

passage, with a French translation, in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris (Aug. 1839). I have since carefully compared the passage with a copy of *Ibnu Khaldún*, and found it correctly given. This renders it superfluous for me to enter more into the subject; I will only add that there seem to be more varieties of rhyme in the *muwashshahah* than those indicated by *Ibnu Khaldún*. As a proof of this, I will quote here a few verses of one by *Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi* (*Ahmed Abú 'Amrú*), who is by some believed to have been the inventor of them.

ثم غزا في عقب عام قابل .: فجال في شدونة و الساحل  
ولم يدع رية و الجزيرة .: حتي كواكبها المهولة  
ثم اناخ في ذري قرمونة .: بكلل كمدرة الطاحونة  
علي الذي خالف فيها وافتري .: يعزي الي سواده اذا اعترى

“ About the end of the ensuing year, he set out in hostile array, to overrun Sidonia and the adjoining coast.

“ Nor did he forget [to invade] Rayyah and Algesiras, until their stars grew pale through fear.

“ After this he marched to the neighbourhood of Carmona, his host [moving on] like the revolutions of the mill-stone.

“ Rebels and liars trembled at his approach, as if they were suddenly seized by violent fever.”

The author alludes to the conquests of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

<sup>9</sup> *Jayme I.* of Aragon, surnamed “ el Conquistador.” The captured vessel is elsewhere said to have been a *مسطح mesteh*,—in the Catalonian dialect *mestech*,—whence the Castilians made *mistico*.

<sup>10</sup> *علي حربية الحزينة من جهة باب الكهل*—thus in the *Gotha MS.* A. reads *علي حربية الحزينة*. B. *علي حربية الحزينة*.

<sup>11</sup> *Muntaner*, in his *Chronica del Rey Don Jaume Darago*, written in the *Limosine* dialect, and printed at *Barcelona* in 1562 (fo. vi.), says that the city was taken on the festival of *St. Silvester* and *St. Coloma*.

<sup>12</sup> *King Jayme* is said in *Muntaner (ubi supra)* to have seized the Moorish governor by the beard, in compliance with a vow which he had made before setting out on his expedition. *E lo senyor Rey conech lo Rey Sarrahi, e per força darmes acostas a ell, e pres lo per la barba.*

<sup>13</sup> هل امان من لحظك الفتان .: و قوام يميل كالخيزران  
مهجتي منك في جسيم و لكن .: جفوني قد متعت في جنان  
فتنتني لواحظ ساخرات .: لست اخشي من فتنة الشيطان

14 حَمَالَةُ السَّيْفِ تُوهِى جَيِّدَ حَامِلِهَا .∴ لَا سِيَّيَا يَوْمَ اسْرَاعٍ وَانْجَازٍ  
وَ خَيْرٌ مَا اسْتَعْمَلَ الْإِنْسَانَ يَوْمَئِذٍ .∴ لِحَسَامٍ عَلَتْهَا لِبَاسٌ غَنَبَازٍ

<sup>15</sup> The death of Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún is variously related by the Mohammedan writers. According to Al-khazrejí (App. p. xxxix.), he was murdered in A. H. 485 by Abú Nasr, the general of the Almoravides, whom Ibn Jeháf had brought to Valencia. Conde (vol. ii. p. 175) says, that Ibn 'A'yeshah, another Almoravide general, after the reduction of Denia, besieged Al-kádir in Valencia. The latter, assisted by Ibn Táhir [the dethroned King of Murcia], made a stout defence; but the Almoravides having gained possession of the city through the treason of the Kádí Ibn Jeháf, who opened one of the gates to them, the garrison were overpowered, and Al-kádir himself slain. In the *Cronica de España*, Alcadubirle (Al-kádir-billah) is said to have left his palace disguised in woman's clothes, and to have taken refuge at a house in the city, where he lay concealed until Ibn Jeháf found him out and had him put to death, to rob him of his treasures.

<sup>16</sup> Ibnu-l-abbár, *apud* Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 43), gives the latter date. Conde (vol. ii. p. 183) adds, in the month of Jumáda the first (April or May, A. D. 1094). See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxxix. According to the author of the *Cronica de España* (fo. ccc.), the Cid had been some time in possession of Valencia during the lifetime of Al-kádir; but, on the approach of the Almoravides, he evacuated that city, and abandoned the king to his fate.

<sup>17</sup> In the month of Rejeb (May, A. D. 1102), says Conde. The city, however, was not recovered by Abú Mohammed Modhzeli, as here stated, but by Yahya Ibn Abí Bekr, one of the sons of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlii.

<sup>18</sup> This Merwán [Ibn 'Abdilla] Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz is the same individual mentioned in vol. i. pp. 66 and 373, note 7, of this translation. He was descended from 'Abdu-l-'azíz, first King of Valencia of the dynasty of the Bení Abí 'A'mir. Abú Bekr, the last King of Valencia of the dynasty of the Bení Abí 'Amir, who was dethroned by Yahya Al-kádir, was probably his father.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix, p. lxxi.

<sup>20</sup> I have already alluded to this historian in the notes to the first volume of this translation (p. 473); but, led into error by Casiri, I there called him Abú Bekr 'Abdullah Ibn Abí Bekr, &c. His real name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Bekr Ibnu-l-abbár Al-kodhá'í Al-balensí. The individual above named was his father. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 129.

An interesting account of Ibnu-l-abbár and his untimely death occurs in the *Ráyidu-l-faláh* (Ar. MS. in my possession), which, as it agrees with that given by Ibnu Khaldún (Part vi. fo. 139), I am inclined to think is borrowed from that historian. I here translate it: "Ibnu-l-abbár (Abú 'Abdillah 'Mohammed) was at first Kátib (secretary) to Síd Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss, grandson of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, when he was governor of Valencia. He afterwards filled that situation under his son Síd Abú 'Zeyd, and accompanied him to the court [of Jayme I.], when that prince abjured the religion of his fathers and embraced Christianity; but, before Abú Zeyd had accomplished his wicked purpose,

“ Ibnu-l-abbár left his master and returned to Valencia. Upon his arrival in that city, Zeyyán Ibn Mardanish, who was ruling there at the time, appointed him his secretary; and, when the Christians laid siege to Valencia, sent him to Africa for succour. Ibnu-l-abbár repaired to Túnis, then the court of Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss, solicited, and obtained the aid of his fleet. He then returned to Valencia, where he remained until the city was taken [by Jayme]; when he embarked with all his family for Túnis. Abú Zakariyyá received Ibnu-l-abbár kindly, and gave him an office at his court, the duties of which consisted in writing the *'alemah* or countersign at the bottom of the royal letters and dispatches. It happened, however, that Abú Zakariyyá, who preferred the Eastern hand to the Western, thought of superseding Ibnu-l-abbár, and replacing him by Abú-l-abbás Al-ghosání, who could write the hand generally used in the East. Intelligence of the Sultán's determination having reached Ibnu-l-abbár, he was exceedingly angry and piqued at the preference given to the Eastern hand, and lost no opportunity of making his discontent known to the Sultán. Some time after, Ibnu-l-abbár received orders to write a letter in the Sultán's name, but to leave a blank for the *'alemah*, which was to have been filled by Al-ghosání; but instead of complying with the order, he not only did as before, but wrote it in a larger hand than usual. Having been upbraided for his disobedience to his superior in the office, he flew into a most violent passion, threw down the pen with which he was then writing, and spoke in very indecorous terms of Abú Zakariyyá, which being reported to that Sultán, he gave orders that Ibnu-l-abbár should be kept a prisoner in his own dwelling until he decided upon the kind of punishment to be inflicted upon him for his disrespect. During his seclusion, Ibnu-l-abbár applied for permission to write a paper on the Kátibs who had momentarily lost the favour of their masters, but had been restored to it; and having obtained it, produced his celebrated tract entitled *اعتاب الكتاب* “the return to favour of the scribes,” which was so much liked by Abú Zakariyyá that he forgave his offence and restored him to his office. Abú Zakariyyá was succeeded on the throne by his son Al-mustanser, who not only confirmed Ibnu-l-abbár in his office, but promoted him to the rank of Wízir. Ibnu-l-abbár, however, had a bitter enemy in the person of Ibn Abí Huseyn, one of Al-mustanser's courtiers, who, being on bad terms with him ever since his first visit to Túnis, never lost an opportunity of doing him all the harm he could. Having one day accused Ibnu-l-abbár of being implicated in a conspiracy to dethrone Al-mustanser, a search was made among his papers, and they say that there was found one in verse which began thus:

طغي بتونس خلق سيوة ظلمبا خليفة

‘ In Túnis rules a tyrant, whom wicked people call Khalif.’

“ No sooner had Al-mustanser cast his eyes over the contents of the paper, than he sent some of his guards to Ibnu-l-abbár's dwelling, with orders to put him to death; which was done, the soldiers striking him with their spears. Others relate this differently; but there can be no doubt as to the lamentable end of this celebrated writer. He was executed on the 15th of Moharram, A. H. 658 (Jan. A. D. 1260), his head cut off, and fixed to a stake, after which his body was burned in one of the squares of Túnis, together with all his works and a valuable library which he had brought over from Andalus.”

According to the explanation given by this author of the object of Ibnu-l-abbár's work, I am inclined to think that *اعتاب* is not, as I first thought, the plural of *عتب* *'atab*, meaning ‘a step or degree,’ but the noun of action of the fourth form, *اعتب*—and that the title of the work is to be translated by “the return to favour of the scribes or secretaries.”

Besides his *Tekmilah*, or supplement to the biographical dictionary of Al-homaydí, Ibnu-l-abbár wrote,

1st, a biography of Spanish poets, entitled تحفة القادم "gift for the stranger or new comer," a copy of which is preserved in the library of the Escorial (No. 354), although the name of the author is there given differently; 2nd, another biographical dictionary of illustrious Spaniards, called *Hillatu-s-seyrá*, "variegated silken robe," of which there is also a copy in the Escorial Library, No. 1649.

<sup>21</sup> In the Limousine Chronicle, attributed to Jayme I. of Aragon, which contains a detailed account of the taking of Valencia, the year 1239 is given by mistake.

Instead of "Ibn 'Iyádh," عيَّاض — some copies read عيَّاض 'Ayádh, but it is difficult to say which is the best reading; for both are Arabic names, and, strange to say, I have frequently met with the same word differently pointed, though applied to the same individual. Ibn Khallekán writes 'Iyádh; Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu-l-khattíb, 'Ayádh.

<sup>22</sup> اينجة — My copy reads استجة Estajah (Ezija).

<sup>23</sup> 'Istí'áb is the title of a work on the *as'háb* or companions of the Prophet, by Abú 'Amru Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr. See above, pp. 2 and 396, note 8.

<sup>24</sup> The Abú Sa'íd mentioned in this passage is the same prince alluded to in vol. i. pp. 164 and 441 of this translation. He had been governor of Granada at the beginning of his father's reign.

<sup>25</sup> Conde (vol. ii. p. 347) places the taking of Almería by Abú Sa'íd in 552, ten years after its occupation by the Castilians; but the author of the *Karttás*, Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, and Ibnu Khaldún, agree in giving the date of 546.

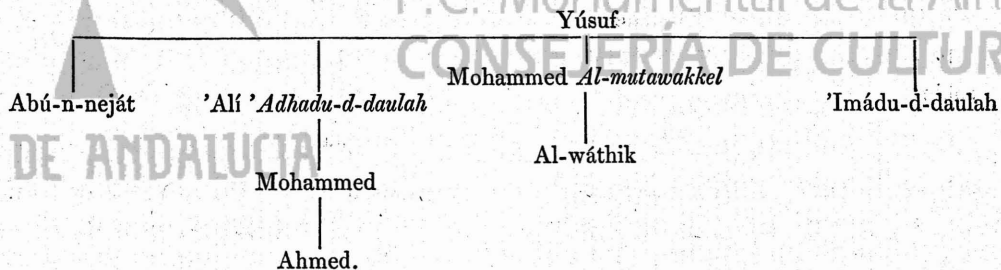
<sup>26</sup> Al-mutawakkel Ibn Húd left a son named Abú Bekr Al-wáthik-billah, whom he had previously appointed to succeed him. He had besides three brothers: Abú-n-neját Sálím, surnamed 'Imádu-d-daulah (column of the state), who was governor of Seville; Abú Is'hák *Sherfu-d-daulah* (ornament of the state); and Abú-l-hasan 'Adhadu-d-daulah (arm of the state). The latter was taken prisoner by the Christians; but his brother Mohammed paid a considerable ransom for him, and he was set free. Nothing can be more obscure and contradictory than the few accounts we have of these princes respectively; the confusion being greatly increased by the fact that all four are generally designated in history by their family appellation, *Ibn Húd*, without their distinctive names or surnames. After the death of Mohammed, *i. e.* on the 4th of Moharram, A. H. 636 (Aug. 26, A. D. 1238), his brother, 'Adhadu-d-daulah [Alí Ibn Yúsuf], who was governor of Murcia, caused himself to be proclaimed by the inhabitants; but scarcely had he reigned eight months, when Abú Jemíl Zeyyán, the dethroned King of Valencia, turned his arms against him, took his capital, and put him to death on Friday, the 15th of Ramadhán of the same year (Conde, vol. iii. p. 21). This account, however, is contradicted by Ibnu Khaldún (App. p. lxxviii.) and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 64), who say that the victim of Abú Jemíl was a noble chief named Abú Bekr 'Azíz Ibn Khattáb, who had reigned in Murcia ever since the death of Al-mutawakkel.

In A. H. 638, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, the son of 'Alí, regained possession of his capital; and in the ensuing year [A. H. 639] became a vassal of Ferdinand III. of Castile, and admitted a Christian garrison into the citadel of Murcia; but, either the Christian conqueror was not satisfied with this mark of

vassalage, or, what is more probable, Ibn Húd entered into some secret compact with Ibnu-l-ahmar, Sultán of Granada, to rid himself of his guests: the fact is, that in A. H. 640, Ferdinand sent against Murcia his son Alfonso, who took possession of the city and dethroned Ibn Húd. It must, however, be observed, that whilst Ibnu-l-khattáb and other Mohammedan writers place the taking of Murcia in 640, Cascales (*Discursos Historicos de Murcia*, fo. 18) says, that it took place at the end of 638; and he quotes even a grant of land by Ferdinand to the monastery of St. Mary of Valpuedra, made in Murcia, and bearing the date of July 2, 1241.

Meanwhile Al-wáthik, the son of Al-mutawakkel, lived in obscurity. Ibnu-r-remímí not only refused to acknowledge him as his father's successor, but gave up Almeria to Ibnu-l-ahmar, the Sultán of Granada. Deprived of the capital of his kingdom, Al-wáthik withdrew to a strong castle in the neighbourhood of Almeria, where he defended himself against the attacks of Ibnu-l-ahmar. When, in the year 1261, the Moslems of Andalusia resolved, in concert with Ibnu-l-ahmar, to shake off the Castilian yoke, the people of Murcia seem to have chosen Al-wáthik for their king; for we see him figure in the *Cronica de Don Alfonso el Sabio* under the corrupt name of *Alboagues*. Murcia, however, was speedily reduced by Alfonso X. and his auxiliary, Jayme of Aragon, and Al-wáthik deprived of his states; but the Castilian king, wishing, as his chronicler informs us (fo. viii.), "to have a king for a vassal," appointed to the vacant throne "un hermano de Abenhud," a brother of [Al-mutawakkel] Ibn Húd, probably the same Ahmed mentioned by Ibnu Khaldún (App. p. lxxviii.), unless he be the same Mohammed who had filled the throne of Cordova on a former occasion.

According to Cascales (*Discursos Historicos*, fo. 25), the second taking of Murcia happened on the 13th of January, 1265, a date which can nowise be reconciled with those here assigned for that event, much less with that given by Ibnu Khaldún. (See App. p. lxxviii.) In order to render the facts above recorded more conspicuous, I here subjoin the genealogical tree of the second dynasty of the Bení Húd.



## CHAPTER V.

<sup>1</sup> Nasr Ibn Yúsuf was the name of Mohammed's brother. See the Genealogical Table of the Bení Nasr, at the end of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the title "Amír," taken by the sons and brothers of the Sultáns of all the dynasties that ruled over Spain, the Almohades assumed that of Síd or Seyd (Lord), whence the Spaniards have taken the word "Cid."

<sup>3</sup> Ibn. Ashkilúlah or Ishkilúlah was the surname of Abú Is'hák Ibráhím At-tojibí. See Ibnu-l-khattáb;

*apud Casiri, Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 98. He seems to have been married to a daughter of Ibnu-l-ahmar; for in the inscription on the tombstone of his son [Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah] at Guadix, it is said that Mohammed II. of Granada (son of Ibnu-l-ahmar) was his *khál* or uncle on the mother's side.

<sup>4</sup> بايع لبني هود — If true, this is a curious fact, not recorded by Ibnu-l-khattib or any other of the Arabian writers to whose works I have had access. But I rather think that Ibnu Khaldún was mistaken. Ibnu-l-khattib informs us that Ibnu-l-ahmar sent his allegiance to the 'Abbáside Khalif. His words are as follow: *و لقب ما افتتح امره بالدعا للمستنصر العباسي ببغداد حاذيا حزو سبيه ابن هود للهج* و لقب ما افتتح امره بالدعا للمستنصر العباسي ببغداد حاذيا حزو سبيه ابن هود للهج. "At the beginning of his reign, Ibnu-l-ahmar caused Al-  
" mustanser Al-'abbási, of Baghdád, to be proclaimed in his dominions, following in this the example of  
" his namesake Ibn Húd [Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf], in order by that means to gain popularity among his  
" subjects."

<sup>5</sup> *Marhalah* means, properly speaking, 'one day's march,' or thirty miles; but there must be some error in the numbers, for the proportion of length and width of the kingdom of Granada could at no time be twenty to one.

<sup>6</sup> Ibnu Khaldún resided some time at Granada, and was the pupil of Ibnu-l-khattib, as well as of 'Isa Ibn Az-zeyyat and other celebrated literati of that city. He himself says so in his Historical Prolegomena, in the chapter treating of the literature of the Arabs, fo. 273, *verso et passim*. I quote from the Leyden copy (No. 1350<sup>a</sup>); for that belonging to the British Museum is incomplete, and wants the two last books.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to his *Ahátah* (Granatensis Encyclica), extracts from which were given by Casiri (vol. ii. pp. 121-132), Ibnu-l-khattib wrote several works on the history of Granada, the titles of which I subjoin: *طرفة العصر في اخبار بني نصر* "the novelty of the age: on the history of the Bení Nasr," which the author himself informs us was completed in Sha'bán, A. H. 700; *عائِد الصلة* "the visitor of the *Silah*," being a supplement to the biographical dictionary by Ibn Zubeyr, entitled *Silah*; *تاج المحلي* "the ornamental diadem," or a history of Spain and Africa since the accession of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar to the throne of Granada; *الحلل المرقومة* "embroidered robes,"—this was printed, with a Latin translation by Casiri, in the second volume of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* pp. 177-319;—*قطع السلوك المنظوم في اخبار الملوك* "pieces from threads of connected pearls: on the history of kings." This was a general history, in verse, of all the Mohammedan dynasties in the East and West, but dwelling more particularly on that of the Bení Nasr of Granada.

<sup>8</sup> *تاكرونا* — Probably the same place called *تاكرونا* Tekerná in the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán. See p. 457, note 47.

<sup>9</sup> Ibnu-l-khattib gives the life of this individual in his biographical dictionary of illustrious Granadians. His entire name was Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-lúshí Al-yahsobí (Abú 'Abdillah). He was a native of Loxa, in the province of Granada, where he was born in 678. He died at Granada on the 20th of Rabi' the second of the year 752. He is said to have been a Kátib

(secretary) to Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar Al-ghálib-billah, whose friend he was, before he assumed the royal title.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix, p. lxxix., where the taking of Seville by Ibnu-l-ahmar is placed two years after, in 631. It was Al-báji who took the city in 629.

<sup>11</sup> ابن عزار — But I think that ابن عزاري Ibn Az-zári ought to be substituted. A historian so named is frequently quoted by Ibnu-l-khattíb, who calls him Al-morrékoshi' (the native of, or resident at, Morocco). This history, entitled بيان المغرب *Biyan al-maghreb*, was unknown to Háji Khalfah.

<sup>12</sup> شاية *sháyah*, Sp. "saya:" both are no doubt derived from the Latin *sagus*.

<sup>13</sup> حصن بيلش — as in Casiri (vol. ii. p. 264); but my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb reads حصن بلول Hisn-Belúl.

<sup>14</sup> Alfonso did not visit Ya'kúb in Africa, but met him in Spain. Ibnu-l-khattíb says that the interview took place in a town called Hadrát 'Abbád, near Ronda, and that he pledged the crown jewels as a security for the sums he had agreed to pay to Abú Yúsuf for the service. He then adds, on the authority of a man who was present at the interview, "On this occasion Abú Yúsuf gave a remarkable proof of the contempt in which he held the Christian king; for when Alfonso had submissively kissed his hand, he, after the usual compliments, asked in his very presence for water wherewith to wash the stain of the infidel off his hands.

"This brings to my recollection a curious incident which happened once to me, and which I will now relate, vouching for its truth.—A Jewish doctor, named Ibn رازر Razar, came once to Granada, under the reign of the grandson of this same Alfonso [Pedro], and visited me upon business. On his entering the room, where I was sitting with the Kádí-l-kodá of Granada and other government functionaries, he presented to me a paper signed by the Sultán of Western Africa, Mohammed, the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan. This Mohammed, having been dethroned by a kinsman of his, fled to the court of the King of Castile, whose assistance he implored against the usurper of his throne. This was readily granted, and Mohammed, having subscribed to such conditions as were imposed upon him, obtained the aid of King Pedro, and recovered his throne. It appears, however, that a dispute arose between the two as to the manner in which one of the conditions of the treaty was to be fulfilled, and the Jew was accordingly dispatched to me to know my opinion on the disputed clause. Upon his entering the room, the Jew said to me, 'My master the Sultán Don Pedro salutes thee, and requests thee to look over the contents of this paper and the offers made to him by a man who was only yesterday the most abject *dog* at his court, but who now boasts of his perfidy and treason.' I took the letter from the Jew, and, having perused its contents, returned it to him, saying, 'Take it away, I will not see it, nor will I give my opinion upon it, and decide between thee and the man whom thou callest a *dog*. Is thy master's court so free from old men who know you as *the dogs*, that you bestow such an opprobrious epithet upon a Moslem of royal birth? You, not he, are the unclean animals, whose touch must needs be purified by water. Have you so soon forgotten that when the grandfather of thy present master kissed the hand of the commander of the Moslems [Abú Yúsuf],

“ the latter asked immediately for water to wash out the stain, in the presence of both Christians and Moslems. That Mohammed has fled to your country, and taken refuge at the court of your king, is no fault of his; for you yourselves instigated him to take that step. Let this be a lesson to you never to insult those who are better men than thee.’ No sooner had I done speaking, than Abú-l-hasan, the same who afterwards became Kádí of Granada, began to shed tears and to kiss my hand, calling me saint and friend of God, and all those present imitated his example.”

<sup>15</sup> سبكة— which is also to be found written سبيكة *sabikah* and سبحة *sibkah*: the latter word means ‘ salt-hill.’

<sup>16</sup> See vol. i. p. 141, of this translation, where it is said that the title of Faquih was considered a very honourable one among the Moslems of Andalus. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives the life of Mohammed II., does not mention this circumstance.

<sup>17</sup> الهنذر— which Casiri (vol. ii. p. 273) translates by “ aspectu pulchrum.” No town of this name exists now in Andalusia.

<sup>18</sup> الغرافي— but Ibnu-l-khattíb, from whom this account appears to have been borrowed, writes الغرافي *Al-ghoráfí*.

<sup>19</sup> Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of this individual among those of his illustrious Granadians. His name was Mohammed, and he was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Ibráhím, son of Yahya, son of Mohammed, son of Sa'id, son of Mohammed, son of Fotúh, son of Mohammed, son of Ayúb, son of Al-hakím Al-lakhmí. He was a native of Ronda, but originally from Seville. At the age of three-and-twenty he left his native city, and made a pilgrimage to Mekka, visiting on his way thither the principal cities of Syria and 'Irák, where he failed not to profit by the lessons of the most distinguished authors of the time. On his return to Ronda, at the end of 685, he devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of literature, and the lectures which he gave were attended by numerous disciples. Having composed a poem in praise of Mohammed II. of Granada, he presented it to that Sultán, who was so pleased with it that he summoned the author to Granada, and appointed him his *Kátibu-l-anshá*, or secretary for the foreign correspondence. On the death of Mohammed II., his son and successor, Mohammed III., being pleased with his services, promoted Ibnu-l-hakím to the *Wizárate*, allowing him to retain his former appointment; so that he became *Dhú-l-wizárateyn*, or holder of the two *Wizárate*.

Al-makkarí does not inform us how Ibnu-l-hakím worked his own ruin and that of his master; but Ibnu-l-khattíb says, at the time that he does justice to his wisdom and talents, that he was a man of overbearing temper, very proud, and exceedingly avaricious. Although he was absent from home when the mob broke into his house, he was afterwards discovered in one of the rooms of the palace and put to death. Ibnu-l-khattíb laments the loss of a valuable library, which he had collected at great expense, and in which were some works composed by Ibnu-l-hakím, such as a history of Mohammedan Spain from the conquest to his own times. Ibnu-l-hakím left a son, also named Mohammed Ibnu-l-hakím, who wrote, among other works, one entitled الفوائد المنتخبة و البوارد المستعذبة “ selection of useful things and profitable allegations,” and a supplement to the ميزان العيال “ balance of administration,” by Ibn Ráshik.

<sup>20</sup> Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-háj, was born at Seville in A. H. 670, where he exercised the trade of engineer and carpenter. While young he crossed over to Africa, and entered Fez, at that time the court of Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, the Merínite, for whom he executed different works in that part of the city called New Fez, as well as within the precincts of his palace, &c. It was he who constructed the arsenal of Salé. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives the life of Ibnu-l-háj among those of his illustrious Granadians, says that he was "a profound "geometrician, and had much experience in making the hollow tubes," a species of cannon then in use among the Spanish Moslems: كان بصيرا باتخاذ الآلات الحربية الجافية و العمل فيها—This recommended him to the notice of Mohammed II. of Granada, who invited him to his court, and gave him employment. Abú-l-jiyúsh Nasr, the fourth of the Bení Nasr, appointed him to be his Wizír; but, being accused of corresponding with the Christians, of affecting to speak their language, and dress like them, he made numerous enemies. When the revolution broke out, which deprived Nasr of his throne, Ibnu-l-háj fled from Granada and crossed over to Africa, where he died in 714.

<sup>21</sup> السبيكة — See above, p. 534, note 15.

<sup>22</sup> قرية العطشاء "the hamlet of the thirsty men." Casiri (vol. ii. p. 286) calls it Athocha.

<sup>23</sup> An-nuwayrí, in his history of Egypt, forming part of his Cyclopædia, gives two different accounts of this battle, which, he says, reached Cairo at the beginning of A. H. 720. The first of them is in substance the same as that given by Al-makkarí, who, no doubt, borrowed it from the work of that historian. The second, which reached Egypt in the form of a letter from the Sheikh Huseyn Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám, differs in some material points; and I here translate it from a transcript sent me by my esteemed friend Dr. Reinhart Dozy, of Leyden.

"Don Pedro and Don Juan [el Tuerto], two Infantes of Castile, came here lately at the head of a formidable army, such as the Moslems never saw before, with the determination of taking possession of Granada. Their first halt was near a castle called *طشكر* Tiscar, which they besieged. The governor, whose name was Ibn Hamdún, offered to capitulate on condition that his life and those of the Moslems with him should be spared. The Christian Infantes having agreed to these conditions, it was resolved that the Christians should occupy the castle, together with the Moslems. Ibn Hamdún promised, if they sent him a body of five hundred men, to admit them into the fortress. When night came on, the Infantes, according to their promise, sent to the castle a body of five hundred horsemen, under the command of a captain named *أرفند* Arfand; but they had no sooner gained admittance into the castle than they were scattered about the various rooms of the fortress and massacred, without their being able to assist each other. When the King of Castile heard of the treason practised upon his men, he took a most solemn oath not to return to his dominions until he had taken possession of Granada by force of arms. He accordingly encamped about four miles from the city, but as no one went out against him, he struck his tents and advanced two miles further. When the Moslems saw this formidable host approach the city, fear lodged in their hearts, and they began to address the most fervent prayers to God for their deliverance. The Sultán of Granada, seeing the fear and consternation of his subjects, sent a message to the Christian, saying, 'Return to thy dominions without doing harm to the fields, and I will give thee twenty loads of money.' But the Christian refused the offer, saying, 'Nothing will deter me from besieging thy capital until I take it.' The Sultán then sent him a second message, offering twenty-five

“ loads of gold, besides one hundred dinárs daily, and one thousand every Friday ; but the Christian king returned the same answer, and, moreover, put the Moslem ambassador in irons. This convinced the Moslems that nothing could save them except their own fortitude and the Almighty's help, and they accordingly made every preparation to meet the impending danger. Having sent to implore the aid of an Amír named Abú-l-jiyúsh, he hastened to their assistance with a body of one thousand horse. Meanwhile Abú Sa'id 'Othmán Ibn Al-'ala, who commanded the troops of Granada, was preparing to march against the enemy. After directing the Amír Abú-l-jiyúsh to lay in ambush with his men in a spot which he pointed out to them, he himself left Granada at the head of his forces. 'Othmán was shortly after followed by the Sultán, after whom came an Amír named Al-maghráwí, with three hundred horse of the Bení Merín. Each of these divisions went along, trumpet sounding and cymbals beating, until they came in sight of the Christians, whom they deliberately charged. Soon after, however,—as concerted between them,—the Moslems gave way and fled towards the city, being closely pursued by the Franks ; but they had no sooner arrived at the spot where their friends were concealed, than they turned round and fought, when, those in ambush coming out, they gave their war-cry, and rushed upon the enemy, who, being taken by surprise, was completely routed,” &c.

<sup>24</sup> By *Bábá* the author means, no doubt, the Archbishop of Toledo, through whose interference the Pope is said to have granted to the Infante Don Pedro the tithes of all the churches of Spain, to cover the expenses of the war against the Moors.

<sup>25</sup> *Sheykhul-ghozát*, or “ Sheikh of the warriors,” was the title given to the general of the African troops in the service of the kings of Granada. It was one of the highest dignities at court, and was never conferred except upon members of the royal family of the Bení 'Abdi-l-hakk or Bení Merín, who were then reigning over Fez and Morocco.

<sup>26</sup> An-nuwayrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 112) also says that Don Pedro came accompanied by twenty-five princes, among whom were, his uncle Don Juan, the Lord of اشونة Ossuna (or لشبونة Lisbon), the Lord of Castile, the Lord of القرنطرة Ilkirinterrah (England), the Lord of Aragon, and the Lord of طليبة Talavera, and others, all of whom remained on the field of battle.

<sup>27</sup> The date given by Ibnu-l-khattîb agrees with the Christian accounts, which place the battle two days after the festival of St. John. The Spanish chroniclers will not allow that the body of the Infante Don Pedro was so indignantly treated. They say that it was carried off by his own men, and interred in the monastery of Las Huelgas en Burgos. See Nuñez de Villasan, *Cronica de Don Alonso XI.*, cap. xviii. As to that of Don Juan, it was afterwards given up on the payment of a large ransom, owing, it is said, to his having once befriended the Moslems — لان يُخدم المسلمين

<sup>28</sup> ورمي بالالات العظي المتخذة بالنفط كرة حديد

## CHAPTER VI.

<sup>1</sup> According to Marmol (*Hist. de Africa*, lib. ii. fo. 210, verso), the name of this son was 'Abdu-l-málik. Mariana calls him Abomilique (Abú Málík). He crossed over to Spain before his father, and took Gibraltar. Having subsequently made an incursion into Andalusia, he was killed in battle with the Christians. See Villasan, *Cronica de Alfonso el Onceno*, cap. cxiii., and Mariana, *Hist. Gen. de España*, lib. xvi. cap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> The buildings erected by order of Abú-l-hasan at Gibraltar are very minutely described by Ibn Battúttah in his original travels. That author, who visited Spain in A. H. 750, under the reign of Abú 'Inán Fáris, the son of Abú-l-hasan, enters into many interesting details upon the campaigns of the Merinite Sultáns against the Christians of Spain. Compare the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. iii. cap. xli.

<sup>3</sup> According to the author of the *Holabu-l-maushiyah*, this villa was erected by Idrís Al-mámún, Sultán of the Almohades, during his residence in Malaga, before he took possession of the throne. Síð or Seyd being the title generally given to the princes of the Almohades, the villa was called Mun'yat As-seyd. There was another villa of the same name in the outskirts of Granada, a city which, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, owed its principal buildings to its Almohade governors. The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb wa rey'ánu-sh-shebáb* says that 'Abdu-l-wáhed I., seventh Sultán of the Almohades, whilst he was governor of Granada, and before he succeeded his father on the throne, built a magnificent palace known as *Kasr 'Abdi-l-wáhed*, or the palace of 'Abdu-l-wáhed, as well as a delightful villa called *Dáru-l-beydhá*, or the white house.

<sup>4</sup> وادي سفان — now called "Rio de la miel."

<sup>5</sup> Mariana, on the authority of a register-book kept in the archives of the cathedral of Toledo, places this battle on the 30th of October.

<sup>6</sup> Abú-l-kásim Ibn Sheríf is the same individual mentioned in vol. i. p. 404, note 6, of this translation. He was one of the masters of Ibnu-l-khattíb, who devotes to him a long article in his biographical dictionary of illustrious Granadians. His full name was Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-hasaní As-sebtí; but he was better known by the surname of Ash-sheríf or Ibn Sheríf (the son of the Sheríf), because he was descended in a straight line from Al-hasan, one of the sons of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. He was born at Ceuta in Rabi' the first, A. H. 697 (Jan. A. D. 1298), but went to Granada, where he obtained office under the government, and, in A. H. 737, was appointed Kádí-l-kodá or supreme judge. In Sha'bán, 747, he was superseded, but soon after, upon the accession to the throne of Mohammed V., the eighth of the Bení Nasr, he was restored to his office, which he filled till his death. According to my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb, this happened in Sha'bán, 760 (July, A. D. 1359); which must be a mistake, since the revolution at Granada happened one month after, in Ramadhán, and Abú-l-kásim himself is said to have gone to Granada as an ambassador of Abú Sálím. Al-makkarí, who treats at length of Abú-l-kásim in the third book of the second part, where he gives the lives of the masters

of Ibnu-l-khattîb, makes the same statement as to the year of his death ; but he quotes a passage from the *وفيات* "obituary," by Al-kasmîtanî, in which the death of Abû-l-kâsim is referred to the year 761.

Among other works on various branches of literature, Abû-l-kâsim wrote an excellent commentary upon the *Makssûrah* of Ibn Hâzem, entitled *قتم الحجب المستورة في محاسن المقصورة* "the drawing of the veil which conceals the beauties of the *Makssûrah*." See vol. i. p. 405, of this translation.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Marzûk. This is, no doubt, the same individual as Abû 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abî 'Abdillah Mohammed *Ibn Marzûk*, a native of Telemsán, who, during his stay at Granada, was one of Ibnu-l-khattîb's preceptors, and became in time the Wizîr of Abû Sâlim. He was the author of a history of Abû-l-hasan 'Alî, Sultán of the dynasty of the Benî Merín, entitled *المسند الصحيح الحسن* "true allegations [drawn] from the history of the Sultán Abû-l-hasan," from which, as well as from another historical work, entitled *نزهة العنان* "the pleasure of direction," Al-makkarî gives large extracts in the eighth book of the first part, respecting the Sultán Abû-l-hasan. These are principally relating to a magnificent present which that prince is said to have sent to Al-malek An-nâsir Mohammed Ibn Kaláun, tenth Sultán of Egypt of the dynasty of the Baharites, when his aunt Mariam started on a pilgrimage to Mekka. That princess was the bearer of three of the copies of the Korán which Abû-l-hasan himself had written, and which he destined as a present to the three mosques of Mekka, Medína, and Al-kods or Jerusalem. See vol. i. p. 437, note 90, of this translation.

8

خليفة الله ساعد القدر .: . عليك ما لاح في الدجي قمر  
و دافعت عنك كف قدرته .: . ما ليس يستطيع دفعات البشر

<sup>9</sup> In that part of his work treating of the Benî Merín ; but the passage is wanting in the copy of the *Turjîmânu-l-'ibar* preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>10</sup> That is to say, of Abû 'Abdillah Mohammed, son of Abû Sa'id Faraj, who was proclaimed king at Andarax, in A. H. 627, by the general of the African troops, 'Othmân Ibn Abî-l-'ola. See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 294, and the genealogical tree of the Benî Nasr at the end of the volume. The word *reys*, whence the Spanish word "arraez" is derived, means 'a captain or chief.'

<sup>11</sup> The following account of Redwán is given in the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattîb. "Redwán, the Hájib, the ornament of the Nasrí dynasty, was originally a Christian. I once heard him say that he was born at a town called *قاصرة* Kalsérah, and that his family on the father's side were originally from Castile, and, on the uncle's, from Barcelona, both being principal families in their respective countries. Redwán's father, having killed a man, was obliged to fly the country and take refuge in Kalsérah, fearing the vengeance of the relatives of the deceased. Redwán himself, having been taken prisoner when young, was brought to this capital, where he was bought by the Sultán Abû-l-walíd Isma'íl, before he ascended the throne. That prince became so attached to him, that soon after his accession he gave Redwán the command of his armies, and appointed him besides his Hájib or

“chamberlain. Redwán made war upon the Christians with the utmost success, returning victorious from every expedition. Upon the death of Abú-l-walíd, Redwán was confirmed in his office by his “successor, Mohammed,” &c.

<sup>12</sup> جنة العريف — *Al-'arif*, in Spanish “Alarife,” means ‘an inspector of public works;’ and, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, the palace belonged to a person of that profession before it passed into the hands of one of the Sultáns of Granada, who bought it for a large price, and made considerable additions to it. This palace, which is no other than the famous Generalife at Granada, is still existing, though much dilapidated.

<sup>13</sup> Casiri (vol. ii. p. 317), and Conde (vol. iii. p. 152) after him, call this Sultán Abú Sa'id. In the extract from Ibnu Khaldún given at p. 357, Isma'il's relative and supporter is also named Abú Sa'id; yet in no part of his work does Ibnu-l-khattíb call him so. His name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Isma'il Ibn Mohammed Ibn Faraj Ibn Isma'il Ibn Nasr. My copy of the *Aháttaḥ* contains a long biography of him.

<sup>14</sup> Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Mohammed V., gives the details of this journey. The party started on the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah, and halted at Fahss Al-font, Loxa, Antequera, ذكوان Dhekuwán, and Marbella, where they embarked on the 24th. On the same day the vessel cast anchor at Ceuta. They entered Fez on Thursday, the 6th of Moharram, 761.

<sup>15</sup> Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf الصريحي As-sarihi Abú 'Abdillah, better known by the surname of ابن زعرق Ibn Zomrok, was born in the quarter of Granada called Albayzin, on the 14th of Shawwál, A. H. 733. He was one of the pupils of Ibnu-l-khattíb, who doted upon him, owing to his great imagination and talent; he succeeded him in the office of Wizír. (Ibnu-l-khattíb, *loco laudato*.) Al-makkarí, Part II. book iv., treats at length of Ibn Zomrok, whom he charges with having hastened, by his false reports, the execution of his master, Ibnu-l-khattíb. Some of the poems engraved on the walls of the Alhambra are there said to have been composed by him.

<sup>16</sup> See vol. i. p. 301, of this translation, where I have given the life of this individual, translated from my copy of the *Aháttaḥ*. In the third book of the second part, Al-makkarí gives the lives of all the Sheikhs (masters) of Ibnu-l-khattíb, as well as of all the learned men whom he met in his travels, or from whom he gathered information in any of the various departments of Arabian literature. The most celebrated of these were, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Jábir Al-wádi-ashí (from Guadix), the author of the well-known book of travels entitled رحالة ابن جابر “the peregrinations of Ibn Jábir,” who died at Túnis in A. H. 779 (beginning May 9, A. D. 1377); Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibn 'Amru At-temímí; Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-n-núr, who died of the plague at Túnis in A. H. 750 (beginning March 21, 1349); Abú 'Imrán Músa Al-masmúdí, better known by the surname of An-najárí; Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn Marzúk Al-'ajísí, and his brother Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Marzúk; Abú-l-barakát Ibnu-l-háj Al-balkíní; Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Hudheyí; Abú-l-huseyn 'Alí Al-kijáttí; Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, the editor of the travels of Ibn Battúttah, &c.

## CHAPTER VII.

<sup>1</sup> Mohammed the seventh,—supposing the name of the usurper, who was put to death by Don Pedro, to have been Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, not Abú Sa'd, as it is stated by the Christian writers. See above, *note 13*.

Mohammed was succeeded by his son Yúsus III., between whom and Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, the next sovereign mentioned by Al-makkarí, several princes occupied the throne of Granada. This gap in the history of the last Mohammedan kingdom in the Peninsula is the more to be regretted, as it can only be supplied by the writings of the Arabs, the Spanish chroniclers of the time not being either accurate or explicit enough to allow us to establish the chronology with any certainty. The work of Conde, it is true, affords greater materials; but as this portion of his history, though studiously shaped so as to give it an Arabic appearance, is evidently founded on Christian authorities,—there not being in the Escorial any work on the history of Mohammedan Spain later than that of Ibnu-l-khattib,—great precaution is to be used in adopting his statements. For this reason I have avoided giving in the Chronological Table (No. XX.), at the end of the volume, the dates of the reigns of the seven Sultáns who, according to Conde, occupied the throne of Granada in the interval between the death of Yúsus II. and the accession of Abú-l-hasan, or Alboacen, as the Spanish chroniclers of the time write his name. I have also excluded from the genealogical tree of the family all those whose existence rests only on the testimony of the Christian writers.

<sup>2</sup> ديك الروح—There are still extant at Granada the ruins of a palace, which in the days of Marmol was still called “las Casas del Gallo” (the house of the weather-cock), but is now called “la Casa del Carbon,” or the house of the charcoal, from its having been appropriated to the sale of that article. The same writer records a tradition still current at Granada in his time, purporting that the palace had been erected by Bádís Ibn Habús, Sultán of Granada, by whose directions a vane was made in the shape of a warrior mounted on a steed, with a spear in his hand, and the following inscription underneath in Arabic characters :

قال البادسي ابن حبوس  
كذا تذهب الاندلس

“Ibn Habús Al-bádisí says, ‘Thus shall Andalus vanish one day.’” *Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos* (Malaga, 1600), lib. i. cap. v.

<sup>3</sup> ايوان غرناطة الغرأ معتبر .: طلسيه بولاة الحال دوار  
و فارس روحه ريمح يد به .: من الجهاد و لكن فيه اسرار  
فسوف يبقي قليلا ثم يطرقه .: دهيا يخرّب منها الملك و الدار

<sup>4</sup> The Gotha MS. and my copy read here “Sa'd” instead of “Sa'id.” This Sa'd is not included in the list of the kings of Granada given by Conde, and yet he appears to have been one of them; for in the genealogical account of Abú 'Abdillah or Boabdil given at p. 390, he is called the Sultán Sa'd.

I ought to observe that a descendant from Sa'd, named Isma'il, son of Yúsus, son of Al-káyim

biamr-illah Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, Sultán of Granada, wrote in the fifteenth century of our æra a work entitled *فرايد السجبان فمن نظمي اياه الزمان* "unique pearls [selected] from the necklace of time, or a biography of illustrious men;" and that from this work, which he frequently quotes, Al-makkari seems to have derived most of his information on the history of Granada.

<sup>5</sup> *Zaghal*, thus written *زغل*—is not an Arabic word, and belongs, perhaps, to one of the African dialects. It would seem to be the origin of the Spanish word *zagal*, meaning 'a sprightly or comely youth.'

<sup>6</sup> All this is very differently related in Conde, who makes the war last several years, and calls the governor of Malaga Abdolah instead of Mohammed Abú 'Abdillah. See vol. iii. cap. xxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ma'ássir*, the plural of *معصرة* *ma'ssarah*, 'a mill,' principally for grinding olives. In Spain they are called *almazaras*. Ibn Battúttah calls the "sugar-mills" *معاصر سكر*

The word translated by "inns" is *fanádik*, the plural of *فندق* *fondák*, whence the Italian "fondaco" and the Spanish "fonda, alfondiga, alhondiga," are derived.

<sup>8</sup> The author alludes, no doubt, to the troubles which distracted Castile during the reign of Henry IV., and which Mr. Prescott has so graphically and so truly portrayed in his admirable work on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, vol. i. pp. 93-216.

<sup>9</sup> No doubt the execution of the Bení Serráj or Abencerrages, which must have happened about this time. Their enemies, the Theghriún, or Zegrís, as they were called by the Spanish writers, were certain Moors, originally from the Thagher or Thegher (Aragon), who, upon the occupation of the country by the Christians, took refuge in Granada. The river, now called Segre, is the *وادي ثغر* *Wáda* Thegher of the Arabs, who denominated it so, because it watered the country called by them Thagheru-l-'álí. On the meaning of these words, see vol. i. p. 315, *note* 11, of this translation.

<sup>10</sup> This must be understood as applying to Ferdinand, the husband of Isabella, who, after almost insurmountable difficulties, succeeded in uniting on his brow the crowns of Aragon and Castile.

<sup>11</sup> Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz. Alhama was taken on the 28th of February. See Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, chap. ix.

<sup>12</sup> Henrique de Guzman, Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who, notwithstanding his being at the time offended with the Marquis of Cadiz, generously stifled his resentment, and afforded him his assistance. See Prescott, *ubi supra*.

<sup>13</sup> The word translated by "heavy artillery" is *مدافع* *madáfi*, the plural of *مدفع* *madfa*, a word meaning 'a propelling machine,' still used in Africa in the same sense.

<sup>14</sup> The 27th of Jumáda the first, A. H. 887, answers to the 14th of July, 1482; but the engagement is said to have taken place on the 3rd. See Pulgar, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*, pp. 189-91.

<sup>15</sup> The Arabic text says *خال*—that is, an uncle by the mother's side. The author means, no doubt, Don Pedro Henriquez, Adelantado of Andalusia, who was a relative of Ferdinand, although, according to the Christian authorities, he was not taken prisoner in the action. See Pulgar, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*, p. 206.

<sup>16</sup> Pulgar, Bernaldez, and other Castilian chroniclers, say that Abú-l-hasan was in Malaga at the time; the account given by Al-makkarí is, however, the most probable. Unable to bear arms himself, Abú-l-hasan sent against the enemy his own brother, Az-zaghal, and retired shortly after to Almuñecar, where he died. Mariana, on what authority it would be in vain to inquire, says that Abú-l-hasan (whom he calls Alboacen) was assassinated at Almuñecar by the command of his own brother, Az-zaghal; but little credit is to be given to the statements of a writer who invariably confounds Az-zaghal and Abú 'Abdillah, calling them indistinctly Albohardil and Boabdil. See Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, chap. x.

<sup>17</sup> This was, no doubt, the battle of Lopera, in which the Moslems were defeated by the Andalusian borderers; but what is here meant by the chiefs of "Western Andalus" it is not easy to say, the Moorish kingdom being then too circumscribed to admit of such division. The author perhaps means those districts to the west of Malaga which were then called *Algarbia* or western; as those to the east were called *Awarquia* or eastern.

<sup>18</sup> Probably the castle of Moclin, before which the Christians, commanded by the Count of Cabra, suffered a signal defeat. See Prescott, *loco citato*, chap. xi.

<sup>19</sup> The word here used is *الات*—which, added to the adjective *الجرية* means 'war engines.'

<sup>20</sup> *البيرة*—probably Vera, unless it be written *البرة*—in which case it would be Illora, a town also taken about this time.

<sup>21</sup> *مكئين*—some copies read *مكئين*—This town, which was very well fortified, was called by the Moors *Darkah Gharnáttah*, or the shield of Granada.

<sup>22</sup> *منت فريد* *Mont-ferid*, a corruption from Monte frigido, is Montefrio, not far from Illora. The town, called above Columbera, is Colomera.

<sup>23</sup> *صخرة*—written *صحرة* Sahrah in some copies. Bernaldez, in his manuscript chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, mentions a town called *Sagra*, which was taken about this time. Marmol, *Rebellion, &c.*, fo. 15, *verso*, calls it *Zara*.

<sup>24</sup> Thus written *حصن البنشات*—but the name of the place has nowhere been preserved.

<sup>25</sup> This was Abú 'Abdillah Az-zaghal, who, hearing of his cousin's proclamation in Granada, had retired to Guadix, where he assumed the title of *Sáhib* (prince or lord). His cousin's name being also Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, they have frequently been confounded by the Christian chroniclers. The latter, however, is more generally known as Boabdil, a corruption from Abú 'Abdillah, or *el Rey chico* (the little king), to distinguish him from his uncle Az-zaghal. Marmol (*Rebellion, &c.*, fo. 15) says that his people gave him the surname of Zogoybi, that is, the unfortunate. He appears also to have assumed, upon his accession to the throne, the title of Al-kádir-billah. See Mariana, *Hist. Gen. de España*, lib. xxv. cap. ii.

Here follows in the original manuscript, but not in the abridgement, a long *risáleh* or epistle, written partly in prose and partly in verse, by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-'arabí Al-'okaylí, the secretary of Boabdil (Abú 'Abdillah), the last King of Granada, and addressed, in his master's name, to the Sheikh [Sa'id] Al-watásí, Sultán of Fez, and founder of the dynasty of the Bení Al-watás. The *risáleh*, entitled *الروض العاطر الانفاس في التوسل الي الهولي الامام سلطان فاس* (the gardens of odoriferous flowers, or the message to the Lord and Imám the Sultán of Fez), is written in that highly figurative style so much to the taste of the Arabs, and relates the last events of the war of Granada and the taking of that capital by Ferdinand; it begins thus:

مولي الهولك ملوك العرب و العجم .: رعيًا لمن مثله يرعي من الذمم  
 بك استجرنا و نعم الجار انت لمن .: جار الزمان عليه جور منتقم  
 حكم من الله حتم الامر له .: و هل مرد لحكم منه منتقم

"O Lord of kings! the kings of the Arabs and foreigners; thou art a talisman to thy equals, whom thou preservest from injury and shame.

"To thee we run for assistance; for thou art the refuge of those whom Fortune assails with her vindictive blows.

"In Allah's name thou pronouncest sentence, except on cases to him reserved; and who can complain of thy justice?"

After the above poetical composition, which consists of several hundred verses intermixed with rhymed prose, begins the second part of the work, which, as I have stated in the Preface (p. xiv.), is also divided into eight books, and contains the biography of the celebrated Wizír Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ahmed As-salmání Al-lúshí, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-khattíb, and the honourable appellation of Lisánu-d-dín or "tongue of the faith."

Book the first treats of his birth and ancestors. Ibnu-l-khattíb was a native of Granada, but his ancestors were originally from Cordova, where they lived in considerable affluence. Having taken an active part in the rebellion of the southern suburb of Cordova against Al-hakem I. in A. H. 202 (A. D. 818), they were obliged, like thousands of other families, to seek shelter elsewhere, and retire to Toledo, where they resided until the occupation of that city by Alfonso VI. of Leon in A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085). From Toledo the ancestors of Ibnu-l-khattíb withdrew to the districts inhabited by Moslems, and fixed their residence in various parts of the kingdom of Granada and Jaen. One of them, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, became Kádí of a district called Beghah, in the province of Jaen; another, named Sa'id, took up his abode in Lúshah (Loxa), and was appointed Khattíb or preacher to its mosque. From this Sa'id are descended the Bení Al-khattíb of Loxa. Sa'id had a son named 'Abdullah, who was killed at the battle of Tarifa, on Monday, the 7th of Jumáda i. of the year 741, and who was the father of Lisánu-d-dín.

Book the second treats of his education and political career, the offices he filled, &c.

Book the third, of his masters and the learned men whom he met in his travels, and from whom he derived his valuable and varied information in the several departments of science.

Book the fourth, of the perorations which he made on public occasions, and of the epistles which he addressed in the name of his master to the Kings of Eastern and Western Africa.

Book the fifth—extracts from his prose works as well as from his poems.

Book the sixth, of the works which he wrote on various subjects.

Book the seventh, of his disciples. These were, Ibn Zomrok, *ابن الزمرك* Ibnu-l-munhá, author of a commentary upon the *الفية ابن سينا* (Al-fiyah of Ibn Síná or Avicenna); Abú Bekr Ibn Jazzí-l-kebí, son of Abú-l-kásim Ibn Jazzí-l-kebí, who had been one of Ibnu-l-khattíb's preceptors; Abú 'Abdillah Ash-sherishí; Abú Mohammed Ibn 'Attayah Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Talhah Al-moháribí; Ahmed Ibn Suleymán Ibn Farkún, a celebrated poet, and others.

Book the eighth, of his sons. Ibnu-l-khattíb left three sons: 'Abdullah, Mohammed, and Abú-l-hasan 'Alí. The eldest, 'Abdullah, filled some office of trust under his father, whom he followed to Africa; he was a good poet, and left several works in prose and verse: he was born at Granada, on Saturday the 17th of Safar of the year 743. Mohammed gave himself up to devotion, and retired to a *záwiyah* or cell, where he died.



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A P P E N D I X .

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VOL. II.

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## A P P E N D I X.

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### A.

*Extracts from the historical work entitled "Traditions of Commandment and Government," relating to the murder of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. See vol. i. App. E. p. 1. et seq.*

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*How 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, was put to death in Andalus by order of the Khalif Suleymán.*

The historian says,—And they relate, on the authority of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, that Músa remained at the court of Suleymán, imploring his forgiveness, until that Sultán granted him a complete pardon, which he also extended to his two sons, 'Abdullah and 'Abdu-l-'azíz; suffering the former to retain the government of Eastern Africa, Tangiers, and Sús, and the latter that of Andalus, as previously agreed between him and Músa. However, when 'Abdu-l-'azíz heard of Suleymán's treatment of his father, he began to speak slightly of his sovereign, and showed on every occasion his resentment of the injuries inflicted on him. This being reported to Suleymán, that Sultán conceived fears that 'Abdu-l-'azíz might shake off his allegiance and revolt against him. He therefore wrote to Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah, Ibn Wa'lah At-temímí, Sa'íd Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Yásir, 'Amru Ibn Múmelah Al-yahssobí, 'Omar Ibn Kethír, and 'Omar Ibn Sharáhíb, all of whom were superior officers in the African army, telling them what he had heard respecting 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and how he had been told of his meditating a revolt. He likewise apprised them how he had written to 'Abdullah Ibn Músa, commanding him to send every one of them to 'Abdu-l-'azíz in Andalus, and telling him not to wonder if he thus deprived him of the best officers in his army, as they were very much wanted on the opposite land, where there were more enemies to encounter. At the same time, Suleymán issued to each of the above-mentioned individuals secret instructions commanding 'Abdu-l-'azíz to be put to death, and promising that whoever would execute the deed should be appointed his successor. To 'Abdullah he wrote in these terms: "The Commander of the Faithful perceives that thy brother, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, has in front of him an enemy against whom all possible courage and energy must needs be displayed. He has inquired, and he has been told that thou hast under thy orders many men of that description, such as so and so, and so and so; send them all to thy brother, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, in Andalus, that he may employ them against the common enemy."

To 'Abdu-l-'azíz, moreover, he wrote as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful has been informed of the class of enemies thou hast to contend with, and the want in which thou art of men of courage and experience: knowing, therefore, that there are now in Eastern Africa, at the orders of thy brother 'Abdullah, some men of that description, he has written to him to dispatch them to thee, that thou mayst give them command in thy armies, and appoint them to posts of trust near thy person or on the frontiers." Another letter was then issued to the conspirators, saying, "I have sent you written orders enjoining the people of Andalus to obey you in all cases, and absolving you from the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. These letters you are to read, wherever you may be, to all the Moslems under your orders, that they may all know and understand what my wishes and commands are; and when you have made yourselves a party sufficiently strong among the soldiers, you shall rise and put to death 'Abdu-l-'azíz, if such be the will of God, and then return."

When 'Abdullah, the governor of Eastern Africa, received the above letter from the Khalif, he hastened to comply with his orders, and immediately prepared for the departure for Andalus of the men named in the dispatch, who had no sooner arrived and presented their credentials to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, than they were most kindly received and hospitably entertained by that governor, who told them to choose the provinces of his government wherein they preferred to settle, or the frontiers whereon they wished to be employed. The conspirators then held counsel together, when one of them rose and said, "If the orders of the Commander of the Faithful are to be fulfilled, you cannot accept of the proposition of 'Abdu-l-'azíz; for if each of you go first to the station allotted to him, and then return here, I apprehend you will never be able to accomplish what is required from you: the army is mostly in his favour; he has plenty of money, great power, and numerous *maulis* and adherents attached to his person. I think our best plan is to remain here, and get rid of him secretly: there are many men in this place (Seville), who, were they to lend a hand to this enterprise, would insure its success: one is Ayúb Ibn Habíb, the son of Músa's sister; I advise you to see him, and communicate to him the Khalif's instructions." This plan being agreed upon as the most expedient, the delegates went to see Ayúb, and offered him, in the Khalif's name, the government of Andalus if he would assist them in their undertaking. Ayúb having consented to kill 'Abdu-l-'azíz on this condition, they promised him their allegiance in case of success. The delegates went next to 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí, who was the most eminent and most conspicuous person in the army, by his talents, his generosity, and his virtues: having read in his presence the letters of Suleymán, they discovered to him all their plans: 'Abdullah, however, would not be a party to the murder of 'Abdu-l-'azíz; on the contrary, he said to them, "You know that the hand of Músa has conferred benefits on every one of you, great or small. If the Commander of the Faithful has been informed as you represent, he has been told a lie. 'Abdu-l-'azíz has never raised his hand in disobedience to his master, nor dreamt of revolting against him. The Khalif, at the distance he is, cannot see whether 'Abdu-l-'azíz is guilty or innocent of the crime imputed to him; but you can, and it is for you to decide whether he deserves death, or not. Follow my advice; give up your purpose, and write to the Khalif that you cannot put his orders into execution."

The delegates, however, disregarded his words for the love of the Sultán, and went about their business. Some time afterwards, they again met together and decided upon his death, which they accomplished in the following manner. They stood at the gate of his palace, waiting till he should go to the mosque to attend morning prayers. 'Abdu-l-'azíz left his palace at dawn of day, bent his steps towards the mosque, entered the *kiblah*, and began to read the Korán. Scarcely had he finished reading the introductory chapter, when, lo! a great noise and confusion was suddenly heard, and one of the conspirators, Ibn Abí 'Obeydah (Habíb), rushed upon 'Abdu-l-'azíz and struck him a blow, which, however, took no effect. The service was interrupted; and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, leaving the *kiblah* where he was, took refuge in the body of the mosque: he was followed thither by Ibn Wa'lah At-temímí, who killed him. When the news of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz spread through the city, the inhabitants were greatly astonished and displeased: the conspirators then produced the letters and the orders received from the Khalif Suleymán, but to no purpose; the people would not attend to them, and they chose 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán 'Al-gháfekí to be his successor. In the mean time Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah and his comrades marched to Damascus with the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa. But we have reached the end of our narrative. God be praised for it!

*How the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz was brought to Suleymán.*

The author of the tradition says,—When Suleymán thought that the messengers sent by him to Andalus had reached their destination, and executed his commands, he proceeded to remove 'Abdullah Ibn Músa from his government of Eastern Africa, Sús, and Tangiers. This took place towards the end of the year 98 of the Hijra, in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah (July or August, A.D. 717). Habíb and his companions then came to Damascus, and placed the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz before the Khalif Suleymán, who sent immediately for Músa. Having appeared in his presence, and being made to sit behind the people, Suleymán pointed to the head, and said to Músa, “Dost thou know whose head that is?”—“Yes,” answered Músa, “I do; that is the head of my son 'Abdu-l-'azíz.” The messengers then rose and informed the Khalif of what they had done in Andalus for the execution of his orders. Hearing which, Músa got up, and, after praising God, said, “O Commander of the Faithful! thou art revenged; the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa (may God show him mercy!) is before thee, but by the life of God there never was a Moslem who less deserved such unjust treatment; for he passed his days in fasting, and his nights in prayer; no man ever more loved his God, or his messenger Mohammed; no man ever performed greater deeds to serve the cause of the Almighty, or was more firm in his obedience to thee, or showed a milder disposition towards the men under his orders. 'Abdu-l-'azíz is no more; (may God forgive him his sins!) for, by Allah! he was neither avaricious of life, nor fearful of death. None of thy predecessors,—neither 'Abdu-l-malek, nor 'Abdu-l-'azíz, nor even Al-walíd,—would have treated him thus, or reduced him to this plight. Thou even wouldst never have done what God saw thee do with him, had there been any justice in thee. They were all exceedingly pleased and satisfied with him, well knowing his honesty and his virtues; and were therefore incapable of behaving thus to him merely upon the strength of

“false reports.” Suleymán then said, “Thou liest, O Músa! thy son, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, was not as thou representest him; on the contrary, he was impious and forgetful of his religion; he was the persecutor of the Moslems, and the sworn enemy of his sovereign, the Commander of the Faithful. Such was thy son, O foolish and doting old man! not as thou describest him.” Músa then replied, “By Allah! I am no dotard, nor would I knowingly deviate from truth, wert thou to answer every one of my words with the blows of death. I speak as the honest slave ought to speak to his master, with submission and respect, bearing the insult without retorting it; but I place my confidence in God, whose help I implore, and beseech—. Grant me his head, O Commander of the Faithful! that I may shut the lids of his eyes.” And Suleymán said to him, “Thou mayst take it.” Músa then rose from his seat, and, taking the head of his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz, placed it in a corner of the tunic he had on; he then folded it twice backwards, in doing which the other end of his vest came off his shoulders. Músa was going out of the room in this manner, without either noticing or trying to repair the disorder in his dress, when Kháled Ibnu-r-rayán, having noticed it, came up to him and said, “Take up that garment of thine, O son of Nosseyr!” but Músa, turning round towards him, replied (ironically) in these words,—“This is no doubt a proof of the great love thou bearest to me, O Kháled!” Suleymán then interfered, and said to the latter, “Let Músa alone; he has already been sufficiently punished;” and when Músa left the room he added, “That old man's spirit is still unbroken.” They say, that as Músa was quitting the palace he met Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah, to whom he addressed abusive words before all present, disclosing at the same time some shameful circumstances respecting his family, unknown to all but himself, and which cast no small discredit upon the person of that officer.

Some time after these events, Suleymán having made inquiries respecting the case of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, found out that all the reports respecting him were unfounded, and that 'Abdu-l-'azíz had never swerved from his obedience, nor done any other reprehensible act; on the contrary, he had been throughout his life a model of virtue. When the Khalif saw this he repented of what he had done, and, being angry with Habíb and the other messengers, he caused them to be banished the capital, and entirely disregarded their petitions. He then remitted to Músa the payment of the remainder of the fine.

*An account of the governors of Andalus after Músa and his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz.*

The author says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa governed Andalus *one year* after the departure of his father, after which he was put to death, as before said, by the order of the Khalif Suleymán. He was succeeded by Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, who governed *six months*; then came Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí, for *three years*. After him, Assamh Ibn Málík Al-khaulání, who ruled for *three years and a half*; then 'Anbasah (Ibn Soháym Al-kelbí), *two years and nine months*. After him, Yahya Ibn Salmah, *one year and three months*. After him, Hodeyfah Ibnu-l-ahwass, *six months*. After him, 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí, *six months*. After him, Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd, *one year and two months*. Then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí, *four years*. Then 'Abdu-l-malek

Ibn Kattan Al-korashí, *four years*. Then 'Okbah Ibn Hejáj (As-selúli), *five years and three months*. Then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time, *one year*. After him, Balh (Balj) Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyri, *six months*. Then Tha'lebah Ibn Selámah, *five months*. Then Abú-l-khattár Ibn Dherár Al-kelbí, *three years*. Then Thuábah Ibn Salmah, *one year and one month*. Then came the overthrow of the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah in the East, when the people of Andalus chose for their commander Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-korashí Al-fehri, without any order or sealed letters from the Khalif to that effect. Yúsuf governed Andalus for *ten years*, until the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mua'wiyah, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of Merwán, son of Abú-l-'ássi, son of Umeyyah, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of 'Abdu-Menáf, who took the command of the country out of his hands.

*How the massacre of the Bení Umeyyah came to pass.*

The author says,—And they relate that after the death of Merwán, the last Khalif of the house of Umeyyah, As-seffáh gave orders to his lieutenants in Syria and Egypt to look for the surviving members of that family, and put them to death. Accordingly, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Alí, who was governor of Philistín (Palestine), began to give out that his intentions were good, and that he came to pardon the Bení Umeyyah in the Khalif's name, and to restore them to the possession of all their property and honours. On the faith of these promises, about eighty-three of the most illustrious and principal members of that unfortunate family, amongst whom were 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, Yahya Ibn Mu'awiyah, Abán Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Hishám, surrendered themselves. It happened, however, that the latter, who became afterwards king of Andalus, met on his way to the governor's a man whom he had patronised and esteemed in former times, and who, stopping him, addressed him in the following words: "Obey me to-day, and oppose me if thou wilt on the day of judgment." 'Abdu-r-rahmán replied, "In what am I to obey thee?"—"Away! away!" said the man; "fly to the West, where a kingdom awaits thee; for all this is a treason prepared by As-seffáh, who wishes to rid himself in one blow of all the Bení Umeyyah."—"How can that be?" replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "when the governor has received his letters commanding him to assemble us, to restore us our property, and to grant us besides plentiful pensions and bounteous gifts?"—"Do not be led away by these signs of peace and pardon," said the man; "for, believe me, never will the Bení 'Abbás consider themselves fully in possession of the throne, never will they deem themselves secure, as long as the eyes of one of the Bení Umeyyah remain open."—"And what shall I get," replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "by following thy advice?"—"Uncover thy back, that I may see thy shoulders; for, if I am not mistaken, thou art the man for whom the kingdom of Andalus is destined." And on 'Abdu-r-rahmán uncovering his shoulders, as he was desired, the man saw on one of them the mark alluded to in the *Kitábu-l-hodthán* (the book of the future events), which was an immense black mole, rising on his back. "Away! away!" repeated the man; "go to the West, and I will accompany thee part of the way: I have twenty thousand dinárs; I will bring them to this spot, and thou shalt depart."—"Who gave thee that money?" inquired 'Abdu-r-rahmán. "Thy uncle,

“Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek,” answered the man. Upon which the prince, starting, said, “By Allah! thou sayst the truth, man; for I recollect now, that when I was a child, my uncle, Moslemah, who on my father's death took care of my infancy, one day uncovered my shoulders, and saw the mark thou speakest of, when he began to weep profusely. We were then, my uncle and I, before my grandfather, the Khalif Hishám, who no sooner saw my uncle's sudden affliction, than he inquired the cause of it.” Moslemah then said, “O Commander of the Faithful! this orphan will live to be king of the West, after the overthrow of our empire in the East.”—“And why shouldst thou weep, O Abú Sa'id!” replied my grandfather. “I do not weep on account of that; but, by Allah! I weep because of the women and children of the Bení Umeyyah, whose gold and silver necklaces shall be converted into so many iron collars, whose sweet perfumes, aromatic woods, and odoriferous ointments, shall make room for nauseous smells and the coarsest brush-wood. But God is over all things: after prosperity and glory, humiliation and misfortune generally succeed.”

[The author goes on to relate the massacre of the Bení Umeyyah, ninety of whom were barbarously butchered after a banquet to which they had been invited by the governor.]

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#### APPENDIX B.

*Extracts from the Jadh'watu-l-muktabis fi Táríkhí rejáli-l-andalus (a sparkle of fire from the steel on the history of the illustrious men of Andalus), by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Fatúh Ibn 'Abdillah Al-azdí Al-homaydí, of Cordova.*<sup>1</sup> (Bibl. Bodl. Hunt. 464.)

*Reign of Mohammed, son of Hishám, surnamed Al-muhdí.*

This Mohammed, who was the son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-jabbár, son of 'Abdu-rahmán An-násir, rose against Hishám, son of Al-hakem, and deposed him in the month of Jumáda II. of the year 399 (Feb. A. D. 1009), assuming the title of *Al-muhdí* (the directed). He continued thus in undisturbed possession of the empire till Thursday the fifth of Shawwál of the same year (June 2, A. D. 1009), when Hishám, son of Suleymán, son of ['Abdu-rahmán] An-násir, revolted against him in Cordova with the Berbers. After fighting in the streets of the city the remainder of that day, the whole of the night, and part of the next morning, the inhabitants took the part of Mohammed, and the Berbers were routed and

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this author and his various works, see Vol. i. Preface, p. xx. and pp. 193, 473. Deceived by the similarity of the title and the general appearance of the manuscript, I there hazarded the conjecture that Al-homaydí's work was an abridgment of a voluminous history of Mohammedan Spain, which Abú Merwán Ibn Hayyán wrote under the title of *Al-muktabis fi Táríkhí rejáli-l-andalus*; but, although the facts of this latter work having been composed at least thirty years before the former, and of Al-homaydí being a disciple of Ibnu Hayyán, seemed to favour the supposition, I have, upon closer investigation, discovered that the work of Al-homaydí, from which the following extracts are taken, has nothing in common with the more voluminous history written by the celebrated Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Huseyn Ibn Hayyán, of Cordova.

compelled to leave the city. Hishám was, moreover, made a prisoner, and brought to the presence of Mohammed, who beheaded him with his own hand.

After this defeat the Berbers, having united their council, appointed a nephew of the deceased, whose name was Suleymán, to command over them. Suleymán was the son of Al-hakem, son of Suleymán, son of [ʿAbdu-r-rahmán] An-násir. Immediately after his appointment he retired with the Berbers into the *Thagher*, whence, reinforced with Christian troops, he soon after returned to Cordova, and laid siege to it. On the appearance of the Berbers before the walls, part of the garrison and the inhabitants sallied out against the enemy; but they were unsuccessful, and repulsed with the loss of upwards of twenty thousand of their number. This disastrous battle, which was fought near a mountain there called Kantísh,<sup>2</sup> has become celebrated in history for the number of eminent men,—poets, historians, theologians, Imáms, Almuezzins, and others,—who perished in it. Mohammed Ibn Hishám Al-muhdi, however, escaped from the swords of the Berbers, and, after remaining a few days in concealment, succeeded in reaching Toledo, as the whole of the *Thaghers*,<sup>3</sup> from Tortosa down to Lisbon, had remained faithful to him and obeyed his sway. Having therefore collected an army in those provinces, and obtained the assistance of the Franks, Al-muhdi returned with them to Cordova. Suleymán sallied out against him with his Berbers; and the two hosts having met at a spot, some ten miles from Cordova, known as the *'Akbatu-l-bakar* (the defile of the cows), Suleymán and the Berbers were completely defeated and put to rout. Al-muhdi, moreover, marched upon Cordova, and took possession of it. He then went out in pursuit of the Berbers, who had marched in the direction of Algesiras. Having overtaken them close to the river Aro<sup>4</sup> (Guadiaro), Mohammed gave them battle. He was however defeated, and compelled to fall back upon Cordova; where, no sooner had he arrived, than some of his own slaves, with Wádeh the Sclavonian at their head, fell suddenly upon him and put him to death, appointing in his stead Hishám Al-muyyed, whom they brought out (of his concealment), as elsewhere related. The reign of Mohammed Ibn Hishám had lasted ten months, counting from the day of his usurpation till that of his death, and including also the six months that his rival Suleymán was in possession of Cordova, whilst he himself was in the *Thagher*. His appellative surname was Abú-l-walíd. His mother's name was Muznah. He left one son named 'Obeydullah, who died without posterity. Al-muhdi was born in the year 366 (beginning Aug. 29, A. D. 976).

*Reign of Suleymán Ibn Al-hakem Al-musta'in.*

Suleymán Ibn Al-hakem rose, as related, on Friday the 6th of Shawwál of the year 399 (September 4, A. D. 1008), when he assumed the appellation of *Al-musta'in-billah* (he who beseeches the help of God). After this he entered Cordova, as above related, in the month of Rabi' II. of the year 400 (November or December, A. D. 1009), when, in addition to that of Al-musta'in, he took the surname of *Adh-dháfir bihaul-illah* (the victorious by

<sup>2</sup> جبل قنطيش

<sup>3</sup> Namely, the upper, the lower, and the central. See vol. i. p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> وادي أرو

the will of God). He then left Cordova in Shawwál of the year 400 (May or June, A.D. 1010), and lost, as before stated, the battle of Jebal-kantísh. From that time, however, Suleymán and his Berbers never ceased marching through the provinces of Andalus, laying waste the fields, destroying and plundering the cities and the villages, insulting the women, putting the men to the sword, and committing all sorts of atrocities, until they gained possession of Cordova a second time, at the beginning of Shawwál of the year 403 (April, A.D. 1013).

There were among the officers of Suleymán's army two men of the posterity of Al-hasan Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb; their names were Al-kásim and 'Alí, and both were the sons of Hamúd, son of Maymún, son of Ahmed, son of 'Alí, son of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Omar, son of Idrís, son of 'Abdullah, son of Al-hasan (son of Al-hasan), son of 'Alí, son of Abí Tálíb: (may God be propitious to them all!). On his first accession to power, Suleymán had given them the command of the African troops. He had afterwards appointed Al-kásim, the eldest, to the government of *Jezíratu-l-khadhrá* (Algesiras), and had given to 'Alí that of Ceuta and Tangiers. Algesiras is a sea-port in the strait, known as the *Bahru-z-zokák* (the narrow sea), where the distance from one shore to another is no more than twelve miles. But to return.

When Suleymán, with his Berbers, made his second entry into Cordova, the slaves<sup>5</sup> spread over the country and gained possession of some principal cities, where they fortified themselves. In order to reduce them, Suleymán sent an army at the orders of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, before mentioned, who, being an ambitious man, and thinking the opportunity a favourable one, conceived the project of making himself the master of Andalus. He accordingly entered into a secret correspondence with the very slaves against whom he was sent, and made them believe that whilst Hishám Ibn Al-hakem was besieged in Cordova, that Khalif had written to him, appointing him his successor to the throne in case he should be put to death by Suleymán. Deceived by these declarations, the slaves answered his call, and proclaimed him as sovereign of Andalus. 'Alí then sailed from Ceuta and landed at Malaga, the governor of which, 'A'mir Ibn Fatúh Al-fáyikí, who was a freed slave of Fáyik, a freed man of Al-hakem Al-mustanser, acknowledged his right to the empire, and gave him entrance into the city, where 'Alí Ibn Hamúd was immediately proclaimed by the troops and the inhabitants. Some time afterwards, however, 'Alí expelled 'A'mir Ibn Fatúh, and remained sole master of Malaga. 'Alí then marched to Cordova with the Berbers who followed his banners, and the whole of the slaves. He was met by Mohammed, the son of Suleymán, who, by his father's orders, sallied out of Cordova at the head of the Berber troops: Mohammed, however, was defeated; and 'Alí having gained possession of Cordova, Suleymán was seized and put to death by the usurper, who beheaded him with his own hand, on a Sunday, nine days before the end of Moharram of the year 407 (June 30, A.D. 1016). 'Alí put also to death on the same day Al-hakem [Ibn Suleymán] Ibn An-násir, Suleymán's father, an old man of seventy-two years of age. Suleymán had reigned three years, three months, and a few days, counting from the day he entered Cordova to the time of his death. He had, however, been previously

<sup>5</sup> عيد The author no doubt means Khayrán, Mujáhid, Zohayr, and others who had been slaves of the Bení Umeyyah, and once formed part of the Slavonian guard.

in possession of that capital for six months; so that if we calculate the duration of his reign since the day he rose with the Berbers until he was killed, we shall find it seven years, three months, and some days. By the death of Suleymán the rule of the Bení Umeyyah was momentarily suspended, as well as the mention of their names from the pulpits of the mosques, in the whole of Andalus, until it was afterwards restored to its primitive state, as we shall hereafter relate. Suleymán's mother was called Dhab'yah.<sup>6</sup> He was born in the year 354 (beginning January 6, A.D. 965). He left three sons; Mohammed, who afterwards filled the throne of Andalus, but died without issue; Al-walíd, and Moslemah. Suleymán was a friend to poets and literary men, and could write very fine verses himself.<sup>7</sup>

*Reign of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, surnamed An-násir.*

On his accession to the Khalifate, 'Alí assumed the surname of *An-násir* (the defender). Soon after this, however, the slaves who had proclaimed him resisted his authority, and appointed in his room 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir, to whom they gave the honorary surname of *Al-murtadhi* (the accepted), marching with him to Granada, one of the cities which, as above stated, had fallen into the hands of the Berbers. 'Abdu-r-rahmán's elevation did not last long; for the same people who had raised him to power, perceiving his determination to punish all infractions of the law and to re-establish discipline, and fearing his vigour and justice, repented of what they had done, and decided upon deserting his cause. They accordingly abandoned him, and soon after hired some assassins, who put him to death. In the mean while 'Alí Ibn Hamúd remained in Cordova, in full possession of the empire, which he held for two years all but two months, until he was suffocated in the bath by some of his Slavonian eunuchs. This happened in the year 408 (beginning May 29, A.D. 1017). 'Alí left two sons, Yahya and Idrís.

*Reign of Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, surnamed Al-mámún.*

'Alí was succeeded by his brother, Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, who was his elder by ten years. On his accession to power, Al-kásim took the surname of *Al-mámún*: he was of mild disposition, and the people enjoyed security under his rule. It has been said of him that he was a Shiite; but this report is unfounded, since he never showed it in any of his acts; nor did he or any of the other members of his family, who held empire in Andalus, ever countenance by their practice any other sect but the orthodox one. In this way Al-kásim retained possession of the empire until the month of Rabi' I. of the year 412 (June or July, A.D. 1021), when his nephew, Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, rose against him in Malaga. When the news of this rising reached him, Al-kásim abandoned his capital without a battle, and took refuge in Seville. His nephew then left Malaga at the head of his army, and marched upon Cordova, of which city he took possession without resistance. Having assumed the

<sup>6</sup> ظبية

<sup>7</sup> Here follow in the original some extracts from poems written by Suleymán, which I have not translated.

title of Khalif, Yahya took upon the occasion the surname of Al-mu'tali, and remained in possession of the empire, until Al-kásim, having re-established his influence, and regained the affections of the Berbers, marched with them to Cordova, and entered that capital in the year 413 (beginning April 5, A. D. 1022), his nephew, Yahya Ibn 'Alí, betaking himself to Malaga.

Al-kásim remained some months at Cordova, during which time his authority was weakened and his empire subverted by his enemies. First, his nephew, Yahya, took Algesiras, which was Al-kásim's strong-hold, and where he kept his women and his treasures. Then another nephew of his, named Idrís Ibn 'Alí, took possession of Ceuta, close to Tangiers, a city which Al-kásim always kept well garrisoned and provided with every warlike store, that he might retire to it in case he should be obliged to quit Andalus. Lastly, a portion of the inhabitants of Cordova having revolted against him, they shut the gates of the city, and prepared for the defence. Al-kásim, who was master of the suburbs, besieged them for upwards of fifty days in the mosque of Abú 'Othmán, where they had fortified themselves, until, having made a sally, the Berbers took to flight, and abandoned the suburbs in Sha'bán of the year 414 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 1023), each tribe of the Berbers betaking themselves to those towns whereof their brethren were the masters. As for Al-kásim, he retired to Séville, where were his two sons, Mohammed and Al-hasan; but when the people of that place heard of his defeat, and of his quitting Cordova and coming to them, they shut the gates of their city, expelled his two sons as well as the Berbers who were with them, and appointed three of the principal and most illustrious inhabitants of the place to command over them, and administer the affairs of the community. These were the Kádí Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád Al-lakhmí, Mohammed Ibn Al-alehání, and Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Al-zubeydí, who held the government of Seville conjointly for some days, sharing among themselves the duties of the administration until the Kádí Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád made himself sole ruler, and caused his former partners in power to resume the rank of subjects.

In the mean time Al-kásim had taken refuge in Sherish (Xerez), a city which remained faithful to him. When his nephew, Yahya, heard of his being there, he marched in pursuit of him and arrived before Xerez, which he besieged. Al-kásim defended himself valiantly for some time; but at last the Berbers who composed the garrison, being tired of the siege, held a council together, and decided upon deserting his cause and delivering him into the hands of his nephew, which they did; Yahya becoming thereby the sole ruler of the empire, and the only chief of the Berbers. Al-kásim remained a prisoner in the hands of Yahya, and, after the death of Yahya, in those of his brother Idrís, until Idrís himself died, when Al-kásim was soon after strangled in prison in the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039). The body of Al-kásim was given up to his son Mohammed, who ruled in Algesiras, and who had him honourably buried there. His reign had lasted seven years, counting from the day in which he took possession of the Khalifate in Cordova, to that in which he fell a prisoner into the hands of his nephew Yahya. He remained in prison sixteen years during the reigns of his two nephews, until he was put to death, as above related, at the beginning of the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039), he being then eighty years

old. Al-kásim left two sons, whom he had by one of his wives named Amírah,<sup>8</sup> who was the daughter of Al-hasan Ibn Kanún Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim Ibn Idrís Ibn Idrís Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-hasan Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. One was named Mohammed, the other Al-hasan.

*Reign of Yahya Ibn 'Alí, surnamed Al-mu'tali.*

Historians are at variance respecting the appellative of this Sultán; some calling him Abú Is'hák, others Abú Mohammed. His mother's name was Lebúnah, and she was the daughter of Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Ibn Al-kásim, better known under the surname of Kanún,<sup>9</sup> who was the son of Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, &c. This Al-hasan Ibn Kanún was one of the greatest kings of the family of Hasan, and one of the bravest and most dreaded by his subjects.

Yahya assumed the title of Khalif at Cordova in the year 413 (beginning April 15, A. D. 1022), as above related. After this he fled to Malaga in the year 414 (beginning March 25, A. D. 1023). He continued there, until in the year 416 (beginning March 3, A. D. 1025) some ill-intentioned people attempted to re-establish his authority in Cordova, and succeeded in their undertaking. But Yahya, who had already experienced how little he could rely upon the fidelity of the Cordovans, would not then enter that capital, and appointed 'Abdu-rahmán Ibn 'Ittáf Al-yaférení to govern in his name. Things remained in this state the rest of the year 416 and all 417 (beginning Feb. 21, A. D. 1026). After this the people of Cordova expelled Ibn 'Ittáf, and appointed a descendant of the house of Umeyyah to be their ruler. Yahya, however, continued going to and fro with his army, and laying waste the country, until the greater part of the Berbers agreed to acknowledge his authority, and gave him possession of the fortresses, castles, and cities which they held in their hands. By these means the power of Yahya increased, and he went to Carmona with the intention of making war against Ibnu 'Abbád, and laying siege to Seville, which city he was anxious to take. Having one day gone out of Carmona to a lofty mountain in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of reconnoitering, he fell into an ambush prepared by his enemy, and was put to death. This happened on a Sunday, the seventh day of Moharram of the year 427 (Nov. 11, A. D. 1035). Yahya left two sons, Al-hasan and Idrís, whom he had by one of his wives.

*Reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Hishám Al-mustadh'her.*

When, in the year 414, Al-kásim and the Berbers were defeated by the inhabitants of Cordova, and obliged to quit that capital, as above related, the people held counsel together, and decided upon restoring the empire to the Bení Umeyyah. There were three descendants of that family residing in that capital at the time, namely: 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir, who was the brother of Mohammed Al-muhdi, former Sultán of Cordova; Suleymán, son of the above-mentioned Al-murtadhi,

<sup>8</sup> أميرة

<sup>9</sup> قنون which Ibnu Khaldún (fo. 99, verso) writes كبنون Kabún.