان كان للصوم فطر .: فاليوم للدهر عيد

In the copy of the *Iká*, which I have used, the second hemistich of the second verse reads as follows:

ما كان فيه مزيد

⁶ Sancho, son of Garcia, King of Navarre. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (*loco laudato*) mentions this expedition under the year 308. He says that the campaign began by the taking of a town called *وشة*, Oshamah, now Osma.

⁷ Probably Ja'far, son of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who, about this time held Toledo. His father died some years before, in 306. The expedition said to have been sent into Alava was commanded by Al-modhaffer, the Khalif's uncle.

⁸ In the same year the troops of 'Abdu-rahmán, under the command of a general named Músa, are said to have crossed the Pyrenees, and to have made an incursion into France.

⁹ If this expedition was really undertaken between A. H. 322 and 325 (A. D. 933-6), Ramiro II., not Ordoño III., reigned then in Leon. The author alludes, no doubt, to some campaign made after 950; the date of that sovereign's accession.

¹⁰ The city of Zamora, on the Douro, had been taken several years before by Alfonso III. of Leon. "In the year 280 (beginning March 22, A. D. 893)," says Ibnu Hayyán, "Alfonso, the son of Ordoño,

“ King of Galicia, rebuilt and peopled the city of Zamora, and repaired its fortifications. The architects “ were people from Toledo. From that time the city became a nuisance to the Moslem frontiers.”

No attempt seems to have been made during the reign of 'Abdullah to recover so important a place until in the year 288 (A. D. 900), when a member of the royal family, named Ahmed Ibn Mu'awiyah, indignant at the continuation of the peace with the infidels, collected a body of adventurers and tried, though in vain, to reduce that city.—Compare Conde (vol. i. cap. lxxiv.), Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35), and the Chronicle of Sampiro, *apud* Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. xiv. No. 14. Ibnu Hayyán (*loco laudato*, fo. 72) has preserved us an account of this expedition, which, as it contains information not to be found in the above writers, I here translate.

“ In this year (A. H. 288) Ahmed, the son of Umeyyah, son of Mohammed, better known by the “ surname of Ibnu-l-kitt (the kitten), son of Hishám, son of Mu'awiyah, son of the Amír Hishám, left “ Cordova secretly, and joined a rebel called Abú 'Alí As-serráj. From thence he repaired to the “ district of Fahssu-l-balútt and to the mountain of برانس Beránis, and, having persuaded the Berbers “ of the tribe of Nefezah that he was the Mahdí, he induced them to enlist under his banners, to wage “ war against the unbelievers, and retake the city of Zamora. This city had been destroyed and dis- “ mantled by the Moslems during the reign of the Amír Mohammed; but King Alfonso rebuilt it, “ repaired its fortifications, and peopled it with Christians. The distance between Zamora and Leon the “ Great ليون الكبرى is two days' march. Against this city Ibnu-l-kitt marched at the head of his “ followers, and, having encamped close to the river of Ordoño وادي اردوني (rio Sequillo or Urbigo), “ laid siege to Zamora. The Christians made a sally, but they were defeated with great slaughter, and “ compelled to shut themselves within the fortress. Having, however, received considerable re-inforce- “ ments from Galicia, the infidels again attacked the Moslems, and defeated them with great loss “ in killed and prisoners. Ibnu-l-kitt, being in the number of the latter, was immediately beheaded, and “ his head nailed under the principal gate of Zamora. This disastrous battle is still known among the “ Christians of those parts as *Yaum Samirah* (the day of Zamora). It was fought ten days before “ the end of Rejeb (July, A. D. 901), according to 'Isa Ibn Ahmed [Ar-rázi], who says that he read “ the statement in the hand-writing of the Khalif Al-hakem. Mu'awiyah Ibn Hishám treats at full “ length of this Ibnu-l-kitt in his genealogical work.”

¹¹ *Medínat Ghalisiyah* (the city or capital of Galicia). Zamora is often so designated by Ibnu Hayyán and other historians. The word *medínat*, meaning a large town covering a wide extent of ground, is often used by early Arabian writers to designate the capital of a province or district; because, in consequence of their nomadic habits, one town was sufficient in the territory of each tribe. See vol. i. p. 529, note 2.

¹² This battle was fought at Simancas, on the banks of the Pisuerga, about fifteen miles from Zamora, on July the 19th, A. D. 939. See the sensible observations of M. Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iv. p. 170.

¹³ The word which I have translated by 'ditches' is فسلان *foslán*, the plural of *fasíl*, 'a breast-work, a parapet, and also a trench or dry moat.' One of the copies reads فضلان—which I believe to be a mistake.

¹⁴ Conde (vol. i. p. 424) says, on the authority of Al-mes'údí, that, after the unsuccessful attempts

here recorded, 'Abdu-r-rahmán again attacked Zamora and took it by storm; but I have read attentively the chapter in which that historian mentions the siege and battle of Zamora, and I have found nothing to justify the assertion. Indeed, Al-mes'údí has no more on the subject than the meagre account which Al-makkarí has embodied into his history, and which is to be found in the 35th chapter of the *Murúju-dh-dhahab*, treating "of the Franks and Galicians, their kings, and their wars with the Moslems of Andalus." Is it probable that 'Abdu-r-rahmán, defeated before the walls of Zamora with the loss of forty thousand of his best troops, should undertake and achieve the storming of that strong city?

¹⁵ Al-makkarí treats at full length of this learned man in the sixth book of the first part of his work. His name in full was Abú 'Alí Isma'il Ibn Al-kásim Ibn عيذون 'Aydhún Ibn Hárún Ibn 'Isa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Suleymán Al-kálí. He was born at Menár Jord (one of the copies reads منازك) in Diyár-Bekr, in A. H. 288, according to some authors, and according to others in 285. The surname 'Al-kálí' was given to him because he travelled to Baghdád in company with people from قالي قالي Káli Kali, a town in Diyár-Bekr. He studied under Abú Bekr Ibn Doreyd Al-azdí, Abú Bekr Al-anbári, and Ibn درستويه Darastuyah, and became one of the most accomplished grammarians of the school of Basrah: he left his native place for Baghdád in A. H. 303, and remained in that city until A. H. 328. 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. sent for him and appointed him preceptor to his son; he made his entrance into Cordova on the 27th of Sha'bán, A. H. 330 (May, A. D. 942), and by the order of that Khalif a deputation of the inhabitants of Cordova, chiefly composed of Arabs who were originally from Kúfah, went out to meet him. Besides the *Kitábu-l-amálí* (dictations), which he dedicated to his pupil the Amír Al-hakem, he composed the *Kitábu-n-nawádir* (novelties), and another work entitled البارع *Al-bári'* (the conspicuous), the subject of which is not stated; but which Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136) says was a dictionary of the Arabic language. He died at Cordova in A. H. 357 (A. D. 968), and left several pupils, among whom were Abú Bekr Az-zubeydí, Ibnu-l-kúttiyah, and others. An author named Abú Mohammed Al-fehrí wrote an account of the life and writings of 'Abú 'Alí Al-kálí.

¹⁶ ذوقو *Dhúku*, no doubt a corruption from Dux.

¹⁷ *Kaldoh* or *Kalodoh*, an easy corruption from Carolo; the *l* and the *r* being affined letters. The King of France at the time was Charles the Simple.

¹⁸ This Rabi', the bishop, is the same individual mentioned in the first volume of this translation, p. 236, and note 10, p. 502, and who was employed by the Khalif in negotiating with the monk of Gorz, Otho's ambassador. But the messenger who accompanied him on his return to Germany is there said to have been a layman, named Recemundus, who was one of the Kátibs or clerks of the palace. See the interesting narrative of Joannes à Gorz, Embassy to Cordova, *apud* Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, vol. v. p. 404, and the sensible observations of M. Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. p. 214, *et seq.*, and Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrasins*, p. 187.

¹⁹ This date must be mistaken. According to Sampirus (*Chron.* No. 27), Ordoño the third, not the second, as in the text, died about the middle of August, A. D. 955, at Zamora.

²⁰ Garcia, son of Sancho, was King of Navarre, not of Galicia. The author, no doubt, means Sancho I., son of Ramiro II., who succeeded his brother, Ordoño III., on the throne of Leon in 955, being shortly after deprived of power by a rebellion of his subjects, headed, as related in the text, by Ferran Gonzales, Count of Castile, and Ordoño IV., son of Alfonso IV.

²¹ The usurper Ordoño, whom the Spanish historians do not count in the number of the kings of Leon, was not the son of Ramiro II., but of Alfonso IV. He was called 'El Malo,' or the wicked.

²² Al-makkarí, or rather the historian whose words he transcribes here, has invariably confounded the dethroned King of Leon [Sancho I.], who was *the grandson* of Theuda, with *her own son* (Garcia, son of Sancho, King of Navarre), attributing to one the actions of the other; or else Al-makkarí himself committed the mistake by transcribing too hastily the words of his authority, which is not at all improbable. The confusion arising from such misplacement of names might easily have been avoided in the translation; but in this, as in other instances, I have preferred translating literally the text of my author, however palpable his errors, rather than introducing any corrections of my own.

²³ Sancho I. was not the son, but the grandson of Theuda; his mother, Urraca, was the daughter of that princess.

²⁴ That is, her own son, the King of Navarre, and her grandson Sancho, the dethroned King of Leon, surnamed 'Crassus' (the fat), owing to his excessive corpulence, arising from hydropsy. The avowed object of Sancho's visit to Cordova is said to have been to obtain from the Arabian physicians a remedy for his disease; and it is added, that by the juice of certain herbs Sancho was cured, and restored to his former lightness and agility. Sampirus, *Chron.* No. 26, *apud* Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. xiv.; Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, Part iv. p. 340.

²⁵ Sancho, not Garcia, as here stated, was replaced on the throne of Leon by the help of 'Abdu-rahmán, who furnished him with money and troops for his enterprise.

²⁶ Some copies read here *ملكة الافرنجة كلداه* 'Kaldah, Queen of the Franks.' If the reading be correct, which I doubt, it is meant for the widow of Charles, mother of Louis d'Outremer.

²⁷ Sunoifred, son of Miro, Count of Barcelona.

²⁸ Upon the probable site of Bejénah, which was a flourishing town before Almeria rose into importance, see vol. i. p. 359, *note* 122, of this translation, and the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán.

²⁹ The same theologian mentioned in vol. i. pp. 150 and 430. He was the son of the celebrated traditionist, Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí.

³⁰ In other copies 'Obeydullah.'

³¹ The text reads *رق* *rakk*, which might also mean 'vellum.'

³² The word translated by 'case' is جعبة *ja'bah*, in Spanish 'aljava' (a quiver).

³³ Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr Al-kasiniáni, who must not be confounded with Abú 'Amru Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr, although belonging to the same family.

³⁴ The author of the *Karttás* relates this differently. He says that Mossálah kept Yahya in prison until that monarch revealed to him the spot where his treasures lay concealed, when he set him at liberty, and banished him to Assílah (Arsila). Yahya remained some time at that place, where a relative of his was then reigning; but having left it with the intention of proceeding to Eastern Africa, he fell in with Músa Ibn Abí-l-'áfíyyah, one of Mossálah's lieutenants, who kept him in confinement for about twenty years. Yahya was at length released and suffered to proceed to Mahdiyah, where he died in extreme poverty in A. H. 332 (beginning Sept. 3, A. D. 943). Yahya was the son of 'Omar, son of Idrís. He was the seventh Sultán of his family who reigned over Fez, and the third of his name.

³⁵ My copy has حجاجم *hojjám*, as printed; but two copies of the *Karttás*, which I have consulted, have حجاجم *hajjám*. The origin of the surname is thus explained by Ibnu Khaldún. In one of the many battles which Hasan had to fight against his uncle, Ahmed Ibn Al-kásim, the former attacked a horseman, and struck his steed three times, one after the other, on the *mahjám* (that part of the neck where horses are bled); which being reported to his uncle, he is said to have exclaimed, "By Allah! our nephew is a *hajjám*" (bleeder); and the surname ever after remained to him. The same author quotes the following verse:

وسيت حجاجم و لست بحاجم ولاكن لظعن في مكان الحجاجم

"Thou hast been named a bleeder, and yet thou art not such, unless it be through thy striking on
"the *mahjám*."

The word *al-hajjám* has passed into the Spanish *alfageme*.

³⁶ There must be some mistake here. The author informs us elsewhere (vol. i. p. 122), on the authority of Al-bekrí, that during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. the Kádí-l-kodá or supreme judge of Fez, whose name was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'Isa, landed in Spain, and was received by that Sultán with all the honours due to his high rank and noble birth (Mohammed being a member of the family of Idrís). By referring to Al-bekrí (Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 87), I find the quotation correct. But then I find the arrival of Abú-l-'aysh Ahmed, son of Al-kásim Kanún or Kannún, the Idrísite, recorded in the *Karttás* under the same circumstances; from which I conclude that there were two arrivals, that of *Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Isa* and that of *Abú-l-'aysh*, both of whom visited Spain during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and that it was the former, not the latter, as is stated in the *Karttás*, who met with the brilliant reception described in vol. i. p. 122 of this translation.

³⁷ According to Ibnu Khaldún (fo. 99) and Al-bekrí (fo. 87), they were all sent to Cordova as hostages for the fidelity of their family. They came escorted by Ahmed Ibn Ya'la, who commanded 'Abdu-r-rahmán's forces in Africa.

³⁸ Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 87, *verso*) mentions, besides the names of Hasan and 'Isa, the sons of جنون Jannún (Kannún?).