

“ the answer he was killed by the troops of the garrison, without Hishám or Wádheh being able to restrain them. The assassins next cut off his head, and, placing it on a spear, paraded it through the streets of the capital. Hearing the fate of his messenger, Wádheh attempted to fly to the Berber camp; but an enemy of his, named Ibn Abí Wadá'h, having received intelligence of his intended flight, went to his house with some soldiers, seized him by the collar, and brought him out [into the street]. There, after reproaching him for the bad use he had made of the public money, and the peace he was about to conclude with the enemy, Ibn Abí Wadá'h struck him with his dagger, after which all the others fell upon him and put him to death. Having then cut off his head, they fixed it on a spear, and paraded it through the streets of the capital, whilst his body was thrown on the paved road [before the palace], in the same spot where those of Ibn 'Askalájah and Al-muhdi had been very recently exposed. The house of Wádheh and those of his friends and secretaries were gutted of their contents, and Ibn Abí Wadá'h was appointed Wáli-l-medínah. The death of Wádheh took place on Tuesday, the 15th of Rabi' the first of the year 402 (Oct. 16, A. D. 1011).

“ The siege of Cordova continued until Sunday, the 3rd of Shawwál of the year 403 (April 17, A. D. 1013), when Suleymán took it by storm. Two days after, on the 5th of Shawwál (April 19), Suleymán entered the royal palace, and, having summoned to his presence the wretched Hishám, addressed him in these words,—‘Thou didst once offer me the Khalifate, and pledge thy word to that effect; what made thee break thy oath?’ Hishám excused himself by saying that he was not the master of his own acts, and had been compelled to do so.”

¹⁴ كتاب الصلة — *Silah* means ‘a gift’ and ‘a joint.’ But the latter is the appropriate meaning in this case. The contents of the work are a biography of illustrious Moslems born in Spain, and it was so entitled because the author designed it as a continuation of the history of Spain by Abú-l-walid Ibnu-l-faradhí. The *Silah* itself was continued by a native of Granada, named Ahmed Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Zubeyr, in his *Silatu-s-silah*, or Appendix to the *Silah*; as well as by Ibnu-l-abbár in the *Mushkílu-s-silah* (the difficult passages of the *Silah*). Ibnu-l-khattíb wrote also a work entitled *Al-'áyidu-s-silah* (the new visitor of the *Silah*), which was intended as a supplement to Ibn Zubeyr.

¹⁵ Bádís Ibn Habús was not the first King of Granada. He succeeded his nephew, Záwi Ibn Zeyri. See the Chronological Table of the Bení Zeyri at the end of this volume.

¹⁶ حزرون — By others called ابن خزرون Ibn Khazerún. Ash-shátibí (*Kitábu-l-jumán*) says that he was a Berber of the tribe of Maghráwah. He was put to death by Al-mu'tadhed, King of Seville.

¹⁷ The death of Suleymán took place on Sunday, seven days (Al-homaydí says nine) before the end of Moharram of the year 407 (July, A. D. 1016). See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. x. An-nuwayrí relates that Suleymán, being asked, in the presence of the Kádís and theologians of Cordova, what he had done with Hishám, answered that Hishám was dead; upon which 'Alí ordered that his body should be disinterred and examined, in order to ascertain whether he told the truth or not. The body was found, and no signs of violence on it.

¹⁸ An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 488) says one year and ten months. He was assassinated in Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 408 (May, A. D. 1018). Compare the Appendix at the end of the volume, p. xi., and Conde, vol. i. cap. cx.

- 19 ابوكم علي كان بالشرق بدا ما .: ورثتم وذا بالغرب ايضا سميته
فصلوا عليه اجميعهم و سلوا .: له الامر ان والاه فيكم وليه
- 20 للعلك يا شمس عند الاصيل .: شجيت لشجو الغريب الذليل
فكوني شفيعي لابن الشفيح .: وكوني رسولي لابن الرسول

²¹ In the last days of Dhí-l-hajjah, (May, A. D. 1018,) says An-nuwayrî, *ubi supra*.

²² This "King of the Franks" was probably some Catalonian count, serving under Al-murtadhi. At that time the Christians of the north-eastern provinces of the Peninsula were frequently to be found fighting under the banners of the Moslems.

²³ The 103rd *súrah* or chapter, entitled "the unbelievers." The verse given lower down is as follows:

ان كنت منا بشر بخير .: اولا فايقن بكل شر

²⁴ Conde (vol. i. p. 606) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was killed in action; but Ibnu-l-khattîb, in the lives of Khayrán and Záwi, relates this in nearly the same terms as the text.

²⁵ Guadix is not a sea-port. Ash-shátibî (*Kitábu-l-jumán*) says that he was taken on the sea coast not far from Almeria, which is more probable.

CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

CHAPTER III.

1 لك الخير خيران مضي لسيله .: و اصبح امر الله في ابن رسوله

The point of this verse consists in the use of the words *khayr* and *Khayrán*; *khayr* means 'good, prosperity,' &c.

² See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xi., where Al-kásim is said to have reigned undisturbed until the month of Rabi' the first, 412 (June or July, A. D. 1021). An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 488) confirms the statement.

³ Compare the Appendix, p. xii., and Conde, vol. i. cap. cxiii., who has strangely confounded some of the events of this reign.

⁴ Conde places the rebellion of the Cordovans against Al-kásim in 413; but Al-homaydí (App. p. xii.) and An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 489) agree with our author in referring it to the month of Sha'bán of the ensuing year. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 7.

⁵ غلق الباب في وجهه is the Arabic saying which would seem to have given rise to that common Spanish expression, "le dió con la puerta en los hozicos."

An-nuwayrî gives differently the names of the two partners in power of Ibnu 'Abbád. He calls one Mohammed Ibn مريم Mariam Al-'ábi, and the other Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Az-zubeydí or Az-zubeyrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 489). See also App. p. xii.

⁶ Conde (vol. i. p. 610) makes Yahya absent in Africa whilst the events here described were taking place.

⁷ Al-homaydí (Appendix, p. xii.) and An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 489) place the death of Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd in A. H. 431. It was not Yahya, but Idrís I., King of Malaga, who ordered his execution.

⁸ An-nuwayrî (*ubi supra*) says on the 13th (Nov. 29, A. D. 1023).

⁹ The other candidate, whose name is not given here, was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán. He was the great grandson of Suleymán Al-musta'in-billah. See Al-homaydí's account, Appendix, p. xiv., and the Genealogical Table of the Bení Umeyyah at the end of this volume.

¹⁰ Abú 'A'mir Ibn Shoheyd (Ahmed Al-ashja'í) was the son of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik, and the grandson of Dhí-l-wizárateyn Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Shoheyd, who was Wizír to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. See pp. 150-4. The life of the former Abú 'A'mir is in Ibn Khallekán; De Slane's English translation, vol. i. p. 98.

¹¹ An-nuwayrî gives two dates for this event, the 3rd of Dhí-l-ka'dah and the 26th of the same month; but, if Al-mustadh'her reigned forty-seven days, the former is the right one.

¹² The genealogy of Mohammed Ibn 'Obeydillah is thus given by Al-homaydí: "He was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir." He adds, that he was deposed on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabi' the first, 416 (May, A. D. 1025), not in 415, as is erroneously stated by Al-homaydí (App. p. xiv.), after a reign of sixteen months.

¹³ According to An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 490), Al-mustakfi was compelled to abdicate و خلع نفسه قيل بل خلع نفسه "on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabi' the first" (May 25, A. D. 1025). He was assassinated at the beginning of Rabi' the second (June).

¹⁴ In the eighth book of the first part, which, as it contains only selections from the works of Andalusian poets, has not been translated.

¹⁵ The governor appointed by Yahya was named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Ittáf. He was expelled from Cordova about the end of 417 (Feb. A. D. 1027). On Friday, the 29th of Rabi' the second, of the ensuing year (June 8, A. D. 1027), Al-mu'tadd was proclaimed by the inhabitants. Al-homaydí places this latter event one month before, in Rabi' the first (May). See Appendix, p. xv.

⁵ This Mohammed was the son of Idrís III., surnamed *Al-muwaffek*. See the genealogical tree of the Bení Idrís at the end of this volume. Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 89, *verso*) says that he was not proclaimed Khalif from the pulpits, as had been the custom of his predecessors; and that shortly after his accession, that is to say, at the beginning of 447, he was dethroned by Bádís Ibn Habús. That 447, and not 449, is the true date for the dethronement of Mohammed, is proved by a passage of Ibnu-l-khattíb, in which it is said that in 447 Bádís appointed his own son Balkín to the government of the dominions conquered from Mohammed Ibn Idrís. The same writer gives at full length a deed signed by Balkín, and dated Malaga, the 1st of Ramadhán, A. H. 448, appointing the Kádí Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-hasan Al-jodhámí to be his Wizír.

⁶ "In the year 447," says Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 89), "the dynasty of the Bení Hamúd was overthrown. The last member of that family retired to Almeria, where he was living in obscurity when a deputation from the people of Melilla landed in Andalus, and after much difficulty found him out, and offered him the sovereignty of their country. Mohammed accordingly crossed over to Africa, where he is now ruling as master over Melilah (Melilla) and قلع جارة Kal'u Járah and the adjacent territory; this present year being that of 460 (A. D. 1068)."

⁷ Al-bekrí (*ubi supra*) makes a different statement. He says that Mohammed Ibn Idrís was still alive in 460; and Ibn Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 99) mentions some transactions in which Mohammed Ibn Idrís was concerned in 462. Ceuta and the surrounding territory remained in the hands of the Bení Idrís until Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the Almoravide, deprived them of all their dominions.

⁸ This statement is confirmed by Ibnu Khaldún (*Hist. of the Berbers*, fo. 70, *verso*), who places the arrival of Záwi in A. H. 391, at which time Al-mansúr was still living; but according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his biography of illustrious Granadians, Záwi Ibn Zeyri landed in Spain during the administration of Al-modhaffer, the son of Al-mansúr [A. H. 392-9], accompanied by two of his nephews, Habús and Habásah, who were the sons of his brother, Mákesen Ibn Zeyri. Neither historian states at what time Záwi declared himself independent in Granada, but it was probably soon after the execution of Suleymán, by whom he had been appointed to the government of that city. Upon his accession, Záwi assumed the title of *Al-hájib Al-mansúr*.

⁹ Ibn Khallekán places the death of Zeyri (whom he calls Zírí) in Ramadhán, A. H. 360 (July, A. D. 971).

¹⁰ Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 255) and Conde (vol. ii. p. 10) postpone the departure and resignation of Záwi ten years. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who assigns as a motive for that determination the discontent caused throughout Spain by the murder of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-murtadhi, in which Záwi had so great a share (see p. 235), gives two different dates for the departure of Záwi. In his introduction to his history of Granada he places it [in 410] after seven years' reign; but in the life of Záwi himself, he says that it happened in 416. Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 70, *verso*), whilst relating the occurrences of Eastern Africa during the rule of the Zeyrites, says as follows: "In the year 410, Záwi returned to Africa, after he had been absent twenty years;" which statement agrees with the date fixed by that historian for the arrival of Záwi in Spain.

¹¹ Habús was the son of Mákesen, who, having revolted against his relative, Bádís Ibn Al-mansúr, the third of the Zeyrites of Africa, was taken prisoner and put to death in 391 (A. D. 1001), together with two of his sons, named Bádís and Mòhassen. Záwi, who had assisted his brother Mákesen in his rebellion, was forgiven on condition of crossing over to Spain, which he did, taking with him his two nephews, Habús and Habásah.—Ibnu Khaldún, *ubi supra*.

Habús was residing at the castle of Asher or Ashed when his uncle Záwi summoned him to Granada to take charge of the government during his absence. He obeyed, but soon after his uncle's departure, at the beginning of the year 411 (May, A. D. 1020), he declared himself independent.

¹² Ibnu-l-khattíb gives two different dates for the death of Habús, 428 and 429; the former in the historical introduction, the latter in the biography.

¹³ According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, Bádís died on Sunday, the 20th of Shawwál, 465 (July, A. D. 1073). His surname was Abú Mas'úd, and he took besides the titles of *Al-hájib Al-modhaffer-billah* and *An-násir lidín-illah*.

The author here called Ibnu-l-'askar is Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Al-khadhr Ibn Hárún Al-ghosání, who, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, wrote a history of Malaga entitled *مطلع الانوار ونزهة الابصار فيها* (the rising of the constellations, and the recreation of the eyes: [treating] of the eminent theologians and virtuous chiefs of Malaga, together with some account of the remarkable events in the history of that city). A nephew of Ibnu-l-'askar wrote a supplement to that history, which he entitled *الاكمال و الاتمام في صلة الاعلام* (perfection and complement, or the gift of the learned who frequent the literary assemblies of the people of Malaga).

¹⁴ Balkín was the son of Bádís, who destined him for his successor, and had him recognised as such under the title of *Seyfu-d-daulah* (the sword of the state). He gave him the government of Malaga, which he held till his death in 454. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb (*ubi supra*), Balkín died of poison administered to him by a Jew, who was his father's Wizír.

Ibn Khallekán writes this name *بولككين* *Bolukkin*; but my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb, and that of Ibnu Khaldún preserved in the British Museum (No. 9575, fo. 70), read always *بلكين* *Balkín*, as printed. This is, perhaps, a proper place to state, that Ibn Khallekán's orthography cannot always be adopted respecting proper names of African origin. The word Zeyri, which, in all the manuscripts I have consulted, is written *زيري* or *زيري*—he writes *زيري* *Zírí*. He writes *مناد* *Menád* instead of *مناد* *Munád*, *Sunhájah* instead of *Senhájah*, &c.

According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, the dethronement of 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín took place on Saturday, the 12th of Rejeb, A. H. 483 (Sept. 9, A. D. 1090), or the following day; he was sent to Africa under a strong escort. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* attributes to him a history of his own family and dynasty, entitled *Tárikhu-z-zeyriin* (chronological history of the Zeyrites).

¹⁵ The Bení Jehwar are generally counted in the number of the *Molúku-t-tawáyif*, or kings of

independent states. It is impossible, however, to determine at what time Jehwar, the founder of the dynasty, assumed the supreme command in Cordova, although it may naturally be supposed that it was soon after the dethronement of Hishám Al-mu'tadd in Dhí-l-hajjah, 420. An-nuwayrî, however, intimates that Jehwar did not take upon himself the government of Cordova till 429. His words are as follow: "On Thursday, the 2nd of Moharram of the year 427 (Nov. 6, A. D. 1035), it was publicly announced to the people of Cordova that Hishám was still alive, and prayers were recited in his name. Things remained in this state until it was said that Hishám was dead, and Abú-l-hazm Jehwar assumed the supreme power." But is it probable that in the interval between the dethronement of Al-mu'tadd, in 420, and the pretended proclamation of Hishám, Cordova should have remained without a ruler?

¹⁶ Ibnu-l-lebbánah is the surnáme of Abú Bekr 'Isa, a distinguished poet, who resided at Seville, but who was a native of Denia. See vol. i. p. 379, note 6, of this translation. See also M. Weyer's learned notes to the life of Ibn Zeydún by Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán, p. 133.

¹⁷ Some copies read here قریس *Karís*; others قریش *Karish* or *Koraysh*. The copies of Ibn Khallekán which I have consulted all have قریش.

¹⁸ Ibnu-l-khattib, who gives the life of Al-mu'tamed among those of his illustrious Granadians, owing to that prince having visited Granada shortly after its reduction by Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, says that Karís was صاحب الشرطة الوسطى captain of the middle guard under Hishám, son of Al-hakem, Khalif of Cordova, and that he afterwards became Imám to the principal mosque of Seville.

¹⁹ According to the author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebbáb*, the individual who personified Hishám on this occasion was a peasant of the neighbourhood of Calatrava, who bore great resemblance to that Khalif. Ibn Bessám (*Adh-dhakhirah*, fo. 9) gives some interesting details copied from the work of Ibnu Hayyán. He says that Hishám was thrice killed and as many times resuscitated. He was put to death by Mohammed Al-muhdi, and publicly interred as if he had died a natural death. He was next restored to life by Wádheh, the Sclavonian, who declared that all had been a stratagem of that usurper, and that Hishám was still alive. Suleymán had him strangled when he took Cordova, and privately buried; but many years after the dethronement of Al-mu'tadd, in A. H. 420, the Wizír Jehwar pretended that he was still alive, and caused the *khotbah* to be recited in his name in all the mosques of Cordova. Perceiving, however, that the inhabitants of that city were not averse to his rule, Jehwar gave out that Hishám was dead, and ruled independently. Lastly, Abú-l-kásim, the Kádí of Seville, wishing to extend his sway to other provinces of Spain, announced that he had found Hishám in a dungeon of the castle of Calatrava.

²⁰ Ibn Bessám (*Adh-dhakhirah*, fo. 17) agrees with our author in placing the death of Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád about the end of Jumáda the first. He was born on Wednesday, the 21st of Jumáda the second, A. H. 361.

²¹ It was not 'Abbád [Al-mu'tadhed], but his son Mohammed, who afterwards reigned under the title of Al-mu'tamed, who took Cordova and dethroned 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn-Jehwar.

²² Ibn Bessám says that when the Almoravides under Seyr took possession of Seville, they found in a closet within the royal palace several sealed jars, which they at first thought contained money, but which, upon examination, were found to be full of the skulls of his murdered enemies, among which were those of Yahya Ibn 'Alí, Sultán of Cordova; Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona; Al-hajjáj Ibn Khazrún, Lord of Ronda; Ibn Núh, a Berber chieftain, and others; and that Seyr ordered that they should be given up to the relatives of the deceased.

²³ لقد حُصِنَتْ يَا زَنْدَةَ .: فَصِرْتَ لِمَلَكِنَا عِدَّةً
أَفَادَتِنَاكَ أَرْمَاحَ .: وَ أَسْيَافَ لَهَا حَادَّةً

²⁴ مات عباد ولكن بقي الفرع الكريم
فكان البيت حيي غير ان الضاد الميم

²⁵ My copy has this differently—[ذهبا]— فقال اليهودي لا اخذت هذا العيار ولا اخذه منه الا [ذهبا]— “And the Jew said, ‘Pieces of this [low] weight cannot be received, and I will take none unless they be first tried and weighed. Next year I shall not be satisfied, &c.’”

²⁶ ان يسلب القوم العدي
I am not sure of having seized the meaning of this hemistich, which, being by itself and detached, forms no sense whatever.

²⁷ See the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán, *note* 47, p. 440. Before the Bení Dhí-n-nún took possession of Toledo, a chief named Ibn Ya'ish, who is mentioned in Abú-l-fedá (*Ann. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 38), had ruled some time over the place.

²⁸ The author alludes, no doubt, to the hospitality which Al-mansúr afforded to Alfonso, when his brother Sancho deprived him of his kingdom.

²⁹ حافذ—According to the *Cronica de España* (fo. cccix., verso) and Rodericus Toletanus (*Rerum in Hisp. Gestarum Chronicon*, lib. vi. cap. xxi.), Al-mámún left a son, named Hishám, who succeeded him on the throne, but died shortly after his succession. Al-khazrejí (App. p. xxviii.) says positively that he left no male children, and was succeeded by his grandson Yahya. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 214) makes no mention of Hishám; and Conde calls Yahya, in two different places (vol. ii. pp. 57 and 63), the son of Al-mámún. No reliance, however, can be placed on the statement of the latter author, who, in this part of his narrative, is more inaccurate than usual, making of Yahya Al-kádir two persons, father and son, one named “Yahye,” the other “Alcadir.” See vol. ii. p. 175.

³⁰ The historian Ibnu Khaldún gives the genealogy of Al-mundhir as follows: “He was the son of ‘Mutref, son of Yahya, son of ‘Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mohammed, son of Háshim [Hishám?], the

“Tojibite.” He was probably the great grandson of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí, one of the chiefs whom Al-mansúr employed as instruments of his usurpation (see above, p. 438): if so, he was descended from Abú Yahya Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán At-tojibí, whose rebellion at Saragossa during the reign of 'Abdullah has been related elsewhere after Ibnu Hayyán (*note 47*, p. 441). Al-mundhir, therefore, did not belong to the family of Húd, as Conde (vol. ii. p. 12) has erroneously stated. The Tojibites and Jodhámities were different tribes.

³¹ According to Al-morrékoshí, Al-mundhir died in A. H. 414 (March 25, A. D. 1023), and was succeeded by his son Yahya Al-modhaffer, who was assassinated at Granada in Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 430, namely, sixteen years after his accession; but how this account is to be reconciled with the words of Al-makkarí, “soon after,” it is not easy to determine. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 95) translates a passage from Ibnu-l-khattáb, by which it would appear that it was Al-mundhir, not Yahya, who was murdered by his cousin 'Abdullah.

³² كتاب الاستكمال و المناظر—This work was unknown to Háji Khalfah.

³³ There were two Sultáns of Saragossa surnamed *Al-musta'in*; one Suleymán, the other Abú Ja'far Ahmed. It was the latter who, in November, A. D. 1096, was defeated at Alcoraza, near Huesca, by Pedro I. of Aragon. See Zuríta, *Anales de Aragon*, vol. i. cap. xxxii., and Rodericus Toletanus, *De Rebus Hispanicis*, lib. iv. cap. i.

³⁴ The castle of Rottah or Roda. See App. p. xlv. In the *Cronica de España*, fo. cccviii., this place is called Rueda.

³⁵ The author is mistaken. Shabúr was not succeeded by Mohammed Al-mudhaffer, but by (Abú Mohammed) 'Abdullah Ibn Moslemah Ibn Al-aftas, who was the father of Mohammed and the founder of the dynasty. Neither was Mohammed succeeded by 'Omar, but by his son Abú Bekr Yahya, also surnamed Al-mudhaffer and Al-mansúr, who reigned from A. H. 460 to 473.

³⁶ The kingdom of Valencia, from the year 412,—in which it is said to have become independent of Cordova, to the year 495, when that city was taken by the Almoravides,—was subject to so many revolutions, the accounts preserved are so meagre, so obscure, and even so contradictory, that it is next to impossible to settle the chronology even of the most remarkable events. The founder of the dynasty was Abú-l-hasan 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán *Shanshúl*, and grandson of the celebrated Al-mansúr, who, after the assassination of his father 'Abdu-r-rahmán in 399, fled to Saragossa, where he was kindly received by the governor, Al-mundhir. How soon after his flight he took possession of Valencia it is difficult to say; for it cannot for a moment be supposed, as is asserted by Conde (vol. ii. p. 11), that his rising did not take place till 412. On the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, which, according to Casiri (vol. ii. p. 215) and Conde (vol. ii. p. 37), happened in 452, his son 'Abdu-l-malek Al-modhaffer succeeded him, who, in 457, was deprived of his dominions by his father-in-law, Al-mámún of Toledo. Conde mentions another son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who, by one of those strange contradictions of which that author is so often guilty, is said to have also been the son-in-law of Al-mámún, and to have succeeded his father. According to Casiri (*ubi supra*), 'Abdu-l-malek remained only a few days in exile; whereas Conde (vol. ii. p. 58) makes him remain upwards of thirteen years, placing his restoration

in 470, which is more probable, his enemy Al-mámún having died in Dhí-l-ka'dah, 469. 'Abdu-l-malek died shortly after his restoration, and was succeeded by his son Abú Bekr, who, according to the *Cronica de España*, fo. cccxiv., died in 478.

³⁷ Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of Zohayr among those of his illustrious Granadians. He had been an eunuch in the household of Al-mansúr. After the assassination of 'Abdu-r-rahmán and the usurpation of Al-muhdi, he fled to Cordova with other Slavonians, and shared the fortunes of Khayrán, who was his friend, and appointed him governor of Murcia. When the latter felt his death approach, he summoned Zohayr to Almeria, and appointed him his successor. This happened on Friday, the 3rd of Jumáda the second, A. H. 419. Zohayr governed his dominions with great equity and vigour for a period of ten years and a half. He was killed at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 429, in a battle fought with Záwi, the King of Granada, whose states he had invaded. Ibnu-l-khattíb adds, that on Sunday, the 24th of Sha'bán, A. H. 425, Zohayr took Cordova, where he reigned for a period of fifteen months.

³⁸ According to Ibnu Khaldún, Mujáhid was the son of Yúsuf, son of 'Alí, a *mauli* of Al-mansúr. In the year 400 (A. D. 1010), after the assassination of Al-muhdi, Mujáhid left Cordova with other partisans of the family of Umeyyah, and joined the forces of Al-murtadhí. When the latter was defeated by Záwi and put to death, Mujáhid withdrew to Tortosa, and took possession of it. He then left that city and went to Denia, where he likewise assumed supreme authority.

³⁹ This contradicts what has been said above, namely, that Mujáhid was governor of Denia when the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown; but all is explained by a passage from An-nuwayrî, cited by M. Weyers in his excellent notes to Ibn Khákán (p. 114). According to that diligent historian, Mujáhid was governor of Denia when 'Abdullah Al-mu'ayttí and other distinguished citizens of Cordova, who had escaped the massacre commanded by Suleymán, took refuge in his dominions. Mujáhid treated Al-mu'ayttí with much consideration and respect, gave him a share in the government, guided himself entirely by his advice, and went so far as to resign all his authority into his hands, and to have him proclaimed King of Denia in Jumáda the second of the year 405 (Dec. A. D. 1014). Three months after, in the month of Ramadhán (March, A. D. 1015), Al-mu'ayttí and Mujáhid sailed to the Eastern [or Balearic] islands, and took possession of them. In Rabi' the first of the ensuing year [A. H. 406] (Aug. or Sept. A. D. 1015), Al-mu'ayttí sent Mujáhid to Sardinia with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail. Mujáhid conquered that island, and remained in it until the end of the year, when a sudden and combined attack of the islanders compelled him to set sail and return to Denia, where, finding Al-mu'ayttí dead, he took possession of the government.

⁴⁰ See Appendix, p. xlvii., where Mubashsher is said to have been a liberated slave of Al-murtadhí, King of Mallorca. This Al-murtadhí was probably a nephew of Mujáhid; for Ibnu Khaldún says, "that in the year 428 Mujáhid appointed a *mauli* of his, named Al-aghlab, to succeed his own nephew "in the government of the Balearic islands." Al-aghlab and Mubashsher are, no doubt, the same person. *Al-aghlab* means 'the conqueror.'

⁴¹ 'Alí, who was further known by the surnames of *Ikbálu-d-daulah* (prosperity of the state) and *Al-muwaffek-billah*, was taken prisoner on his return from the Sardinian expedition. The ship in which he sailed went on shore, and himself and all the crew were taken by the enemy. 'Alí remained in the

hands of the islanders until his father Mujáhid paid a heavy sum of money for his ransom. He married the daughter of Al-muktadir Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, who, in 468 (beginning Aug. 15, A. D. 1075), deprived him of his states, and took him prisoner to his capital, where he died in 474. Whilst 'Alí was at Saragossa, a son of his, named Seráju-d-daulah [Abú 'A'mir], entered into an alliance with the Count of Barcelona, and succeeded, with his assistance, in recovering a portion of his dominions; but he died in 469 of poison, which Al-muktadir Ibn Húd caused to be given to him. Such is the account given by Ibnu Khaldún in a passage quoted by M. Weyers (*loco laudato*, p. 115).

⁴² Of the small principality of As-sahlah, a word meaning the flat country, we only know that when, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, the governors of the provinces refused to acknowledge the authority of Cordova, a chief named Abú Mohammed Hudheyl or Hadhíl Ibn Merwán Ibn Razín, who was governor of a town called Santa Maria Ibn Razín (now Albarracin) after his name, proclaimed himself independent, and was obeyed in all the country extending from the above-mentioned town to the port of Alicante, on the coast of Valencia. Hudheyl was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed *Jesámu-d-daulah* (the body of the state), who held the supreme power until A. H. 476, (Casiri says 496,) when he was succeeded by his son Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek, and this latter by his brother Yahya, who was the last prince of the dynasty. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 43, 215. The life of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Razín, who was a distinguished poet, is in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fo. 38.

⁴³ Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-l-'azíz Al-bekrí, *i. e.* from the tribe of Wáyil Ibn Bekr, belonged to a powerful family established in Al-gharb or Western Spain since the conquest. On the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, he took possession of Huelba, Gibrleon, Onoba, and the island of Saltis, over which he reigned independent, until Al-mu'tadhed, King of Seville, deprived him of his dominions, as well as Ahmed Ibn Yahya Al-yahssobí, Lord of Liblah (Niebla), and Mohammed Ibn Sa'id, Lord of Ossonoba. 'Abdu-l-'azíz was the father of the celebrated geographer, Abú 'Obeydah Al-bekrí. See vol. i. p. 312, *note 7*.

CHAPTER V.

¹ This account is substantially the same as that introduced at p. 34, after Ibnu Hayyán. The historian here quoted was the grandson of the celebrated Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa Ar-rází, who flourished about the beginning of the tenth century of our era. See vol. i. p. 314, *note 10*, where I have stated by mistake that "Ar-rází lived towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra and the beginning of "the fifth."

² وجد الفرنج في مدافعة المسلمين عما بقي بأيديهم و قد كانوا لا يطعون في ذلك
This passage is important, as showing that the Arabs themselves did not pretend to have subdued the whole of the Peninsula.

³ Probably Alfonso V., son of Bermudo II., who reigned from A. D. 999 to 1027.

⁴ طركونة—Tarragona had long before been taken by the Franks; perhaps طرسونة Tarazona is meant; but that city was not taken till nearly two centuries after.

⁵ اتبني بنآ الخالدين و انما .: بقاوك فيها لو علمت قليل
لقد كان في ظل الاراك كفاية .: لمن كل يوم يعتريه رحيل

⁶ Mariana and other historians place this event in 1087, shortly after the taking of Toledo. *Hist. gen. de España*, lib. ix. cap. xvii.; *Cronica de España*, Part III.; Rodericus Toletanus, *De Rebus Hispanicis*, lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

⁷ See vol. i. p. 68, and note 16, p. 376. The name of the town, near which the Moslems were defeated, is here written بطرنة Paterna, not برطانة Partana, as in the passage above alluded to. By referring, moreover, to the biographical dictionary of Al-homaydí, at the article Abú Is'hák Ibn Ma'ali At-tarsúsí, I find the two verses altered as follows:

لبسوا الحديد الي الوغي و لبستم .: حلل الحرير عليكم الوانا
ما كان اقبحهم و احسنكم بها .: لو لم يكن ببطرنه ما كانا

“They put on steel [armour] for the approaching contest, whilst you were dressed in silken robes of various colours.

“What might have been their shame and your glory, at Paterna, had the result been a different one.”

⁸ According to Ibnu Bashkúwál, the غفارة *ghifarah* was a sort of turban which soldiers wore over their helmets in time of war.

⁹ Birtaniéh or Birtaniyah was, according to Idrísí, a district of the *Thagher* bordering on Valencia.

¹⁰ الاردمليس — which is, no doubt, meant for الاردمير *Al-arademir*, as Sancho I., son of Ramiro, is sometimes called by the historians of the time. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyah*, who relates the taking of Barbastro in nearly the same terms as Ibnu Hayyán, calls the followers of Sancho الاردمريون *Al-arademiriún*.

¹¹ My copy, and that belonging to the library of Gotha, read حتي ان الذي خص بعض مقدمي حتي ان الذي خص بعض مقدمي “the share which one of their chiefs only, who was general of the cavalry of Rome (the Knights of St. John), took to his castle,” &c.

¹² و من لم يعرض منهم ان يفعل ذلك في خادم او ذات مهنة او وخش اعطاهن خوله و
غلبانه يعيئون فيهن عينة — The Spanish historians assign as a reason for the atrocities committed at the storming of Barbastro, that Armengaud, of Urgel, Sancho's father-in-law, had been killed during the siege.

¹³ Al-muktadir Ibn Húd succeeded his father Suleymán in A.H. 438. His brother Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán, whom two out of the several copies of Al-makkarí which I have consulted call King of

Saragossa—سرقسطة يومئذٍ— و هو ملك سرقسطة يومئذٍ was probably a rebel only; for no author includes him in the series of the Bení Híd.

¹⁴ The following sentence has been omitted in the translation for reasons which those who are versed in the Arabic language will duly appreciate—و عسى الله ان يجعل في عزيته للمسلمين فرجاً—

¹⁵ Ibnu-l-khattáb's account is in substance the same as that of Ibnu-l-athír. He adds, however, that Alfonso dispatched an embassy to Al-mu'tamed, asking him to set his prisoners at liberty; but that the King of Seville refused to comply with his request unless he gave him possession of the castle of Almodovar.

¹⁶ الملك عقيم و السيفان لا يجتمعان في عهد واحد

¹⁷ The word امر 'commanded,' which is here used, would imply that both Al-mutawakkel Ibn Al-aftas and 'Abdullah [Ibn Balkín] Ibn Habús were tributaries of Al-mu'tamed.

¹⁸ Telemsán was taken in A. H. 472 by Modhdelí, one of the generals of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefin. Soon after, a new city was built adjoining the old one, which was called Telemsánu-l-jedíd, or Telemsán the new.

¹⁹ Ceuta was taken in Rabi' the first, A. H. 447, by Al-mu'izz, son of Yúsuf, who remained in command of the place.

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CHAPTER VI.

¹ The life of Abú Bekr ابن القصيرة Ibnu-l-kossayrah is in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fo. 121, and in the *Dhakhírah*, by Ibn Bessám. His name in full was Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Suleymán Ibnu-l-kossayrah Al-kal'ái; he was a native of Seville, where he died in 508.

² سَيِّئْرَةٌ—الذي يكون سَيِّئْرَةٌ—The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* introduces a long letter which Yúsuf is said to have written to Alfonso on this occasion.

³ لا بد من فرج قريب .: ياتيك بالعجب العجيب
غزو عليك مبارك .: سَيَعُودُ بِالْفَتْحِ الْقَرِيبِ
الله سَعَدَكَ أَنَّهُ .: نكس علي دين الصليب
لا بد من يوم يكون .: له اخايوم القليب

Koleyb is the name of a battle fought between the Bení Sheybán and the Bení Taghleb. The war originated in the murder of Koleyb (Wáyil Ibn Rabi'ah) by the Bení Sheybán. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi, *'Ikd*, lib. xvii.

⁴ According to the author of the *Karttás*, Alfonso was besieging Saragossa when he received the news of Yúsuf's landing. See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxxiii.

⁵ [المرايطين] مطيقا بحلة—According to the author of the *Karttás*, the battle was fought at Zalákah, a place near Badajoz. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xlvi.) says "in campo Zalla prope Badalloz." The *Cronica de España* (fo. cccx.), "en un logar que dezian en Arabigo *Sellaque* e " en language Castellano *Satalias*."

⁶ ابا هاشم هشمتني الشفار .: فله صبري لذاك الاوار
ذكرت شيخيك تحت العجاج .: فلم يثنني ذكره الفرار

⁷ It would appear from this, that the camp was several times lost and recovered by the Christians.

⁸ Yúsuf and his descendants of the dynasty of the Almoravides never assumed any other title than that of *Amíru-l-moslemín* (commander of the Moslems). Conde, therefore, is wrong when he calls him *Amíru-l-múmenín*.

⁹ The word *خنجر* *khanjar*, which Conde (vol. ii. p. 141) translates by "hoz" (scythe), means 'a short cutlass,' Sp. *alfanje*. The author of the *Cronica de España* (fo. cccxxi.) says that Alfonso was wounded by a spear.

¹⁰ The word translated by "tents" is *madháríb*, the plural of *midhráb*, which means 'a large tent or booth.' See p. 452, note 47, where this word occurs, as used by Ibnu Hayyán.

¹¹ Alfonso VI. lived nearly ten years after his defeat at Zalaca. He was succeeded by his daughter Urraca, who was some time after besieged in Toledo by 'Alí, the son and successor of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín.

Al-makkari has neglected to give us the precise date of the battle of Zalaca, which, according to all accounts, was fought on Friday, the 22nd of Rejeb, A. H. 479 (Oct. A. D. 1086).

¹² Thus in the Gotha MS. *انها الغدر اخذ الحق من يد صاحبه لادفع الرجل عن نفسه الحذور*—which, literally translated, means 'treason takes away the right from the hands of its owner for a man to defend himself [with it] when hard pressed by his enemy.'

¹³ Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-jelíl Ibn Wabhún, whose life is in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fo. 180. He was one of the most distinguished poets of his time.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

¹ It has not been said above that Al-mu'tamed crossed over to Africa; but Conde (vol. ii. p. 126) says positively that the King of Seville, went over to Tangiers, where he had a conference with Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. See also the *Kartás*, translated by Moura, p. 157.

² These were Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, Lord of Murcia, and Al-mu'tamed himself. The two princes having quarrelled, the latter laid a formal complaint before Yúsuf. The Lord of Murcia was arrested, and delivered into the hands of his rival. The followers of Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz then withdrew in disgust to their own country, and, by stopping the supplies which they had been in the habit of sending to Yúsuf's camp, compelled him to raise the siege of Aledo. These events are differently related by Conde, vol. ii. cap. xix.

³ For a description of this castle, which some writers call Rottah Al-yáhúd (Rodah of the Jews), see the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlvi. Al-makkarí, however, is mistaken when he says that Al-musta'in Ibn Húd was the first Mohammedan ruler attacked by Seyr; there is, on the contrary, historical evidence to prove that he was the last assailed. The author of the *Holaku-l-maushiyah* gives a letter addressed by Al-musta'in to Yúsuf, in which the former implores this Sultán's mercy, and begs to be left in possession of his family dominions, on the plea that he was as fit as any other man to defend them against the Christians, having been from his early youth trained to border warfare. The same historian adds, that in order to gain the favour of Yúsuf, Al-musta'in sent him a splendid present, composed of jewels and costly merchandise, which had once belonged to Al-muwaffek, King of Denia, who was dethroned by Al-muktadir. Al-muwaffek had, it appears, amassed considerable treasures by sending corn to Egypt, whenever the crop failed in that country.

⁴ The accounts of the dynasty of the Bení Táhir, given by Casiri in the second volume of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, are obscure and contradictory. In one place (p. 215) he mentions three kings of that family; one named Mohammed, another 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and a third Ahmed; whilst in another (p. 42) he translates an article from the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-abbár to show that Mohammed Ibn Ahmed was the only king of his family who reigned in Murcia. Conde's narrative, instead of removing the confusion, increases it, by giving different names to the two princes of that dynasty mentioned by him; so that, without a view of the manuscripts consulted by those two writers, it is next to impossible to decide in this matter. The following account, however, is the most probable.

After the death of Zohayr, who was killed near Granada, on Friday, the 29th of Shawwál, A. H. 429, Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn Is'hák Ibn Zeyd Ibn Táhir, who was governor of Murcia at the time, remained master of that city and its immediate neighbourhood. Abú Bekr died in A. H. 457, and was succeeded by his son Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Mohammed, who, in 461, was deprived of his states by Al-mu'tamed, King of Seville, a chief named 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Rásih being appointed by that Sultán to govern the city in his name. In consequence, however, of a dispute with Al-mu'tamed at the siege of Aledo, 'Abdu-l-'azíz himself or a son of his, named Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, was deprived of his government in 483, at which time a son of Mohammed Ibn Táhir, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, was probably appointed by the inhabitants.

⁵ See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xli., where these events are differently related. Conde's narrative (vol. ii. p. 173) agrees better with ours. Al-mu'tassem's son is there called 'Obeydullah Abú Merwán, and surnamed *Mu'izzu-d-daulah* (supporter of the state) instead of *Hosámu-d-daulah* (sword of the state), as our author calls him. Ibnu-l-khattíb, (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 214,) gives him the surname of *Jesámu-d-daulah* (body of the state): the translator, however, did not understand the meaning of the expression *و فر الي عدوة المشرقية* (he fled to the opposite coast of Eastern Africa), which he translated by "ad Hispaniæ orientalis confinia."

⁶ The deposition of Al-mu'tamed preceded that of the Kings of Almeria, Denia, Xativa, and other cities on the eastern coast of Spain. See the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, cap. xxxix., and Conde, vol. ii. cap. xxi.

⁷ The officer dispatched against Cordova is called *بطي* Batti by the author of the *Karttás*. He is said to have taken first Jaen, afterwards Cordova, and lastly Baeza, Ubeda, Albalate, Almodovar, *الصخيرة* As-sokheyrah, and Segura. See also Conde, vol. ii. p. 167.

⁸ *جرور الحشبي* — Conde calls him Carur and Casur, vol. ii. p. 164.

⁹ The author of the *Karttás*, and Conde (vol. ii. p. 169), give the latter date. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Mohammed, says *لعشر بقين من رجب* "ten days remaining of the month of Rejeb."

¹⁰ Ibnu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*) says that Al-mu'tamed named his mistress *اعتباد* I'timád, owing to the grammatical affinity of that name to his own, Al-mu'tamed, both being derived from *i'tamada*, the eighth form of the verb *'amada*.

¹¹ This anecdote is to be found in the work entitled *El Conde de Lucanor*, by the Infante Don Juan Manuel, who lived in the fourteenth century. See edit. of Madrid, 1642, cap. xiv.

¹² *و ظن الناس أنه الراضي* — Yezíd Ar-rádhí had been put to death by the Almoravides. See above, p. 297.

13 قيدي اما تعلمني مسلما .: ابيت ان تشفق او ترحما
يبصر فيك ابو هاشم .: فينثني القلب و قد هشيا

14 Ibn Khallékán, in the life of Al-mu'tamed, gives the latter date, besides that of the 11th of Shawwál.

15 The entire name of this poet was Abú-l-kásim 'Alí Ibn Ja'far As-sa'dí. He was a native of the island of Sicily, where he was born in Safar, A. H. 433. He wrote, among other works, one entitled الدرر الخطيرة من شعراء الجزيرة (valuable pearls selected from the works of Andalusian poets). The life of Ibnu-l-kattá' is in Ibn Khallékán.

16 سقيط الدرر و لقيط الزهر في شعر بني عباد

17 سايرتهم و الليل عقد ثوبه .: حتي تبذ للنواظر معلما
فوقفت ثم مودعا و تسليت .: مني يد الاصبح تلك الانجبا

These two verses are to be found in the *Dhakhírah* of Ibn Bessám, the second volume of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. The work is composed of three volumes: the first contains the lives of illustrious men and poets who lived in Cordova, Toledo, Saragossa, Jaen, Granada, and other cities; the second, those of the poets of Al-gharb or Western Provinces, beginning with a concise history of the Bení 'Abbád; the third and last, those of Valencia, Almeria, Murcia, and other cities of the East.

18 According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín died on the first day of Moharram (Sept. 1, A. D. 1106). He was then in his hundredth year.

19 The name of this general is sometimes written سيدي Sirí. Ibnu Khaldún calls him سير Seyr, as printed.

20 According to the author of the *Kartás*, these conquests were achieved in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 504. Two years after, in A. H. 506, Seyr died at Seville, of which city he was governor.

21 This battle is elsewhere said to have been fought in sight of Saragossa; see p. 256. See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlv., and Conde, vol. ii. p. 203.

22 الرعدات 'thunderers.' This word is frequently used by Ibn Battúttah in his original travels to designate artillery, such as he saw it among the Chinese. In old Spanish "trueno" is synonymous with a gun, and the embrasures of a fortress are still called "troneras."

23 Saragossa was taken on the 18th of December, A. D. 1118, soon after the death of Al-musta'in.

²⁴ The other places taken by Alfonso on this occasion were Tarazona, Epila, Ariza, and Daroca.

²⁵ Mariana (*Hist. gen. de España*, lib. x. cap. x.) places the battle of Cutanda before the taking of Saragossa; but all the Arabian writers I have consulted speak of it as having been fought after. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyah* says that the Moslems were commanded on this occasion by Temim, another of Yúsuf's sons.

²⁶ The Infante Don Sancho, who was killed at the battle of Uclés in A. H. 502 (beginning Aug. 10, A. D. 1108). Alfonso himself died on the 1st of July, A. D. 1109. If, as the author of the *Kartás* states, Alfonso survived the death of his son only twenty days, the battle of Uclés must have been fought in June, A. D. 1109.

²⁷ انوار الجلية في تاريخ دولة المرابطينة — This work was the composition of Ibnu-s-seyrafí (Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn Mohammed). See vol. i. p. 472, note 17, of this translation.

²⁸ The word *معاهدون* *mu'ahidún*, and in the objective case *mu'ahidín*, is the plural of *mu'ahid*, which means 'a man bound to the observance of stipulated treaties;' and the Christians of Granada were so called because, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, Habús Ibn Bádis and his successors of the Zeyrite dynasty subjected them to certain rules. They are sometimes called *معاهدة* *mu'ahidah*, which is another plural form of *mu'ahid*.

²⁹ بن يدرسن — Conde (vol. ii. p. 235) calls this governor Abu Muhamad Yedar ben Birca.

³⁰ وادي ياجلة — says the author of the history of Morocco, who adds that Alfonso stayed eight days in the place. Conde (*loco laudato*) reads "Nahr Taxila." Perhaps Tixola, a village in the district of Guadix, is meant.

³¹ According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, who has preserved an account of this memorable incursion, Alfonso arrived before Guadix on Friday, the 1st of Dhi-l-ka'dah (Jan. 22, A. D. 1122), and attacked the city from the side of the cemetery *من جهة المقابر* although without success. He then pitched his tents on the summit of a mountain *السند* close to the city, and remained there until the following Monday, when he removed farther to a hamlet to the west of Guadix, called *غياثة* *Ghiyáthah*, from which he made a second attack upon the city. He is said to have spent two months in these operations.

³² دجة — now Diezma. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyah* says "to *جنة* *Jennah*," from which he is said to have proceeded to a place called *وادي فرديش* *Wáda Fardísh* (now Rio Fardex); thence to *السمزقة* *Al-mazrakah*; and lastly to Granada, where he pitched his tents, at a place called *قرية الليل* *Kariat Al-leyl*.

³³ Inu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*) writes *يبش* *Yebesh*; the author of the history of Morocco has *بنش*

Benish (Venix?); but it is impossible to say which is the true reading, as the names of most of the villages and towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Granada were changed after the conquest.

³⁴ بلل — Ibnu-l-khattīb writes بللي Belali; the author of the history of Morocco, جلال Jelial; Conde (vol. ii. p. 237), Nibel.

³⁵ دالر Dolar or Dilar. Ibnu-l-khattīb writes ذكر Dhikar; but the former is probably the best reading.

³⁶ Conde (vol. ii. p. 239) reads "Emidam;" but there can be no doubt that the town of Hamadán is here meant. See above, p. 403, note 22.

³⁷ عين اطسة — which reading is the same in all the MSS. Conde (vol. ii. p. 240) has "la fuente de la Teja." Instead of الفرج Al-faraj, the historian of Morocco writes البرج Al-merj. The manuscript consulted by Conde must have afforded the same reading, for he translates "la Vega de Granada."

³⁸ البراجلات — I have often met with the words البراجلة Jebál Al-borájelah in Ibnu Hayyán and other writers, used to designate a portion of the "Sierra Nevada." Casiri (vol. ii. p. 247) says that the word *Al-borájelát* means 'the bulwarks of the allies' (*sociorum propugnacula*), and that it was once the name for the Alpuxarras; but that author was not aware that the Arabic name for that mountain chain was البشرات *Al-busherát*, i. e. mountains abounding in pastures. On the other hand, the word *borájelát* or *borájelah* (both plurals of برجل *borjal*) cannot have the meaning assigned to it by the Spanish translator; not being of Arabic origin, and not to be found in the dictionaries.

³⁹ اللغون or اللقون — which might be meant for Alagon.

⁴⁰ About eighty years after this event, the prisoners taken at the battle of Alarcos were likewise transported to Rabát, and made to settle there. Ibnu-l-khattīb, who visited Salé in the year 1360, says that Rabát was almost entirely inhabited by families originally from Granada. See also the *Specchio geografico e statistico del impero di Marocco*, by Gräberg di Hemsö, p. 52, and Torres, *Origen de los Xarifes*.

⁴¹ In relating the events of this reign, Al-makkari is more laconic than usual; thirty-seven years of almost uninterrupted warfare between the two nations inhabiting the Peninsula are by him dispatched in two strokes of the pen. His silence, however, is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the author left his library in Africa, and could only procure a few works on the history of Mohammedan Spain. The deficiency, however, may easily be supplied with the aid of the *Kartás*, a work lately translated into the Portuguese language by Padre Moura, and which, for the history of this period, is almost invaluable.

Since I have entered on the subject, I must here state my reasons for having so frequently referred in these notes to the original, instead of the Portuguese translation, and for having avoided giving the name of its author. It is by no means an ascertained fact, as Padre Moura asserts in his preface (p. vii.), that

the history of Africa, generally known as the *Karttás*, was the composition of 'Abdu-l-halím, of Granada; for, although the copy which he himself used, and that quoted by Conde, as preserved in the Royal Library at Madrid, may have borne the name of that individual, there are a greater number in which the author is said to have been Abú 'Abdillah [Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Ahmed Ibn 'Omar] Ibn Abí زرع Zara' Al-fásí.

My own copy, several preserved in the Bodleian Library, and one quoted by Gräberg di Hemsö (*Specchio di Marocco*, p. 284), all bear the name of the latter author; and Hájí Khalfah, who mentions the work (*Lex. Bibl. voc. Táríkh Fás and Anís*), attributes it also to Ibn Abí Zara', who, he says, wrote it at the desire of Abú Sa'id 'Othmán Ibn Al-modhaffer [the fifth Sultán of the Bení Merín] before the year 276, which statement is fully borne out by the last chapter of the work, which begins thus: الخبر عن دولة ملك

الزمان وسراج الاوان الامام السعيد و الخليفة الرشيد امير المسلمين ابو سعيد هو الخليفة في وقتنا هذا و هي سنة عشر و سبعمائة "An account of the reign of the king of the age, and the light of the times, the fortunate Imám and straightforward Khalif, the Amír of the Moslems, Abú Sa'id, " who is now reigning in this present year of 710."

In addition to the above facts, I may remark that Ibnu Khaldún invariably cites the work as being the composition of Ibn Abí Zara'; that the author, moreover, exhibits so complete an ignorance of Spanish history and topography, as to leave it beyond a doubt that he was a native of Africa, not of Spain; and, lastly, that Ibnu-l-khattáb, who wrote the lives of upwards of six hundred eminent authors born at, or who resided in, Granada, makes no mention whatever of 'Abdu-l-halím. The title itself goes far to prove that the work was the composition of an African, a native of Fez, not a Granadian—كتاب الانيس البطرب

كتاب الانيس البطرب "The companion to the wanderer through the gardens of Karttás, [treating] on the history of the kings of Western Africa, and the history of the city of Fez." The word قرطاس *Karttás*, meaning 'paper' (*charta*, Sp. *alcartaz*), some writers, and among them De Sacy (*Magasin Encyclopédique*, l. d.), have translated *raudh al-karttás* by 'paper gardens' (*les jardins de papier*); but such is not the fact. *Karttás*, which I have also seen written قرطاس *Kirttás*, was the name for a garden or public walk in the outskirts of Fez, which was laid out by Zeyri or Ziri Ibn 'Atiyah, chief of the Maghráwah and Amír of Fez, who, according to Ibnu Khaldún (fo. 70, verso), was better known by the surname of *Al-karttás*.

It is probable that the history, in its present state, may be an abridgement of a greater work composed by Ibn Abí Zara', and which is probably lost. In one of the copies preserved in the Bodleian Library (Marshall, 582), there occurs at the beginning a species of preface, in which the bookseller states that, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he has been unable to find a copy of the original work composed by Ibn Abí Zara', and that should any of his readers bring him one, he is ready to bestow on him, in acknowledgment for so great a service, a complete suit of the stuff called *milaf*, besides other presents, which he names.

I ought to add that this copy, as well as the one I possess, belongs to an edition which is occasionally at variance with that translated by Moura; owing to which reason I have generally referred to the original, and not to the translation.

CHAPTER II.

¹ The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* calls him Abú-l-mu'izz and Abú 'Amru. His mother was a Christian slave called *Dhú-s-sobáh* (light of the morning).

² About this time [A. H. 541] a body of Christians, whom Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah had taken into his pay, assisted him in regaining possession of Cordova, where Ibn Hamdín had fortified himself. According to Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, in his history of the Almohades, "the infidels committed every profanation, "picketed their horses in the great mosque, and went so far as to pollute with their hands the sacred "Korán of the Khalif 'Othmán." See also vol. i. p. 497, note 27, of this translation.

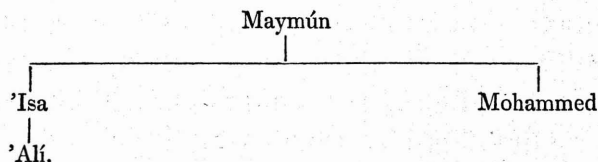
³ Alfonso I. of Aragon was slain in a battle with Ibn Ghániyyah, the general of the Almoravides, near the city of Fraga, which he was besieging. Compare Conde, vol. ii. cap. xxxiii., and the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, cap. xl.

⁴ Of the petty dynasties here mentioned, and several more which escaped the notice of Al-makkari, very little is known with any certainty, inasmuch as the generality of the writers who have treated of them consider them only as rebels. However, the following facts may be gleaned from the valuable history of the Almohades by Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát.

Ibn Hamdín.—Abú Ja'far Hamdín Ibn Hamdín was the son of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Hamdín, a celebrated poet, and Kádí-l-kodá or supreme judge of Cordova, whose life is in the *Mattmah* of Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán, fo. 150. Profiting by the troubles which broke out in Spain when the news of 'Abdu-l-múmen's success and the death of Táshefín reached Spain, he contrived to have himself proclaimed king by the people of Cordova, over whom he possessed considerable influence; their example being soon followed by the inhabitants of Almeria and other cities. This happened on Saturday, the 7th of Ramadhán, A. H. 538. Scarcely, however, had Hamdín enjoyed his new dignity one year, when Seyfu-d-daulah Ibn Húd, who had just been deprived of his family dominions by the Christians, turned his arms against the new sovereign, and expelled him from Cordova. In Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 540 (May or June, A. D. 1146), Hamdín regained possession of that capital, and maintained himself in it until he was again dethroned, in 541, by Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, the Almoravide, who had taken into his pay a large body of Christians. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 53, 57, 116.

Maymún.—The Bení Maymún were two brothers, 'Isa *Ibn Maymún* and Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed *Ibn Maymún*. They were the sons of Maymún, the Lamtúnite, one of the chiefs of the Almoravides. The former, who was governor of Cadiz and Santa Maria, declared himself independent in his governments, and was succeeded by his son 'Alí, who, in 540, ordered the destruction of the tower of Hercules, at Cadiz, under the impression that it contained treasure of the time of the Romans. The latter, who commanded the naval forces of the Almoravides, was celebrated for his maritime conquests. In 516 he landed on the coast of Sicily, which he ravaged and plundered; he also took possession of Almeria, and, having fitted out a fleet in the celebrated arsenal of that port, ravaged the coasts of France and Italy. In 540 he made his submission to the Almohades, and was present at the taking of Mehediyyah by 'Abdu-l-múmen.

The following genealogy will better show the degrees of relationship in which the Bení Maymún stood to each other :



Ibn Kasí.—Of Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibn Huseyn Ibn Kasí, Lord of Silves and Mertola, we only know that he was of Christian origin, and that the revolution which he headed was at first a religious, not a political one, which statement is confirmed by Ibnu Khaldún. See the Appendix to this volume, p. xlix. His followers were called المرتدين *Al-murtadín*, that is to say, 'renegades, deserters;' but, although Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, as he himself informs us, wrote a history of that sect, I have been unable to find in the portion of his work preserved in the Bodleian Library what their tenets were. Ibnu Khaldún says that they were substantially the same as those of the Almohades. Ahmed took possession of Eborá, Silves, and Seville also. See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 51, and Conde, vol. ii. cap. xl.

As to Seddaray Ibn Wazír, whom Conde calls Sid-Ray, and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 59), Saied Rai, he was King of Badajoz. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlix., *et seq.*

⁵ Compare the narrative of Ibnu Khaldún, App. p. lii., and Conde, vol. ii. cap. xl.

⁶ *As-soleytán*, or 'the little Sultán,' is here intended as a translation of "Rex parvus," an appellation given to Alfonso VIII. of Leon, [II. of Castile], by all the chroniclers of the time, owing, no doubt, to his having been proclaimed king when still an infant. See Mondejar, *Memorias historicas del Rey Don Alonso*, p. 8, and the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlv.

⁷ الا ايها المغرور ويحك لاتنم فله في ذا الخلق امر قد انهم فلا بد ان يزررو بامر يسوهم فقد احدثوا جرماً علي حاكم الامم

⁸ اقتباس الانوار و التماس الازهار في نسب الصحابة ورواة الاثار
See Háji Khalfah, *Lexic. Bibl. Ency.* vol. i. p. 375, and Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 359).

⁹ Alfonso VIII. of Leon, [II. of Castile], was the grandson of Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, by Urraca, the wife of Alfonso of Aragon, whom some historians have erroneously counted among the kings of Castile.

¹⁰ For a description of this work, of which I own a copy, written in Spain shortly after the death of its author, see Hamacker, *Specimen Catalogi Codicum MSS. Orient. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* p. 56.

¹¹ I have frequently quoted from one volume of this valuable work, preserved in the Bodleian Library (Marsh, No. 433), of which I will here give a short description. It is a large volume in folio, written in a clear Maghrebí hand about the middle of the sixteenth century; the title of it is المن بالامامة علي

الستضعفين بان جعلهم الله اية و جعلهم الوارثين و ظهور الامام المهدي الوحيد
 —which, literally translated, means “The gift of the Imámate [granted] to those who considered
 “themselves the most unworthy of it; and their appointment by God to be the Imáms and chiefs
 “[of the people], and the heirs [of the empire]: or the appearance of the Imám and Mahdí of the
 “Almohades.” In its original state, the work consisted of three *sefr* or books. The second begins with
 the revolt of Ibn Mardanish at Murcia, in A. H. 554, and ends in the year 580, thus embracing a period
 of twenty-six years. It is written with great elegance, and contains many interesting details, being
 considered by the Arabs themselves one of the best histories of the Almohades. It is occasionally cited
 by the author of the *Kartás*, by Ibnu Khaldún, Ibnu-l-khattíb, and the anonymous author of the
Holalu-l-maushiyah, or history of Morocco, all of whom bestow much praise on the author. Al-makkari
 (fo. 40, verso) mentions an abridgement of this history by Abú-l-motref Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn
 'Omairah Al-makhzúmí, of Valencia.

As to the author himself, I find in the title-page, which is written in a different hand from the rest of
 the book, that his name was 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát Al-bájí; but in the body
 of the work I see in two or three instances written قال المؤلف ابو عبد الله محمد بن صاحب الصلاة
 “thus saith the author of this work, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát.” This would show
 the author's name to have been Mohammed, not 'Abdu-l-malek, unless the father of the author, who
 himself was a celebrated historian, be the person alluded to in the above quotation. This conjecture
 derives additional strength from the fact that Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Ibráhím Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát,
 says that “the latter belonged to a family of historians.” Indeed, the author, whose work I am now
 describing ('Abdu-l-malek), frequently mentions a writer, named 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn
 Sáhíbi-s-salát, who must have been his own brother. Under the year 564, he says, that 'Alí Ibn
 Mohammed Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát [another brother of his] was that year taken prisoner by the troops of
 Fernando, near Badajoz; but that Yúsuf, the son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who was then reigning, paid the
 enormous sum of three hundred gold dinárs دينار حشوية for his ransom, and equipped him besides with
 a horse, arms, &c.

¹² Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of Ibn Mardanish among those of the illustrious Granadians, which I
 here translate, as it contains many details not to be found in the work of Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát. “His full
 “name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mardanish Al-jodhámí.
 “His father, Sa'd, an officer celebrated for his courage and experience, had been the principal instrument
 “in the defeat and death of Ibn Radmír (Alfonso I.), near Fraga, in A. H. 528; for, when the infidel
 “laid siege to that city, Sa'd, who was then the governor, made so stout a defence that he gave Ibn
 “Ghániyyah time to come to his assistance and engage the Christian king, whom he defeated and killed.
 “His son Mohammed was from early youth trained to arms. At the age of eighteen he was already
 “considered a very accomplished captain. He was a friend of Ibn 'Ayádh [or 'Iyádh], King of Murcia,
 “with whom he became connected by marriage, and who appointed him governor of Valencia. At the
 “death of Ibn 'Ayádh, Ibn Mardánish set out for Murcia, intending to have himself recognised by the
 “inhabitants; but having learned on the road to that city that the Christians had surprised one of his
 “castles, called حلال Halál, he retraced his steps, and recovered it. He then entered Valencia, where
 “he assumed the royal authority. Subsequently to this, Ibn Mardánish added the city of Murcia to his
 “other dominions, and conquered the greater part of Eastern Andalus, having successively gained
 “possession of Jaen, Ubeda, Baeza, Baza, Guadix, and Carmona. He also besieged Cordova and Seville,

“ both of which he was on the point of reducing: in short, he was at one time the ruler of the greater part of Andalus. His alliance with his father-in-law, Ibn Humushk, and their subsequent quarrel, have already been related. (See p. 316). Towards the end of his career, Ibn Mardanish was deserted by fortune, and sustained several defeats; the Almohades reduced one by one all his fortresses, and he himself was besieged in Murcia. Indeed, it has been observed, that from the middle of the year 560 to the time of his death he was never victorious. He died during the siege of Murcia, on the 10th of Rejeb, 567 (March, A. D. 1172), at the age of forty-eight. He was succeeded by his son, Abú-l-kamar Helál, who soon after made his submission to the Almohades.” Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lix., and Conde, vol. ii. pp. 378-80.

¹³ I have observed elsewhere (App. p. lv., note 22) that the African historians do not agree as to the date of the taking of Mehediyyah (Mahdiyyah) by 'Abdu-l-múmen. The most common opinion is that it happened at the beginning of 555. Ibnu Khaldún gives some interesting details on the siege and taking of Mehediyyah by the Sicilians in A. D. 1148, as well as on their former expeditions to that coast. He says that Mohammed Ibn Maymún, the commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Spain, having made a descent on Sicily about the year 1122, Roger, who was then king of that country, thought that the ships belonged to Al-hasan Ibn 'Alí, Sultán of Eastern Africa, of the dynasty of the Zeyrites, and sent a large force to invade his dominions. According to the same historian, Mehediyyah had been taken once before by the Genoese, in A. H. 480 (beginning April 7, A. D. 1087).

¹⁴ The anonymous author of the history of Morocco says that 'Abdu-l-múmen embarked at Tangiers.

¹⁵ A similar statement is contained in the *Kartás*; but Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát says that 'Abdu-l-múmen passed شهرًا some months at Seville. I am, however, inclined to believe that شهرين (two months) is to be read instead of شهرًا (some months); for I read lower down in the same page that 'Abdu-l-múmen landed in Dhí-l-ka'dah, 555 (Nov. A. D. 1160), and returned to Africa at the commencement of the ensuing year (Jan. A. D. 1161).

¹⁶ According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, 'Abdu-l-múmen is said to have ordered on this occasion the building of مدينة الكبرى 'the greater city' on the rock.

¹⁷ The author of the *Kartás*, who places this expedition in 556, counts Badajoz in the number of the towns reduced by the Almohades on this occasion. The place here called Al-kasr might be the Al-kasar Abí Dánis mentioned in p. 194.

¹⁸ Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát accuses the Jews of Granada of having given Ibn Humushk admission into the city. According to Ibnu-l-khattíib, who treats at length of that chieftain, his name was Abú Is'hak Ibráhím. He was the son of Ahmed, son of Mufarrajj Ibn Humushk, and was of Christian extraction, his grandfather, Mufarrajj, having forsaken his faith and embraced Islám at the instigation of one of the Bení Húd, kings of Saragossa; but I quote the historian's words. “ When Ibn Mufarrajj deserted his country and religion, and came over to us, he had but one ear, the other having been cut off. Owing to this, whenever the Christians met him in battle, they used to say *ها مشك* *Há meshak* (here comes the “ one-eared man). The word ‘ear’ among the Christians resembles greatly our word *adhen*, and

“ *al-mushk* in their language means ‘ a man who has had his ears cut off; ’ — *الاذن عندهم قربي با* — From this circumstance he became generally known under the surname of *ابن همشك* Ibn Humushk, which passed to his posterity. His grandson, Ibráhím, continued in the service of the Bení Húd, until the last sovereign of that dynasty was expelled from Saragossa, when he entered the household of one of the Almoravide [princes], and served him in the capacity of chief huntsman. After spending some time in his service, Ibn Humushk went over to the Christians, and resided for a while at the court of the King of Castile; but, repenting what he had done, he returned to his duty, and betook himself to Granada, where an Almoravide chieftain, named Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, was then commanding. When the civil war broke out in 539, and Ibn Hamdín revolted at Cordova, assuming the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful), Ibráhím, who was a shrewd man and spoke the language of the Christians well, was dispatched by his master to Cordova, on a message to Ibn Hamdín, whose friendship and alliance he sought. From Cordova Ibráhím went to Murcia, whose king, Ibn 'Iyádh, received him well, and appointed him governor of a castle called *حصن شقوبس* Hisn-Shekúbis. Having subsequently obtained possession of Segura, through which his power was greatly increased, Ibn Humushk made an alliance with the rebel Mohammed Ibn Mardanish, who then ruled over the greater part of Eastern Spain, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. In union with Ibn Mardanish, Ibráhím waged war against the Almohades, and reduced several of their cities, until he quarrelled with his son-in-law, embraced the party of his enemies, and made war against him. At last, he crossed over to Africa, and settled at Meknásah (Mequinez), where he died in Rejeb, 572, or thereabouts.” Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lv., and Conde, who, in a few pages, designates this chieftain under five different names,—Aben Hamusec, Hamasek, Hamusek, Hamsec, and ben Hamusec.

¹⁹ The author ought to have said, “ in the suburb, afterwards called the suburb of the people of Baeza,” for it was not until the reduction of that city by Ferdinand III., in A. D. 1157, that the Albayzin or *Rabadhu-l-báyizin* took its name from the inhabitants of that city, who settled there in great numbers.

²⁰ Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, the founder of the dynasty of the Almohades, who assumed the character of Mahdí, was not a religious innovator, as Conde and other writers after him have erroneously asserted. He merely preached reform and a closer adherence to the doctrines inculcated in the Korán, and to the principles of the unity of God, for which reason he and his followers called themselves *الموحدون* *Al-muwahhedín* or unitarians, in opposition to the Almoravides, whom they called *المجسمون* *Al-mujassemún* or corporalists, because they partook in some degree of the opinions of Mohammed Ibn Kerám, who described God as finite and circumscribed on all sides, and as being tangible to the hand and visible to the eye.

CHAPTER III.

¹ Ibn Sâhibi-s-salât (*loco laudato*, fo. 75) gives the following details on the conquests of Alfonso Enriquez, whom he calls صاحب قلبرية the Lord of Kolimriah (now Coimbra). "Alfonso was one of the most enterprising among the Christian kings of these calamitous times. Profiting by the troubles and civil wars which divided the Moslems of Andalus after the overthrow of the Almoravide dynasty, he pushed his conquests farther than any other chief of his nation, principally in the districts of Al-gharb (Western Spain). He took Santarem and Beja on the 22nd of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 554, which answers to the 1st of December دجنبر of the Christian year 1159.^a After a stay of four months and ten days in the latter city, Alfonso evacuated it, having previously demolished the fortifications. In Jumáda the second of 560 (April or May, A. D. 1164), he surprised the city of ترخاله Truxillo; and in Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year (Oct. A. D. 1165), did the same with يابورة Yeburah (Ebora). He also took قاصرش Cazeres in Safar, 561 (Dec. A. D. 1165), and the castle of منتاجش Muntajesh (Montanches) in Jumáda the first (March, A. D. 1166). شبيرنة (Severina?) or شنتيرنة (Sant-Irene), and جلمانية Jelmániyyah (Germania), were the next to fall into his hands, the former having surrendered to him on the last day of Jumáda the first of the same year (April, 1166).

"The manner in which this enemy of God took most of these places was this: when he had fixed upon the object of the attack, he set out from one of his strongholds where he usually resided, leading a small band of resolute followers, and choosing for that purpose a dark and tempestuous night. Arrived before the fortress, he would himself plant the scaling ladder against the walls, and be the first to ascend. When on the top of the wall, he would listen attentively in order to ascertain whether the sentries were on the watch or not; and when he felt sure that our people were asleep, he would rush upon the nearest sentry, and, putting a dagger to his throat, compel him to call out the usual watch-word, so as to make the other sentries believe that all was right. This being done, he waited on the rampart until a sufficient party of his own men were upon the walls, when, after uttering their usual war cry, they all rushed together into the city, and put to the sword whomsoever they met on their passage.

"Alfonso took Badajoz in 564 (beginning Oct. 4, A. D. 1168); the Almohades, who composed the garrison, retiring to the *kassábah*. Soon after, Fernando [King of Leon], whose tributary and vassal the governor of Badajoz was, hastened to his relief, and besieged Alfonso within Badajoz. A party of the assailants having obtained admission into the *kassábah*, Alfonso and his followers were attacked on both sides in the streets, defeated with great loss, and compelled to leave the city. As Alfonso was issuing at full speed from one of the gates, his right thigh came in contact with the iron bolt which secured the gate, and was broken. He fell senseless from his horse, and was carried by his followers to a place in the neighbourhood called بكاية Bekáyah. He was, however, pursued and taken prisoner by the cavalry of his rival, Fernando, who did him no harm, but treated him kindly, and set him free. After this mishap, Alfonso never mounted a horse. Fernando evacuated Badajoz in Sha'bán, 564 (May, A. D. 1169), and returned to his dominions."

² Compare the Appendix, p. lxii., and the accounts given by the author of the *Kartás* (in Moura's translation, cap. xlvi.), and Conde (vol. ii. cap. lxiii.). The anonymous author of the history of Morocco

^a According to our system of calculation, the 22nd of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 554, fell on the 2nd of January, A. D. 1160.

says that "Yúsus died on the banks of the Tagus, as he was returning from his expedition to Shantareyn
 و كانت وفاته بنهر تاجة في قبوله من غزوة شنترين علي ظهر دابته": (Santarem):

³ The building of the mosque of Seville was begun in Ramadhán, A. H. 567 (A. D. 1172), and the work was prosecuted with such ardour that in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year (July or August) enough of the building was completed to allow the preacher, Abú-l-kásim 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ghafír Al-liblí (from Niebla), to preach a sermon there. Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, from whom the above details are borrowed, adds, that the new mosque was built on the site of the old one called جامع العبدس Jami' Al-'abdis, which, besides being very small, had long been in a ruinous state. The chief architect was Ahmed Ibn Bāsah, assisted by Abú Dáúd يلول بن جلداس Yelúl Ibn Jeldásen, Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr, and Abú Bekr Al-yenakí. 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Merwán Ibn Sa'id Al-'ansí was some time inspector-in-chief of the work; but, owing to some disagreement with his comrades, he was superseded and replaced by Abú Dáúd.

The same writer attributes to Yúsus the building of a castle or tower called Buheyrah, out of the gate of Jehwar in Seville, on the spot anciently called لقم فرعون 'the mouthful of Pharaoh,' as well as the erection of a bridge of boats on the Guadalquivir. These two works were executed in 566. Yúsus is likewise said to have been the first who مَصَّرَ made Seville a great metropolis; he supplied it with water brought from the neighbouring mountains by means of an aqueduct now called *Los Caños de Carmona*, and repaired the walls of the city, which had been destroyed by a sudden inundation of the Guadalquivir. The author of the *Karttás* adds, that he built two wharfs for the unloading of merchandise.

- 4 ازال حجابه عني وعيني .: تراه من المهابة في حجاب
 وقربني تفضله ولكن .: بعدت مهابة عند اقترابي
- 5 ولما تلاقينا الطعن بيننا .: فمنا ومنهم طايحون عديد
 و جال غرار الهند فينا وفيهم .: فمنا ومنهم قائم و حصيد
 فلا صدر الآ فيه صدر مثقف .: و حول الوريد لحسام و رود
 صبرنا ولا كهف سوي البيض .: كلانا علي حد الجلال جليد
 ولكن شددنا شدة فتبلدوا .: ومن يتبلد لا يزال يحيد
 فولوا و للسمر الطوال بها مهم .: ركوع و للبيض الرقاق سجد

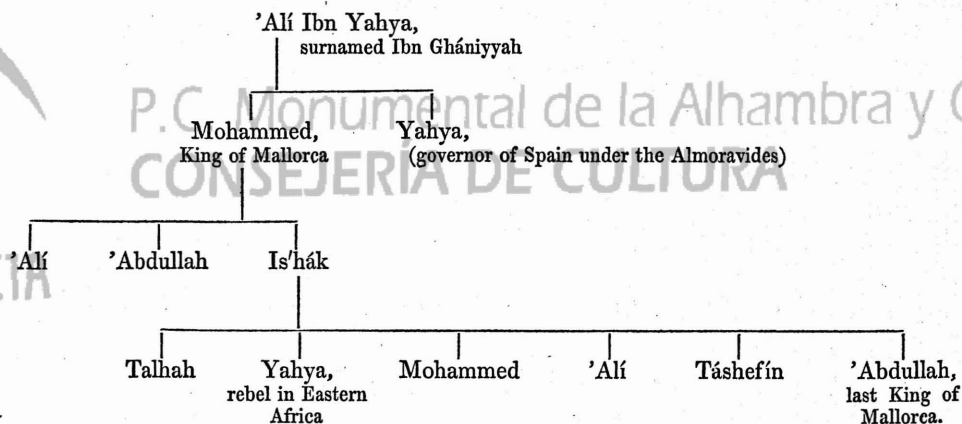
The "Lord of Toledo" mentioned in the above passage could not be Alfonso II., who died in 1157, and had been succeeded by his son Sancho III. The monarch alluded to was Alfonso III. of Castile, who reigned from 1158 to 1214.

⁶ الارك Alark, which, in my copy of the *Karttás*, is written thus: الأرك Alirak. The place, however,

was not near Badajoz, as is stated by Al-makkarí; it was in the province of Toledo, not far from the town of Almagro, and it had been built by Alfonso III., on the site of the ancient Ilarcuris, in 1178.

⁷ This fact is not recorded in any of the historical works to which I have had access. The author of the *Karttás* says, that immediately after the battle, Ya'kúb advanced upon Toledo, and arrived as far as Jebal Suleymán (La Cuesta de Zulema), near Alcalá de Henares; but, that after laying waste the country on his passage, he returned to Seville, whence he crossed over to Africa.

⁸ This was Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, the Almoravide, who, leaving the island of Mallorca, where his family had established themselves, sailed to Eastern Africa, and succeeded in rekindling the civil war against the Almohades. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lxiii. This Yahya, however, must not be confounded, as Conde has often done, with another Almoravide chieftain bearing the same name and belonging to the same family, who, after resisting for a long time the establishment of the Almohades in Spain, was at last compelled to yield to the victorious arms of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and died at Granada in 543. The former was the son of Is'hák Ibn Mohammed, and the latter the son of 'Alí Ibn Yahya, who, according to Ibnu Khaldún, was the first of the family who was surnamed Ibn Ghániyyah, after his mother. As the family of the Bení Ghániyyah, who belonged to the Berber tribe of Masúfah, played an important part in the affairs of the Peninsula during the empire of the Almoravides, and some of its members reigned in the Balearic islands, I here subjoin their genealogical tree.



⁹ My copy reads نكعة Néká'h, by the simple alteration of one point; but there can be no doubt that Beká'h is the true reading.

¹⁰ The mosque had been completed under the reign of his father; what Ya'kúb did, was to finish the tower صومعة which, according to Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, was begun on the 13th of Safar, A. H. 580 (May, A. D. 1184).

¹¹ Al-makkarí gives, in the third book of the first part, a specimen of this ode, which begins thus:

ساشكر بحراً ذا عباب قطعته .: الي بحر جود ما لا خراه ساحل

" I will sing the praise of a stormy sea, which I crossed to another sea of generosity ; both being boundless oceans."

¹² الذخيرة السنية في تاريخ دولة المرينية — This history of the dynasty of the Bení Merín, or Bení 'Abdi-l-hakk, as they are otherwise called, was unknown to Háji Khalfah.

¹³ Idrís Al-mámún took a body of Christians into his pay, who assisted him in his wars against Yahya An-násir. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lxxv. According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyah*, Ar-rashíd and As-sa'id, who were the successors of Al-mámún, had a numerous body-guard entirely composed of Christians.

¹⁴ The successor of Idrís was not As-sa'id, but Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ar-rashíd, who died on Thursday, the 9th of Jumáda the second, A. H. 640 (Dec. A. D. 1242), and was succeeded by 'Alí As-sa'id, the son [not the brother] of Idrís Al-mámún. See the *Kartás*, translated by Moura, cap. xlix.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ القشي — which might also be pronounced ' Al-kishí ' or ' Al-kosha. '

² الصخيرة — Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Mohammed Ibn Húd, writes *الصخیراب* As-sokhayráb. The author of the *Kartás* places the rising of Ibn Húd at Orihuela, a town also belonging to the province of Murcia.

³ Upon the meaning of the word *al-jauf*, see vol. i. p. 322, note 43, of this translation.

⁴ Owing to the turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of Merida, whose repeated rebellions have been recorded elsewhere (pp. 127 and 439), that once flourishing city was destroyed by Mohammed, the fifth Sultán of the house of Umeyyah, in A. H. 254. It then ceased to be the seat of the government of the province, which was transferred to Badajoz, the ancient Pax Augusta.

⁵ تذكر البظفري — but I am inclined to think that *تذكرة للبظفري* is a preferable reading.

⁶ Conde (vol. iii. p. 9) places the taking of Merida in 629; the author of the *Kartás*, in 628; but the date given by Al-makkarí agrees better with the Christian accounts.

⁷ See the account of Ibnu Khaldún, Appendix, p. lxxvii.

⁸ Al-makhzúmi is the surname of Abú-l-motref Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Omayrah, who, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, wrote a history of the island of Mallorca, where he resided for many years. He was

descended from Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-makhzúmi, who, in A. H. 566, delivered Valencia to the Almohades. (See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 58.) Al-makkarí treats of him in the first book of the first part, giving long extracts from his poems, as well as from several *risáleh* or elegant epistles which he addressed to the Sultáns of Morocco and Túnis, stimulating them to wage war against the Christians. He was born at Jezírah-Shukar, or the island on the Xucar (now Alcira), in A. H. 585. On the taking of Valencia by the Christians, in A. D. 1242, he crossed over to Africa, and entered the service of 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ar-rashíd, son of Abú-l-'ala Idrís Al-mámún, eleventh Sultán of the Almohades, who chose him for his Kátib or secretary in one of the civil departments. After filling for some time that situation, Al-makhzúmi was appointed Kádí of a town called *هَيْلِنَا* Heylenah; next of Salé; and lastly of Meknásah Az-zeytún. During the wars between the Almohades and the Bení Merín, as Al-makhzúmi was journeying from the latter place to Ceuta, the caravan of which he formed part was attacked and plundered by robbers, and he lost every thing he possessed, being thereby reduced to great poverty. Disgusted with his position, Al-makhzúmi resolved upon repairing to Eastern Africa. To this end he wrote to Abú Zakariyyá [Yahya] Al-hafssí, at that time governor of Bujéyah, a letter full of rhetorical beauties, in which he related his late misfortune and the poverty to which he had been reduced. So touched was the governor by the letter, that he not only invited Al-makhzúmi to Bujéyah, where he had him hospitably entertained, but recommended him to his relative, Al-mustanser Al-hafssí, the reigning Sultán of Túnis, who took Al-makhzúmi into his service, and conferred upon him a very lucrative appointment. Al-makhzúmi remained at Túnis until he died, on Friday, the 20th of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 648 (March, A. D. 1251). He wrote several works, among which the following are the most remarkable: sermons in imitation of those of Al-jauzí; a collection of epistles in prose and in verse, addressed to various princes of the Almohades, or Bení Abí Hafss; a history of Mallorca, describing the state of the island at the time he inhabited it, and its surrender to the Christians, written in imitation of the history which the Imám Al-isbahání wrote of the conquest of Jerusalem; and lastly, an abridgement of the history of the Almohades by Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát.

Here follow in the original MS., but not in the abridgement or in the improved edition, several *kassidas* in allusion to the taking of Valencia and other cities by the Christians. The first, rhyming in *ba* and addressed to Abú Zakariyyá Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed, Sultán of Eastern Africa, has no name of the author. Then follows another by Abú-l-baká Sáleh Ibn Sheríf Ar-rondí (from Ronda), describing the conquests made by the Christians in different parts of the Peninsula, after the expulsion of Al-mámún [Idrís] from Spain. Of this last poem, which consists of several hundred distichs, Al-makkarí informs us, that he saw in Africa a copy to which another poet, from Granada, had made a considerable addition in the same metre and rhyme, describing the taking of Baza, Granada, and other cities, by King Ferdeland (Fernando). Next follows a *risáleh* (epistle) written partly in rhymed prose and partly in verse, by the above-mentioned Abú-l-motref Ibn 'Omayrah Al-makhzúmi, and addressed to the historian Ibnu-l-abbár, as well as the reply of the latter, written in the same strained and highly figurative style after which Al-makkarí transcribes a poetical composition of Abú Is'hák Ibráhím Ibnu-d-dabbágh Al-ishbilí, on the battle of Al-'akáb or *Las Navas* lost by Mohammed An-násir. Numerous extracts are also given from poems by Ibn Khafájah, Abú-r-rabi' Al-kalá'í, Ibn Rashíd, and Abú Ja'far Al-wakshí, among which are numerous *azjál* and *muwashshahát*, two species of metrical composition then greatly in vogue among the Spanish Moslems, who pass as the inventors of them.

When, in vol. i. p. 408, I offered some conjectures on the *muwashshahát*, I was very far from imagining that I should find in the third book of the second part of Al-makkarí's work a full account of that metrical form and its inventors; much less that the diligent Von Hammer had just published the identical