

who was killed in the territory of Granada; and Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Hishám Ibn Suleymán, he who rose against Al-muhdi Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir. The empire devolved upon 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who numbered the most votes; and he was, accordingly, proclaimed Khalif on the thirteenth day of Ramadhán of the year 414 (28th November, A. D. 1023), at the age of two-and-twenty, having been born in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 392 (September or October, A. D. 1002). His mother's name was Gháyah. He used the appellation Abú-l-motref, and on his accession to power took the honorary surname of *Al-mustadh'her* (he who implores the assistance of God). His reign, however, was not of long duration; for he had been but a short time in power, when Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir revolted against him, with a party composed of the dregs of the population, and he was put to death three days before the end of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year 414 (10th February, A. D. 1024). 'Abdu-r-rahmán left no posterity. He was exceedingly fond of letters, very eloquent, and could write verses in a very tender strain. It is so stated by our master Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed,¹⁰ who lived in his time, and was well acquainted with him.¹¹

Reign of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, surnamed Al-mustakfi.

'Abdu-r-rahmán was succeeded, as above related, by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, who was forty-eight years of age at the time he took possession of the throne, having been born in the year 366 (beginning Aug. 29, A. D. 976). His appellation was Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán, and his mother's name Haurá. His father, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, had been put to death by Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at the beginning of the reign of Hishám Al-muyyed, under the pretence that he was planning a revolt for the purpose of seizing on the empire. This Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán took the surname of *Al-mustakfi*, and governed for sixteen months and some days, until he was deposed in the year 415, the empire returning to the family of Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní. *Al-mustakfi* was compelled to leave his capital in disguise, and take refuge in the *Thagher*. They say that when he reached a town called Shamunt,¹² in the district of Medinaceli, he sat down to take some food. There happened to be with him at the time a man named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-selím, of the posterity of Sa'íd Ibn Al-mundhir, the celebrated rebel who rose during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir. This man, being tired of wandering about in *Al-mustakfi*'s company, decided to get rid of him. He took some poisonous herbs, which are very plentiful in that part of the country, and dressed him a fowl with them. No sooner had *Al-mustakfi* partaken of it than he died; when the man dug a hole, and buried him on the spot. His reign was one of continued troubles and agitation. He left no posterity.

¹⁰ This is Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed *Ibn Hazm*, the author of the epistle on the literature of the Spanish Arabs, translated in the first volume of this work, pp. 168-199. He was the master of Al-homaydí, who quotes him repeatedly.

¹¹ I have here omitted some uninteresting details.

¹² قرية شونت من اعمال مدينة سالم

Reign of Hishám Ibn Mohammed, surnamed Al-mu'tadd.

We have elsewhere related, that when, in the year 417 (beginning Feb. 21, A. D. 1026), Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní was deprived of his power by a rebellion in Cordova, the people of that city agreed to restore the empire to the Bení Umeyyah. Their chief counsellor and support on this occasion was the Wizír Abú-l-hazm Jehwar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jehwar Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-ghamr Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir Ibn Abí 'Abdah. As all those who might have claimed a right to the empire, as descendants of that illustrious family, had either disappeared during the civil wars in Cordova, or were hid in the provinces, Jehwar and his friends wrote to the governors of the frontiers, and to all those who had usurped the royal authority in the provinces, acquainting them with their determination, and exhorting them to look out for the relics of the Bení Umeyyah, and to point out one who might fill the throne and restore it to its pristine glory and splendour. The people in the provinces agreed to this plan; and, after some time spent in searching for the princes of the house of Umeyyah, a great-grandson of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, named Abú Bekr Hishám Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir, was raised to the supreme power. They say that Hishám, who was a brother of Al-murtadhi, he who rose during the empire of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, as above related, was residing at Al-bount (Alpuente), under the protection of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Kásim, a noble chieftain, who had taken possession of that fortress. Immediately after his election, Hishám was proclaimed Khalif, and received the oath of allegiance of the people of Cordova in the month of Rabi' i. of the year 418 (April or May, A. D. 1027). He took on this occasion the surname of *Al-mu'tadd-billah* (he who is prepared in God). He was born in the year 364 (beginning Sept. 20, A. D. 974), and was Al-murtadhi's elder by four years. His mother's name was 'A'tita.¹³ The new Sultán, however, did not then enter Cordova, but remained in the *Thaghers*, where serious disturbances had arisen, the different chiefs and governors there waging war with each other. At last, after going backwards and forwards for three years all but two months, Hishám succeeded in adjusting their differences and quelling their dissensions; and he was thereby enabled to repair to Cordova, the capital of the empire, which he entered on the day of *Mina*,¹⁴ being the eighth day of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 420 (17th Dec., A. D. 1029). Soon after, however, part of the army rose against Hishám and deposed him; when, after many events, which it would take us too long to relate, the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah was for ever suppressed in Cordova. After the deposition of Hishám, Jehwar Ibn Mohammed, who had been the principal instrument of his elevation, gained possession of the supreme power. Jehwar had filled the charge of Wizír during the government of the Bení Abí 'A'mir. He had great expe-

¹³ عَاتِيْت I think this name is badly written in the MS., but I have not the means of correcting it. Conde (vol. i. p. 618) calls her "Oneiza."

¹⁴ So called because in this day the pilgrims who return from Mount 'Arafát to Mekka halt in the valley of Mina to perform their sacrifice.

rience in matters of government, and was besides endowed with much sagacity and a quick understanding. During the civil war he had taken no part whatever in public affairs, keeping aloof from all parties contending for power; but, when he saw the field open before him, and the occasion at hand, he dexterously seized it, and usurped the command. It must, however, be said of Jehwar, that though he administered the government and provided for the security of his capital; though he assumed in every respect all the authority of a supreme ruler, he took none of the insignia of the Khalifate, but ruled as none of his predecessors had done, declaring that he held the command until one more deserving of it, or having better titles to the empire, should make his appearance, when he would immediately resign all authority and power into his hands. He thus ordered that the palaces of the Bení Umeyyah should be kept in the same state as they had been under the regular government, and that the door-keepers, the servants and guards, should be stationed about the gates of them as in former times. He himself never inhabited them, but resided at his own private house in the city. The money arising from the collection of taxes, which formerly entered the royal coffers, he placed in the hands of public officers appointed for that purpose, and who were likewise charged with their distribution, he himself inspecting their accounts. He formed the tradespeople of Cordova into a sort of militia, and assigned to them a certain allowance, which was religiously paid out of the first sums collected in the treasury: he gave them arms, and formed them into various corps, which relieved each other in the guard of the city, going their rounds night and day about the shops, markets, and streets, so that, if any thing occurred, every man might be found at his post with his arms. He was in the habit of attending funerals and visiting the sick, imitating in every respect the conduct of the good Sultáns his predecessors: he, nevertheless, administered the affairs of the state as the other independent rulers of his day were in the habit of doing. So great was the confidence which the people placed in his justice, that Cordova was in his time like a sanctuary, and no man had any thing to fear from his enemies. This state of things lasted until Jehwar died, in Safar of the year 435 (Sept. or Oct., A.D. 1043). He was succeeded in command by his son, Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Jehwar, who followed his steps in the administration of the government until he died; when, after various changes and revolutions which happened in Cordova, and which it is not to our purpose to relate, Al-mámún, King of Toledo, took possession of it. Al-mámún ruled for a short period of time, and then died in that place. After this Cordova fell into the hands of the King of Seville, the Amír Adh-dháfir Ibn 'Abbád, under whose sway, if I am rightly informed, it still continues.¹⁵

In the mean while Hishám Al-mu'tadd, who had been in confinement, found means to escape, and took refuge with Ibn Húd at Lerida, where he remained until the time of his death, in the year 427 (beginning Nov. 4, A.D. 1035). Hishám having left no male children, the family of Merwán was entirely extinguished, and their empire abolished for ever. It is true that, whilst Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní was besieging Seville, the inhabitants of that place, and such as followed their party in the neighbouring districts, and dreaded the rule of

¹⁵ Al-homaydí wrote towards the year 460, when Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád was still in possession of Cordova.

that prince, gave out that Hishám Al-muyyed-billah, the son of Al-hakem, was still alive and among them; and they accordingly went through the usual ceremonies of taking the oath of allegiance to him, and proclaiming him their sovereign, their example being followed by most of the people of Andalus. But all this was a stratagem devised by Ibnu 'Abbád, the ruler of Seville, as we have shown elsewhere. At last, when it was close upon the year 450 (beginning Feb. 27, A. D. 1058), the same people who had proclaimed Hishám gave out that he was dead; and thus did the *khotbah* for the Bení Umeyyah cease from the pulpits of the mosques in all the provinces of Andalus until the present moment, when it has not yet been re-established.

Sultáns of the family of Idrís.

But to return to the Sultáns of the posterity of Al-hasan. After the death of Yahya Ibn 'Alí, who, as before stated, was killed on the seventh day of Moharram of the year 427 (Nov. 11, A. D. 1035), Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Abí Músa, better known under the surname of Ibn Bokannah,¹⁶ and Najá, the Slavonian eunuch, both of whom had once been ministers of the Bení Hasan, returned to Malaga, then the seat of the empire of that family, and caused the *khotbah* to be said in the name of Idrís Ibn 'Alí, Yahya's brother; for, although Yahya had left two sons, named Hasan and Idrís, those ministers were unwilling to trust them with the command, owing to their being very young when their father died. This being done, they dispatched messengers to Idrís, who was then in Ceuta, of which city he was governor, as well as of Tangiers and the surrounding districts, informing him of his elevation to power. Idrís immediately sailed for Malaga, where he was proclaimed Khalif, on condition that he should give possession of Ceuta to his nephew Hasan, one of the sons of Yahya. Idrís having agreed to accept of the empire on the above condition, Najá proceeded to Africa to put Hasan in possession of Ceuta and Tangiers. This Hasan was the youngest of Yahya's sons; he was, however, the strongest and the bravest.

On his accession to power, Idrís took the surname of *Al-mutáyyed*. He remained in possession of the throne until the year 330 (beginning Sept. 25, A. D. 931) or 331 (Sept. 14, A. D. 932), when a civil war broke out through the ambition of the Kádí Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád, Lord of Seville, who, wishing to possess himself of the territories close to his dominions, sent his son Isma'íl with his own troops, and such among the Berber tribes as obeyed his rule, against Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona, which city he besieged. Thence Isma'íl marched to Oshúnah (Osuna), and then to Ezija, both of which he took. Mohammed having implored the assistance of Idrís, and of Bádís, chief of the tribe of Senhájah, who ruled in Granada, the former sent him an army at the command of his minister Ibn Bokannah, and the latter hastened to his assistance in person, both effecting their junction with Mohammed. It appears, however, that Mohammed's auxiliaries were seized with a panic at the sight of Isma'íl, who, as before mentioned, commanded the forces of his father Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád; for they retreated before him, each returning to his own dominions. When this intelligence was brought to Isma'íl his hopes increased, and

¹⁶ This word is sometimes written *بن بقة* Ibn Baknah, at other times *بن بقة* Ibn Bokannah.

he decided upon following the Lord of Senhájah into his own dominions. He, accordingly, started off in pursuit of him with the utmost speed he could use; but when Bádís saw that he could not escape his pursuer, he sent a message to Ibn Bokennah, who had parted company with him only one hour before; and having joined their forces, they determined to make a halt, and wait for their enemy. Soon after, Isma'íl appeared in sight, and the two hosts met; but scarcely had a few blows been exchanged on each side, when the troops of Isma'íl suddenly gave way and left the field of battle in the utmost confusion. Isma'íl was in the number of the slain, having been one of the first killed. He was immediately beheaded, and his head carried to Malaga, to be presented to Idrís Ibn 'Alí. This monarch was then on his death-bed, and suffering under a disease of which he died. He had removed from Malaga to the mountain of Bobáshter,¹⁷ where he had a castle. He lived only two days after the head of Isma'íl was brought to him. Idrís left three sons: Yahya, who was afterwards put to death; Mohammed, who took the surname of *Al-muhdí*; and Hasan, who assumed that of *As-sámi*. He had another son named 'Alí, who was the eldest, but he died in his father's lifetime, leaving behind him a son named Mohammed, whom his uncle exiled on his accession to the throne.

During these transactions another prince of the family of Hamúd established himself at Algesiras. Yahya Ibn 'Alí, above mentioned, had, during his reign, confined his two cousins, Mohammed and Al-hasan, the sons of Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, in the castle of that city. The person intrusted with their custody was an African known by the name of Abú-l-hejáj, who, on the death of Yahya, took the two princes out of prison, and, having called together all the Africans and blacks who were in Algesiras, said to them, "These are your two rightful sovereigns;" upon which all the troops present hastened to take the oath of allegiance to them, owing to the great affection which their father, Al-kásim, had always shown towards the blacks, and the numerous benefits he had conferred upon them. Mohammed was then immediately proclaimed, and he ruled undisturbed over Algesiras and its districts, though he never assumed the title of Khalif. His brother Hasan remained some time with him, until, having been suddenly seized with a strong desire to take the woollen dress (to become a Súfí), he retired from the world. He afterwards went out as a pilgrim to Mekka, together with his sister Fátimah, the daughter of Al-kásim, and wife of Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-mu'tali. But to return to the principal branch of the family.

After the death of Idrís Ibn 'Alí, which happened in the manner above related, the minister Ibn Bokennah raised to power his son Yahya, better known under the surname of *Al-habbún*,¹⁸ and administered the kingdom for him. Ibn Bokennah, however, did not show upon this occasion all the fortitude required for such an undertaking, but hesitated, and gave evident signs of weakness. When the news of the defeat of Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád and the death of Idrís Ibn 'Alí reached Ceuta, Najá the Slavonian, who ruled over that city, undertook to place upon the throne of Malaga Al-hasan, the son of Yahya. Having appointed a man of his own nation to command in his absence, he crossed over to Malaga, taking that prince with him. On their arrival in that port, the courage of Ibn Bokennah failed him, and

¹⁷ بَاشْتَر See Conde (vol. ii. p. 16), who read *Yebaster*.

¹⁸ حَبُون

he fled to Hisn-Komáresh (Comares), eighteen miles from that city. Najá and Hasan then entered Malaga, where they were immediately joined by the Berbers, the former being soon after proclaimed Khalif by the people, who gave him on the occasion the surname of *Al-mustanser*. After this, Hasan sent a messenger to Ibn Bokennah, granting him his pardon if he would return to Malaga; but on his arrival there he had him seized and put to death, as well as his own cousin, Yahya Ibn Idrís. Najá then returned to Ceuta and Tangiers, leaving with Hasan a man known under the patronymic of Ash-shettífí,¹⁹ who was a sailor, and in whom he had the most implicit reliance. Things remained in this state for nearly two years, until Hasan was poisoned by his own wife,²⁰ the daughter of his uncle, Idrís Ibn 'Alí. They say that she did it out of revenge for the death of her brother, Yahya Ibn Idrís, whom Hasan, as before related, caused to be put to death on his accession to power.

After the death of Hasan, Ash-shettífí assumed the command, and having confined to a dungeon Idrís Ibn Yahya, brother of the deceased, wrote to apprise Najá of what had occurred. Hasan had left in the hands of Najá a son of tender age, and they say that on hearing the news of the death of the father, that Slavonian placed this son in confinement, and soon after had him put to death; but God only knows!

As there remained no prince of the posterity of Hasan Ibn Yahya, Najá conceived the project of usurping the royal power. Having appointed one of his own countrymen, in whom he could trust, to command over Ceuta and Tangiers in his absence, he put to sea, and landed at Malaga. On his arrival there he placed Idrís Ibn Yahya in still closer confinement, increased the number of his guards, and aimed at taking the power entirely out of the hands of the Bení Hasan, and seating himself on their throne. To this end, he sent for the chiefs of the Berbers, who were the troops of the country, and discovered his plans to them, promising them ample reward in case of success. Najá found them deaf to his propositions, and not one proffered him assistance: thinking, however, that the time was not yet come to rid themselves of Najá, the Berbers feigned to acquiesce in his plans, and lent him their assistance in public, though they were very differently disposed from the bottom of their hearts. After this, Najá called together his army, and marched upon Algesiras, with the intention of exterminating Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, who was ruling there. He besieged that city for some days, until, having received intelligence that some of his followers were meditating a revolt against him, he decided upon returning to his capital. As he was journeying thither, some of the chiefs of the conspiracy, fearing that if Najá came to inquire into the affair he would immediately dispatch them and pardon the rest, rode secretly forward, and waited for him in ambush in a mountain-pass, whereby he had to pass on his way to Malaga. Accordingly, when Najá, who rode in front of the host with a few horsemen, came to the pass, he was suddenly attacked by the Berbers. The Slavonians who composed his guard being thrown into confusion by the suddenness of the attack, ran away, and deserted him; and Najá fell under the blows of his assassins, two of whom immediately galloped off to Malaga, which they entered, crying, at the top of their voices, "Good news!

¹⁹ الشطيفي —that is, from Shettíf, or سظيف Settíf, the ancient Sitipha.

²⁰ فقيل أنها سمته أسفا علي أخيها —which Conde (vol. ii. p. 19) translates by *era llamada Asafia* (her name was Asafia). Blunders of this sort abound in the work of that writer.

good news! Najá is killed." They then went to the dwelling of Ash-shettíff, ran him through with their swords, and put him to death; soon after, the rest of the army made their appearance, and, having taken Idrís Ibn Yahya out of his prison, they proclaimed him Khalif, and swore allegiance to him. On his accession to power, Idrís took the surname of *Al-'áli*.

The character of Idrís was a compound of excellent qualities with inclinations ill fitted to a monarch. He was the most kind-hearted and charitable of men: he would distribute every Friday among the poor five hundred dinárs; he allowed all those who had been exiled under the preceding reigns to return to their homes, and restored to them their lands, farms, and whatever property belonging to them had been confiscated by his predecessors in power. As long as his reign lasted, not a complaint was heard among his subjects; he was, besides, well informed, fond of science, and would frequently repeat fine poetical fragments; but, with all this, he was very fond of associating with low and vulgar people; he would receive them at all hours in his palace, and his own wives would even appear unveiled in the presence of his guests: his prodigality was so excessive, that if a man of the tribe of Senhájah, or of the Bení Yeféren, inhabiting the neighbouring kingdom of Granada, asked him for one of his castles, he would immediately give him possession of it. Upon one occasion the Amír of Senhájah wrote to him, asking him to deliver into his hands the person of his own Wizír and minister, Músa Ibn 'Affán, against whom he had conceived great enmity: Idrís, being greatly attached to Músa, who had been the friend and companion of his father and grandfather, both of whom he had served with fidelity and zeal, would not at first comply with his request; but when Músa heard that the Amír of Senhájah peremptorily asked for his delivery, and that Idrís would at last be compelled to execute his commands, he generously went up to his master, and said to him, "Do as thou art commanded, O Amír! and may the will of God be done." Músa was accordingly sent to him of Senhájah, who, immediately upon his arrival, put him to death.

This, and other evident proofs of unpardonable weakness, alienated from Idrís the affections of his subjects, and they decided to deprive him of the empire. Idrís had before this confined in the castle of Ayrosh²¹ two youths, named Mohammed and Hasan, who were the sons of his uncle, Idrís Ibn 'Alí. The conspirators accordingly cast their eyes on Mohammed, the eldest, and, having caused the garrison of that fort to rise in his favour, proclaimed him their sovereign. When the news of this insurrection reached the black troops, who composed the garrison of the Kassábah of Malaga, they also joined in the movement, and, having proclaimed Mohammed, wrote to him to come to them. In the mean while they fortified themselves in the Kassábah: the people of Malaga, however, being partial to Idrís, collected round him, and advised him immediately to attack the Kassábah, and punish the rebels. Had he done so, the blacks could not have held out for an hour: but Idrís refused to follow their advice, and said to them, "Let every one of you go home, and leave me alone." The citizens having done as they were required, it was not long before his cousin made his appearance in Malaga, when he was proclaimed Khalif without opposition, and received the allegiance of the troops and the inhabitants.

²¹ ايرش

On his assuming the command, Mohammed Ibn Idrís took the surname of *Al-muhdi*, and appointed his brother Hasan *Wali-l-ahd*, or successor to the empire, giving him the surname of *As-sámi*. One of the first acts of Mohammed's government was to confine the late monarch in the very dungeon wherein he himself had been shut up. He also displayed much firmness and vigour in the administration; owing to which, the Berbers, who dreaded his justice, decided to deprive him of his power. Having sent their emissaries to the fortress where Idrís Ibn Yahya was confined, the governor entered into their plans, and rose with the garrison, again proclaiming Idrís Ibn Yahya.

On his first accession to power, after the murder of Najá, this monarch had appointed two of his father's slaves, named Rizkullah and Sokkát,²² who belonged to the sect of the Baragh'wáttah, to be governors of Ceuta and Tangiers. When Idrís was deposed by Mohammed, these two governors remained faithful to their master, administering his African dominions in his name. Idrís, however, was proclaimed for the second time at the castle of Ayrosh, as above related; but Mohammed showed no fear whatever; on the contrary, he displayed much energy and courage. His mother, too, who was a very spirited woman, assisted him most efficaciously. By taking the field in person, and distributing rewards among those who most distinguished themselves by their courage, she kept the rebels in check and disconcerted their plans, until the Berbers, seeing no hope of success, abandoned the cause of Idrís, and decided upon sending him over to Africa, and intrusting him to the care of the two Baragh'wáttah governors above mentioned. When Idrís, who had previously placed his own son under their custody, arrived in Africa, the governors received him with every show of attention and respect, and had him proclaimed Khalif in their mosques, although in reality all power was vested in their hands. Things remained in this state until some of the principal Berbers came over to Idrís, and said to him, "These two slaves are masters of thy person, and are interposed between thee and the empire; grant us permission to deliver thee from them." Idrís, however, would not listen to their proposition, but acquainted the two governors with the plans of their enemies, upon which the Baragh'wáttah began by exiling the counsellors;²³ and some time after, mistrusting Idrís himself, they also expelled him, and sent him over to Andalus in a vessel, although they still acknowledged him as Khalif, and continued to have the *khotbah* said in his name. The Baragh'wáttah retained the son of Idrís on account of his extreme youth.

After this, Mohammed Ibn Idrís, having disagreed with his brother As-sámi, banished him to Africa, where he arrived, and took up his abode, establishing soon after his sovereignty in the mountains of Gomárah (Gomera), the country whence the Bení Hasan had first issued, and the inhabitants of which still entertained the greatest veneration and respect for that family. In the mean while the Berbers of Malaga, who could not tolerate the rule of Mohammed, decided

²² سَكَاتٌ This appears to be the same individual called سَكُوتٌ Sakút by Ibnu Khaldún. See vol. i. p. 333. On the origin of the religious sect of the Baragh'wáttah, see *ibid.*

²³ Conde, who calls these governors *Razikaba* and *Sekan*, did not understand the meaning of this passage, which he found word for word in Adh-dhobí (Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14, fo. 17). He makes the two Baragh'wáttah fall by the hands of the populace, and says that Idrís sailed afterwards for Malaga, taking his son with him.

upon starting another competitor for the crown. Having entered into a secret correspondence with Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, King of Algesiras, they promised him their help, and assured him of the victory if he would dispute the empire. Mohammed's ambition being kindled, he marched out of Algesiras at the head of his army and joined the Berbers, who immediately invested him with the Khalifate, giving him the surname of *Al-muhdi*. The world then presented the ridiculous and highly objectionable picture of no less than four princes assuming at once the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín*, in a country the extent of which does not exceed thirty square farsangs. However, the Berbers stayed some days with Mohammed, after which they all left him and returned to their country; he also returning, ashamed and crest-fallen, to Algesiras, where he soon after died, they say, of sorrow and disappointment, leaving eight male children. Mohammed was succeeded in the kingdom of Algesiras by his son Al-kásim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, who, however, did not assume the title of Khalif. As to Mohammed Ibn Idrís, of Malaga, he remained in possession of the kingdom until the time of his death, which happened in 445 (beginning April 22, A.D. 1053). On the death of Mohammed, the Berbers sent for Idrís Ibn Yahya (Al-'áli), who was then living among the Bení Yeféren, and offered him the throne, which he accepted.

These are the Sultáns of the family of Idrís who held rule over Malaga and the neighbouring districts. We do not mention many others who reigned about the same time in other provinces in Andalus, because none of them assumed the title of Khalif.

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

APPENDIX C.

Extracts from the historical work entitled Kitábu-l-iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá (the book of sufficiency on the history of the Khalifs),¹ containing a concise account of the history of Mohammedan Spain, from the death of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the ninth Sultán of Cordova, till the arrival of the Almohades.

After the death of Al-hakem, his son Hishám, still of tender age, succeeded him. Soon after his accession, Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who had been Al-hakem's secretary, was appointed to the charge of Wizír, and his influence over the youthful monarch gradually increased. Being a shrewd and active man, he made himself completely master of the person of Hishám, and succeeded, by his liberality, his courage, and his secret intrigues, in securing to himself the attachment of the army. He, moreover, contrived to keep Hishám in a state of insensibility, by surrounding him with all manner of pleasures and dissipation; and having chosen the Kátibs or secretaries, as well as the governors of the provinces, from among his own relatives, or from those among his personal friends on whom he could most rely, he then took into

¹ See vol. i. App. D. p. xlii. et seq.

his hands the whole of the authority, leaving to his sovereign Hishám only the title of Khalif, the *khotbah* (or proclamation in the mosque), and the coinage of money in his name; for every decree emanated from him, while he made the people believe that it was his sovereign's will. Al-mansúr's next step was to build for himself a very strong castle, whither he removed all the treasures of the state. When his ambition had in a certain manner been satisfied, he began to give evident proofs of those military talents which he so highly displayed during his administration, and to direct against the infidels those numberless expeditions by which he acquired so great a celebrity. Indeed, God Almighty always gave victory to his arms, and wherever he met the Christians he destroyed and annihilated them. In this manner he marched against Barcelona, which city he besieged and took, after killing its king, Borel.² He then razed the fortifications and returned to Cordova, loaded with rich spoil, consisting of arms, dresses, money, horses, and beasts of burden; and bringing besides with him an immense number of male and female captives.

Various other incursions were subsequently made by Al-mansúr in the same districts, every where overturning and destroying the Christian armies that opposed him, and reducing to his obedience the farthest limits of the country of the infidels. The fame of his exploits became so great, that the Emperor of Constantinople sent him ambassadors, and sought his alliance and friendship, as did also the Lord of Rome,³ and the King of Castile, all of whom sent him costly presents and all kinds of rarities, the produce of their respective countries, with a view to conciliate his favour, and to obtain security and peace.

Thus did Al-mansúr continue for twenty-eight years administering the affairs of the Moslems, and keeping his sovereign Hishám in the same state of seclusion and non-entity to which we have alluded. At last, death, against whose blows nobody stands secure, struck him on his return from an expedition to the country of the infidels. They relate, that a few moments before he died, Al-mansúr began to weep bitterly, which being observed by one of his favourite eunuchs named Kauthar, who was his Hájb, and was then standing by his bedside, he addressed him thus:—"Why dost thou weep, O master?"—"I weep," answered Al-mansúr, "over my sins; and the evils I have entailed upon the Moslems of this country." "How can that be," replied Kauthar in amazement, "when it is evident that Islám never was more flourishing, or the Mohammedan sway more widely extended, than under thy administration? Hast thou not conquered the kingdoms of the infidels, and put down their pride? hast thou not made the Christians of distant regions come like so many beasts of burden to this capital, loaded with the earth of their native country, and lay it down at the gate of thy palace, to serve afterwards for the construction of the great mosque?"—"Thou sayest right," replied Al-mansúr; "but when I conquered the enemy's country, when I seized on his castles and fortresses, I always took care to provide my new conquests with the means of subsistence and defence, and to establish the means of a speedy communication between them and our own settlements on the frontiers, that they might be instantly relieved in case of attack. I have thus made numerous settlements within the enemy's country, and filled their towns and castles with Moslems. There lies my

² The MS. reads بوبل which is a mistake for بربل

³ صاحب رومة

“ error. Now that I am on the verge of death, who will imitate my example when I am gone? My sons, it is well known, spend their time in wanton dissipation, and they are utterly unfit for the task of checking the progress of a daring enemy, who, though now vanquished and humiliated, will soon recommence his attacks, will snatch one by one from the Moslems all the conquests I have made; and, when he finds that the provinces he traverses are well populated and provided with the necessaries of life, will, without difficulty, push on his incursions to the very walls of this capital; nay, will in time wrest from us all our dominions in this island. There lies my error! And yet God Almighty inspired me more than once with the means of salvation; but I constantly disregarded the admonition. Had I laid waste all the territories subdued by my arms, had I by ruin and destruction made a desert of at least ten days’ march between our extreme frontier and that of the Christians, we might then have averted the approaching tempest, as it would have been extremely difficult for our enemies to march through a desolated and unproductive country. But, alas! as things now stand, there is no salvation but in God.”—“ Do not be afflicted,” said Kauthar; “ if God Almighty be pleased, thou shalt recover, and then thou mayst issue thy orders to that effect.”—“ No,” said Al-mansúr; “ the opportunity is now gone. Were I to recover this my illness, and to command what I deem convenient for the safety of this nation, the Moslems would say, ‘ Al-mansúr was attacked by a severe illness through which he lost his wits, and in a fit of insanity he ordered the devastation of the Moslem territory.’ ”

After the death of Ibn Abí 'A'mir, his son 'Abdu-l-málik succeeded him in the charge of Hájb, as well as in the command of the army, and in the favour of his monarch Hishám, who led the same secluded life as before, taking no part whatever in the affairs of the state. 'Abdu-l-málik followed the traces of his invincible father; he made war on the idolaters, and was always successful, owing to which he was surnamed Al-mudhfer (the victorious). After an administration of eight years he died almost suddenly of a quinsy in his throat.

'Abdu-l-málik was succeeded, in the year 400 (beginning August 24, A. D. 1009), by his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who assumed the surname of *Al-muhdi*, but whom the people of Cordova were in the habit of calling Shanjúl,⁴ or “ the madman,” owing to his profligate life, his impious habits, his familiarity with common soldiers and persons from the lowest ranks of society, his drinking of wine and spirituous liquors,—of which he made a constant and immoderate use,—and, above all, his impudence and presumption, which prompted him to exact from the inhabitants of Cordova an oath of allegiance to himself as their lawful sovereign. After the death of Hishám, whose heir and successor he pretended to be, he assumed the title of *Walí ahdi-l-islám* (presumptive heir to the throne). This rash conduct having brought on 'Abdu-r-rahmán the wrath of the Bení Umeyyah, who were already disgusted with his tyranny and his excesses, a conspiracy was formed in Cordova, at the head of which was a prince of that family,⁵ who rose in arms against him, as well as against Hishám. The rebel

⁴ This word, which is sometimes written سنجول *Sanjúl*, and sometimes شنجول *Shanjúl*, is not Arabic, and belongs, no doubt, to one of the African dialects which were about that time spoken at Cordova. See vol. i. p. 506, Note 7.

⁵ Mohammed Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, who afterwards reigned under the surname of “ Al-muhdi.”

being joined by the greater part of the army, and by almost all the inhabitants of Cordova, secured the person of Hishám, of whom no more was heard afterwards, and succeeded also in laying hold of *Shanjúl*, whom he put to death and caused afterwards to be crucified.

When the governors in the provinces heard of the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán they all raised the standard of revolt, each rising within the territories intrusted to his care, and with the armies under his command. Thus Zeyrí Ibn Menád, with his followers, rose in Granada and the adjoining districts; the Kádí Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád did the same in Seville; and Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún in Toledo, where he commanded by delegation and by appointment of Ibn Abí 'A'mir. Their example was soon followed by Yúsuf Ibn Húd, who was governor of Saragossa; in short, every Governor, Kádí, or man of consequence or authority who had any troops under his command, hesitated not to declare himself in open rebellion against the new Khalif of Cordova: for instance, Ibn Al-afttas proclaimed himself independent at Badajoz; Ibn Samádeh, at Almeria; Mujáhid, the Sclavonian, at Denia; Ibn Táhir, at Murcia; besides a great many more from among the relatives or adherents of Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and his sons.

However, soon after the death of *Shanjúl* and the disappearance of Hishám, another member of the family of Umeyyah rose to revenge the blood of the son of Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and started as competitor for the crown. His name was *Al-musta'in*:⁶ he waged war for some time with the usurper, but was at last defeated and put to death. Some historians have asserted, that during this war the Khalif Hishám was one day found concealed in the palace of Cordova; and that about that time also Ibn 'Abbád, who rose in Seville, went about with a man greatly resembling Hishám in personal appearance, and, having made the people believe that he was their legitimate sovereign, caused them to acknowledge him as such and obey his orders. But the fact is, that Ibn 'Abbád really reigned in the name of this pretended sovereign, who was a mere tool of his ambition, as was afterwards discovered; for, when he thought that his authority had been firmly established, and his power was sufficiently dreaded, he gave out that Hishám was dead, and that he had, before his death, appointed him his successor. In this manner was the Khalifate extinct in Andalus: the wheels of fate revolved their rotations of woe and perdition; corruption and vice seized the hearts of the rich and the poor, of the noble and the plebeian, of the lord and the vassal. The obscure and the low rose in every corner of the empire; the fire of discord raged through the Mohammedan provinces; and the Christians, seizing the opportunity, on all sides attacked the Moslems, who, weakened and divided as they were, made a very slight defence, the cruel enemies of our faith obtaining every where considerable advantages, especially in Aragon and Castile.

In this manner they made an incursion into the kingdom of Toledo, and completely defeated Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún, who went out to meet them, making great slaughter among his followers. They likewise attacked Saragossa, but they were there bravely met by Suleymán Ibn Húd, who not only defeated the enemy, but plundered his camp, and killed most of his men. About this time a powerful army of Christians came out from the country

⁶ This was Suleymán Ibn Al-hakem.

of the Rúm (Asturias?), and arrived in Kastiliah (Castile), the court and residence of a king whose name was *Al-beytin*.⁷ Another army came likewise from the great land (continent), and having all joined together, they began to scour the country in all directions, killing the inhabitants or making them captives, and committing all manner of excesses and depredations. In this manner they appeared before the walls of Valencia, where they were met by Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Razín, who offered them battle. He was, however, defeated and killed, and his army destroyed and dispersed. Thence the Christians went to Guadalajara, where they were opposed by the governor of the town, the Káyid Ibn Katání; but he also was defeated and severely wounded in the encounter. In short, God Almighty permitted the King of Castile, *Al-beytin*, every where to chastise the rebellious chieftains who had proclaimed themselves independent; for he took by storm many of their towns, and, in spite of all their efforts, subdued large tracts of the countries over which they ruled as masters. These events happened in the year 425 (beginning Nov. 25, A. D. 1033).

After this, *Al-beytin* returned to his dominions, having appointed his general, Ramiro,⁸ governor of his new conquests: this Ramiro established his residence in Barbastro, a city which he had previously taken from Ibn Húd, the King of Saragossa.

On his return to his states, *Al-beytin* found that a Christian king of the name of Ferdeland,⁹ whom he had left in Castile to command in his absence, had revolted against him, with a view to dispossess him of that kingdom. They accordingly made war on each other for several months. In the mean time Ibn Húd, who burned to revenge the past disasters, thinking the time was come to make an attack upon Ramiro, wrote to Ibn 'Abbád, imploring his assistance; and on the receipt of his letter the King of Seville immediately sent him some forces under the command of an experienced general named Mu'adh Ibn Abí Korrah. With these reinforcements Ibn Húd took the field and attacked Ramiro, whom he defeated; and having expelled the Christians from the countries which they occupied, he retook Barbastro and various other strong towns. The news of these successes inspired confidence in the Moslems, and their courage again revived, so that whenever the Christians dared to attack their territory, they were invariably repulsed and beaten with great loss. However, notwithstanding all these victories, hatred and ill-will still divided the Moslems, who, regardless of their common danger, went on prosecuting their private feuds, and waging war one against another, thus gaining little or no advantage against the common enemy, whose forces happened at that time to be also weakened by intestine war.

⁷ The text reads thus: *وخرج من بلاد الروم جيش عظيم و وصل الي صاحب قشتيلية و هي دار ملكهم و فيها كان ملكهم البيطين*—literally, "and there came out of the land of the Rúm a large army, which arrived to [the dominions of] the Lord of Kastiliah, the court of their kings, and, at that time, of their king *Al-beytin*." The word *البيطين* *Al-beytin*, which lower down is written *البتين* *Al-betin*, is, no doubt, intended for *البيطر* or *بطير* Pedro. There was, however, no King of Castile so named at the time; the monarch here alluded to is no other than Sancho *el Mayor*, King of Navarre, who, in 1026, assumed the sovereignty of Castile in right of his wife, Doña Muña Elvira, daughter of Don Sancho, and sister of Don Garcia, last Count of Castile.

⁸ Ramiro, a bastard son of Don Sancho, who afterwards became King of Aragon.

⁹ His son Fernando, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Castile. The Spanish authors, however, make no mention of this revolt.

Some time after these events the Christians made an incursion into the districts close to Granada. They were, however, met by the Berbers, who not only routed them completely, but took possession of all their baggage and stores. Then Ramiro, the son of Sancho, marched towards Huesca, and overran its territory; but Ibn Húd, sallying out from Saragossa, overtook him on the road, and a battle ensued, in which Ramiro himself was killed, and his army entirely dispersed. The Franks also made an inroad into the neighbourhood of Toledo, but the eunuch Wádheh,¹⁰ who commanded the armies of King Ibn Dhí-n-nún, went out in pursuit of them, and put them to flight.

After this the Christians had wars among themselves; yet, though their attention was thus diverted by their own internal troubles, they nevertheless continued to profit by the dissensions of the Moslems, and the weakness to which they had been reduced. During this interval they took from us several castles and important fortresses, such as Hisn Kolimriah, Hisn Wakhshah, and Hisn Shírúr,¹¹ this last place falling into the hands of Sancho, son of Abarca. This Sancho¹² died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by his three sons, Ferdeland (Fernando), Garcia, and Ramiro. (May the curse of God fall on them all!). Fernando, being the eldest of the three, was chosen to succeed his father. Having taken the field, he reduced several places, like Santa Maria, otherwise called the town of Ibn Razín, and other strong fortresses. He also took from the Bení Al-afttas, who ruled as masters over the western part of Andalus, several fortresses in the neighbourhood of Badajoz.

This Fernando (may he be cursed!) died, leaving three sons, Sancho, Garcia, and Alfonso, who disputed the crown amongst themselves. However, Sancho being put to death, and Garcia being thrown into a dungeon, the empire devolved on their brother Alfonso, son of Fernando, who, seeing himself without competitors, cast a wistful eye on the dominions of the Moslems, and conceived in his base head the project of subjecting to his abominable rule the whole of Andalus. In pursuance of his plans, the Christian king never ceased from that moment to make incursions into the country of the Moslems, whom he generally found in a state of dissension and internal discord, and fast working their own ruin and destruction. Indeed, not only were the different independent chieftains at that time waging unrelenting war against each other, but they would not unfrequently avail themselves of the arms of the Christians to attack and destroy their own countrymen and brothers in religion, lavishing on Alfonso costly presents, and giving him as many treasures as he chose to have, in order to conciliate his good wishes, and to obtain security for themselves and assistance against their enemies. The Christians, perceiving the state of corruption into which the Moslems had fallen, rejoiced extremely; for, at that time, very few men of virtue and principle were to

¹⁰ This Wádheh *واضح* appears to be the same Slavonian eunuch who directed for some time the administration of Hishám II.

¹¹ *كليمرية - وخشة - شيرور* Kolimriah is intended for Conimbra (now Coimbra) in Portugal.

¹² Sãncho II., King of Navarre. See above, Note 7. He was the son of Garcia II., and the grandson of Garces Abarca. At his death, which happened in 1035, he divided his dominions among his three sons. To Garcia he left the kingdom of Navarre; to Fernando that of Castile; and that of Aragon to Ramiro.

be found amongst the Moslems, the generality of whom began to drink wine and commit all manner of excesses. The rulers of Andalus thought of nothing else than purchasing singing-women and slaves, listening to their music, and passing their time in revelry and mirth, spending in dissipation and frivolous pastimes the treasures of the state, and oppressing their subjects with all manner of taxes and exactions, that they might send costly presents to Alfonso, and induce him to serve their ambitious projects. Things went on in this way among the rebellious chieftains of Andalus until weakness seized on the conquerors as well as on the conquered, and baseness and vice preyed likewise on the assailants and the assailed: generals and captains no longer displayed their wonted valour; warriors became cowardly and base; the people of the country were in the greatest misery and poverty, the entire society was corrupted, and the body of Islám, deprived alike of life and soul, became a mere corpse. Those among the Moslem rulers who did not actually submit to Alfonso, consented to pay him an annual tribute, thus becoming collectors in their own dominions of the revenues of the Christian monarch! While this state of things lasted, not one dared to oppose his will or disobey his commands. In the mean time the affairs of the Moslems were administered by Jews, who fed on them as the lion on a defenceless animal, and who filled even the offices of Wizír, Hájib, and Kátib, reserved in former days for the most illustrious individuals in the state: the Christians went every year round Andalus, plundering and making captives, burning villages, and wasting the whole country.

In the midst of these troubles, namely, in the year 467 (beginning Aug. 26, A. D. 1074), died the King of Toledo, Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the same who took Cordova from Ibn 'Abbád, and defended it afterwards from his attacks. Ibn Dhí-n-nún surpassed many of the Moslem kings of his time in courage and military talents. When he died, his body was carried on the shoulders of his own men to Toledo, and there buried. He left no sons. That period of history in which the disastrous events above related took place has been called by the Arabian authors *Ayyámu-l-firk* (the days of division or confusion).

In the same year (A. H. 467) died at Shátibah (Xativa), his birth-place, the learned theologian and traditionist the Imám Abú 'Amru Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr¹³ (may God show him mercy!).

Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún having left no male children, he was succeeded in the kingdom of Toledo by his grandson, Yahya, who assumed the title of *Al-kádír-billah*. Yahya was imbecile in mind and weak in body. He had been brought up in his father's harem among women and eunuchs, dancers and singers; and he was as unfit for the command of the army as for the duties of the administration in those perilous times. He therefore abandoned himself completely into the hands of his slaves, and intrusted with his eunuchs the cares of the government. This made him the scorn of his subjects; hated and despised by whom, he became at the same time a mark to the ambition of his equals among the rulers of Andalus.

The King of Seville, Ibn 'Abbád, was the first to assail him in his own dominions. Being anxious to revenge upon him all the injuries he had received at his grandfather's hands, that monarch took the field at the head of considerable forces, and, after recovering Cordova

¹³ See vol. i. p. 457, where the death of this individual is said to have happened four years sooner, in 463.

and the surrounding districts, reduced also Talavera, Gháfek, and all the territory laying between those two cities.

Nor was Ibn 'Abbád the only one who attacked this imbecile prince; the King of Saragossa, Ibn Húd, made also an incursion into his territory, and, assisted by the tyrant Ibn Radmir,¹⁴ took from him the cities of Santa Maria and Molina.¹⁵ Unable to withstand alone the attacks of his two formidable adversaries,—a task, besides, for which his cowardice and stupidity made him totally unfit,—Yahya solicited the aid of the tyrant Alfonso. In the mean time the city of Valencia, which formed part of Yahya's dominions, as inherited from his grandfather, Al-mámún, threw off its allegiance; Ibn Húd having prevailed upon the governor, Abú Bekr Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, to declare himself in open revolt, and to assume the command of the place. The King of Saragossa then asked in marriage the daughter of Abú Bekr, expecting that the match would be the means of his getting possession of the kingdom of Valencia, which he ardently wished for.

At the same time the city of Cuenca,¹⁶ which belonged also to Al-kádir, was besieged by Ibn Radmir. That tyrant pressed the town until the inhabitants were on the point of starvation through hunger and thirst; when, unable to hold out any longer, they capitulated, and agreed to pay him a considerable sum of money if he would raise the siege; which he did. Al-kádir then sent an army, under the command of Bashír the eunuch, to meet the combined forces of Ibn Húd and Ibn Radmir; but that general returned without encountering the enemy, who had already retired into their respective countries loaded with rich spoil.

About this time there was a popular commotion in Toledo, wheréin the theologian Abú Bekr Ibn Al-harírí, and several other distinguished men, fell victims to an infuriated mob, the houses of the rich people being also gutted, and all manner of excesses committed.

When King Al-kádir saw himself thus surrounded by his enemies, he wrote to apprise Alfonso of his critical situation, and begged the Christian king to send an army to his assistance. The tyrant's answer was thus conceived:—"If thou wishest me to defend and protect thee against thy enemies, send me so much money; if not, I will deliver thee into their hands." This King Alfonso was a very shrewd and perfidious man, and he saw with secret delight the disturbances raised in the very heart of the Moslem dominions by their ambitious rulers. He well knew that in proportion as they consumed their own resources and those of their subjects in useless and petty warfare, his own power would increase, and that the moment was fast approaching for his conquering the whole of Andalus. He therefore took the first opportunity, which offered itself by the non-compliance of Al-kádir with the terms of the treaty, to invade the dominions of that monarch, as we shall presently relate. However, when Yahya received the above answer, he called together to a council the functionaries of the state, and the governors of his provinces, besides a considerable number of his subjects, and communicated to them Alfonso's proposal. "The Christian king," said Yahya to the assembly, "has pledged himself by a most solemn oath, that unless you bring me imme-

¹⁴ Sancho I. of Aragon, and IV. of Navarre. He was the son of Ramiro.

¹⁵ ملينة

¹⁶ كنة

“diately the sums for which he asks, yourselves, wives, and children shall be made answerable for it.” Not one of those present answered a word, with the exception of the Káyid Abú Shajá' Ibn Lebún, who said to Yahya, “The words thou hast just uttered are the best proof of the instability of thy empire, but perhaps thou trustest and reliest in him (Alfonso).” Abú Shajá' was right. So disgusted were the people of Toledo with Yahya's willingness to comply with the exorbitant demands made by the Christian king, that they pronounced him to be utterly unfit to govern them, and decided to enter into a secret correspondence with Ibn Al-afttas, king of Badajoz, and persuade him to deprive Al-kádir of the empire.

No sooner was Al-kádir informed of the plot entered into against him, than, not deeming himself secure in Toledo, he fled at night with his treasures and a few only of his adherents, and took the road to Webdeh (Huete);¹⁷ but the governor, named Ibn Wahb, shut the gates and refused him admission. During this interval Ibn Al-afttas arrived in sight of Toledo, and entered that city.

In this emergency Al-kádir again sought the aid of Alfonso. Surrounded on every side by enemies, his sole hope of salvation was in the Christian king. He wrote to him and implored his assistance, and the tyrant accordingly hastened to help him. Al-kádir went out to meet the Christian, when it was mutually agreed that Alfonso should lay siege to Toledo, until he should expel Ibn Al-afttas and restore the city to Al-kádir, who, on the restoration of his capital, was to hand over to Alfonso the whole of his treasures. As a security against any infraction of this treaty, Alfonso was to retain as pledges the fortresses of Soria and Conória.¹⁸ These conditions being mutually agreed upon, the Christians were put in possession of the above fortresses, which they put in an excellent state of defence by considerably augmenting their fortifications, and garrisoning them with their best troops. Alfonso then laid siege to Toledo.

Ibn Al-afttas seeing himself closely besieged by the Christians, and not expecting assistance from any one, abandoned the city, and Al-kádir was again put in possession of it. Agreeably to his promise, Al-kádir collected all the money he could among the inhabitants of the place, and presented it to Alfonso; but this the tyrant would not receive. Al-kádir then brought him the whole of the treasures and jewels which he had inherited from his father and grandfather; but still the amount not being equal to the promised sum, Al-kádir begged Alfonso to wait for the payment of the remainder; his request being granted by the Christian king on condition that the fortress of Canales¹⁹ should be given over to him as security. When Alfonso saw himself master of that important fortress, he immediately garrisoned it with his best troops, and filled it with provisions and military stores. After which he returned to Castile, rich, safe, and with his saddle-bags full of plunder.

Alfonso's interference on this occasion, far from being beneficial to Al-kádir, proved the

¹⁷ I read ^{وَبْدَة} *Webdeh* (Huete), a small town north-east of Toledo, between Cuenca and Guadalaxara. The word might also be pointed thus, ^{وَبْدَة} *Ubedah* (Ubeda); but this town was then in the dominions of the King of Seville, Ibn 'Abbád.

¹⁸ ^{سرية و قنورية}

¹⁹ ^{قنالش}

cause of his ruin and of the loss of his kingdom. It alienated the hearts of his subjects entirely from him; many of whom left Toledo secretly, and repaired to the dominions of Ibn Húd, by whom they were kindly received and honourably entertained, this monarch bestowing on them all manner of favours and distinctions. The kingdom of Toledo, too, became a target for the ambition of neighbouring princes, all of whom strove to gain possession of it. Thus Ibn 'Abbád attacked it from the west, whilst Ibn Húd made it feel on the east all the agonies of death.

When Al-kádir perceived that he was unable to resist the simultaneous attacks of his enemies, and that no way was left open to him to escape from their clutches, he again wrote to Alfonso, offering to cede to him Toledo and its environs, provided he would assist him in the conquest of Valencia and its dependencies. No sooner did Alfonso receive the letter containing this proposition, than he flew towards Al-kádir as if he had had wings, and, marching night and day, arrived in sight of Toledo, which city was immediately put at his disposal, and the inhabitants at his discretion. Before surrendering his capital to Alfonso, Al-kádir stipulated for the following conditions. Every Moslem was to enjoy security for himself, family, and children; he was, moreover, to retain possession of his property. Those who chose might quit the town with all their goods and chattels; those who preferred to remain were only to be subject to the payment of the customary tribute,²⁰ in proportion to the number of individuals who composed their family. It was further stipulated that if any one of the inhabitants chose to return after an absence of some time, he should be allowed again to settle in Toledo with whatever goods or property he had, without being subjected to the payment of duties or other personal inconvenience owing to the amount of the same.

Alfonso gave his assent to this capitulation, which he confirmed by a touch of his right hand, swearing faithfully to observe every one of the conditions therein contained. The taking of Toledo by Alfonso happened in 478 (A. D. 1085). Tárik Ibn Zeyád having taken it in the year 92, it had thus remained the abode of Islám for a period of 386 years. On the entrance of the Christians most of the inhabitants left the city, and retired to other provinces occupied by their brethren in religion. Toledo, in the mean time, remained in the hands of the infidels, who were left in undisturbed possession of it, as no attempt was made or wish manifested to snatch it from them, until the news came that the Almoravides, after defeating the tribe of Zenátah, had conquered the whole of Western Africa. These tidings filled with joy the Moslems of Andalus, whose hope was strengthened and whose spirit was revived in expectation of their powerful allies. But to return.

In the same year in which Toledo was taken (A. H. 478) died the King of Saragossa, Al-muktadir Yúsuf Ibn Húd, who was succeeded by his son, Ahmed, who took the honorary surname of *Al-must'áin*. In this year died likewise the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, who, as we have before noticed, had risen at Valencia, and whom Al-kádir was now trying to attack and dethrone. After the death of Abú Bekr the city remained for some time without a ruler, when Al-kádir set off from Toledo with his own army, reinforced by

²⁰ جزیة i. e. the same capitation-tax usually paid by the Christians living in the Moslem dominions.

some troops which Alfonso sent him, under the command of Albarhánis (Alvar Yañez),²¹ (may God destroy him!). This expedition took place in the year 480 (beginning April 7, A.D. 1087). Al-kádir encamped with his host outside of Valencia. At sight of his Christian auxiliaries the sides of the faithful quaked, and their hearts beat with fear; and they accordingly opened their gates to him, dreading the vengeance of Albarhánis. Al-kádir lodged the Christian in the suburb called Risáfah, while he himself took up his abode in the interior of the city.

When the tyrant Alfonso saw himself master of Toledo, his nostrils dilated with pride; his ambition was kindled, and he imagined that he could easily conquer the rest of Andalus. To gain this end, he began by making incursions into the districts round Toledo, until he reduced under his sway all the territories which had once belonged to the Bení Dhí-n-nún, from Guadalaxara to Talavera, and from the plain of Elche²² to the district of Santa Maria (Albarracin); an extent of country comprising eighty principal towns or cities, in every one of which there was a mosque; besides innumerable villages, farm-houses, and rural buildings. At this time no chieftain or king in Andalus dared oppose himself to Alfonso, or arrest his victorious career. On the contrary, all hastened to send their ambassadors to him, and to place themselves and subjects entirely at his discretion, offering to be his vassals, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided he would maintain them in the possession of the cities and provinces in which they had risen. Things even went so far that Husámu-d-daulah Ibn Razín, King of Santa Maria (Albarracin), went in person to the court of Alfonso, and, having made him a splendid and costly present, begged him to confirm him in his states, promising to hold them in his name. Alfonso accepted the present, and gave a monkey in return; and they relate that Ibn Razín used to boast of this circumstance among his comrades, the petty kings of Andalus, asserting that among other presents offered to him by Alfonso, he had selected that animal, as indicative of the decadence of the power of that tyrant. But to return.

Elated with success, the Christian king began to assume the titles and to imitate in every respect the conduct of great monarchs and Cæsars. His ambition increased two-fold; and he surrounded his person with such splendour and magnificence that all mortals appeared contemptible before him. Seeing the Moslem princes become subservient to him, he took the title of *Emberatúr* (Imperator), which, in the language of the Christians, means as much as *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful) with us. Whenever he addressed any of them in writing, he would style himself "king of the two nations." Nor did his arrogance and presumption end here; for, in the presence of the ambassadors residing at his court, he once swore by his God not to rest until he had exterminated every Moslem prince in Andalus, or obliged them all to pay him tribute; not to lay down his arms until he had left them no other place of refuge than his protection; no other resource than a ready submission. Upon one occasion he said to the ambassador of Ibn 'Abbád, who was a Jew, named Ibn Misha'l,²³ "How can I allow these madmen to go on with their folly, and

²¹ البرهانس Alvar Yañez (or Fañez) Minaya, one of the Companions of the Cid.

²² اللج — which I believe to be Elche in Murcia.

²³ ابن مشعل

“ assume the titles and names of their Khalifs, Kings, and Amírs? How can I tolerate their impudence and presumption in calling themselves Al-mu'tadhed, Al-mu'tamed, Al-mu'tassem, Al-mutawakkel, Al-musta'in, Al-muktadir, Al-amín, Al-mámún? especially when every one of them seems to be a prey to insanity, and ceases not to oppress his subjects and tyrannize over them,—rising in hostile array one against another, indulging in every vice and iniquity, and passing their lives amidst a host of singers and lute-players. I only wonder how men can tolerate such rulers, and trust to such ignorant and negligent shepherds the care of a flock which they abandon and desert.”

But to resume the thread of our narrative. The Christians prosecuted their victorious course through the dominions of Islám, invading the territories and towns occupied by the Moslems, and reducing them under their sway, until the arrogance of the Christian dogs waxed so great, and the fear of the Moslems became so intense, that a handful of mounted adventurers were sufficient to overawe a whole province, and to traverse it with impunity. In this way a band of mounted desperadoes, not exceeding sixty in number, made a foray into the territory of Almeria, and appeared in sight of that capital. Ibn Samádeh, who commanded there, having sent against them four hundred of his best troops, under an experienced general, not only did the infidels await their arrival, but, when attacked, they defeated the Moslems with awful carnage. At last, when all the chieftains of Andalus, and chiefly those who held command in the western parts, such as Ibn Al-afttas and Ibn 'Abbád, became certain of Alfonso's hostile views, and that neither presents nor tribute would deter him from the course he intended to pursue, they began to think of returning to the true path, and calling the Almoravides to their aid. They accordingly implored the assistance of the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, and acknowledged his sway, hoping that he would stop the victorious course of the infidel, and thus open, for the prosecution of the holy war, those gates which they had hitherto kept criminally locked. The Amír, who desired nothing more ardently than an opportunity to make war with the idolaters, and save from pollution the wives of the Moslems, granted their request, and answered in the affirmative. Victory then arose from the slumber in which she lay, and the star of triumph again shone bright amidst the clouds by which it had been obscured.

The Amír hastened to cross the sea with his brothers, the Almoravides, in the year 480 (beginning April 7, A.D. 1087).²⁴ God had inspired him with the purest intentions, and directed his mind towards the true path. He filled the seas with fleets, and made his troops cross the channel, squadron after squadron. He then landed with the flower of his army, amounting to twelve thousand cavalry, at *Jezírah Al-khadhrá* (Algesiras); where he was soon after joined by Al-mu'tamed Mohammed, son of Al-mu'tadhed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, by Al-mutawakkel Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz, as well as by other less powerful chieftains, with all the forces they could muster; besides great numbers of virtuous Moslems, who privately flocked under his banners for the purpose of taking part in the holy war.

Whilst these preparations were being made, Alfonso was occupied in the siege of Saragossa,

²⁴ This date is erroneous. According to the best authorities the landing of Yúsuf took place the year before. The author, no doubt, speaks, by mistake, of Yúsuf's second expedition to Spain, which did really happen in 480.

which city he had sworn not to quit until he had conquered it. Fate, however, had decided otherwise. Al-musta'in, who ruled over that city, had repeatedly offered Alfonso large sums of money if he would raise the siege and retire; but the Christian king refused every overture, and would grant no terms. In the mean time his emissaries were trying to persuade the inhabitants that his rule was far preferable to that of Al-musta'in. It had been Alfonso's policy, whenever he took a city, to show generosity to the Moslems: he would distribute justice with an even hand, and would afford the Moslems every sort of protection, treating them with great kindness in public as well as in private: he would promise never to subject them to any service that should be incompatible with the *sunnah*, and in all other respects he would leave them entirely at liberty.²⁵ It was a well-known fact, that after the taking of Toledo he had distributed among the poor Moslems of that city one hundred thousand dinárs, by way of alms, and to enable the farmers, who had been ruined by the long-protracted siege, to purchase seed for their lands: he now made every endeavour to convince the people of Saragossa that his words were sincere, and that he intended religiously to fulfil his promises. Thus deceived, the inhabitants were on the point of listening to him, when the news reached him of the arrival of the Almoravides on the coast of Africa, with the intention of crossing over to Andalus. Alfonso then wrote to Yúsf: "The petty sovereigns of this country are continually threatening me with thy crossing the sea, and I have promised a reward of ten thousand mithkál of gold to the first man who will bring me the news of thy landing. Hasten therefore to come over to me, or I shall cross the sea and visit thee there. Let me soon hear thy determination, that I may shape my movements accordingly." In reply to this message the Amír of the Moslems wrote Alfonso a letter, wherein, after the *bismillah* and the formula in use among us, there were the following remarkable words: "The good sharp swords and the spears have no other messengers than a numerous and well appointed army."²⁶ There was not one letter more in the epistle. This answer of the Amír, together with the intelligence of his having crossed, and his marching towards Toledo, reached Alfonso at the same time. No sooner was he made certain of it than he dispatched a messenger to Al-musta'in, offering to raise the siege if he would send him all his disposable money; but Al-musta'in, who had also heard of the landing of the Almoravides on the coast of Andalus, denied Alfonso's request, and would not give him one single *dirhem*. The accursed, then, deceived in his expectations, was compelled to raise the siege, and to return, ashamed and crest-fallen, to Toledo, whence he speedily sent his ambassadors to all the Christian princes, apprising them of the disembarkation of the Almoravides. He also summoned the great vassals of his crown to take the field with their retainers. In compliance with his

²⁵ Compare the *Cronica General*, fo. cccxx.; and Rodericus Toletanus, *Hist. Rerum in Hisp. gestarum*, lib. ix. cap. xxv., where all this passage may be found translated almost literally.

²⁶ المشرفية والقني و لارسل الا بالخميس العرمم

This verse is taken from one of the poems of Al-mutennabí. An anonymous commentator (Bib. Esc. fo. 270) thus explains the meaning of the word المشرفية. He says المشرف تنسب الي مشرف هي المشرفية او المشرافية هي سيف مشرف تنسب الي مشرف. "Mashrafyyah or Mashráfyyah are swords, so called from *Mashraf*, plur. *Masháraf*, the name for certain districts of Arabia."

orders, the people of Castile bestirred themselves, and numberless troops came to him from every part of his dominions. Alvar Yañez, the general who commanded at Valencia, also left that city and joined him with all his followers. For some time armies came to him in succession from the furthestmost regions occupied by the Christians. Such was the multitude of warriors of his race, who on this occasion flocked under Alfonso's banners, that the valleys and the mountains were filled with them, and that the infidel monarch himself was astonished at their numbers. When he saw them all collected round him, his confidence increased, and he thought himself invincible. He then swore that no one would stand against so formidable an array, or dare dispute with him the possession of the land. Almighty God, however, had decreed in his omnipotence that his hopes should be blighted, and his wicked plans completely frustrated. Alfonso then left Toledo at the head of a numberless army, to which the wide-spread plains of Andalus afforded scarcely sufficient room, and resembling the dark shadows of night, or the agitated waves of a tempestuous sea. His warriors, clad in bright mail, and armed with sharp-edged swords, with steel caps on their heads, marched, animated with desperate courage, under broad pennons and fluttering banners, looking like the black gathering clouds on a spotless sky. Victory, however, followed not in their train, and their formidable host was soon after to be dispersed like the dust before the hurricane, as we shall presently relate.

In the mean while, the Amír of the Moslems was marching on Toledo with an army so numerous and well appointed as to call forth the admiration of the most experienced captains. He met Alfonso not far from Badajoz, at a place called Zalákah, where both armies encamped at a distance of three miles one from another. Messengers then went from one camp to the other, with the object of appointing the day on which the sanguinary encounter was to take place. The accursed Alfonso said, "To-day is Thursday; Friday is a holy day for those of thy creed, as Sunday is one for those of mine; let us then fix on Saturday." The Amír of the Moslems then replied, "Let it be Saturday, if God be pleased." The accursed meant by this to deceive the Moslems, and meditated some treason. The Amír of the Moslems then took up his position close to that of the enemy; his own troops being the nearest to those of Alfonso, whilst the Andalusian warriors under Ibn 'Abbád and other chieftains were behind him. At this juncture Ibn 'Abbád took an astrolabe,²⁷ and ascended an eminence for the purpose of reconnoitering. Having taken the horoscope of the positions occupied by the Amír of the Moslems, he came down in haste, and said to Yúsuf, "Thy position is not an advantageous one." Upon which the Amír, after conversing some time with him, ordered his men to raise the tents, which was done with great secrecy that very night, so that at sunrise of the following day they were encamped between two hills. Al-mut'amed then took the horoscope of the new position, and exclaimed, "A happier position than this I never saw." However, on Friday before sunrise, notwithstanding his solemn promise, the accursed Alfonso secretly moved his battalions, and displaying his two wings as he advanced, fell suddenly on the positions occupied by the Andalusian

²⁷ فرفع ابن عباد الاسطرلاب و نظر الطالع منزل امير المسلمين This prince was famous in his days for his knowledge of astrology. See vol. i. p. 385, Note 20.

Moslems under Al-mu'tamed and the other chieftains, thinking that he was attacking the Amír's camp. The Moslems, not being on their guard, were not made aware of the arrival of the Christians, until their sharp-edged swords were over their necks and their long spears in their flanks. They fled accordingly in all directions, filling the plain and the neighbouring mountains; until Al-mu'tamed, perceiving the confusion and aware of the danger, placed himself before the fugitives, and like a tawny lion, or like a mad bull butting them with his horns, checked them in their flight, and made them stand as firm as rocks before the enemy. The contest lasted for some time, until Al-mu'tamed, who had received some wounds at the onset, was exhausted, and his men disheartened. The rout then became general; the Christians followed the Moslems over the plain, killing and taking prisoners for a distance of eighteen miles.

They say that when the Amír of the Moslems was told of the rout of the Andalusians, he exclaimed, "Let them die; they deserve it. The enemy, in the mean time, will be tired, and we shall vanquish them without great difficulty." Accordingly, when the Amír was made certain that all the Andalusians had either been killed or taken prisoners, he thought the opportunity had arrived to leave his encampment and spring upon the enemy like a lion upon his prey. The Christians having, in the ardour of pursuit, left their tents considerably behind, Yúsuf dexterously availed himself of their fault and attacked the camp of Alfonso, which he entered and plundered, after killing about ten thousand men, between cavalry and infantry, which the Christian monarch had left for its defence, and in that number were some of his bravest warriors. This being done, the Amír started off in pursuit of Alfonso, whose army, as before stated, had gone in various directions in pursuit of the fugitives, and, having overtaken them, the Moslems began to thrust their swords into their backs and their spears into their flanks. The Christians, however, did not return their blows; they turned back and fled precipitately in every direction. In the mean time the accursed Alfonso, seeing the rout of his army, fled to a neighbouring mountain with about three hundred followers, the only forces he could collect out of the sixty thousand men with whom he had taken the field. He there seemed determined to make a stand; but when night came on, and he saw that he could escape without being molested by the cavalry of the Moslems, he fled from the field of battle like the timid hare before the chasing dogs, and reached Toledo, beaten, dejected in spirits, and wounded.

The Moslems then hastened to cut off the heads of the Christian officers, and to build with them several mounds or towers, from the top of which the *muedhins* called the soldiers to prayers for three consecutive days. All those Moslems who had escaped with their lives then returned to the camp. This memorable battle and defeat of the Christian forces happened on a Friday the tenth of Rejeb, A. H. 481.²⁸ It inspired new life into the body of this island, like a man who, on the point of strangulation, is suffered to take breath. It confirmed the Moslems in the possession of many wealthy towns and populous districts, and it taught them that the Christians were not invincible, and could easily be exterminated, if the Moslems would only follow the right path and rely on their merciful Creator. Soon after

²⁸ This is an error; the battle was fought two years before.

this, however, and whilst the Amír of the Moslems was hastening into the heart of the enemy's territory, messengers came to him from Africa with letters announcing the death of his eldest son; and the unexpected calamity so much oppressed his heart, that he decided to return to Africa, with the full intention of recrossing the sea to Andalus, and following up the advantages which so signal a victory could not fail to produce to the cause of the Moslems. Accordingly, having left three thousand cavalry under his general, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-háj, to assist Al-mu'tamed in his wars with the Christians, he left Andalus.

No sooner, however, had the Amír of the Moslems taken his departure, when the Andalusian chieftains, who were only kept in awe by his presence, began to show the old symptoms of animosity one against another, and fresh dissensions broke out among them; for, whilst some who had witnessed the Amír's justice and moderation were strongly inclined in his favour and desired his rule, others showed envy at his military achievements; and, on the other hand, the Christians having been informed of the Amír's sudden departure for Africa, decided to renew their attacks, and, if possible, to snatch from the hands of the Moslems all their possessions in the eastern parts of Andalus. Accordingly, they began to make incursions into the districts round Saragossa, and also extended their ravages as far as Valencia, Denia, Xativa, and Murcia, burning and destroying every thing on their passage, and converting their fertile and highly cultivated plains into so many houseless deserts. In this manner they gained possession, among other important fortresses, of Murbiter;²⁹ and, whilst the western districts of Andalus were in comparative security, owing to the auxiliary forces of the Almoravides, the eastern provinces were a prey to the fury of the enemy.

In the mean time, the Hájb Mundhir Ibn Ahmed Ibn Húd left Léridah (Lerida) with a considerable force, and laid siege to Valencia, which he hoped to take from its king, Al-kádir. When the news of his movement reached his nephew, Al-musta'in, who was King of Saragossa, he also marched to that capital, on which he had for some time cast a wistful eye. So eager was he to obtain possession of it, that, not deeming himself sufficiently powerful to gain his purpose, he so far degraded himself as to seek the assistance of the *Campeador*,³⁰ (may God send his curses upon him!) and promise him all the riches of the place if he would only help him to take it. These conditions being agreed upon, the *Campeador* took the field with his own troops, amounting to three thousand men. Having united his forces to those of Al-musta'in, which did not exceed four hundred horsemen, both chiefs marched upon Valencia. When the Hájb received intelligence of their approach, he raised the siege, and went away. The *Campeador*, however, remained in sight of the city, hovering round it, and keeping up a sort of blockade, until he finally took it, as we shall hereafter relate.

Within this year, that is to say, in the year 481 (beginning March 26, 1088), the Káyid Abú Shajá' Ibn Lebún died a martyr for the faith in an encounter with the Christians. The Khalif Abú-l-mudhaffer³¹ died also. There was likewise in the same year, in the month of

²⁹ *Muri veteres*, now Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum.

³⁰ القنبيطور *Al-candotor*; that is, Rodrigo Diaz de Bibar, commonly called 'the Cid.'

³¹ وفيها مات ابو الظر الحليفة The text must be vitiated; there was no Khalif named Abú-l-mudhaffer about

Octúbir (October), a great flood, which caused considerable damage in Valencia and other parts of Andalus, and threw down the tower of Alcantara.³² About this time too the son of Ramiro (Sancho), whose power had considerably increased in proportion as that of Alfonso had diminished owing to his past reverses, seeing that the whole of the Christians were flocking under his banners, laid siege to Tudela with an army of about four hundred thousand men: God, however, permitted that he should be defeated, and that the Christians should retire in utter confusion from before its walls. The son of Ramiro, nevertheless, succeeded in taking some of the fortresses belonging to Ibn Húd.

Whilst these events were taking place, King Alfonso was rapidly recovering from the effects of his past defeat, and his awe of the Moslem arms was gradually vanishing. He began therefore to raise troops, and to collect provisions and stores for an incursion he meditated into the Mohammedan provinces. When his preparations had all been completed, he made public his determination to lay siege to Valencia: to this end he wrote to the people of Genoa and Pisa to aid him in the undertaking; and they accordingly appeared in sight of Valencia with a fleet of four hundred sail, whilst Alfonso, on the other hand, after summoning all the people of his kingdoms, marched upon that capital. So considerable were his preparations, and so numerous and well appointed his army, that the Christian monarch did not doubt for a moment of the victory, and thought that Valencia and all the coast of Andalus would soon fall into his hands. The Almighty, however, in his infinite mercy, had decreed otherwise; and he permitted that division and discord should enter his council, and that the Christians should shortly after separate without striking a blow, or gaining the least advantage. In fact, when the Moslems of Valencia had seen Alfonso pitch his tents in sight of the walls, and were anticipating the fiercest attacks, the next morning saw the Christian king in full retreat with his innumerable host. The fact was, that when the *Campeador* heard that Alfonso was encamped before Valencia, his ire was excited, and he assembled his followers; for he looked upon Valencia as his own conquest, and on its king, Al-kádir, as his vassal. Perceiving, however, that he was not sufficiently strong to contend with Alfonso, and to compel him to give up his undertaking, he decided upon invading Alfonso's dominions. He accordingly entered Castile, burning and destroying every thing before him. This was one of the chief causes of the raising of the siege of Valencia, and the dispersion of the troops which came for its reduction; for when Alfonso heard of the march of the *Campeador*, he returned in all haste to Castile, although he could not overtake his enemy, the *Campeador* having by that time left the country. In the mean time the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and other maritime states, which had come to assist in the siege of Valencia, seeing their hopes frustrated, sailed to Tortosa. They were there met by Ibn Radmir, Count of Barcelona (Sancho Ramirez), who, wishing to gain possession of that important city, engaged their services; but Almighty God was pleased to breathe courage into its defenders, and, after battering the walls for some time, the Christians were compelled to

this time. Al-muktadí-billah, son of Al-káyem-billah, the twenty-third Khalif of the house of 'Abbás, reigned then in the East; and he did not die till 487. He does not appear, moreover, to have had the surname of *Abú-l-mudhaffer* (the father of the victorious). See *Hist. Sar.* p. 288, and *Abú-l-fedá, An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 291.

³² القنطرة *برج* Perhaps the triumphal arch at the head of the bridge built by Trajan. See vol. i. p. 61.

desist from their attacks, and to return to their homes in despair. After this the *Campeador* made another incursion into the territory of Valencia, and laid siege to the city; but the storm was a second time averted, by the inhabitants consenting to pay him an annual tribute of one thousand *mithkáls*.

In this year also, the Christians of every denomination, being possessed by a strong desire to conquer the whole of Andalus, attacked the Moslems in every province. King Garcia³³ laid siege to Almeria, Al-fánah,³⁴ and Lorca, which he reduced to the last extremity. Alvar Yañez attacked Murcia; the *Campeador*, Xativa. Al-mu'tamed then dispatched (against the latter) his son, Ar-rádhí, with three thousand cavalry. Ar-rádhí met the enemy of God, (may the curses of the Almighty come down upon him!) who, being only three hundred strong, fled precipitately on the approach of the Moslems; but they were, however, overtaken, their camp was plundered and destroyed, and numbers of them were either killed or remained prisoners in the hands of the true believers. About this time a bishop of the Franks built on the sea-shore the castle of Shashenah:³⁵ the Almoravides, who were in Seville, being informed of it, their souls were inflamed with martial ardour. Having appointed as their general the Káyid Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah, they marched to Murcia, and meeting on their way to that city some of the enemy's forces, they routed them, killing and taking numbers of them prisoners. Ibn 'A'yeshah then proceeded to Murcia, which city he entered, depriving the ruler there of all command. From Murcia Ibn 'A'yeshah went to Denia, where he intended doing the same; but Ibn Mujáhid, who reigned in it, took to flight, and crossed the sea to Africa, where he placed himself under the protection of An-násir Ibn 'Alnás, a prince of the dynasty known as the Bení Hammád of Senhájah, by whom he was well received and hospitably entertained. Ibn 'A'yeshah then entered Denia. While he was commanding there, Ibn Jeháf, Kádí of Valencia, came to ask him to go to that city with him, and take possession of it. Ibn 'A'yeshah would not quit Denia, but gave Ibn Jeháf some troops, under the command of a general of his, the Káyid Abú Nasr, when both marched to Valencia, and put to death King Al-kádir in the year 485 (beginning Feb. 11, A.D. 1092). When the news of Al-kádir's death reached the *Campeador*, who was then besieging Saragossa, his anger was kindled, and his soul was inflamed; for he considered the besieged city as his, and King Al-kádir as his tributary; since, as we have already stated, that monarch paid him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dinárs. The *Campeador* left Saragossa, and hastened to Valencia. Having arrived in sight of the city, he began to batter the walls, until, after a siege of twenty months, he stormed it, the inhabitants having been reduced to the last extremity through want of provisions. So great, they say, was the famine, that a mouse sold for one dinár. The taking of Valencia by the *Campeador* happened in the year 487 (beginning Jan. 30, A.D. 1094).

During these transactions a number of low, dissolute, and contemptible Moslems, with whom crime and impiety were a constant practice, deserted our ranks, and enlisted under

³³ There was about this time no king of this name in Spain: Garcia III. of Navarre had died in 1054. The conquests here recorded were achieved by Sancho Ramirez, King of Aragon and Navarre, and Count of Barcelona, who is mentioned in the preceding page.

³⁴ الفانة

³⁵ شنشنة— which might also be read شنشة Shanshah.

the banners of the *Campeador* and other Christian chieftains. These wretches, who were at the time called *Dawáyir* (deserters), having swelled the ranks of the infidels, began, in union with them, to make incursions into the countries inhabited by the Moslems, polluting the harems, killing the men, and taking into captivity the women and children. Most of them went even so far as to forsake Islám, and to disregard the principal injunctions of our Prophet, selling their comrades and countrymen for a loaf of bread or a pitcher of wine, or a pound of fish; and seizing on the defenceless Moslems for the purpose of extorting from them heavy ransoms. If their prisoners, moreover, happened to be poor, they would cut out their tongues, or pluck off their eyelids, and then leave them exposed to be devoured by infuriated blood-hounds, or commit upon them other such like atrocities. The bands commanded by Alvar Yañez (may God send down his malediction on him and his followers!) were the most remarkable of all for their cruelty and excesses; for, on coming to a town, they would seize upon all its inhabitants and cut off the virilia of the men and the breasts of the women; the Moslems who served under the banners of the accursed Christian being the first to perpetrate these and other atrocious crimes, and to inflict such unparalleled cruelties upon the people of their faith.

In this manner war raged without intermission throughout the Mohammedan provinces, until the general of the Almoravides, Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr, having heard of the attacks made by the idolaters upon the worshippers of the true and only God, and of the ravages they were daily committing in their towns and provinces, collected his forces and sallied out against Alvar Yañez, whom he completely defeated, God making him his instrument to humble the arrogance and break down the courage of that accursed chieftain. The news of this success filled the Christians with consternation. They perceived, to their cost, how dangerous it was to come in contact with the Almoravides, and they accordingly desisted from their attacks. But Ibn 'Abbád and the other Andalusian princes hated Seyr and his followers; and such were their want of virtue and justice, their excessive ambition, and their dissensions, that they could not tolerate the presence of the Almoravides, and wished to get rid of them at any price: they began therefore to plot treason against them and to meditate their ruin. To this end they entered into a secret correspondence with Alfonso, and offered to deliver into his hands the whole of the Almoravides on condition that he would leave them unmolested in possession of their respective states, they paying him an annual tribute in token of vassalage. Alfonso having agreed to these propositions, every one of them prepared to carry their wicked and treacherous projects into execution. Accordingly, when the Amír of the Moslems crossed over to Andalus for the second⁸⁶ time, for the purpose of prosecuting the holy war against the infidels, they threw every obstacle in his way. They compelled him to besiege Malaga, Granada, and Almeria, and raised up against him enemies in other places, in order that their plans might be better accomplished, and the hopes of the enemy of God realized. However, the Amír of the Moslems marched on Granada, and encamped in its vicinity. 'Abdullah Ibn Bádís Ibn Habús, who reigned in that city, at first thought of resisting. His mother said to him, "Go out and salute thy uncle Yúsuf." 'Abdullah followed her

⁸⁶ Instead of 'second,' read 'third.'

advice, and went out. He had saluted the Amír with all due respect, and was preparing to retire, when he was prevented, and conducted by the orders of Yúsuf to a separate tent, where heavy irons were put on his feet. The Amír then rode on to Granada, and took possession of it without resistance. The people, far from blaming Yúsuf for this treacherous act, and his device to secure the person of 'Abdullah, and gain possession of his capital, were rejoiced at it, because he had run counter to the designs of his secret enemies, and defeated their plans. But the fact is, that Yúsuf was ignorant of the conspiracy formed against him, and that, when he crossed to Andalus this time, he came with a full intention to disclose before the Moslems the shameful conduct and wicked practices of their rulers, and to look for an opportunity to lay his hand on their dominions.

After the taking of Granada, Yúsuf sent an army to Almeria. Ibn Samádeh, who commanded there, waited not its approach, but took to sea, and went to place himself under the protection of An-násir Ibn Al-mansúr, a Sultán of the Bení Hammád, who not only received him kindly, and entertained him with magnificence, but went so far as to confer great favours on all those persons who came in his suite.

The Amír then sent Seyr to Seville, with instructions to take the command from the hands of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, and, if possible, to secure his person; bidding him put to death such as should oppose him, whether citizens or soldiers. Some authors pretend that the Amír issued no such orders, as he had, upon a certain occasion, solemnly promised Al-mu'tamed upon his oath, never to dispossess him, unless the Theologians, the Kádís, the officers of the troops, and the principal citizens, should desire him to do so. However, Seyr marched to Seville, which he besieged and took, depriving Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád of the command. He then did the same with Ibn Al-aftas, King of Badajoz, and reduced the whole of *Al-gharb* (the Western Provinces) under his sway. The cities of Murcia, Almeria, Denia, and Xativa, had already fallen into the hands of another of his generals, the Káyid Ibn 'A'yeshah, as before related. After these conquests the Amír of the Moslems crossed over to the opposite coast.

In the year 490 (beginning December 18, A.D. 1096,) the Amír of the Moslems visited Andalus for the third time, and fixed his residence in Cordova. Having, whilst there, heard that Alfonso was marching against him, he exclaimed, "I shall never meet him again as long as I live, because defeats are creatures of God, and I gave him a sufficiency the year I met him at Zalákah.³⁷ I will, however, send my generals against him, with my best troops; and if God has decreed that they should be defeated, I will be behind them like a cloak, to cover their retreat." He accordingly collected a numerous army of Almoravides, Arabs, and Andalusians, from the eastern and western parts of the country, the command of which he gave to Mohammed Ibnu-l-háj, one of his generals. The two hosts met at a place called Kabethuwah,³⁸ where there was manœuvring and charging until Almighty God was pleased to throw into confusion the vanguard of the enemy, and they fled before the Moslems, who pursued them closely, sword in hand, dealing death amongst them. After this the Moslems

³⁷ فان الهزائم مخلوقة و قد كان منا خطا في لقاءه سنة الزلاقة — that is to say, "I vanquished him once, and it might not be the will of God that I should vanquish him again in person."

³⁸ كبثوة

returned to Cordova safe, and loaded with plunder. The Amír was greatly delighted at the victory, and made preparations to return to his dominions across the sea. Before his departure for Africa, Yúsuf had sent an army, under the command of Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah, to make war on the infidels in the neighbourhood of Konkah (Cuenca).³⁹ Mohammed met there the accursed Alvar Yañez, defeated him, and plundered and destroyed his camp, after which the Almoravides returned home victorious, receiving every where on their passage the congratulations of the inhabitants.

Mohammed's next expedition was directed towards *Jezírah Shukar* (the island on the river Xucar),⁴⁰ which the Christians had attacked some time before. He there fell in with a division of the army of the *Campeador*, which he almost exterminated, as few escaped on that memorable day from the swords of the Almoravides. When the news of this disaster was brought to the *Campeador*, he shortly after died of sorrow and disappointment.⁴¹ (May God not show him mercy!).

In the year 493 (beginning Nov. 16, A.D. 1099,) the Amír Yahya Ibn Abí Bekr,⁴² son of the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, crossed over to Andalus for the purpose of prosecuting the holy war against the infidels. He came, accompanied by the Amír Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr and by Mohammed Ibnu-l-háj, at the head of their respective forces; and all three marched to Toledo, which they besieged, making incursions into the neighbouring districts. In this manner they took several castles, made numerous prisoners, and collected considerable spoil; after which they returned victorious [to Africa].

In the year 494 (beginning November 5, A.D. 1100,) the Amír Yahya Ibn Abí Bekr again crossed over to Andalus, with a numerous army, to make war on the enemy of God. This time he marched against Valencia, which he besieged for seven months; until Alfonso, perceiving the sufferings of the garrison, and being fearful of the consequences, arrived with a powerful army, and, having taken out all the Christians who were within, set fire to the city and abandoned it, the Almoravides taking possession of it immediately after. By the reduction of Valencia, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín saw himself master of the whole of Andalus, with the exception of Saragossa, which remained in the hands of its king, Al-musta'in Ibn Húd. The Almoravides dared not molest this prince, on account of the great distance of his kingdom, and of his being in league with the Christians, whose tributary he was.

After this, Modhdelí, who had remained as Governor of Valencia, attacked the territory of Barcelona,⁴³ pulled down the churches, made the belfries shake to their foundations, burnt the towns and hamlets, dispersed their garrisons, and stormed the castles; after which he returned to Valencia, the hands of the Moslems being filled with the spoils of the infidel.

³⁹ كَنَّة

⁴⁰ جزيرة شقر now *Alcira*, a corruption from Al-jezírah. See vol. i. p. 376, Note 14. In the *Cronica General*, (fo. cccxxiii. verso,) this place is called *Algezira de Xucar*.

⁴¹ According to the Christian authorities the Cid died during the siege of Valencia by the Almoravides in 1099 (A. H. 493).

⁴² This is *el Rey Bucar* of the *Cronica General*, fo. cccxxix. verso, *et passim*.

⁴³ The text reads بن جلنونة—but I have substituted برجلونة

Among other valuable objects taken on this occasion were the bells, the crosses, and vases of the churches, all of which were set in silver and pure gold. The bells he caused to be suspended from the ceiling of the principal mosque at Valencia, to be used as lamps.

In the same year 'Alí Ibnu-l-háj sallied from Cordova, taking with him Ibn Yakhún⁴⁴ and his division. They marched together to the land of Castile, where they were met by the accursed Errink (Henry of Besançon?) at the head of considerable forces, when they fought with him the battles of extermination. After this another general of the Almoravides made a foray into the territory of Kala't-Ayúb: having there met with a body of Christians, he put them to shameful flight, and plundered and destroyed a fortified camp wherein they had entrenched themselves; when, after making numbers of prisoners and collecting considerable spoil, the Moslems under his orders returned home, rejoiced at their success.

In the year 497 (beginning October 4, A.D. 1103,) the Amír of the Moslems returned to Andalus, this being the fourth and last expedition which he made into that country: on this occasion he reached as far as Murcia. He removed Modhdelí from the government of Valencia, which he gave to the Káyid Abú Mohammed Ibn Fátimah. The Amír Modhdelí he appointed to be Governor of Telemsán, in the room of Táshefín Ibn Yatanghmor, with whom he was displeased, owing to his intimacy and close connexion with the dynasty of the Bení Hammád.

In the same year, that is, in 497, there came to the Amír of the Moslems letters from Al-musta'in Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, imploring his help against the tyrant Alfonso, who kept him closely besieged in his capital, and had nearly reduced him to the last extremity.⁴⁵ Agreeably to his wishes, the Amír sent him one thousand picked horsemen, under the orders of the Káyid 'Abdullah Ibn Fátimah, who not only relieved Al-musta'in from his perilous situation, but made an inroad into the country of the infidels, whence he returned victorious and loaded with spoil.

In the same year (A.H. 497) the Káyid Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah met the enemies of God at Fahs Al-lej (Elche?), close to Balátt Al-arús, and gained a signal victory over them. He also took from them the town of Suleymán, and the hands of his men were filled with the spoil taken from the infidels.

In the same year (A.H. 497) the Amír of the Moslems arrived in Granada, with his son, the Amír 'Alí, for the purpose of having him sworn to and acknowledged as sovereign of Andalus.⁴⁶ This being done, he returned to his dominions in Africa, after subjecting to his rule the whole of this island, with the exception of Saragossa, which still remained in the hands of Al-musta'in.

In the year 500 (beginning Sept. 1, A.D. 1106,) died the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. He was succeeded by his son 'Alí, who, immediately after his accession,

⁴⁴ ابن يخنون

⁴⁵ The author says, with great elegance, "قد اخذ بهخنقه و اشفي علي اخر رمقه, who held him tight by the throat, so that he (Al-musta'in) was on the point of breathing his last, from strangulation."

⁴⁶ The author of the *Kartás* places this event in Dhí-l-hajjah of the preceding year (Sept. A. D. 1103). The ceremony was performed at Cordova.