

³⁹ Alhomaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktābis*, fo. 8) places the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on the first of Ramadhán. According to Ibnu-l-athír (*Ibratu-l-oullí*) he died of مرض الفالج a paralytic stroke. Immediately after this passage there follows in the abridgment the following account, said to have been borrowed from the historian Ibnu Khaldún. "When the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir saw his power consolidated, he gave all his attention to the erection of palaces and other buildings. His predecessors, Mohammed, 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., and Al-hakem I., had been all fond of building, causing several palaces to be constructed with admirable art and solidity, such as that called مجلس الزاهر Mejlés Az-záhir, or the pavilion of the flowers; Al-kámil (the complete or perfect); Al-muníf (the eminent), and others; but none was so fond of it as 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who is well known to have erected several stupendous buildings, and among others a palace called *Dáru-r-raudhah*, to which he conveyed abundance of water, as well as to the other palaces built by his ancestors. In the construction of this palace, which was close to Mejlés Az-záhir, 'Abdu-r-rahmán is reported to have lavished countless treasures, having employed architects and geometricians even from Baghdád and Constantinople. After this he took to building pleasure-houses, and planted the gardens of *Mun'yatu-n-ná'úrah*, which he supplied with water brought from the top of distant mountains. But the greatest work in which he was engaged was the city of Az-zahrá, which he took for his residence and the court of his empire, causing buildings and palaces to be erected there, and gardens to be planted, which left far behind any such building or garden belonging to his ancestors; making besides spacious recesses for wild beasts, strongly railed in, as well as receptacles for birds, covered with awnings of net-work. He had also an arsenal where all sorts of warlike weapons were made, as well as ornamental work and other articles of workmanship. He ordered an awning to be thrown over the court of the great mosque of Cordova, to guard the people, who frequented it, from the rays of the sun."

Alluding to the buildings erected by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, I find the following passage in An-nuwayrí, which I deem worthy of being translated. "Az-zahrá was situated three miles from Cordova, on the declivity of a mountain. It was divided into three parts. That nearest to the mountain was inhabited by the Khalif, who had there his palaces, pleasure-grounds, &c. In another resided the servants and eunuchs of the Khalif's household, and his body-guard, composed of twelve thousand men, splendidly attired, and having swords and belts glittering with gold. A detachment of these accompanied the Khalif whenever he rode out, and mounted guard at his palace. The remaining third was laid out in gardens and pleasure-grounds, over which the palaces of 'Abdu-r-rahmán had a commanding view. The whole was plentifully supplied with water brought from the neighbouring mountains. But the most remarkable building in Az-zahrá was a pavilion overlooking the gardens. It was supported by columns of streaked marble, mounted in gold and inlaid with rubies and pearls. In front of the pavilion was a sea [large tank] filled with *zabík* or quicksilver, which was kept in perpetual motion, and reflected the rays of the sun upon the pavilion. Twelve years were spent in the building of Az-zahrá, and the number of workmen employed was twelve thousand."

An-nuwayrí adds, "that twelve اثني عشر صانع Christian workmen of great skill were daily employed in the construction of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's palace at Az-zahrá, according to the terms of a treaty which the Christians made with him to insure peace."

⁴⁰ This was not the only motive which induced 'Abdu-r-rahmán to take the measure. According to Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktābis*, fo. 5), the appearance of the Shiites in Eastern Africa, and the assumption by Al-mahdí of the title of Khalif, were the principal reasons. Alluding to this event,

An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 467) says, "'Abdu-r-rahmán was the first sovereign of Andalus who assumed the titles of Khalif and *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful). He was instigated to that act by the news of the rising of the Shiites at Cairwán and of their having proclaimed Al-mahdí, as well as by the information he received of the weakened state of the Khalifate under Al-muktadir the 'Abbásíde. So that there were no less than three Khalifs at the time, Al-muktadir in the 'Irák, Al-mahdí at Cairwán, and An-násir at Cordova."

⁴¹ This quotation is from the Korán, Súrah 18, verse 78.

⁴² Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán Al-kaysí gives the life of Mundhir Al-bolúttí in his *Mattmah* (Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 133), among those of the *الاعلام* doctors or theologians. Al-makkarí mentions him also in Part I. book v. fo. 97, among the Spanish Moslems who travelled to the East. "Al-mundhir," he says, "left Andalus in A. H. 308. On his return in 339 he was appointed Kádí of Cordova by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and retained the office until the end of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 355 (Nov. A. D. 966), when he died under the reign of Al-hakem II. He was buried in the cemetery of Koraysh, in the western suburb of Cordova, and to the north-west of the mosque of Suddatu-l-kobra, not far from the house in which he had resided. He left several works on theology and jurisprudence, among which the most celebrated are *Ah'kámú-l-korán* (decisions of the Korán) and *Al-munassakh wa-l-mansúkh* (the original and the copy). Although he professed in secret the sect of Abú Suleymán Adh-dháherí, he is known never to have uttered decisions in conformity with its opinions."

⁴³ Al-makkarí mentions this individual in the fifth book of the first part (fo. 219), among the Moslems who visited Spain. His full name was Abú-l-yosr Ibráhím Ibn Ahmed Ash-sheybání; but he was better known by his patronymic Ar-riyádhí. He was a native of Baghdád, where he studied under the best professors, such as Al-jáhedh ('Amru Ibn Bahr), Al-mubarrad, Tha'lebah, Ibn Koteybah, &c. While young, he left his native country and travelled through Khorasán, Syria, Egypt, and Africa, where he settled, and became the Kátib of Ibráhím Ibn Ahmed Ibn Aghlab, Amír of Eastern Africa, and after his death, of his son Abú-l-'abbás 'Abdullah, and lastly of Zeyádatullah Ibn 'Abdillah, the last of the Aghlabites. He died at Cairwán in A. H. 298 (beginning Sept. 8, A. D. 910), at the beginning of the reign of 'Obeydullah, the Shiite: he was then seventy-five years old.

According to Ibnu-l-abbár, in his *إفادات الوفاة* *Ifádatu-l-wafádat*, Ash-sheybání visited Andalus during the reign of Mohammed, the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II. He wrote the following works: *لقيط الهرجان* 'the fall of corals,' which Ibnu-r-rakík describes as a history still more voluminous than the *'Oyúnu-l-akhbár* (fountains of history); *سراج الهدى* 'the lamp of direction,' a commentary upon the Korán; *قطب الادب* 'the pole of literature,' and others. It was he who first introduced into Africa the literary production known as *رسائل السجديين* 'the epistles or tracts of the traditionists.'

The above account, however, is in contradiction of what is stated here; for if Ash-sheybání visited Spain during the reign of Mohammed [A. H. 238-73], and died in 298, he could not have resided in Cordova under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., whose reign began in A. H. 300.

⁴⁴ Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek (or 'Abdi-l-málik) Ibn Aymen is the same author mentioned at

p. 181, vol. i. of this translation. Al-makkarí treats of him in the fifth book of the first part, in the life of Kásim Ibn Asbagh.

⁴⁵ ذهب العين *dhahebu-l-'ayn* means 'coined gold;' ذهب التبر *dhahebu-t-tibr*, which the Spaniards call 'oro de Tíbar,' is virgin gold.

⁴⁶ A *bidr* is a purse containing ten thousand dirhems. A custom still prevails in Spain of counting money in this way. A 'talega' (purse) is equal to one thousand dollars.

⁴⁷ The Rich MS. reads العود المختبر—but the reading in the abridgment, as well as in the Gotha MS., fo. 77, verso, is المتخير

⁴⁸ The word منتقي *muntaki* means 'spotless, pure.'

⁴⁹ عود الغالي *i. e.* costly or of the best quality, unless the epithet الغالي *al-gháli* applies to the kind of scent called غالية *gháliyah*, whence the Spanish 'algalia' and 'agalla.'

⁵⁰ Musk or misk (Sp. *al-misque* and *almizcle*).

⁵¹ *Samúr* is the *mustela scythica*; hence jackets made of the skin of that quadruped are called by the Spaniards *zamarra*, by the Italians *zimarra*, and by the French *simarre*. The word *zamarra* is now applied in Spain to any sort of skin-jacket.

⁵² The Sha'ybites were the followers of Sha'yb Ibn Mohammed, who was the founder of a religious sect, differing only from that of the 'Ajdarians or disciples of 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Adjar in a few immaterial points. *Kitábu-n-nahal wá-l-melal*, by Ash-sheherastání, Brit. Mus., No. 7251, fo. 100.

⁵³ The *milhaf* or *milhafah* ملحفة is an outer garment made in the shape of a cloak without sleeves. The Spaniards call it *almallafa*.

⁵⁴ The word *sordakát*, plural of *sorádik*, which I have translated by 'tents,' means also the awning thrown over the court of a house.

⁵⁵ قزيون—The Gotha MSS. reads قزيون—Neither word, however, is to be found in our dictionaries; but I have no doubt that the former reading is the correct one, and that the stuff called 'cazon' by the Spaniards is here meant.

⁵⁶ قطيفة *katifah*, a small carpet, called in Spanish 'alcatifa.'

⁵⁷ One of the MSS. reads في القتبوية—another في القتبينة—but there can be no doubt that قنبانية is meant. *Kanbániyyah* is nothing more than the Latin word *campania* Arabicized.

⁶ قطوبية *Kottúbiyah*. Mr. Shakespear's copy reads قطونية *Katúniyah*, by the alteration of one single point. As it is not stated in what part of the Christian frontier this fortress was situated, it is impossible to say what may be its present name. M. Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iv. chap. xvi.) states it to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Huesca, but the text says only that "it was taken by the governor of Huesca," which is by no means conclusive of its being situated in the vicinity of that place.

⁷ The same fortress called elsewhere 'Shant Ehtiban' or San Esteban de Gormaz, and which appears to have been retaken by the Christians in the interval.

⁸ See the extracts from Ibnu Khaldún in the first volume of this translation, App. B. p. xxxv., where Ibn Romáhis is said to have been the commander-in-chief of the naval forces under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

⁹ The expedition was no doubt intended against his ally, Ferran Gonzalez, Count of Castile, and not against Ordoño, who had then no dominions subject to his rule.

¹⁰ Ghálib had previously been a *mauli* or freedman of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, whence his surname An-násirí.

¹¹ Elsewhere called رومية رومية or a Christian cap. The word *kalansuah*, which is not of Arabic origin, seems to be a corruption from *calantica*.

¹² Two of the copies read 'Ibn Talmís,' that belonging to the library of Gotha ابن طلمس 'Ibn Tamlas.'

¹³ يلبوال — Thus in all copies, except the Rich MS., which reads بلوان — Neither word, however, is to be found in the dictionaries.

¹⁴ ابن خيزران — but the abridgment and the Gotha MS. read ابن خيزران Ibn Khayzarán.

¹⁵ It is doubtful whether the individual here mentioned was "the bishop himself" or the "son of the bishop." At all events it is curious enough that he should have a name so essentially Arabic, although this is not the only instance of the kind which occurs in the history of Mohammedan Spain.

¹⁶ The text reads في برطل البهو الاوسط — The word برطل *bortal*, which I have translated by 'gate or gateway,' appears to be a corruption from *porta* or *portal*. It is one of the many words which the Moslems of Spain borrowed from the language of their Christian neighbours. Instead of دار الجندل *Dáru-l-jandal*, which is the reading afforded by all the manuscripts, the copy belonging to the library of Gotha has دار الجند *Dáru-l-jund* (the house or the barracks of the army).

¹⁷ *Bornús* or *bornós*, which has been preserved in the Spanish 'albornoz.'

¹⁸ The word used is *dará'h*, which means a breast-plate, any garment fitting tight to the chest.

¹⁹ وله لوزة الفرغة من خالص التبر —It is by mere guess that I have translated the word *lúzah* or *lauzah* by 'belt.'

²⁰ If the author be not mistaken, this would prove that *Mun'yatu-n-ná'úrah* and *Kasr Ar-rissáfah* were one and the same building; for it is said above (p. 161), that when Ordoño arrived in Cordova he was lodged at the *Mun'yatu-n-ná'úrah*, or 'the pleasure-grounds of the water-wheel.' See vol. i. p. 212, and p. 489, note 40.

²¹ Thus in the abridgment; but in the original work Al-makkari introduces some fragments of a poem composed on the occasion by 'Abdu-l-malik Ibn Sa'id Al-moradí (see vol. i. pp. 190 and 468 of this translation), after which he quotes some verses supposed to have been the composition of Al-hakem.

²² The arrival of the Catalonian ambassadors in Cordova must have taken place after the successful invasion of their territory by Ahmed Ibn Ya'la and Yahya Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí. See p. 159.

²³ I have shown elsewhere (vol. i. p. 380, note 14) that this unnatural commerce was carried on by the French along the Pyrenees.

²⁴ About this time Rodericus Velasconis or Velasci, one of the most powerful counts of Galicia, is said to have entered into a league with other nobles to make Galicia independent of Leon. His mother might, therefore, have visited Cordova with the view to obtain the assistance of Al-hakem.

²⁵ See p. 145. He was killed in A. H. 343 (A. D. 954), in an encounter with the troops of Ordoño III.

²⁶ Mu'izz or Al-mu'izz lidín-illah Abú Temím Ma'd, the fourth of the Fátimites or 'Obeydites of Africa. He was the first of his family who established himself in Egypt. His general, Jauhar, took Fez in Ramadhán, A. H. 349 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 960), and Balkín Ibn Zeyrí subdued the rest of Western Africa, with the exception of Ceuta, Tangiers, and other fortified places along the coast which remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah.

²⁷ *Hajaru-n-nasr* (the rock of the eagles), a strong castle in the neighbourhood of Assilah, south of Fez. See Al-bekrí, *Mesálek wa-l-mem'alek*, fo. 87.

²⁸ When Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-azrak arrived in Spain, Al-hakem had not yet ascended the throne. Al-makkari gives the life of Abú Bekr Al-azrak among those of the illustrious Moslems who visited Spain (Part i. book vi. fo. 217). His name was Mohammed, and he was the son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, son of 'Abdullah, who was a lineal descendant from 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, the twelfth Khalif of the race of Umeyyah in the East.

²⁹ One of the MSS. reads here *النكوطي* *An-nokúttí*, but the abridgment and the copy belonging to

the library of Gotha have البلوطي *Al-bolúttí*, the relative adjective of Fahssu-l-bolútt, or 'the field of the oak trees,' a district near Cordova.

³⁰ Conde (vol. i. p. 466) says that the work which Abú-l-faraj, of Ispahán, presented to Al-hakem, was a history of the Khalifs of the race of Umeyyah in the East and in Spain. In a refutation of the Korán, written by a Spanish missionary in 1511, for the use of the newly-converted Moors of Valencia, the original of which is in my possession, large extracts are given from a work by Abú-l-faraj, entitled *Iyámu-l-'arab* (the celebrated days or epochs of the Arabs), which is quoted as existing in Spain at the time. The work is there said to be divided into seventeen hundred *iyám* or days. According to Al-homaydí, the correspondence between Abú-l-faraj and Al-hakem took place during the lifetime of An-násir, which is far more probable, as Abú-l-faraj died in A. H. 356. Oriental literature is greatly indebted to Professor Kosegarten for a beautiful and correct edition of the *Kitábu-l-aghání*.

³¹ *Mokhtassar* (the abridged) is the title of several compilations of traditional law, the most celebrated of which is one by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem Al-misrí, which, according to Khayr Ibn Khalífah in his Bibliographical Repertory, was greatly in use among students professing the sect of Sháfi' in Spain.

³² An-násir lidín-illah Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, the thirty-fourth Khalif of the race of 'Abbás, son of Mustadhi binúr-illah. The library which he collected was destroyed by the Moghúls under Huláku at the taking of Baghdád in A. H. 656 (A. D. 1258).

³³ This statement is likewise to be found in Casiri (vol. ii. p. 37), and Conde (vol. i. p. 459), who borrowed it from the same sources. It is no doubt exaggerated, unless the forty-four volumes, of which the unfinished catalogue is said to have consisted, contained also a biography of the authors.

³⁴ ابن ديهيم Ibn Dahim or Ibn Deyham, for it may be pronounced both ways. One of the copies reads ابن ديلم Ibn Deylam.

³⁵ العذري Al-'odhrí; but perhaps it is to be written Al-'adhrí, *i. e.* 'the native of or born at Adra,' on the coast of Granada.

³⁶ Of Ibn Mughíth ['Abdullah Ibn Mohammed?], the poet, I find no account in Al-makkarí; but there occurs in Part I. book v. fo. 124, a long notice of Ibn Mufarraaj, which I here translate.

"In this year (A. H. 378) died the celebrated author Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Yahya 'Ibn Mufarraaj, of Cordova. His great grandfather, Mufarraaj, had been master of the horse to the Sultán Al-hakem I. His father, Ahmed Ibn Yahya, was a man of irreproachable conduct and great piety; he was well known in Cordova by his patronymic Al-kantúrí, from his being born in the quarter of the city called Kantúriah. Mohammed was born in 320 (beginning Jan. 12, A. D. 932). After studying under Kásim Ibn Asbagh, Ibn Deylam, and Al-khoshaní, he set out for the East in 338 (beginning June 30, A. D. 949), and arrived at Mekka, where he profited by the lessons of Ibnu-l-'arábí, continuing as one of his disciples until that theologian died. He then travelled to Juddah

“ and to Medína, visited San’á, Zubeyd, and ’Aden, where he likewise received instruction from the learned of each country. From the latter place he journeyed to Cairo, where he frequented the house of Al-barakí, the friend of Ahmed Al-bezáz, As-seyrafí, and other eminent authors. Lastly, he went to Ghazzah, ’Askalán, (Ascalon), Tiberiyah (Tiberias), Damascus, Tripoli, Beyrút, Seydah, Ar-ramlah, Súr, Kaysariyyah, Kolzúm, Al-farmá, and Alexandria, in all which cities he endeavoured to form the acquaintance of the theologians most distinguished for their learning; so that, at the end of his travels, the number of Sheikhs from whom he received instruction, and whose conversations or writings he afterwards quoted on his return to his native country, is said to have exceeded two hundred and thirty. He himself was cited by Abú ’Omar At-talamankí (of Salamanca), and several other doctors. During his stay in Egypt, Mohammed Ibn Mufarraj became acquainted with Abú Sa’id Ibn Yúnas, the author of the history of Misr, which he copied after him.

“ On the return from his travels in 340 (beginning May 8, A. D. 951), Mohammed attached himself to the suite of Al-hakem, who granted him many favours and distinctions. When that prince ascended the throne, he appointed Mohammed to be Kádí of Ezija, and afterwards of Almeria, and moreover commissioned him to write several works, among which the most celebrated are: a treatise on the *Fikh* or ‘legal decisions, extracted from the body of traditions respecting the Prophet;’ another treatise entitled ‘legal decisions founded on traditions preserved by the *tábi’s* or followers of the companions [of the Prophet];’ and two other works on the decisions of Al-hasan Al-basrí and Az-zahrí; the former consisting of seven thick volumes, the latter divided into several parts. Ibn Mufarraj died in the month of Rejeb, A. H. 378 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 988).”

The above is not the only writer of Mohammedan Spain known by the surname of *Ibn Mufarraj*. There were besides, 1st, Al-hasan Ibn Mohammed (Abú Bekr), who is often quoted by Ibnu-l-khattáb as the author of a history of Mohammedan Spain entitled *الاحتفال بعلم الرجال* (the gathering of information on the history of the Spanish Moslems), and is, no doubt, the same individual mentioned by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 141), under the name of Hasanus ben Mohamad; 2nd, Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn ’Abdi-l-khalíl Ibn Mufarraj, better known by the surname of *Ibnu-r-rúmiyyah* (the son of the Christian or Greek woman), and Al-’ashsháb (the botanist), whose life is in Ibnu-l-khattáb; 3rd, Abú-l-’abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed *Ibn Mufarraj* Ibn Abí-l-khalíl; and lastly, Nábít Ibn Mufarraj Ibn Yúsuf Al-khath’amí. The individual mentioned in this passage is the same alluded to in the chapter treating of the literature of the Spanish Arabs, vol. i. p. 183 of this translation, notwithstanding that his name is there given erroneously “ Mohammed Ibn Yahya,” instead of Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Yahya. The theologian here and there named Az-zahrí, and whom I identified with Abú ’Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa’id, of Basrah, is no other than the celebrated traditionist Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Moslem Az-zahrí, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 574).

³⁷ See vol. i. p. 175 of this translation, and Conde, vol. i. p. 459.

³⁸ Ahmed Ibn Faraj was also the author of a history of the most celebrated rebels during the reign of ’Abdullah, which is frequently quoted by Ibnu Hayyán. See vol. i. pp. 185 and 187 of this translation.

³⁹ Conde (vol. i. p. 481) mentions an author named “ Yaix ben Said de Baena,” who lived at the court of Al-hakem II., and was a favourite of that Sultán, by whom he was employed in transcribing such poems as deserved his approbation. Adh-dhobí gives the life of a poet named Abú ’Othmán Ya’ish Ibn Sa’id Ibn Mohammed Al-warrák (the bookseller or paper merchant), who is reported to have composed several historical works for Al-hakem. He was alive in A. H. 390.

⁴⁰ An-nuwayrî places the death of Al-hakem some time before. His words are as follow: "There are various dates given for the death of Al-hakem: some say that he died of a paralytic stroke, the 4th day of Safar; others are of opinion that he died at the beginning of Moharram, and that his death was kept concealed until Saturday, the 10th of the said month, when it was publicly announced to the people. The latter is the most certain. He was born on Friday, the 1st of Rejeb, A. H. 302, and was sixty-three years, six months, and ten days old when he died. His reign had lasted fifteen years, four months, and some days."—(*Loco laudato*, fo. 469).

CHAPTER VII.

¹ Other authors, like Ibnu-l-athîr and Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 7), say "ten." Of the authors consulted by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 50), one says that "he was twelve years old at the time;" another (*ib.* p. 202), that "he had just attained his eleventh year;" An-nuwayrî (fo. 470) says "twelve."

² According to Ibnu-l-khattîb, in his history of Granada, the appointment of Al-mansûr to the office of Wizîr took place in A. H. 364, two years before the death of Al-hakem. An-nuwayrî (fo. 470) says that it was Hishâm who, upon his accession to the throne, appointed Al-mansûr to the post of Wizîr, giving him at the same time the command of the *shortah* or police-guard, and the direction of the *sekah* or mint.

³ جوزر — which is written جوزر *Jauzar* in some copies of this work.

⁴ Ja'far Ibn 'Alî Ibn Hamdûn, Lord of Masîlah, was the general appointed by Al-mansûr to relieve Ceuta, when that city was besieged by Balkîn Ibn Zeyrî, the founder of the dynasty of the Zeyrites of Africa. He was not a native of Spain, as some authors have erroneously supposed, but of that quarter of Fez called *'Idwatu-l-andalusiin* (or the side of the Andalusians), whence he took the surname of *Andalusî*. Ibn Khallekân, who gives his life, calls him Abû 'Alî Ja'far Ibn 'Alî Ibn Ahmed *Ibn Hamdân*. See Baron Mac Guckin de Slane's excellent translation of that biographer's work, vol. i. p. 326.

⁵ This observation can be applied to no other than 'Abdullah, the only Sultán of the dynasty of Umeyyah in Spain, who succeeded his brother [Al-mundhir], and whose reign was troubled by protracted civil wars.

⁶ Most copies read المغافري *Al-mugháferî*; but there can be no doubt that المعافري *Al-ma'áferî* is the true reading. See p. 403, note 26.

⁷ تاريخ العامرين — If this statement be correct, and the work here mentioned do not form part of the *Matîn*, it may be added to the list of Ibnu Hayyân's historical productions. Conde (vol. i. p. 512) mentions also a history of the Benî Abî 'A'mir written by Ibnu Hayyân.

⁸ Mohammed Ibn Foteys was a celebrated theologian who lived in Cordova during the reigns of 'Abdullah and his grandson and successor 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. Al-makkarí mentions him in the fifth book of the first part, among the Andalusians who travelled to the East. His entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Foteys Al-gháfekí Al-albírí, *i. e.* from Elvira, where he died in Shawwál, 319 (A. D. 931), at the age of ninety. Ibnu-l-khattíb (*Hist. of Granada*, cap. iii.) says that the ancestors of Mohammed Ibn Foteys were originally from the *jund* of Damascus, one of the five military divisions of Syria: the other four were Hems or Emessa, Filistíyn, Kenesrín, and Al-urdán.

⁹ ارادة — Sometimes called Rokádah. See the French translation of Al-bekrí in the twelfth volume of the *Notices et Extraits*, p. 552.

¹⁰ Conde (vol. i. p. 491) calls her *Sobeiha* (Sobeyhah); but all the authors I have consulted write her name صبح Sobha, as printed.

¹¹ لجم محلي — 'an ornamented bridle,' says the text.

¹² Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Hání Al-andalusí Al-azdí, surnamed Abú-l-kásim and Abú-l-hasan, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 679). A collection of his *kassídas* or poems, among which is the one here mentioned, is in the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, *Sale Collection*, K. 21. The volume contains several poems in praise of Mu'izz, the Fátimite, and of Ja'far Ibn 'Alí Al-andalusí.

¹³ This chieftain belonged to the powerful family of the Tojibites, whose frequent rebellions at Saragossa and other towns of the *Upper Thagher* (Aragon) are fully related by Ibnu Hayyán. See the extracts from the *Muktabis*, note 47, p. 441.

¹⁴ The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* intimates that Al-mansúr behaved ungratefully to Sobha; for after ridding himself of Ja'far and Ghálib, he stirred up Hishám against his own mother, and destroyed all her influence in public affairs.

¹⁵ من ارباب الدولة in some copies; others من الفتیان القصر 'of the eunuchs of the palace.' The abridgment من الفتیان المعروفين بالخلفاء الاكابر 'of the eunuchs called great Khalifs.'

¹⁶ Ghálib had greatly distinguished himself in the African wars during the reign of Al-hakem. It was he who overthrew the dynasty of the Bení Idrís and took Al-hasan Ibn Kannún prisoner. He was the captain of a guard chiefly composed of *maulis* or freed slaves, and was the son of a Christian.

¹⁷ والي المدينة — that is, governor of the city (*praefectus urbis*). According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, the duties of this officer were the same as those of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or chief of the police guards. See vol. i. p. 104 of this translation. An office called 'Vadamedina,' no doubt a corruption from Wála-l-medínah, existed at the court of the kings of Aragon. The duties of its holder seem to have been the same with those of the Mohammedan functionary. See the collection of the laws and privileges of Aragon, entitled *Fueros y observancias del Reyno de Aragon*, Zaragoza, 1517, fo. xliii.

¹⁸ روضة الازهار وبهجة النفس و نزهة الابصار — The title of this work is not in Háji Khalfah.

¹⁹ تعاطيت صرف الحادثات فلم ازل .: اراها توفي عند موعدها الحرا
 فله ايام مضت بسبيلها .: فاني لا انسي لها ابدا ذكرا
 تجافت بها عنا الحوادث برهة .: و لا نظرت منها حوادثه شزرا
 ليالي ما يدر الزمان مكانها .: و ابدت لذا منها الطلاقة و البشرى
 و ما هذه الايام الا سجايب .: علي كل ارض تمطر الخير و الشرا

²⁰ Ghálib is here called *النصراني* An-nasrání, which is evidently a mistake for *الناصرى* An-násirí.

²¹ *رايق* — But perhaps *فايق* Fáyik is meant. See p. 175.

²² My copy adds “on the banks of the river of Cordova or Guadalquivir.”

²³ Gold and silver coins with the name of Al-mansúr are very common; some have only his name, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, others Al-hájib Al-mansúr. The oldest I have seen bears the date of 372. There is likewise a very rare copper coin, bearing on one side the inscription *المنصور* Al-mansúr, in Cufic, and on the other a church-bell reversed. There is no date upon it; but there can be no doubt of its having been struck shortly after the expedition of the year 384, which ended in the destruction of the cathedral church of Santiago, the bells of which were carried to Cordova on the shoulders of Christian captives.

²⁴ The word used does not exactly mean ‘bridge,’ but a dam (*sudd*, Sp. *azuda*) thrown across the river in order to collect the waters for the purpose of irrigation, and yet wide enough to serve as a bridge; a very common contrivance in Spain.

²⁵ According to the author of the *Kartás*, Al-hasan had resided in Cordova, as a guest of the K̄halif Al-hakem, from Moharram, A. H. 364 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 974) to A. H. 375 (beginning June 3, A. D. 984), when, owing to a dispute about a large piece of amber which the Idrísite prince possessed, but which he would not make over to Al-hakem, notwithstanding that Khalif had repeatedly asked him for it, and offered him in return any sum of money he should like to fix, his property was confiscated and himself banished from Spain, together with other individuals of the family of Idrís. The block of amber, however, remained in the treasury of the Khalifs, where 'Alí Ibn Hamúd found it on his taking possession of Cordova in A. H. 407 (A. D. 1016).

The word Kanún or Kenún is written by some authors *كنون* Kannún and *جنون* Jennún also.

²⁶ Conde (vol. i. p. 511), who mentions this campaign, says that Al-mansúr left Cordova on the 12th of Dhí-l-hajjah.

²⁷ This passage is not to be found in all the copies of Al-makkarí, and I have in vain looked for it in those preserved in the British Museum. I have therefore translated it such as I found it in the edition of the *Nafhu-t-tib*, made in the eighteenth century by Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik At-telemsání, and which, as I have stated elsewhere, is fuller than the usual ones of the same work, owing to the editor having in many instances given at full length those passages which Al-makkarí only abridged.

²⁸ One of the copies reads "Ibnu-l-gharíf;" but it is a mistake.

²⁹ ابن النجم — Perhaps a mistake for ابن النجم 'the son of the astronomer.' His life is not to be found among those of the illustrious Moslems who visited Spain.

³⁰ السجود — Khayr Ibn Khalífah, in his Bibliographical Repertory, mentions a poet of this name who made a collection of poetry for the use of Al-mansúr.

³¹ Casiri treats in two places (vol. ii. pp. 139 and 148) of this Yúsuf, who was a native of Cordova, but originally from Ramédah, a town of Western Africa.

³² This Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán is no doubt the Maron mentioned by Conde (vol. i. pp. 449, 531).

³³ النكاس *An-nakkás* means 'the seller of ink.' The abridgment reads النكاس *An-nakkás*, 'the coppersmith.'

³⁴ The name of this writer, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 662), in the *Mattmah* by Ibn Khákán (fo. 144), as well as in Adh-dhobí (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 133), was not Mohammed Ibn Isma'il nor Al-huseyn Ibn Mohammed, as stated elsewhere (vol. i. p. 194), but Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Madh'hij Ibn 'Abdillah Al-mad'hijí Az-zubeydí Al-ishbílí (from Seville). He was a pupil of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, and gained so much reputation by his works that Al-hakem II. appointed him to be his son's (Hishám) preceptor. Among other works,—the list of which may be found in Ibn Khallekán,—Az-zubeydí made an abridgment of the *Kitábu-l-'ayn*, an Arabic dictionary generally attributed to Khalíl Ibn Ahmed Al-faráhídí (vol. i. p. 419, *note* 5), a copy of which is in the Royal Library at Madrid, GG 5. I have often had occasion to refer to this dictionary, and have always found it of great assistance in explaining numerous words in use among the Western Arabs. Instead of beginning with the letter |—the first of the alphabet, as the generality of Arabic dictionaries do, it commences with the letter ع *'ayn*. The reason for this unusual arrangement is explained in the preface. It appears that Khalíl, being unwilling to begin his dictionary by the first letter in the alphabet, owing to certain grammatical objections which he fully explains, put all the letters into a bag, and drew out one which happened to be the letter *'ayn*, taking all the letters in succession as they came out. Az-zubeydí wrote besides a work on grammar entitled *Al-wádheh* (the clear expositor), which is greatly praised by the authors of the time. He is said to have been Kádí of Seville, and *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* or chief of the police guards of Cordova. He died in A. H. 379, or, according to Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 80), in 380. His lives of celebrated grammarians, the title of which I have given elsewhere

after Khayr Ibn Khalífah, is not limited, as I there imagined, to those who were natives of Spain, but contains also the lives of Eastern grammarians. See vol. i. p. 474, note 30, of this translation.

³⁵ منيل — which is perhaps meant for the Christian name Emmanuel or Manuel.

³⁶ This individual belonged, no doubt, to the family of Hání, so celebrated in the republic of letters. See vol. i. p. 453 of this translation.

³⁷ Elsewhere called Mohammed Ibn Mutref Ibn Shakhíss. See vol. i. pp. 190, 468.

³⁸ See vol. i. pp. 190, 468, of this translation.

³⁹ البلحي Al-balehí or Al-balhí.

⁴⁰ The author of the *Karttás*, from whom this account seems to have been borrowed, for Al-makkari did not possess a copy of Ibnu Hayyán's valuable history, says و احوال كثيرة من قسي الزاب

⁴¹ قطوط الزبد — *kottút* is the plural of *katt* or *kitt* (Sp. gato); *zubud* is the 'zybethum.'

⁴² Neither the lions nor the tigers are mentioned in my copy of the *Karttás*.

⁴³ من اناب الفيل — The words *náb al-ffl* (elephant's tooth) have passed into the Spanish *marfil*. The word *alfil* or *arfil*, meaning 'a knight in the game at chess,' is likewise derived from the same root, it being well known that in the Indian game that piece is represented by an elephant.

⁴⁴ يدوا بن يعلي اليفروني — He was the chief of the Berber tribe of يفرن Yefrun or Yefren. His father, Ya'la Ibn Mohammed, had been governor of Fez for An-násir ('Abdu-r-rahmán III.), until he was put to death by the tribe of Kotámah in 349.

⁴⁵ This account is not correct: according to the author of the *Karttás*, زيري Zeyrí, or, as Ibn Khallekán writes it, زيري Zírí, died before the town of Ashír, which he was besieging, after having reduced the province of Záb and the districts of Telemsán, شلف Shelf, and Masilah, and causing Hishám to be proclaimed; for it would appear that, notwithstanding his quarrel with Al-mansúr, he still remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah. The cause of his rebellion was a personal one. See Moura's *Karttás*, cap. xxi.

⁴⁶ Probably Zamora, although the Christian chroniclers place the taking of that city, together with those of San Estevan de Gormaz and Coyançá, in the autumn of 984.

⁴⁷ This is elsewhere said to have been his forty-eighth expedition to the land of the infidels, but neither statement is correct; for even supposing that Al-mansúr had made two yearly expeditions,—one in the spring and the other in the autumn,—since the death of Al-hakem, that number could not be made up.

⁴⁸ ياقب Yákob for Jacobus; the real Arabic name is Ya'kúb. The passage is interesting, as it shows how far popular traditions common to the Christians found their way among a hostile race professing a different religion.

⁴⁹ Conde (vol. i. p. 530) has erroneously placed this campaign in 384, whereas he describes the expedition which left Cordova in Safar, 387, as directed against Alava and Navarre.

⁵⁰ مدينة غليسية *Medínah Ghalisiyah* or the city of Galicia. The word *medínah* is often used by ancient writers in the sense of capital. See vol. i. p. 529, note 2. But what is here meant by *Medínah Ghalisiyah* it is not easy to determine. Ibnu Hayyán repeatedly calls Zamora by that name, وسورة هي مدينة و غليسية— and Samúrah (Zamora) is the [large] city of Galicia; but it is evident that Zamora cannot be the city here intended. M. Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 445) is of opinion that by *Medínah Ghalisiyah* the author means Gallegos, a village not far from Ciudad Rodrigo; but I think differently: the word *medínah* is always used to express a large and populous city; and it is unreasonable to suppose that it should have been given to a mere village, of the existence of which during the middle ages we have not the least proof. The wording of the text leads me to suppose that by *Medínah Ghalisiyah* the author means the same city of Coria, of which he has just made mention, و دخل علي مدينة قورية لها و صل الي مدينة غليسية

⁵¹ قصر ابي دانس Idrísí mentions a port on the coast of Al-gharb or Western Ocean called Kasr Abí Dánis.

⁵² فتراش in all the copies. M. Romey (*ubi supra*), Farthás. The fortress called Shant Beláy (San Pelayo or San Payo) might very well be the Sakhr Beláy mentioned in vol. i. p. 291 of this translation, and which I conjectured, without sufficient foundation, to be the Sierra de Covadonga. See also p. 546, note 17.

⁵³ دير قسان in all the copies except the Gotha MS., which reads دير قسطان Deyr Kastán or Kostán. Romey (*loco laudato*, p. 446) reads Deyr-Kosmán, or the monastery Saint Cosmo.

⁵⁴ بلنبوا—M. Romey reads *Belbenu* by the alteration of one point. The place called مرسية Morasiah is the peninsula of Morazo, on the coast of Vigo.

⁵⁵ بليقة—This castle M. Romey (*ubi supra*) conjectures to be Vallecós, near Ciudad Rodrigo.

⁵⁶ من صوف [خيوان] البحر — literally, 'of wool of sea-monsters.'

⁵⁷ وكسآين عنبريين in all the copies, that of Gotha not excepted. But what is meant by dresses 'anbariin (of amber) I cannot conjecture. Neither can I guess what the author means by the word مريشات which is not to be found in dictionaries.

⁵⁸ فروي فذك — The word فرو *faru* or *foru* means 'a skin-jacket and the lining of a dress;' hence the Spanish *forro*, and the French *fourrure*. The *funk* is described by Ad-demíri as a quadruped of the rat tribe.

⁵⁹ ابني امية اين اقبار الدحي .: منكم و اين نجومها والكواكب
غابت اسود منكم عن غابها .: فلذلك حاز الملك هذا التغلب

⁶⁰ This is the battle of Calatañazor, about which so many wonders are related by Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi*, lib. iv. pp. 84-88; Rodericus Toletanus, *De Rebus Hispania*, lib. v. cap. 16; and in the *Cronica de España*, Zamora, 1543.

⁶¹ Conde (vol. i. p. 548) says three days before the end Ramadhán, *i. e.* on the 27th, which answers to August 9, A. D. 1002. An-nuwayri is the only author who places the death of Al-mansúr in 393. وكانت وفاة في اقصي الثغور بمدينة سالم في سنة ثلث و تسعين و ثلثماية في طريق الغزو
"And the death of Al-mansúr happened in the year 393, at Medinaceli, on the extreme frontier, as he was
"returning from one of his military expeditions."

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

¹ الاستظهار والغالبة علي من انكر فضائل الصقالبة — which, literally translated, means “clear and victorious arguments against those who deny the excellences of the Slavonians.”

² Our author gives the life of Abú Bekr Al-azrak (Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-misri), in the sixth book of the first Part, among those of the illustrious Moslems who left their native places to travel in Spain; but it is there said that he went to Spain during the reign of Al-hakem II. [350-66]. He was born at Misr (Old Cairo) in 343 (A. D. 954); but left his native country, and went to Cairwán, where he settled. Not choosing to take part with the Shiites, who were then all-powerful in Africa, he was imprisoned at Mahdiyah (Mehedia), and passed some time in confinement. He was at last set at liberty, and allowed to set out for Spain, where he arrived in 349. He died at Cordova in 385 (A. D. 995).

³ Háji Khalfah (v. *akhbár*) gives the title of this work thus: اخبار الفقهاء المتأخرين من اهل قرطبة — “The history of the Cordovan Faqihs in later times.”

⁴ حفظ الغريب — “I excel in knowing by heart obsolete words.”

⁵ The word اولق *aulak*, from الالق *alaka*, means ‘folly, insanity;’ مالوق *málúk*, whence the Spanish *loco* is probably derived, means ‘a man who is out of his senses.’ The answer returned by Sá’id is that of a man imperfectly acquainted with his own language.

⁶ قد غاض في البحر كتاب الفصوص .: و هكذا كل ثقل يغوض
عاد الي معدنه انما .: توجد في قعر البحر الغصوص

⁷ The text reads دينار دراهم

⁸ بدايع البداية — A work so entitled is mentioned by Háji Khalfah, who attributes it to Jemálu-d-dín Abú-l-hasan ‘Alí Ibn Dháfer Al-azdí, a native of Cairo, who died in A. H. 623 (A. D. 1226).

- 9 كان ريح الروض لما اتت .: فتت علينا مسك عطار
كانما بريقنا طائر .: يحمل ياقوتا بمنقار
- 10 اتتك ابا عامر وردة .: يذكرك المسك انفاسها
كعذرا ابصرها مبصر .: فغطت باكمامها راسها

¹¹ There were various Spanish Moslems known by the surname of "Ibnu-l-'aríf," or the son of the inspector of works (Sp. alarife). Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 67) gives the life of one whose name was Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed As-senhájí. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 135) mentions another, named Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa, who wrote a work which is preserved in the library of the Escorial, No. 728; but as the former is said to have died in A. H. 536, and the latter in 516, neither of them can be identified with the poet here alluded to, who is probably no other than the Abú-l-kásim Huseyn Ibn Al-walíd mentioned above, p. 190. Conde (vol. i. p. 518) says that Ibnu-l-'aríf presented to Al-mansúr, on his return from one of his campaigns, a book of poetry entitled *Kitábu-l-humám* (the book of death). I should think, however, that *Kitábu-l-hamám* (the book of the ring-dove) would be a preferable reading.

- 12 عشوت الي قصر عباسة .: وقد جدل النوم حراسها
فالقيتها وهي في خدرها .: وقد صرع السكر اناسها
فقلت اسار علي هجعة .: فقلت بلي فرمت كاسها
ومدت يديها الي وردة .: يحاكي لك الطيب انفاسها
كعذرا ابصرها مبصر .: فغطت باكمامها راسها
وقالت خف الله لا تفضح .: في ابنة عمك عباسها
فوليت منها علي غفلة .: ولا حذت ناسي ولا ناسها

Instead of عشوت in the first verse, B. reads غدوت "I went early in the morning;" and انفاسها instead of اناسها at the end of the second verse.

¹³ The word translated by 'tray' is سفاط *safát*, whence the Spanish word 'azafate.'

- 14 ابا عامر هل غير جدواك واكف .: وهل غير من عاداك في الارض خايف
يسوق اليك الدهر كل غريبة .: و اعجب ما يلقاه عندك واصف

- و شايح نور صاغا هامر الحيا .: علي حافيتها عبقر و رفارف
 و لها تنها الحسن فيها تقابلت .: عليها بانواع الهادي الوصايف
 كمثل الطبأ البستكة كئسا .: تظللها بالياسين السقايف
 و اعجب منها انهن نواظر .: الي بركة ضمت اليها الطرايف
 حصاها الالي سايح في عباها .: من الرقش مسوم اللعاين زاحف
 تري ماتراة العين في جنباتها .: من الوحش حتي بينهن السلاحف
 15 و اعجب منها غادة في سفينة .: مكللة "قصبوا اليها المهاتف
 اذا راعها موج من الماء تتقي .: بسكانها ما اندرتة العواصف
 متي كانت الحسنأ ربان مركب .: تصرف في يني يديه الجاذف
 و لم تر عيني في البلاد حديقة .: تنقلها في الراحتين الوصايف
 و لا غرو ان ساقنت معاليك روضة .: و شتها ازاهير الربى و الزخارف
 فانت امر لو رمت نقل متالغ .: و رضوي ذوتها من سطاك نواسف
 اذا قلت قولا او بدهت بديهة .: فكلني له اني لمجدك واصف
 16 لقد عقدت محبتها بقلبي .: كما عقد الحليب بخبشار

Some copies read *خبشار* as printed; others, and among them that of Gotha, have *حنبشار* *hanboshár*.

- 17 يا حرز كل مخوف .: و امان كل مشرد .: و معز كل مذل
 يا سلك كل فضيلة .: و نظام كل جزيلة .: و ثرا كل معيل
 عبد جذبت بضعه .: و رفعت من مقداره .: اهدي اليك بايل
 سميته غرسية و بعثته .: ليصح فيه تمالي و تفاولي

"The Gotha MS. and my own copy afford a different reading: in the second hemistich of the first verse *نصبوا اليها* فانت امر *لو نقل متوالغ* "the voices of praise reach her like so many currents," and in the second hemistich of the sixth

¹⁸ قبيصاً البرقعة — a *kamiss* (Sp. *camisa*, Fr. *chemise*) made of patch-work.

¹⁹ بردعة — *bard'ah*, in Spanish 'albarda.'

²⁰ I have carefully collated this passage with a copy of the *Seráju-l-molúk*, by Abú Bekr At-tortúshí, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 105.

²¹ مقدم *mukaddam* means, properly speaking, 'a leader of the van.' It is the *almocaden* of the old Spanish chronicles. In more modern times *almocaden* was translated into 'adelantado,' which has a similar meaning. See Conde, vol. i. p. 501, where this anecdote is very differently related.

²² جلس للعرض والتميز والبيدان — These three words have been preserved in Spanish. *Al-ardh* (the act of passing review) is now *alarde*; *tamíz* (distinction, separation) is the Spanish *tamiz*, 'a sieve;' *al-meydán* (a hippodrome or circus for exercising cavalry) is also used in old Spanish works under the corrupt termination of *almidana*.

²³ وانزمار البرزالي — Some copies read وانزمار 'Wanzemár.'

²⁴ The speech delivered by the Berber is full of puns, which no translation can well express.

²⁵ No doubt on account of their being Christian slaves.

²⁶ لواة اواة و كم ذا اري .: اكثر من تذكار اواة
ما لامري حول و لا قوة .: الحول و القوة لله

²⁷ اما تري عفو ابي عامر .: لا بد ان تتبعه منه
كذلك الله اذا ما عفي .: عن عبد ادخله الجنة

²⁸ No traces whatever are left of the castle and city of Az-záhirah, which Al-mansúr is said to have built in imitation of the city of Az-zahrá, the favourite country-seat of the Cordovan Khalifs. Idrísí makes no mention of it, which is not to be wondered at, since at the time he wrote his geography the city had ceased to exist. The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says that Az-záhirah stood at about twelve miles from the capital in an eastern direction, and was kept with a splendour and magnificence unparalleled even in the annals of the East. Ibnu Khaldún, Al-homaydí, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other writers I have consulted, add nothing to the above statement. An-nuwayrí is the only historian who, in a passage which I will afterwards give, affords us a few details. Through him we know that the city was also called باليس Bális (Velez?), and that it was so close to Cordova that the rebellion of Al-muhdi and the dethronement of Hishám, which happened about the hour of noon, were known there the same day. The city and its palaces were afterwards entirely destroyed by the Berbers, and the building

materials gradually removed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. No wonder then that no vestige or tradition should mark the site of Al-mansúr's palace!

²⁹ Al-mansúr is said to have granted privileges and immunities to all those who built or planted in the neighbourhood of his palace.

CHAPTER II.

¹ An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 474) relates that when the news of Al-mansúr's death reached Cordova, the people assembled in great numbers about the palace of Az-zahrá, where Hishám was residing at the time, asked to see their sovereign, and expressed the wish that he should take the reins of government into his hands; that Hishám dispatched to them one of his chief eunuchs, named Fáyiz, saying that he had already appointed 'Abdu-l-malek to the post of Hájb, and to induce them to go home; but that upon their refusal to disperse, 'Abdu-l-malek in person went out at the head of his guards and charged the mob, making great slaughter among them.

² Elsewhere written ليونس Liúnis, which is also meant for León. 'Abdu-l-malek made two incursions into Galicia,—one in 394, shortly after his father's death,—the other in 398. One of them ended in the entire destruction of Leon. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxi.) places the expedition to Leon in 394, and says that 'Abdu-l-malek was defeated in the attempt.

The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says that 'Abdu-l-malek died of poison which his brother, 'Abdu-rahmán, caused to be given to him in an apple.

³ These events are differently related by An-nuwayrî, who gives many interesting details upon the rebellion of Al-muhdi and the assassination of 'Abdu-rahmán. After giving the deed of inauguration in nearly the same words as Al-makkarî, the author proceeds to say,—“ And when 'Abdu-rahmán saw his wishes fulfilled, he abandoned himself to all manner of excesses. After this, he bethought him of making war [upon the Christians]. Hishám having expressed a wish that he and the soldiers under his orders should put on turbans—a custom which was not in use then—they all did so, and having unfurled their banners, they marched [through the streets of the city] in the most despicable plight, being an object of ridicule and contempt to the assembled spectators who witnessed their departure. This took place on the 12th day of Jumáda the first (Jan. 12, A. D. 1009), and the expedition was called in derision *Ghazátu-t-tín* (the war of the mud). 'Abdu-rahmán had scarcely reached Toledo, when the news was brought him at the same time of the rebellion of Mohammed, the deposition of Hishám, and the destruction of Az-záhirah. The first act of 'Abdu-rahmán, on the receipt of this alarming intelligence, was to make his men swear that they would remain faithful to his cause; but, although they all took the oath, they shortly after deserted him and went over to his enemy. The affair happened thus: Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, the father of Mohammed, had some time before, under the administration of 'Abdu-l-malek, made an attempt to seize the throne and to depose Hishám; but intelligence of his plans having been conveyed to that Hájb, he was arrested and put to death in the year 397 (Sept. 26, A. D. 1006). His son Mohammed, a daring man, who was in the secret, would readily have followed up his father's ambitious views, but the fear of 'Abdu-l-malek prevented his

" carrying his design into execution, and he lived in concealment. When, as above related, 'Abdu-rahmán succeeded his brother 'Abdu-l-malek, and prevailed upon his sovereign, Hishám, to appoint him heir to the empire, Mohammed seized the opportunity which the unpopularity of that measure afforded him, and, profiting by the absence of the Hájb, and the want of troops in Cordova, set on foot a conspiracy which proved eventually successful. Mohammed was greatly assisted and encouraged in his plans by two influential men, Hasan, son of Yahya, the theologian, and Mutref Ibn Tha'lebah. During his concealment, Mohammed had associated with a number of criminals and adventurers, men ready for any undertaking, however great or dangerous; he had communicated his plans to them, and by giving each five, ten, or more *mithkáls* of gold, he had united under his banners nearly four hundred men. He was, moreover, assisted in his project by a portion of the Bení Merwán, who had seen with indignation the royal power pass from the hands of their own family into those of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, and who were ready to join in any desperate attempt against the latter. On his departure from Cordova, 'Abdu-rahmán had provided for the administration of affairs; he had inspected the treasury, and issued the requisite orders, and he had appointed Ahmed Ibn Hazm and 'Abdullah Ibn ^{عمر} 'Amrah, better known by the surname of Ibn 'Askalájah, who was one of the Bení 'A'mir, to govern the city during his absence. Shanshúl ['Abdu-rahmán] thought, no doubt, that things would go on as prosperously as ever for him, and that the power of his family was solidly established. He was mistaken; Mohammed was all the while trying to overthrow it. About this time a rumour was prevalent in Cordova that a rebel would shortly rise against the Bení Abí 'A'mir and overthrow their power. The report having reached the ears of Ibn 'Askalájah, he ordered a most scrupulous search to be made in the capital; but, although the houses of several citizens were strictly searched, and other measures were put into practice to detect the criminals, the authorities could not discover any clue to the conspiracy. At length, on Tuesday, the 15th of Jumáda the second (Feb. 14, A. D. 1009), Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, having chosen thirty of the most resolute among his followers, directed them to arm themselves and to enter Cordova by the gate of the bridge (*Bábu-l-kantarah*). They were to enter one by one, and post themselves on the rampart ^{السترة} overlooking the road and the river, as if they were so many idlers; the spot being one much frequented by the inhabitants of Cordova, who repaired thither in the evening for the sake of recreation and pastime. They were to remain there until they should hear the word of command, which Al-muhdi promised to give them about sunset. The men did as they were bidden; they entered Cordova by the gate of the bridge, and placed themselves in the spot which had been pointed out to them. Mohammed, in the mean time, mounted on a mule, crossed the bridge alone, and presented himself at the gate of Ash-shakkál. The gate happened to be locked; but Mohammed, assisted by another party of his friends, who were standing close to the gate of Al-kantarah, threw it open and entered under the gateway. The guards within attempted in vain to stop their passage; at a signal from their chief the rest of the conspirators ran to the spot, and having killed all those who opposed them, rushed through the gate into the city. The next thing done was to attack the house of the governor, Ibn 'Askalájah, who was found in his harem, drinking wine with two of his women. Mohammed rushed into the apartment, slew him with his own hand, and, having cut off the head of his victim, triumphantly showed it to his followers. At the news of this success the partisans of Mohammed flocked round their chief from all quarters of the city.

" The rebels went next to the royal palace, but finding all the doors locked and strongly barricaded, they began to break through the walls in two places, near the gate of the lions (*Bábu-s-sábá'*), and near the gate of the gardens (*Bábu-l-jenán*). The guards within made some resistance; they were, however, overpowered, and Mohammed penetrated into the palace by the *Bábu-s-suddah*. They say that the people and the garrison of Az-záhirah received the tidings of Al-muhdi's rising the same day at

“ the hour of *'asr*; but thinking it a stratagem of the governor [to try their fidelity], they refused to give credit to the news: at last, when messengers came to them in succession, and they heard that Mohammed had actually taken possession of the royal palace, they fortified themselves and passed the night [under arms].

“ Soon after Mohammed had entered the royal palace, he received a message from Hishám, saying that if he spared his life, he would abdicate the empire in his favour. Mohammed's answer was thus conceived: ‘ God be praised! my object is not to put to death the people of my family, but merely to revenge the injury done to myself and to my cousin. Let Hishám resign the empire to me, and he shall be treated as he ought to be.’ Having then sent for the theologians and chief citizens of Cordova, Mohammed told them to prepare a deed, which Hishám signed in their presence, abdicating the empire in favour of Mohammed, who passed that night in the palace.

“ Meanwhile not a soul stirred at *بالس* Bális or Az-záhirah, and, notwithstanding the inhabitants of that place were in great number, and all addicted to the party of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, nothing was done by them towards checking the insurrection. Among the functionaries and grandees residing there at the time, were Abú 'Amru Ibn Hazm, 'Abdullah Ibn Salmah, Ibn Abí 'Obeyd, Ibn Jehwar, and a multitude of theologians, Wizírs, Slavonian pages and eunuchs, officers and men of the various divisions of the army, store-keepers, civil officers, &c.

“ On Wednesday morning, Mohammed I. appointed his cousin, Mohammed, the son of Al-mugheyrah, to be his Hájb, and another cousin of his, whose name was Umeyyah Ibn Is'hák, to be governor of the city (Sáhibu-l-medínah). One of the first acts of his government was to authorize the above two functionaries to enter on the rolls of the army all those who chose to enlist, whatever their rank or profession might be. Accordingly, individuals of all classes, and of the most peaceful pursuits, as men given up to devotion, faquirs, theologians, lawyers, the Imáms and muezzins of the mosques, merchants, and rich people, presented themselves to take up arms and to receive the gratuity distributed on such occasions to those who enlisted; their example being soon followed by the country people and the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. This done, Mohammed dispatched his Hájb, Mohammed Ibnu-l-mugheyrah, with a portion of the newly-formed militia, to attack the people of Bális. At his approach, the Wizírs, the Slavonian eunuchs, and officers devoted to the cause of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, applied for a safe conduct, and having obtained it, repaired to the camp of the Hájb Mohammed, who, after upbraiding them for adhering to the party of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, granted them pardon and dismissed them. Only one remained with him; his name was *ابن الشرس* Ibnu-sh-sharas, and Mohammed purposely kept him near his person, that he might point out to him the spot where the money, jewels, stores, and other valuable objects, were kept at Bális. The inhabitants made no resistance, and Mohammed and his men entered the town on Wednesday night. The spoil made on this occasion was incalculable. In addition to what was taken by the troops at Az-záhirah, all the houses occupied by the *maulis* or partisans of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, as well as the splendid country residences of the Wizírs and other rich people round Bális, were gutted of all their contents, the doors even were torn from their hinges, and the buildings pulled down for the sake of the wood. At length, after the sack had lasted four consecutive days, Mohammed commanded his men to abstain. It is asserted that the sums which entered Mohammed's coffers, as his share of the spoil, amounted to one million five hundred thousand dinárs and two millions and one hundred thousand dirhems of Andalus, without counting about two hundred thousand dinárs more which were afterwards found secreted underground. On the 19th of Jumáda the second (Feb. 18, A. D. 1009), Az-záhirah was set on fire and reduced to ashes. On the same day Mohammed was proclaimed Khalif in Cordova, and the *khotbah* was recited in his name in the mosque, instead of being recited, as before, in the name of Hishám and

“Shanshúl; a proclamation, moreover, was afterwards read, in which the latter was cursed and his misdeeds were enumerated: after which another proclamation was read, in which Mohammed ordered the cessation of the existing forms of government and substituted new ones. On Friday, the 25th of the same month (Feb. 24, A. D. 1009), Mohammed repaired to the mosque and said prayers with the people; he then proclaimed himself, and took the title of *Al-muhdi-billah*. After Mohammed had descended from the pulpit, one of the Imáms ascended it and read a proclamation calling upon the people to put to death Shanshúl and his followers: people then came to Cordova from the provinces and from the most remote parts of Andalus, exhibiting a very martial aspect. Mohammed appointed to the command of this army doctors, butchers, saddlers, and weavers, and he went out with them to the Fahssu-s-sorádik (the field of the tents), close to Cordova, where he encamped, ordering the people from the provinces to encamp round his tent.”

⁴ The same historian, An-nuwayrí, gives the following details upon the assassination of Shanshúl. Shanshúl had just arrived at Toledo when the intelligence of these events was conveyed to him. He immediately returned to Kal'at Rabáh (Calatrava), where he bethought him of swearing in his men a second time. The soldiers, however, showed no inclination to do so, and, when applied to, refused, saying, ‘We have been sworn in once, we will not take a second oath.’ This made Shanshúl suspect that all was not right, and he sent for Mohammed Ibn Ya'la Az-zenátí, who was one of the disaffected, and asked him what he thought of their respective positions. Mohammed answered him, ‘I can only tell thee that neither myself nor any of those who form part of this army will draw a sword in thy defence.’—‘And how am I to know this, what proof hast thou of the army's disaffection?’—‘Only order thy cooks and scullions with all their utensils on the road to Toledo, and set out afterwards towards them, and thou wilt then see who follows thee and who does not.’—‘Thou art right,’ retorted Shanshúl, ‘I shall do as thou advisest.’ There was at that time with Shanshúl a Christian count named *ابن قومس* [ابن قومس] Ibn 'Aumas, who accompanied him to Cordova in the hope of obtaining his aid against other Christian counts who were his enemies. Perceiving the bad plight of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's affairs, the count advised him to retire with him to his dominions, and to wait there until the storm should have passed over, whence they might both return at the head of an army, and humble their enemies. But Shanshúl refused, saying, ‘No, I cannot do that, I must needs show myself in the neighbourhood of Cordova; for, if I ever reach that capital, I am in hopes that the people will rise in my favour and against the usurper.’—‘Listen to my advice,’ replied the count, ‘and do not throw away a certainty for what is doubtful. By Allah! thy present position is one of imminent danger, and fortune has declared against thee; the army is in favour of the usurper and against thee.’—‘No,’ said Shanshúl impatiently, ‘I will go to Cordova.’—‘Do as thou pleasest,’ said the count, ‘I shall not abandon thee, though it be against my advice, and with the conviction that we go to certain death.’ They accordingly set out from Calatrava on the road to Cordova. As they were proceeding towards that capital, messenger after messenger came to inform Shanshúl of the state of affairs in that city, and how the people had declared for Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár [Mohammed], and were making common cause with him. Still Shanshúl persevered and would go on. At last, on the 29th of Jumáda the second (Feb. 28), the army halted at a place called Manzal Hání, where the whole of the Berbers deserted during the night. The ensuing day, the rest of the troops followed the example of the Berbers, with the exception of a few of his own private servants and Count Ibn 'Aumas, who, with his Christian followers, remained faithful to him. Again did the Christian count advise Shanshúl to consider his dangerous situation, saying, ‘It is time yet; let us fly at once, before we are utterly prevented from doing so.’—‘No,’ said Shanshúl, ‘I will go on to Cordova; but, before I present myself there, I will

“ send my Kádí to obtain a safe conduct for me.’ Even this Shanshúl neglected to do, and he marched “ until he arrived at a monastery called دبير شوس Deyr Shús, where he halted on Wednesday, the 3rd “ of Rejeb (March 3). Meanwhile Mohammed, having heard of the approach of Shanshúl and the “ desertion of his troops, dispatched against him his Hájib with two hundred horse. At some distance “ from Deyr Shús the new Hájib detached a body of cavalry under the command of an officer named “ ابن ذري Ibn Dhari, who had formerly been a *mauli* of [the Khalif] Al-hakem. Ibn Dhari used all “ possible diligence, and arrived before Deyr Shús on Friday morning at break of day. On the approach “ of Ibn Dhari, Shanshúl showed himself at one of the loop-holes of the monastery, and said, ‘ What dost “ thou want? I am ready to obey Al-muhdi.’ After which he ordered the gates to be opened, and he “ surrendered himself, together with Ibn ‘Aumas and the Christians of his suite. In the afternoon of the “ same day, the Hájib himself came up with the rest of the forces, and having previously sent under “ an escort to Cordova the harem of Shanshúl, which consisted of no less than seventy women, took the “ road to that capital with all his prisoners. They relate that, on the Hájib’s arrival at Deyr Shús, “ Shanshúl went towards him and kissed the earth before him several times. One of those present “ having told him to kiss the hoofs of the Hájib’s horse, Shanshúl did so, and kissed besides the fore and “ hind legs of the animal. All the while, Ibn ‘Aumas uttered not a word, and had his eyes fixed on the “ earth. Before setting out the Hájib made sign to one of his men to take off Shanshúl’s cap تانسوة— “ which was done. In this manner they marched until sunset, when they halted. On the morning “ of the ensuing day, before starting, the Hájib ordered his men to pinion Shanshúl, which was done, “ both his hands being tied with great force behind his back. In this way, Shanshúl marched some “ distance, until, unable to bear the pain any longer, he exclaimed, ‘ Have pity on me, and untie my “ hands, that I may rest awhile.’ Being moved to compassion, the Hájib ordered his men to untie his “ hands; but he was no sooner free, then he drew, as quick as lightning, a knife which he kept concealed “ in his sleeve, and aimed a blow at the soldier who stood nearest to him: before, however, he could wound “ any one, he was overpowered, and the Hájib, coming up to him, dispatched him with his own hand. “ The same was done with the Christian count, and the heads of both were conveyed to Cordova. The “ body of Shanshúl, moreover, was by Mohammed’s order taken to the capital, where it was subjected to “ the following operation. The belly was opened and emptied of its contents, and stuffed with scented “ roots to preserve it. His head was fixed on a spear, and planted at the gate of As-suddah. The body “ was then dressed in a shirt and trowsers, and nailed to a stake at the same gate. In addition “ to this, an officer named الرسان Ar-rasán, who had been *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or captain of the guards of “ Shanshúl, was directed to stand beside the body of his master, and to cry out within hearing of “ the spectators, ‘ This is Shanshúl Al-mámún; may the curse of God fall on his head and on mine!’ “ This happened on Saturday, the 4th of Rejeb (March 4).

“ The administration of Shanshúl had lasted four months and some days. He was a man of vicious “ habits and depraved morals, indulging in all manner of debauchery and excesses. He was, moreover, “ an impious man, and things were said of him ill becoming a Moslem. For instance, hearing once “ the *muezzin* summon the people [of Cordova] to the mosque in the well-known words, ‘ Come, come to “ prayer!’ Shanshúl observed to those who were about him, ‘ That man had better say, come to deny “ God.’ Other similar impious expressions are attributed to him. Shanshúl left no posterity, and in him “ ended the dynasty of the Bení Abí ‘A’mir.

The word Shanjúl, or, as An-nuwayrî writes it, شنشول Shanshúl, is written *Sanciolus* by Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxi.), and *Sanchuelo* by Conde (vol. i. p. 562). *Sanciolus* or *Sanctiolus* is the diminutive of *Sanctius* (Sancho), *i. e.* the little Sancho or *el Sanchuelo*, and it is not improbable that

the word *Shanshúl* was intended by the Arabs for *Sanchuelo*, notwithstanding the explanation given of it by Al-khazrejí. See Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxiv.

⁵ By "the son of Alfonso," the author means, no doubt, Sancho Garcés, Count of Castile, who, according to Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxiii.), and the *Annales Complutenses* (sub *Æra* *MXLVII.*), lent his assistance to Suleymán. But the events here recorded will be better understood with the aid of the following passage. "After appointing a man named Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd to be his Wizir, Suleymán and his men marched to Wáda-l-hajarah (Guadalaxara), which they took. This done, Suleymán wrote to Wádheh Al-'ámirí, then governor of Medínah-Sélim (Medinaceli), persuading him to embrace his cause and to forsake that of the usurper; but Wádheh, who, shortly after the execution of Shanshúl, had sent in his allegiance to Cordova and had declared for Al-muhdi, remained faithful to his oath; and, having declined the advantageous offers made to him by Suleymán, prepared to defend himself. Meanwhile Al-muhdi, hearing of Wádheh's danger, sent a body of cavalry to his aid, under the command of a eunuch named Kaysar; but after several sanguinary encounters with the Berbers, the troops of the Khalif were defeated, Kaysar killed, and Wádheh was obliged to shut himself up in Medinaceli. From this place, however, Wádheh was enabled so to molest the Berbers and to intercept their supplies, that for fifteen consecutive days the troops of Suleymán were compelled to feed on the roots and plants of the earth. At last, unable to bear privation and hunger any longer, the Berbers determined upon sending an embassy to ابن مادوية Ibn Máduyah, the Christian, asking him for provisions, and to become a mediator between them and Al-muhdi. Suleymán accordingly dispatched into the Christian country two ambassadors, who, being admitted to the presence of the infidel [chief], said to him, 'Come to our camp and accompany us to Medinaceli; we want thee to negotiate for us a peace with Wádheh, the governor, and his master, Al-muhdi; if he consent, well and good; if he refuse, we will march to Cordova and fight the usurper.' It appears that when the messengers reached the castle of Ibn Máduyah, they found already there ambassadors both from Wádheh and from Al-muhdi, who were endeavouring to gain the Christian [chief] over to their cause by the most enticing offers. They proposed, if he would only refuse his aid to Suleymán, to surrender to him several fortresses on that frontier, and give him besides a number of horses, mules, and money, together with jewels, dresses, perfumes, and a variety of other presents; but the Berber ambassadors having promised in their master's name, that if Suleymán was victorious over his enemy, he would also give up, without the least hesitation, as much as Wádheh and Al-muhdi had offered, Ibn Máduyah rejected the offers of the latter, and promised his aid to Suleymán. Shortly after this, the Christian sent the Berbers one thousand waggons laden with flour of wheat and barley, and other provisions, besides one thousand head of cattle, fifteen thousand sheep, and every article of dress which they might want. Greatly comforted by the arrival of these supplies, the Berbers marched to Medinaceli and made propositions of peace to Wádheh; but, upon the refusal of that governor to enter into any sort of accommodation with Suleymán, the Berbers set out for Cordova in Moharram of the year 400 (Aug. or Sept. A. D. 1009). Wádheh started after them with a view to molest them on their march; but having imprudently engaged in battle with the Berbers, he was defeated with great loss, his camp was plundered, and he himself had to escape to Cordova with a few followers."

⁶ Compare the account of Al-homaydí, as translated in the Appendix to this volume, p. viii., *et seq.*, and Conde, vol. i. cap. cv. The account of An-nuwayrí is as follows:—"Meanwhile, although the danger was imminent, Al-muhdi was living in the midst of pleasures and dissipation, without taking any measures for the defence of his capital. At last, the arrival of Wádheh and the fugitives from

“Medinaceli, in number about four hundred horse, roused him from his apathy. Having pitched his tents in a plain outside of Cordova, called Fahssu-s-sorádik (the field of the tents), he had trenches dug all round his camp, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. Shortly after, one of his eunuchs, named بلين Buleyk, made his appearance in Cordova, at the head of about two hundred horse, being hotly pursued by the vanguard of Suleymán’s army, which was soon after observed to encamp in sight of Cordova. Al-muhdi then issued an order, which was announced to the people by means of the public crier, enjoining all grown-up men, without distinction of classes, to take up arms and join him at Fahssu-s-sorádik. On Saturday, the 13th of Rabi’ the first (Nov. 3, A. D. 1009), the two hosts met. The Berbers commenced the battle by a charge of three thousand of their best cavalry. So spirited was the attack, that the undisciplined militia of Cordova were unable to sustain it, and they fled towards the capital in the utmost confusion, the Berbers pursuing them sword in hand, and dealing death among them. Great numbers died also in attempting to cross the river, or were taken prisoners. Wádheh fled towards the *Thagher* (the province of Toledo). As to Al-muhdi, he returned to his palace, and, having gone to the place where Hishám Al-muyyed lay concealed, took him out and made him sit on a raised throne under the gate of An-nakkál (*Bábú-l-nakkál*), leading to the bridge, that those passing by might see him. He then sent his Kádí, Ibn Dhakwán, with a message to the Berbers, to say, ‘I am Hishám’s inferior; he is the Commander of the Faithful, and I am only his lieutenant and his Hájib; the empire is his.’ The Berbers answered him,—‘Go along, thou liar! Only yesterday thy master had the death of Hishám announced to the people of this city, and thou didst say the funeral service for him. Thou now tellest us that Hishám is alive and that the Khalifate is his. Whom are we to believe?’ The Kádí excused himself as well as he could, and returned to Cordova. The inhabitants of that capital, in the mean time, went out in crowds to meet Suleymán, who honoured and welcomed them. After which, seeing the inhabitants favourably disposed towards him, he entered Cordova without opposition, and proceeded immediately to the royal palace: Al-muhdi, however, could not be found; he had taken flight.

⁷ The author is mistaken. Although Al-muhdi might have implored once before the assistance of the Christians, he did not obtain it, until he had been expelled from Cordova by his rival Suleymán; and then, it was not the Count of Castile—who had espoused the cause of his rival Suleymán—but two Catalanian counts, Bermond or Veremundus, of Barcelona, and Armengaud, of Urgel, who joined him with their forces. The following passage from An-nuwayrí will throw some light upon these events.

“Suleymán had no sooner gained possession of Cordova, than Ibn Máduyah applied to him for the fulfilment of the stipulated conditions and the surrender of the fortresses on the frontier; but Suleymán said to him, ‘It is not time yet, the castles are not yet in our power; as soon as they are, I will surrender them to thee, according to our agreement.’ Satisfied with this answer, Ibn Máduyah left Cordova on Monday, the 23rd of Rabi’ the first (Nov. 13, A. D. 1009).

“After this, Suleymán distributed the government of the provinces [among his partisans]; he quartered the Berbers at Az-zahrá, sent Hishám back to his prison, ordered the body of Shanshúl down from the post to which it was nailed, had it washed, and decently buried in the palace of his ancestors.

“As to Al-muhdi, after remaining some days in Cordova, concealed in the house of a friend, he fled to Toledo, where he arrived on the 1st of Jumáda the first (Dec. 20, A. D. 1009). Al-muhdi was very well received by the people of Toledo; but he was soon after disturbed by Hishám, the son of Suleymán, who set out [from Cordova] to attack him on Monday, the 18th of Jumáda the second (Jan. 6, A. D. 1010). Before he reached Toledo, Hishám sent to that city some of his theologians, to induce the inhabitants to forsake the cause of Al-muhdi; but they refused, and remained faithful to the latter.

“ About this time a man named Al-korashí Al-harrání, having collected a considerable party, raised the standard of rebellion,^b and had himself proclaimed king [by his followers]. Suleymán sent against him an officer named 'Alí Ibn أحمد, Wá'ah, at the head of considerable forces. 'Alí defeated the rebel, took him prisoner, and sent him under escort to Cordova, where he was put to death immediately upon his arrival. Some time after this, Suleymán in person set out for Toledo, in the hope that the inhabitants of that city would return to his obedience. Having entered the [lower] *Thagher*, he encamped before Medínah-Sélim (Medinaceli), where he was soon after joined by a body of his own armed slaves, as well as by Ibn Moslemah, his *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or captain of his body-guard. On the arrival of Suleymán before Medinaceli, Wádheh evacuated that fortress and fled to Tortosa, whence he wrote a letter asking that Sultán's forgiveness for any act of hostility committed whilst in the service of Al-muhdi, and promising, if he would pardon his offence, to desert the cause of Al-muhdi and devote himself entirely to his service. Wádheh, however, was not in earnest when he made such an offer; all he wished was, to gain time and to strengthen the party of his master. Deceived by his promises, Suleymán gave Wádheh the command of all the forces in the upper *Thagher* (Aragon), and intrusted to him the prosecution of the war against the infidels. By these means Wádheh was enabled more effectually to serve the cause of his sovereign. He entered into negotiations with the Christians on that frontier, and obtained their aid against Suleymán by granting them, in his master's name, such conditions as they chose to ask for. Al-muhdi, therefore, was soon joined in Toledo by large bodies of Christians, with whom he set out for Cordova. On the other hand, Suleymán, having been apprised of his enemy's plans, made every preparation for the approaching contest, and issued an order that all the citizens of Cordova should take up arms; but upon their representing to him their inability to cope with a warlike enemy, he exempted them from military service, at the intercession of the Berbers, and left Cordova at the head of the regular troops only. Not far from Cordova, at a place called *'Akbatu-l-bakar* (the defile of the cows), Suleymán encountered the forces of his rival, on one of the last ten days of the month of Shawwál. The Berbers had placed Suleymán in the rear with a body of African cavalry, directing him not to move from the spot, even if he were to be ridden over by the enemy's cavalry. This arrangement being made, the Berbers advanced to the attack and charged with great fury. Al-muhdi's Frank auxiliaries not only withstood the shock, but succeeded even in repulsing their assailants: Suleymán, perceiving that the ranks of the Berbers were partially broken, thought the day was lost, and, ordering the retreat, fled with his men to Cordova. Meanwhile the Berbers were sustaining with great courage the attacks of the enemy, killing the King of the Franks, named أرمانيغ (Armanghíd (Armangaud, Count of Urgel), and sixty of their principal officers. Perceiving, however, that Suleymán had left the field of battle, they retired in good order to Az-zahrá, which they evacuated the same night. Suleymán fled to Shátibah (Xativa). His rule had lasted seven months.

“ The day after the battle, Al-muhdi entered Cordova accompanied by the Franks, who began to commit every excess, plundering the houses, and subjecting the inhabitants to all sorts of cruelty and ill treatment. Al-muhdi and Wádheh having requested them to march in pursuit of the Berbers, the Christians left Cordova, and, headed by those two commanders, started after the fugitives. Having overtaken them close to وادي لكه Wáda Lekeh, a battle ensued which ended in the complete defeat of Al-muhdi, Wádheh, and his Frank auxiliaries, about three thousand of whom lay stretched on the field of battle, without including in that number those who were drowned in the sea. Buleyk

^b This passage is very obscure, and evidently corrupted; but it is not in my power to restore the true reading, having no other copy than that of Leyden, which is by no means correctly written.

“ (sic بليق) the Slavonian, a slave of Wádheh, was among the dead, as well as تخلف بن زرزور
 “ Takhlaf Ibn Zorzúr, the *mauli* of the Khalif Al-hakem, and other chief officers of Al-muhdi's army.
 “ The Berbers, moreover, took possession of the enemy's camp.

“ This battle was fought on the 6th of Dhí-l-ka'dah (June 21, A. D. 1010). The ensuing day, the relics
 “ of Al-muhdi's army reached Cordova, the inhabitants of which were thrown into the utmost consternation
 “ by the news. Mad at their defeat, the Franks went about the streets of the capital, sword in hand,
 “ slaughtering all those whom they suspected of being Berbers; and when requested by Al-muhdi and
 “ Wádheh to march against the enemy, peremptorily refused, saying, ‘ Our king and our best and bravest
 “ men are all slain; we will no longer fight for you.’ They accordingly left Cordova, and returned
 “ to their country on Friday, the 23rd of Dhí-l-ka'dah (July 8). Some authors say that the departure
 “ of the Christians from Cordova was at the request of the inhabitants themselves, who were terribly
 “ afraid of the Berbers returning and taking revenge on them. So great was their fear of that unruly
 “ militia that, whenever a citizen of Cordova happened to meet another in the street, they generally
 “ addressed each other [by anticipation] as men who were about to lose their property, or whose
 “ children and relatives were about to be executed. After this, Al-muhdi, having obtained a supply
 “ of money from the inhabitants, made every preparation to meet his rival, and left Cordova with
 “ Wádheh, the slaves, and a certain number of citizens; but they had scarcely marched thirty miles,
 “ when they all returned, fearing an encounter with the Berbers. Al-muhdi then ordered deep trenches
 “ to be dug round Cordova, and, for further security, a thick and massive wall to be erected behind the
 “ trenches. Meanwhile the Berbers were plundering with impunity and infesting the neighbourhood of
 “ the capital. Having taken possession of the mountain of جبل ابن حفصون Ibn Hafssún, a district
 “ abounding in springs, fruit trees, and grain of all sorts, they were greatly refreshed and strengthened
 “ through it. Meantime, Al-muhdi was indulging in pleasure and repose; his soldiers were committing
 “ all manner of cruelties and excesses, breaking into the houses of the peaceable inhabitants, taking away
 “ their property, ravishing their wives and daughters, and murdering all those who offered any resistance.
 “ This state of things met with the disapprobation of Wádheh, who remonstrated strongly; but Al-muhdi
 “ took no notice whatever of his complaints, and things continued as before. Although Wádheh
 “ followed the party of Al-muhdi, he secretly hated him, owing to his treatment of 'Abdu-r-rahmán
 “ Shanshúl, of whose father, Al-mansúr, Wádheh had been a *mauli*. Accordingly, being offended at the
 “ conduct of that Sultán, he resolved to rid himself of him at any risk, and to this end he began to
 “ consult with the principal inhabitants of Cordova as to the best means of carrying his plans into
 “ execution. Al-muhdi, in the mean time, hearing of the conspiracy entered into against him, collected
 “ all the gold, jewels, and other valuables about the palace, and delivered them to Abú Ráfi' راسه, Rásah,
 “ a man from Toledo, with instructions to repair immediately to that city, whither he would endeavour
 “ to follow him shortly. He was, however, prevented. On Sunday, the 21st of Dhí-l-hajjah (Aug. 5),
 “ or, according to other authorities, on the 8th of the same month (July 23), Wádheh, mounted on
 “ horseback, and being followed by the slaves and the border troops, directed his march towards the
 “ royal palace, all crying as they went along, ‘ Obedience to our sovereign Hishám.’ Wádheh next
 “ entered the apartment where he knew that Khalif was concealed, and, bidding him come out, made him
 “ sit down on the throne of his ancestors, and invested him with the royal insignia. Al-muhdi was
 “ in the bath, when one of his officers, named ابن وداعة Ibn Wada'h, rushed into the room and
 “ announced to him what had just taken place. Dressing himself as quickly as he could, Al-muhdi
 “ hastened to the presence of Hishám, and attempted to sit himself by his side; but عنبر 'Anbar, the
 “ eunuch, took him by the hand, and, having thrown him down from the top of the throne, made him sit

“ on the lowest step. Hishám then addressed Al-muhdi, and reproached him in bitter terms for his rebellion, and the conduct he had observed towards him, keeping him so long in seclusion. This being done, 'Anbar took Al-muhdi by the hand, made him stand up, and ascended with him to the platform of the palace. Here 'Anbar drew his sabre and attacked Al-muhdi, who clung to him and embraced him. In this position he was pierced by the swords of the Sclavonians, the slaves and eunuchs who happened to be there. His head was next cut off, and his body was precipitated from the top of the terrace [into the yard], falling exactly on the spot where the body of Ibn 'Askalajah lay after that officer had been murdered by Al-muhdi. Thus perished Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, at the age of thirty-five, and after a rule of ten months, counting his two reigns.”

8 قد قام مهدينا ولكن .: بيلة الفسق و الهجون
 و شارك الناس في حريم .: لو لاه ما زال بالمصون
 من كان من قبل اجماً .: فاليوم قد صار ذا قرون

I may here observe that the word المهدي can be pronounced either *Al-mahdí* or *Al-muhdi*, both being surnames assumed by Mohammedan rulers. In favour of the first reading are the verses above quoted and the authority of Rodericus Toletanus, Lucas Tudensis, and the author or authors of the *Cronica de España* (Part III. fo. cclxix.), who call him “Al-mahadi” or “Al-mahadio.” The deed of inauguration itself, by which Hishám transferred the empire to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the son of Al-mansúr, would lead to the belief that Mahdí, not Muhdi, is meant. Mention is made in that remarkable document of the *Mahdí* alluded to by the Mohammedan Prophet, who had already been personified by 'Obeydullah, the founder of the dynasty of the Fátimites, and who was again to be represented by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, the leader of the Almohades; and it is not improbable that in order to give to his usurpation more solemnity, Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár should have assumed the title of *Al-mahdí*. Against such a mass of authority I can only adduce that of my copy of Al-makkari, in which the word is distinctly written المهدي — as well as the work of Al-homaydí, who says و المهدي بالميم المضموم لا المفتوح “and the surname of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár is to be written with a dhamma *mu*, not with a “fataha *ma*.” Mr. Shakespear's copy reads likewise Al-muhdi.

⁹ Instead of “Az-zahrá” the author ought to have said *Az-záhirah*. The former city did not suffer on this occasion. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 479) gives also the passage after Ibnu Rakik.

¹⁰ This is contradicted by An-nuwayrí, who says that Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár was put to death by 'Abdu-l-malek, the son of Al-mansúr. See above, p. 486, note 3.

11 اهديت شبه قوامك الياس .: غصناً رطيباً ناعماً من آس
 و كانها يحكيك في حركاته .: و كانها تحكيه في الانفاس

¹² Bermudo III., son of Alfonso V., was then reigning in Asturias and Leon; but there is no evidence of Suleymán ever having applied to him for aid. Sancho Garcés, Count of Castile, whose dominions

bordered to the south on the province of Toledo, is, according to the Christian authorities, the chief who lent his help to Suleymán upon two different occasions. See Rodericus Toletanus, *Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxvii. It is doubtful, however, whether the Ibn Máduyah mentioned in the passage from An-nuwayrî can be identified with Sancho, or not.

¹³ These events are thus related by An-nuwayrî. "Hishám was proclaimed for the second time on Sunday, the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 400 (July 24, A. D. 1010). One of the first acts of his reign was to send Al-muhdi's head to the Berbers, who were with Suleymán at Wáda Shúsh (Guadajoz), hoping that, when they saw it, they would hasten to send him that of the usurper, and that his own power would thereby be consolidated. He was mistaken; the Berbers threatened to put to death the messengers, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Hishám. All hopes of bringing the question to a satisfactory issue having vanished, Wádheh, who had now been invested with the office of Hájb, gave all his attention to increasing the fortifications of Cordova, and prepared for a stout defence. He ordered the digging of new trenches to impede the progress of the enemy's cavalry, and repaired every where the walls and towers of the city.

"Mohammed Al-muhdi had left a son named 'Obeydullah, who was sixteen years old at the time of his father's execution. Having numerous friends in Toledo, 'Obeydullah fled from Cordova, where he habitually resided, and repaired to that city, where he was well received by the inhabitants. Thence he made repeated excursions, and put to death all the friends of Wádheh who fell into his hands. At last, a chief, named Mohárib At-tojibí, took him prisoner and sent him to Wádheh, who put him to death.

"After this, Suleymán and his Berbers approached Cordova; but being unable to reduce it, they marched to Az-zahrá, which they entered on Saturday, the 24th of Rabi' the first of the year 401 (Nov. 5, A. D. 1010), putting to the sword all those they found there. After remaining some months at Az-zahrá, the Berbers left it on the 24th of Sha'bán (Feb. 2, A. D. 1011), and began to lay waste the neighbouring country, burning the farm-houses, cutting down the fruit trees, and committing all manner of depredations. From all parts of the province, the country people fled to Cordova with their valuables, to escape the fury of the Berbers, and the population having doubled through immigration, scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the capital, and great numbers died of hunger. It is asserted, that food became so dear in Cordova that a *mudd* of barley (that is, two *kaftz* and a half) sold for three hundred *dirhems* or one hundred *mithkáls* of pure gold. During this interval, the ambassadors of Ibn Máduyah arrived in Cordova, demanding on behalf of their master the surrender of the stipulated fortresses, and promising not to molest Hishám or his followers, and to make no attempt whatever on the frontiers. The truce was accepted, and several large towns were immediately surrendered to them, besides upwards of two hundred castles, which had been in the hands of the Moslems ever since the reign of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the father of Hishám. This was not all; ابن سياليس Ibn Siális (?), hearing the concessions just made to Ibn Máduyah, sent also his messengers to Cordova, asking for the surrender of certain fortresses, which were likewise given up to him.

"Meanwhile, the Berbers were traversing the country north of Cordova, and laying waste every thing on their passage. No town, however great or strong, escaped their ravages, with the exception of Toledo and Medinaceli; and the desolation was so great that a man on horseback might travel for two consecutive months without meeting a single person on his road. The troops of Cordova, moreover, began to murmur against Wádheh, who, being made aware of their discontent, bethought him of entering into a negotiation with the Berbers. To this end he dispatched to the camp of Suleymán a man named Ibn Bekr, who had an interview with that chief; but as he was returning to Cordova with