

dispatched to Andalus a chosen body of troops under the command of two of his generals, the Káyid Abú Suleymán and the Káyid Abú 'Imrán, two brothers, who were the sons of Táreshená. These chiefs marched against the districts of Santa Maria and Ar-rayáhir,⁴⁷ where, as well as in many other parts of the enemy's territory, they made several successful inroads, whereby the hands of their men were filled with plunder.

In the ensuing year, 501, (beginning August 21, A.D. 1107,) Alfonso called together the people of his kingdom, and, having mustered a large army, invaded the eastern provinces of Andalus. He was met by the Amír Temím, when the two hosts manoeuvred, skirmished, fought, and destroyed each other, until God Almighty was pleased graciously to grant the victory to the Moslems, and to permit that the arrogant Christian should take to flight, after losing one of his sons, and being himself wounded in the onset.⁴⁸ (May the curses of God rest upon them both!). Great was the chastisement inflicted upon the enemy of God on this memorable occasion; since, between those killed in the engagement, and the prisoners, who were very numerous, the army of the infidel king was annihilated. The Moslems returned to their homes victorious, elated with success, and proud of having received so signal a proof of the Almighty's favour; while the Christian tyrant (may the curses of God fall upon his head!) retired to his dominions, confused and humiliated at his defeat, and broken-hearted at the loss of his son. Three months⁴⁹ after these events the accursed Alfonso died, God being pleased to deliver the Moslems from his mischief. His body was carried to Castile on the shoulders of his own men, and there buried by the side of those of his ancestors. He left no male child; but he had a daughter,⁵⁰ who succeeded him in the kingdom, which she administered at first with great firmness and skill. But, fearing lest her dominions should be invaded by some Christian or Mohammedan king among her neighbours, she secretly sent to the son of Ramiro (Alfonso), and offered him her hand. The proposition was accepted, and the marriage took place: but no happiness or joy ensued from it; for they had been married but a short time, when discord broke out between them, and they separated on the worst possible terms. Her husband then left her, and retired into his own dominions; and having there called together his vassals, he invaded the kingdom of his wife, who, on her side, had also taken up arms, and went out to meet him. In this manner they waged a desultory war against each other, until the queen gained a signal victory over her husband, and routed his army, with the death of upwards of three thousand of his bravest warriors. After this the queen espoused one of the counts⁵¹ of her own kingdom, and had by him one son, called As-soleytán (the little king). On the death of the queen, the Christians chose her

⁴⁷ الرياحر — This word is, doubtless, corrupted in the text.

⁴⁸ This battle, at which Alfonso himself was not present, was fought near the town of اقليش Uklísh, now Uclés, in the province of Toledo. The prince's name was Sancho, and he was the king's only son.

⁴⁹ The death of Alfonso happened in July, A. D. 1109. (See Mariana, lib. x. cap. vii.) He was buried in the monastery of Sahagun.

⁵⁰ Doña Urraca, who married Alfonso I., King of Aragon and Navarre. She was then the widow of Raymond, Count of Burgundy.

⁵¹ Count Pedro de Lara.

son for their king, notwithstanding that the right to the throne came to him on the mother's side, not on that of his father.

In the year 503 (beginning July 30, A. D. 1109,) the Amír 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf crossed over to Andalus for the purpose of waging war with the infidels. He landed at Algesiras with a numerous and well appointed army, and took the road to Toledo. Arrived before that city, he encamped in front of the principal gate, and fixed his quarters at a well known pleasure-house outside the walls.⁵² He then made himself master of some of the outer defences, and ravaged the neighbouring districts by means of bodies of light cavalry, which he sent in various directions. Seeing this, the Christians fled for refuge to the castles, towers, and fortresses nearest to them: terror then seized on the Castilians, and fear lodged in their hearts; for they doubted not that the Amír would prosecute his victorious career and pounce upon them, and demolish the places whither they had fled to escape his vengeance. However, it was not as they apprehended; for the Amír, having suddenly raised the siege, approached the sea, and crossed over to the seat of his African dominions.

In the same year, Errink (Henry of Besançon) and the son of Ramiro (Alfonso I. of Aragon) (may the Almighty's curses fall upon the heads of both!) invaded the territory of Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd with an army, the numbers of which are only known to God. Al-musta'ín hastened to the defence of his states, but fate had decided against him, and he fell a martyr in an encounter with the Christians. (May God have mercy on him!). After this, the son of Ramiro besieged Saragossa for a whole month, during which time the inhabitants were exposed to all manner of misery and tribulation, until the people of the town, unable to withstand his attacks any longer, consented to surrender on condition that those among the inhabitants who chose to remain might do so unmoested on the payment of a certain annual tribute which was stipulated; and that those who preferred leaving the town should be allowed to go to whatever part of the country, inhabited by the Moslems, they most liked, with all their goods and chattels. It was further stipulated that the Christians should dwell in the city itself, and that such among the Moslems, as chose to remain, should inhabit the suburb called *Rabadhu-d-dabbághín* (the suburb of the tanners); that if a Christian recognised among the inhabitants a runaway slave, the Moslem should not be given up to him, but should be free, as if he had never been taken, and should live in the full enjoyment of his rights and the exercise of his religion, his master possessing no dominion whatever over him. These conditions being agreed to by both parties, and each having promised on oath to fulfil them, the Moslems gave up the keys of the city to the son of Ramiro. Thus was the mighty city of Saragossa, one of the vital members of the corrupted body of Islám, torn away, never to form again an integral part of it. There is no power but in God! the Almighty, the Illustrious! He whose wisdom is unbounded, and whose impenetrable decrees no creature on the earth can pretend to unravel!

No sooner had the accursed Christians taken possession of the city, than the greater part of the inhabitants fled to other parts of the country occupied by the Moslems. They say,

⁵² Now *Las Casas de la Reyna*, formerly a villa belonging to the Bení Dhí-n-nún kings of that city. See vol. i. pp. 239, 384.

that the number of persons who left Saragossa on this occasion exceeded fifty thousand, between great and small, males and females. When all this multitude were ready to depart, the Christian king rode out of the city with his officers and escort: having appeared in front of the emigrants, he ordered them to form into lines, and to exhibit before him whatever property, whether large or small, each man carried with him. This being done, there were shown treasures without computation; and yet, strange to say, though the king knew very well that as long as he lived his eyes would never again feast on such a mass of riches, he refrained from taking any, and said to them, "Had I not asked to see the property each of you carries with him, you might have said, 'The king knew not what we had, otherwise he would not have let us go so easily.' Now you may go whither you please in perfect security." The king, moreover, sent a body of his own troops to escort the emigrants to the frontiers of his dominions, which they all reached in safety, and without being subjected to the payment of any other tax or tribute than two *mithkáls*, which every man, woman, or child was obliged to pay before starting. From that day, until that of his death, God permitted that this insolent Christian should always be victorious against the Moslems. But to return.

Some time before the city surrendered to the Christians, a son of the king, Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd, whose surname was *'Imádu-d-daulah* (the column of the state), left Saragossa secretly, and took refuge in a neighbouring castle named Rotah.⁵³ This castle, which was exceedingly strong, was situated on the top of a high inaccessible mountain: so high was the mountain, that it looked as if it were borrowing the reins of the sky. The fortress had been erected by his father, Al-musta'ín, who had filled it with stores, and provided it with every thing necessary for a long siege: it was supplied with water by means of a subterranean passage built of solid masonry, leading from the castle down to the river by upwards of four hundred steps, so that the garrison could never be short of water. In this place 'Imádu-d-daulah passed a few years, secure from the infidels, until death came to surprise him. (May God have mercy on him!):

'Imádu-d-daulah was succeeded by his son Ahmed, who took the surname of *Al-muntaser*. This prince once received an embassy from the Christian tyrant, *Al-enberatúr* (the emperor), surnamed 'the little Sultán.' The message was thus conceived: "If thou wilt give me possession of Rotah, I will give thee instead more extensive and better dominions in Castile, which shall bring thee closer to the western provinces of Andalus, inhabited by thy countrymen. I will then place myself at the head of my troops, and we will both make an incursion into those districts, and reduce them into obedience to thee. Those towns that shall voluntarily acknowledge thee as their lord, shall hereafter remain under thy dominion and authority, and I promise thee to defend them against all aggressors, whether Moslems or Christians, and to be unto them as a kind and affectionate father. I hope not one will resist thee, oppressed as they are by the Almoravides, and subjected to all manner of indignities by them. They all detest their rule, and wish for the restoration of the Mohammedan empire, now prostrate. Were the Almoravides to lay their hands on thy person, there would remain not one man whose call they might obey, thou being the only descendant from their

⁵³ روطة, Now Roda.

“ancient kings in the whole of Andalus.” These words lodged in Ahmed’s head, and had the desired effect upon his mind: he delivered his fortress into the hands of Alfonso, and the king gave him an equivalent in towns and lands. After this, he placed himself at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, and invaded the Mohammedan settlements in the western provinces of Andalus, as he had promised. His hopes and those of Ahmed, however, were far from being realized; for, wherever they went, they met with resistance and ill-will, the inhabitants deserting their homes at their approach. Not a soul stirred to do him homage; not a hamlet, of the many traversed in their march, greeted them; nor did the news of their arrival spread over the country, as had been anticipated. The people were, no doubt, afraid lest by swearing obedience to Ahmed they should fall a prey to the Christians who came with him, and the whole should be a device to catch them and put them to death. Had not these fears preyed on their minds, they would undoubtedly have hastened to do homage to Ahmed; for they were anxiously expecting his arrival, and he had, no doubt, a considerable party in the country. As it was, he failed most completely in his attempt, and he had to return home more dejected and low-spirited than Abú Ghabashán himself.⁵⁴

In the year 507 (beginning June 17, A. D. 1113,) the Amír Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr and the Almoravide Modhdelí made an incursion into the territory of Toledo, and appeared in sight of that city. Having there divided their armies into several small detachments, they sent them out in various directions, and began pulling down houses, killing the inhabitants, burning their fields, and laying waste every thing before them. Alvar Yañez then sallied out at the head of ten thousand men at arms; but he was met by the Moslems, who defeated him, with the loss of seven hundred of his mounted followers. In the same year a war broke out between the Castilians and the son of Ramiro (Alfonso), when both parties made one another taste of the cup of perdition. In one of these encounters the accursed Alvar Yañez was killed, and his soul was immediately consigned by the Almighty to the raging fire of hell.

In the year 508 (beginning June 6, A. D. 1114,) the people of Pisa and Genoa assembled together, and, having fitted out a fleet of three hundred sail, made for the island of Yébisah (Iviza), which they took and plundered, making captives of the inhabitants. Iviza is an island close to, and under the jurisdiction of, Mallorca. From Iviza the Christians sailed to the latter island, which they attacked both by sea and land.

The island of Mallorca had for many years been governed by independent chieftains. The first was an Andalusian named Al-murtadhí, who, on the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, when the governors rose in every province, followed their example, assumed the supreme power, and reigned for a while independent in the island. He was succeeded at his death by one of his eunuchs, whose name was Mubashsher, but who assumed on his accession to power the honorific surname of *Násiru-d-daulah* (the preserver of the state). This Mubashsher was

⁵⁴ *و رجع اخسر صفقة من ابي غباشان*—Abú Ghabashán was the door-keeper of the Ka’bah whilst the custody of that building was in the hands of the tribe of Khozá’h, to which he himself belonged. Having attended a convivial meeting, he got so intoxicated with wine that one of the party, named Kasí Ibn Keláb, persuaded him to exchange his keys for a skin of wine, which he did: immediately after which ‘Abdu-d-dár, son of Kasí, repaired to Mekka, and gave them to the tribe of Koraysh. The humiliation and disappointment of Abú Ghabashán, when he recovered and found himself without the keys intrusted to his keeping, afterwards became proverbial among the Arabs. See Ath-thá’lebí, *Thimáru-L-kolúb*, &c., fo. 27.

a native of Kal'ah Himyar in the territory of Lerida: when a youth, he had been taken prisoner by the enemy, who made a eunuch of him. It happened that Al-murtadhí once sent an ambassador to the court of the Christian king,⁵⁵ to settle various matters pending between them: whilst there, the ambassador made the acquaintance of Mubashsher, and being much struck with his affable manners, his intelligence, and his ready wit, paid his ransom, and took him with him on his return to Mallorca: he then presented him to Al-murtadhí, who was highly pleased with him, placed him near his person, gave him his confidence, and always found him a zealous and trusty servant. At the death of his master, Mubashsher succeeded him. He governed with moderation and justice, was noble-minded and generous, and possessed many virtues and noble qualities: he was still reigning when, as already related, the people of Pisa and Genoa landed on the island, and besieged his capital; and he not only exhibited the greatest courage during the siege, but his perseverance and fortitude in making war on the infidels were beyond all praise. Mubashsher died while the Christians were still on the island. He was succeeded by a relative of his, named Abú Rabi' Suleymán, who followed in his steps, and stoutly defended the island, until the Christians gained possession of it. Some time before his death, Násiru-d-daulah, perceiving that he could not long withstand the attacks of the enemy, decided on writing to the Amír of the Moslems, imploring his assistance. Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Maymún, the captain of a carabel then in the port, having consented to be the bearer of the message, every precaution was taken for his leaving the island unperceived by the enemy. Ibn Maymún sallied secretly and at night from the arsenal: his flight being discovered by the Christians, some of their galleys weighed anchor, and went off in pursuit of him; but, after a chase of nearly ten miles, Ibn Maymún, protected by night, contrived to escape, and the Christians, despairing of success, returned to their anchorage in sight of Mallorca. Ibn Maymún, moreover, arrived safe in Africa, and delivered his letter to the Amír of the Moslems, who issued orders for the immediate fitting out of three hundred sail. The commands of the Amír were punctually executed, and in a very short time the above number of vessels, together with many others which happened to be ready on the arrival of Ibn Maymún, put to sea. No sooner were the Christians made aware of the departure of so formidable an armament, than they desisted from their undertaking, and put off to sea, taking away with them, however, so much plunder, and so many captives, that they departed highly satisfied and content. When the Moslem fleet arrived in sight of the island, they found the city in ruins, and the streets deserted; every thing round it bore the appearance of desolation and ruin.⁵⁶ Seeing this, Ibn Táfertás, who came in command of the fleet, ordered the Almoravides, and the other soldiers and sailors who composed the expedition, to set about rebuilding the city. This was done, when the people who had fled to the mountains returned: the city was rebuilt as before, and repopled; many of the soldiers, who had accompanied the expedition, agreeing to settle in it. The fleet then returned to the port whence it had been taken. As the Christians were returning to their country, they were assailed by a storm, which separated their galleys, and cast four of their number on the coast of Denia; which being perceived by the people of that town, they went out in chase of them, and succeeded in capturing three, and sinking the other.

⁵⁵ No doubt, the Count of Barcelona.

⁵⁶ The island had in the mean time been taken and plundered by the Christians.

APPENDIX D.

Extracts from the history of the Berbers by Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún (Brit. Mus. No. 9575), respecting the conquests and settlements of the Al-muwáhhedún (or Almohades) in Spain.

THIS part of Al-makkari's narrative is so short, his information so scanty and unsatisfactory, that I have considered it necessary to translate here such passages from the work of the above celebrated and most accurate historian as were likely to throw a light upon the events recorded in the body of this work, especially as the period to which they relate is perhaps the most interesting, as it is the most obscure, in the annals of Mohammedan Spain.

An account of the conquest of Andalus by the Almohades, and the events attending thereon.

Fo. 106, *verso*.—When the intelligence of the death of Táshefín Ibn 'Alí,¹ and the siege of Fez by the Almohades, was received by the Almoravides of Andalus, 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún, the commander of their fleet, shook off their yoke, and embraced the party of the Almohades. Having risen in revolt at the island of Kádis (Cadiz), he crossed over to Africa, joined 'Abdu-l-múmen before Fez, and placed himself under the orders of that Sultán, whom he had previously caused to be proclaimed from [the pulpit of] the great mosque at Cadiz; this being the first proclamation that was made in Andalus for the Almohades. This happened in 540 (beginning June 23, A.D. 1145). Ahmed Ibn Kasí,² Lord of Mirtolah (Mertola), was the next chieftain to proclaim in Andalus the supremacy of the Almohades. This done, he sent Abú Bekr Ibn Khanisen³ with a message to 'Abdu-l-múmen. Abú Bekr met that Sultán near Telemsán, and delivered into his hands his master's credentials; but 'Abdu-l-múmen, being dissatisfied with the manner in which the name of the Mahdí was mentioned in his letter, sent no reply to it. Subsequently to this, Seddaray⁴ Ibn Wazír, Lord of Badajoz,

¹ The last of the Almoravide Sultáns. He was put to death near Wahrán (Oran) on the 27th day of Ramadhán, 539 (March 23rd, 1145).

² Ibnu Khaldún treats of this chieftain in his historical Prolegomena, sect. iii., in the chapter entitled *في ان الدعوة الدينية من غير عصبية لا تتم* (That religious revolutions unsupported by clanship do not succeed). He says that his entire name was Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn *قسي* Kasí, (elsewhere written *قسي* Kisí and *قسي* Kosa); that he made himself conspicuous among his countrymen for the austerity of his life, and wrote a work entitled *الجمع النعيلين في التصوف* (The putting off of the two slippers on the doctrines of the Súfís); that he called the people to [the knowledge of] truth, and was followed by numerous disciples, to whom he gave the name of *Al-morábetún*. He was himself a disciple of Abú Hámid Al-ghazzálí; and, as such, the doctrines which he preached were not dissimilar to those of the Mahdí. Profiting by the civil wars which distracted Mohammedan Spain at the commencement of the twelfth century, he made himself master of a considerable portion of Al-gharb (Algarbe).

³ بن خنيس

⁴ سدراي بن وزير—whom Conde calls *Sidray* and *Sid-Ray*. See vol. ii. pp. 276, 320, *et passim*.

Beja, and the western districts of Andalus, having quarrelled with Ahmed Ibn Kasí, made war against him, and came off victorious, taking from him the city of Mertola; upon which the latter chieftain, who was on intimate terms with Ibn Maymún [ʿAlí Ibn ʿIsa], decided to cross over to Africa, and [following the example of his friend] to put himself under the command of ʿAbdu-l-múmen, who had just taken possession of Morocco. Accordingly, Ibn Kasí landed at Ceuta, where he resided some time: thence Yúsuf Ibn Makhlúf [the governor] sent him on with an escort to the camp of ʿAbdu-l-múmen, whom he saw and spoke to, inviting him to undertake the conquest of Andalus, and to expel the Almoravides therefrom. ʿAbdu-l-múmen listened to his propositions, and sent an army of Almohades under the command of Berráz Ibn Mohammed Al-masúfí, the same who towards the close of the reign of Táshefín deserted the cause of that Sultán, and went over to the Almohades. To this general, ʿAbdu-l-múmen intrusted the subjection of the Lamtúnites of Andalus, as well as that of the other rebels in that country who acknowledged no authority at all: he re-inforced his army with another division, under the command of Abú ʿImrán Músa Ibn Saʿíd, and subsequently with a second, at the head of which he placed ʿOmar Ibn Sáleh As-senhájí. On the landing of these forces on the coast of Andalus, their first destination was against a rebel named Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Ghārún,⁵ who had taken possession of Xerez and Ronda. After the reduction of these, the army marched to Liblah (Niebla), which city was in the hands of another rebel named Yúsuf Al-betrúhí, who hastened to make his submission: thence they proceeded to Mertola, which city [was not attacked], being considered by the Almohades as under their rule, owing to Ibn Kasí [its former lord] having previously subscribed to the dogma of the unity of God [as preached by the Mahdí]. The army then continued its march to Shelb (Silves), which city was taken by storm, and given over to Ibn Kasí: thence they directed their course towards Beja and Badajoz; but the lord of those two cities, Seddaray Ibn Wazír, hastened to place himself under their rule. This done, Berráz retired with his army to Mertola, where he wintered, until, on the approach of the fine season, he sallied out to lay siege to Seville. On his march to that city he received the allegiance of the garrisons of Tablada⁶ and Hisn Al-kasr, which submitted to him. Being afterwards joined by the forces of several chieftains who had before this risen in open rebellion against the Almoravides, Berráz invested Seville by sea and land, and took that mighty city in the month of Shaʿbán of the year 541 (Jan. or Feb. A.D. 1147).⁷ The Almoravides who composed the garrison fled to Carmona, not without being closely pursued by the victors, who dealt death among them. In the confusion occasioned by the entrance of the Almohades into Seville, a son of the Kádí Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-ʿarabí was unintentionally killed by one of the besieging army.

On the taking of Seville, an embassy composed of several distinguished individuals, at the head of whom was the Kádí Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-ʿarabí, was sent to Africa to inform ʿAbdu-l-

⁵ This name is differently written in various parts of this work, thus: أبو عمرو بن عرون—أبو الغمر بن عزون and أبو عمرو بن غرون. Conde calls him Abu-l-hamri (vol. ii. p. 325,) and Abu-l-camar (p. 313). He had been governor of Xerez and Arcos for Ibn Hamdín, King of Cordova, and had taken Ronda from Akhíl Ibn Idrís. See Casiri (vol. ii. p. 56).

⁶ طليطلة No doubt, a mistake for طبلطة Tablada, unless it be Tallada.

⁷ The author of the *Kartás* places this event in 540.

múmen of the success of his arms. The messengers reached Morocco, and presented themselves to the Sultán, who accepted of the obedience they tendered to him in the name of their fellow-citizens, and dismissed them with suitable presents and pensions [upon his treasury]. This took place in the year 542 (beginning June 1, A. D. 1147). As Abú Bekr was returning to his native country, he died on the road, and was buried at Fez.

It happened about this time that two brothers of the Mahdí, named 'Abdu-l-'azíz and 'Isa, who resided at Seville, and held high command in the army, were guilty of great cruelty and excess: they stretched out their hands over the inhabitants, seized on their property, shed their blood, and practised every iniquity and injustice. Having conceived an enmity against Yúsuf Al-betrúhí, governor of Niebla, who was then dwelling in Seville, they formed the design of ridding themselves of him by treason; but that chief, having received intelligence of their plans in time, quitted the city, and took refuge in the capital of his dominions, whence he expelled the Almohades, and declared himself in open revolt against 'Abdu-l-múmen. He then sent on [troops] to Tablada and Hisn Al-kasr, [of which he gained possession], and put himself in communication with the Almoravides on the opposite shore. His example was speedily followed by other chieftains: Ibn Kasí rose at Silves; 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún did the same at Cadiz; Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibnu-l-hajjám⁸ at Badajoz. In short, the only chief who, on this occasion, remained faithful to the Almohades, was Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún, governor of Xerez, Ronda, and the neighbouring districts, which he continued to hold for them and in their name. On the other hand, Ibn Ghániyyah, the Almoravide, took possession of Algesiras, whence he stirred the inhabitants of Ceuta to rebel, as before stated.⁹ Owing to these circumstances, the situation of the Almohades at Seville became so precarious, that 'Isa and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, the two brothers of the Mahdí, with a cousin of theirs, named Islitín, and such as followed their party, were compelled to leave that city, and retire to the mountains of Bishter.¹⁰ Here they were joined by Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún at the head of his forces, when it was agreed among them to lay siege to Algesiras; which was done, until that city was taken by storm, the Almoravides, who composed the garrison, being all put to the sword. After this exploit, the brothers of the Mahdí crossed over to Morocco, and 'Abdu-l-múmen sent Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán to Seville with an army of Almohades. On his arrival there, Yúsuf took the command from the hands of the governor, Berráz Ibn Mohammed, whom he allowed, however, to retain the office of tax-collector. He then went out against Al-betrúhí, whose states of Niebla and Tablada he speedily reduced. The same fate befel Ibn Kasí, whose city, Silves, was taken from him. After these exploits, Yúsuf [Ibn Suleymán] set out, though it was winter,¹¹ against 'Isa Ibn Maymún, Lord of Santa Maria, whom he compelled to return under the obedience of the Almohades, and to join him with

⁸ The author of the *Kartás* speaks of an individual named Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-hajjám, who was appointed governor of Badajoz in A. H. 501 by 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, the second Sultán of the Almoravides. *Ibnu-l-hajjám* means 'the son of the surgeon or barber,' whence are derived the Spanish words *alfageme* and *alhageme*, which have still a similar meaning.

⁹ This happened in A. H. 543; the Kádí 'Iyádh, who was governor of the city, revolting against 'Abdu-l-múmen, and proclaiming Ibn Ghániyyah.

¹⁰ جبل بشتـر—Between Malaga and Ronda.

¹¹ Such I believe to be the meaning which the author intended to convey by these words: ثم اغار يوسف علي صندره

his forces. Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibnu-l-hajjám, governor of Badajoz, having sent him an embassy with presents, Yúsuf accepted of them, and granted him pardon in the Sultán's name. After this he returned to Seville.

During these transactions the Christian king (Alfonso II. of Castile), having mustered all his forces, marched against Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ghániyyah, Lord of Cordova, whose friend and ally he had been on a former occasion, but whom he now attacked. After ravaging the territories subject to his rule, Alfonso appeared in sight of Cordova, and besieged Ibn Ghániyyah in his capital. In this manner the Christians made themselves masters of Lisbon, Tortosa,¹² Lerida, Fraga, Santa Maria, and other cities or fortresses belonging to the Moslems of Andalus. In this conflict Ibn Ghániyyah began to look about him for the means of increasing the number of his warriors, and expelling the insolent Christians from before the walls of Cordova: to this end he sent a message to Berráz Ibn Mohammed, the general of the Almohades, asking for an interview. The meeting having taken place at Ezija, Berráz agreed to assist him with the troops under his command, on condition that he (Ibn Ghániyyah) would immediately put him in possession of Cordova and Carmona, in compensation for which he was to receive Jaen. Ibn Ghániyyah having accepted of these terms, a treaty was immediately drawn up between the two chiefs, and sent over to Africa for the confirmation of 'Abdu-l-múmen. When this arrived, Ibn Ghániyyah gave up Cordova to Berráz, and retired to Jaen. He was there besieged by the Christian king; but Ibn Ghániyyah having treacherously seized on one of his counts,¹³ and confined him to the castle of Ibn Sa'id (Alcalá de Aben Zaid), the Christian king was compelled to give up his undertaking, and retire from before Jaen. After this, Ibn Ghániyyah repaired to Granada, which city was in the hands of Maymún Ibn Bedr Al-lamtúni, who commanded a body of Almoravides. Ibn Ghániyyah went thither for the purpose of inducing that chieftain to come to an agreement with the Almohades, as he himself had done; but all his arguments were in vain, and Maymún persevered in his rebellion. Shortly after, Ibn Ghániyyah died at that city in the month of Sha'bán of the year 543 (January, A.D. 1149):¹⁴ he was buried there, his tomb being well known to this day.

¹² The text reads *طرسوسة* *Tarsúsah*, which is evidently a mistake for *طروشة* *Tortosa*, unless it be meant for *طرسونة* *Tarazona*, which can hardly be supposed. The cities mentioned in this passage were not reduced by Alfonso II., as here intimated. Lisbon and Santa Maria [de Algarbe] were taken by Alfonso I. of Portugal, in 1147, or 542 of the Hijra, and the other three by Raymond V., Count of Barcelona, in 1148-9.

¹³ This was Count Don Manrique de Lara. Ibn Ghániyyah sent a messenger to Alfonso, inviting him to Jaen, of which city he offered him the possession. Alfonso accepted the proposition, but did not go in person. He sent thither the above-mentioned nobleman, at the head of a body of cavalry: on his arrival at Jaen, Don Manrique was made a prisoner, and confined to a castle.

¹⁴ According to Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát and the author of the *Kartás*, Ibn Ghániyyah died a natural death on Friday, the 24th of Sha'bán, 543 (Jan. 7, A.D. 1149), and "was buried within the *Kassábah*, and opposite to the tomb of Bádís Ibn Habús." Conde, though professing to translate the narrative of the last-mentioned writer, makes Ibn Ghániyyah die in a

skirmish with the Almohades. This is not all: he translates the following *و دُفِنَ فِي الْقَبْرِ بَارِءِ قَبْرِ بَادِيْسِ بْنِ حَبُوْسِ* thus: 'enterraronle en *Cazbe Baz* en la Makbira de Badis ben Habus Rey de Granada.' (He was buried at *Cazbe Baz*, in the cemetery of Bádís Ibn Habús, King of Granada.)!

In the mean time the Christian king, thinking the opportunity a favourable one again to attack Cordova, marched his army thither, and laid siege to it. When the intelligence reached Seville, the Almohades immediately sent to its relief Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún, who, having made a junction with the troops of Yúsuf Al-betrúhí, governor of Niebla, proceeded by forced marches to his destination. 'Abdu-l-múmen, who had likewise been informed of the perilous situation of the Cordovans, had also sent thither an army of Almohades under the command of Yahya Ibn Yaghmúr. This general, therefore, having joined on the way the forces commanded by Abú-l-ghamr, entered Cordova without any opposition on the part of the besieging army. A few days after this, the Christian king struck his tents, and disappeared from before the city. From all parts of Andalus rebels came to Ibn Yaghmúr to ask him for letters of security in the name of 'Abdu-l-múmen; which being obtained, they repaired to Morocco, and presented themselves to that Sultán, who received them kindly, and was pleased graciously to pardon all their offences. Subsequently to this, 'Abdu-l-múmen, having removed to Salé in the year 545 (beginning April 29, A. D. 1150), invited the people of Andalus¹⁵ to come over to him; which they did in great numbers, when they all proclaimed him as their rightful sovereign; the rebel chieftains hastening also to take the oath of allegiance, and to lay down all [usurped] authority. Among the Andalusians who on this occasion presented themselves to 'Abdu-l-múmen was Seddaray Ibn Wazír, Lord of Beja and Eborá; Al-betrúhí, governor of Niebla; Ibn Gharún [Abú-l-ghamr], Lord of Xerez and Ronda; Ibnu-l-hajjám, Lord of Badajoz; 'A'mil Ibn Muhíb,¹⁶ Lord of Talavera (Tavira?). Ibn Kasí and the people of Silves were the only Andalusians who did not make their submission on this occasion, this being the cause of the death of that chieftain [who was afterwards executed], as we shall relate in due course.¹⁷ 'Abdu-l-múmen returned to Morocco, and the Andalusians to their respective towns; he moreover took most of the rebel chieftains with him to his capital, and kept them about his court. In the year 548 (beginning March 28, A. D. 1153), 'Abdu-l-múmen ordered the execution of Islitín, a relative of the Mahdí.¹⁸

The Almohades subdue the rest of Andalus.

Fo. 107, verso.—In the year 549 (beginning Mar. 17, A. D. 1154), while the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen was at Morocco, the intelligence was brought to him how Yahya Ibn Yaghmúr,¹⁹ governor of Seville, had made great slaughter among the people of Liblah (Niebla), of which city Al-wahíbí had treacherously gained possession. Though the inhabitants protested their

¹⁵ *i. e.* the deputations of the several towns which had previously acknowledged his authority, that they might take the oath of allegiance in the name of their fellow-citizens.

¹⁶ عامل بن مهيب صاحب طابيرة. Perhaps وهيب is to be substituted, and طابيرة Tabira for Talavera.

¹⁷ I have in vain looked in other chapters of Ibnu Khaldún's work for the event here recorded.

¹⁸ قريبن الهدي which Conde (vol. ii. p. 343) translates by 'Isaltin Coraib Almehedi.'! This Islitín had some time before risen in arms against 'Abdu-l-múmen.

¹⁹ ابن يغمور But I find his name thus written in the *Kartás*, Abú Zakariyyá Yahya بن يغمور Ibn Yarmar or Yurnur.

innocence, and that they had taken no part whatever in the plans of that rebel, the governor, Yahya, would not admit of their excuses, and [on the taking of the city] chastised them with the greatest severity.²⁰ The Sultán, being exceedingly displeased with Yahya on this account, removed him from the government of Seville, which he gave to Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Abí Hafss, of Tínmel. He likewise deposed Abú Zeyd Ibn Bakít from the government of Cordova, and appointed in his room 'Abdullah Ibn Suleymán. On his arrival at Seville, the new governor put Yahya Ibn Yaghmur in irons, and took him with him to Algesiras: he there assigned him his dwelling for a prison, until he dispatched him to Telemsán, escorted by his son, Síd Abú Hafss.

In the mean while the empire of the Almohades waxed stronger in Andalus. Maymún Ibn Bedr Al-lamtúní quitted Granada, where the supremacy of the Almohades was immediately acknowledged. Soon after, Síd Abú Sa'íd, governor of Ceuta, went over to assume the command of that city in the name of his father, the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen. The wearers of the veil (Almoravides) [who were at Granada] were compelled to repair to Morocco. Síd Abú Sa'íd Al-meríní laid siege to Almeria, until he obliged the Christians within to surrender on the terms of a capitulation drawn up by the Wizír Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Attiyyah. Notwithstanding that the garrison of Almeria had received assistance from the rebel Ibn Mardanish, who had risen [some time before] in the eastern parts of Andalus, and also from the Christian king, his ally, all these forces united together were unable to deter that prince from his purpose; and the city was taken, as before related, in 546 (beginning April 19, A.D. 1152).

In the year 551 (beginning Feb. 24, A.D. 1156), the Sheikhs of Seville, having come [to Africa] to ask 'Abdu-l-múmen to appoint one of his sons to command over them, that Sultán gave the investiture of Seville and its dependencies to his son Síd Abú Ya'kúb, who immediately took possession of it. One of the first acts of his government was to make war against Al-wahíbí, the rebel. Having accordingly left Seville, he put himself at the head of his army, and, accompanied by the Wizír Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Attiyyah, started in pursuit of that chieftain, whom he besieged [in one of his fortresses] until he compelled him to surrender. After this, he took possession of the states of Ibn Wazír, and of those of Ibn Kasí, which last were reduced by a division of his army under the command of Táshefín Al-lamtúní. The victory, in short, was every where complete. After this success, Síd Abú Ya'kúb returned to Seville, and the Wizír Abú Ja'far to Morocco, where he soon after fell into disgrace, and was put to death²¹ by the command of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who appointed 'Abdu-s-sellám Al-kúmí to succeed him in the charge of Wizír. 'Abdu-s-sellám, who was connected by marriage with the family of 'Abdu-l-múmen, retained that office until he was executed by order of that Sultán, soon after the taking of Telemsán, as we shall hereafter relate.

Fo. 108.—In the year 553 (beginning Feb. 1, A.D. 1158), when the intelligence reached 'Abdu-l-múmen of the defeat of his son, Síd Abú Ya'kúb [Yúsuf], by the Christians, close

²⁰ Conde, who gives some details respecting this siege, and the cruelties practised on the inhabitants, borrowed from the *Kartás*, speaks of Liblah, which he writes *Leila*, as if it were a town in Africa. See vol. ii. p. 345.

²¹ This happened in Shawwál, 552 (December, A. D. 1157), according to the author of the *Kartás*. See Moura, p. 216.

to the walls of Seville, and of the great number of the Almohades, Sheikhs, Háfedhs, and other principal men, as Ibn Gharún and Ibnu-l-hajjám, who had fallen martyrs in the encounter, he set out with the intention of crossing over in person to the theatre of war. For this purpose he went to Salé, but having whilst there received intelligence of fresh troubles in Eastern Africa, and of the taking of Mehediyyah by the Christians, he gave up his former determination, and turned his attention to that quarter. Accordingly, having appointed the Sheikh Abú Hafss to command in the *Maghreb* during his absence, he hastened to Eastern Africa at the head of all the forces collected round Salé for his intended expedition to Andalus, and arrived before Mehediyyah, when he compelled the Christians and Sicilians, who had taken possession of it, to capitulate in 555 (A.D. 1160).²²

Account of Ibn Mardanish, who revolted [against the Almohades] in the eastern provinces of Andalus.

Whilst 'Abdu-l-múmen was in Eastern Africa, the intelligence was brought to him that Mohammed Ibn Mardanish, who rose in the eastern provinces of Andalus, had gone out of Murcia, and encamped before Jaen, the governor of which city, named Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Al-kúmi, had submitted to him. He had likewise appeared in sight of Cordova; but unable to gain possession of that city, he had raised the siege, and marched against Carmona, which he had taken by treason. He had thence returned to Cordova, the governor of which, Ibn Bakít, had sallied out against him, but had been defeated, and put to death. On the arrival of this diastrous news, 'Abdu-l-múmen wrote to his lieutenants in Andalus, apprising them of his recent conquests in Eastern Africa, and of his intention shortly to cross over to Andalus in person. Accordingly, after making the necessary preparations, he crossed the straits, and landed at *Jebalu-l-fatah* (Gibraltar), where he was soon joined by the Almohades, and such among the Andalusians [as followed his banners]. After providing for the affairs of government, 'Abdu-l-múmen returned to Morocco, whence he sent his army to make war on the infidels of Andalus. The Christian king, having marched against the Moslems, was defeated, and his army dispersed. Síd Abú Ya'kúb took Carmona from the hands of Ibn Humushk, who commanded there by the appointment of Ibn Mardanish, his brother-in-law; but whilst Síd Abú Ya'kúb, governor of Seville, and Síd Abú Sa'íd, governor of Granada, were at Morocco, whither they had crossed over for the purpose of visiting 'Abdu-l-múmen, Ibn Humushk, seizing the opportunity, approached Granada secretly and at night, and succeeded, with the aid of his numerous partisans there, in gaining possession of the city;²³

²² Historians are at variance as to the date of the taking of Mehediyyah by 'Abdu-l-múmen. Some, as Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, (Bodl. Lib., Marsh, 433, fo. 7, verso,) place it in A. H. 554, after a siege of seven months; the anonymous writer of a history of Morocco, (see vol. i. p. 349, Note 73,) on the 10th of Moharram of 555, after a siege of five months and nine days. The author of the *Kartás* (Moura, p. 216) gives both of those dates, that of 554 and that of 555.

²³ Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (*loco laud.*, fo. 25, verso,) says that it was the Jews, commanded by الغوي ابن دهرى صحر *al-Ghuyy Ibn Dahri Sahar*, who facilitated his entrance into Granada. They had been some time previously compelled to turn Moslems: hence their discontent.

the Almohades, who composed the garrison, retiring to the *Kassábah*. When this news was known in Africa, the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen immediately left Morocco, to deliver his followers. He arrived at Salé, and having appointed Síd Abú Sa'id to the command of his army, this general immediately crossed the strait at the head of numerous forces. Being joined on his landing by Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Alí, lieutenant-governor of Seville, he marched to Granada. On the news of their approach, Ibn Humushk sallied out of the city, and defeated them: Síd Abú Sa'id retreated to Malaga, upon which 'Abdu-l-múmen deprived him of the command of the army, and gave it to his brother, Síd Abú Ya'kúb. The Almohades marched a second time against Granada, whither Ibn Mardanish himself had lately arrived with his Christian auxiliaries to the succour of his brother-in-law, Ibn Humushk. A battle was then fought in the plain of that city, in which the victory remained to the former, Ibn Mardanish betaking himself to his strongholds in the eastern provinces, whilst Ibn Humushk took refuge in Jaen, where he was immediately besieged by the victorious Almohades. After this, Síd Abú Ya'kúb and Síd Abú Sa'id went to Cordova, where they remained until the year 558 (beginning Dec. 9, A. D. 1162), when the former was summoned to Morocco by his father, who wished to designate him his successor to the empire, instead of his brother Mohammed, and to have him acknowledged as such by the councils of the Almohades and the governors of the provinces. In compliance with these orders, Abú Ya'kúb repaired to Morocco; and the ceremony being performed, he accompanied his father the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen to Rebát, whence that Sultán intended to set out a second time for Andalus, for the purpose of prosecuting the holy war. He was, however, overtaken by death, at Salé, in Jumáda II. of the same year 558 (May, A. D. 1163). His remains were deposited at Tímmelel, beside those of the Mahdí.

Reign of the Khalif Yúsuf, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen.

Fo. 108, verso.—Immediately after the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, Síd Abú Hafss went to the chiefs of the Almohades, and received from every one of them the striking of hands, or customary oath of allegiance to his brother Abú Ya'kúb [Yúsuf]. Being greatly satisfied with this [generous] conduct on the part of his own brother, Abú Ya'kúb preferred him to his intimacy, confirmed him in all his honours and distinctions, and appointed him his Wizír. This being done, they returned together to Morocco. This Síd Abú Hafss had been Wizír to his father, 'Abdu-l-múmen, who, after the disgrace and execution of his chief Wizír, 'Abdu-s-sellám [Ibn Mohammed] Al-kúmi, in 555 (beginning Jan. 11, A. D. 1160),²⁴ had recalled him from Eastern Africa, and appointed him to the vacant office. Abú Hafss filled the duties of the Wizirate conjointly with Abú-l-'ola Ibn Jámi', who was appointed to assist him until 'Abdu-l-múmen died, when, as before related, he received the oaths of the people for his brother Abú Ya'kúb.

²⁴ He was arrested by order of 'Abdu-l-múmen shortly after the entrance of that Sultán into Telemsán, A. H. 555 (A. D. 1160). Two days after, he died in prison from the effects of poison, administered to him in a bowl of milk. See *Kartás*, p. 217. See also Conde (vol. ii. p. 349), who, with his usual negligence, or rather from his not understanding the text of the above writer, says that it was 'Abdu-s-sellám who poisoned Ibn 'Attiyyah, his predecessor in office. In my extracts from Ibnu Khaldún (see vol. i. App. B, p. xxx.) I have written the name of this Wizír 'Abdu-s-salám instead of 'Abdu-s-sellám.

Soon after the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, happened that of his son, Abú-l-hasan, governor of Fez, and that of Síd Abú Mohammed, governor of Bujéyah (Bugia), on his way to the capital (Morocco). In the year 560 (beginning Nov. 17, A.D. 1164), the Sultán (Abú Ya'kúb) summoned to his presence Síd Abú Sa'íd, who, in obedience to his orders, left Granada [of which city he was governor], and arrived at Morocco. His brother, Síd Abú Hafss, went to Ceuta to meet him on his first landing in Africa.

Subsequently to this, the Khalif Abú Ya'kúb, having received intelligence of the march of Ibn Mardanish to Cordova, sent his brother, Abú Hafss, to Andalus with a powerful army of Almohades, re-inforced by the Arabian tribes of Zaghahah, Riyáh, and Ath-thíj. Abú Hafss crossed the straits, and marched against Ibn Mardanish, who, having collected all his forces, and obtained succours from his friends and neighbours the Christians, prepared for a stout resistance. The Almohades met him on the plain of Murcia, where the rebellious chieftain and his auxiliaries were completely defeated, and compelled to take refuge within that city. He was there immediately besieged by the Almohades, who reduced the neighbouring districts. After this splendid victory, through which the raging fire of civil war was somewhat allayed, Síd Abú Hafss and his brother, Abú Sa'íd, returned to Morocco in the year 561 (beginning Nov. 6, A.D. 1165). In the same year (A.H. 561) the Khalif gave his brother, Síd Abú Zakariyyá, the investiture of Bugia. He also gave that of Seville to the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Ibráhím, though he afterwards removed him to make room for his own brother, Abú Ibráhím. He confirmed the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah in his office of Wizír [to the former], and gave the investiture of Cordova to Síd Abú Is'hák: he also confirmed Síd Abú Sa'íd in the government of Granada. After this, the Almohades, having bethought them of adopting a motto²⁵ for the dispatches signed by their Khalifs, chose the following,—*Wa-l-hamdu lillahi wahduhu*, 'Praise be [given] to God the only one,'—which they chanced to find in the handwriting of the Imám Al-mahdí, in one of his official letters; and it continued to be their device to the end of their empire.

Civil war in [the mountains of] Gomárah.

In the year 562 (beginning Oct. 27, A.D. 1166), the Amír Abú Ya'kúb moved towards the mountains of Gomárah (Gomera), where a rebel named Saba' Ibn Mun'akád²⁶ had risen, calling upon the inhabitants to join their neighbours the Senhájah in their rebellion against the Almohades. At first, the Amír Abú Ya'kúb sent an army under the command of the Sheikh Abú Hafss; but these forces being insufficient to quell the rebellion of the tribes of Gomárah and Senhájah united together, he repaired to the field of war in person, defeated the rebels in several encounters, and almost exterminated them; he also put to death Saba' Ibn Mun'akád, by which he applied a cautery to that evil. He then gave to his brother, Síd Abú

²⁵ The word I have translated by 'motto' is *علامة* which means 'a sign, a mark, a signature, the reading upon a seal,' &c.

²⁶ *سبع بن منعقد* whom Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát calls *منعقد ابن* Ibn Munhafád, and the author of the *Kartás* *ابن منغفال* Ibn Munghafád.

'Alí Al-hasan, the government of Ceuta and other districts previously occupied by the rebels. In the year 563 (beginning Oct. 16, A.D. 1167), the Almohades renewed the oath of allegiance²⁷ to Abú Ya'kúb, on whom they agreed to confer the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful). The Sultán then wrote to the Arabs of Eastern Africa, stirring them up to resume the war against the infidels. For this purpose he addressed to them a *kassidah* and an epistle, which are sufficiently known among [literary] men. The answer made by the Arabs, and their readiness to flock under his banners, are also too well known [to deserve being recorded here].

Events in Andalus.

When Abú Ya'kúb saw his empire consolidated in Africa, he began to turn his eyes towards Andalus, and to meditate the prosecution of the holy war. The intelligence having been brought to him that the enemy (may the curse of God fall on his head!) had surprised the city of Truxillo, then that of Eborá, then the fortresses of Sheberínah and Jelmániyyah,²⁸ opposite to Badajoz, and lastly, the city of Badajoz itself, he dispatched against him the Sheikh Abú Hafss, with an army of Almohades. Having made the necessary preparations, Abú Hafss crossed over to Andalus in the year 564 (beginning Oct. 4, A.D. 1168), to deliver Badajoz from the horrors of a siege. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at Seville, and was preparing for his expedition, when news came to him how the Almohades of Badajoz had, with the assistance of the son of Alfonso (Ferdinand), defeated and taken prisoner the son of Errink (Alfonso Enriquez), who commanded the besieging forces, and how his enemy, the King of Galicia, had also fled to his castles. The Sheikh Abú Hafss then marched to Cordova, whence he dispatched an army to the assistance of the people of Badajoz, under the command of Ibráhím Ibn Humushk. This chief had some time previously tendered his obedience [to the Almohades], and made profession of the unity of God, owing to certain differences which had arisen between him and his friend Ibn Mardanísh, and which had created much ill-will and animosity between them. Ibn Mardanísh having begun hostilities, Ibn Humushk had retorted, and, in order the better to repel his attacks, had sent to offer the Sheikh Abú Hafss his submission, on condition that he would assist him against his enemy. The Sheikh hastened to inform the Khalif of the circumstance, as well as of the incursions and ravages which the Christians were daily making in the Moslem territory. Upon which, Abú Ya'kúb sent his own brother and

²⁷ Two kinds of inauguration were then in use among the Almohades: the *الخاصة* or 'private,' that is, of the high officers of the state, of the members of the royal family, &c.; and *الجماعة* or *العامة* that of the subjects: and, according to the author of the *Karttás*, Yúsuf went at first only through the former of these ceremonies.

²⁸ *جلمانية* Jelmania, perhaps a corruption of Germania. Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát (*loco laud.*) says that it was a fortress built not far from Badajoz by Alfonso, King of Portugal, in order to molest from thence the garrison of that city. Sheberínah thus written *شبرينة* might be Severina, but there is at present no town of this name.

Wizír, Síd Abú Hafss,²⁹ at the head of an army of Almohades. Abú Hafss started from Morocco in the year 565 (beginning Sept. 24, A. D. 1169), taking in his company his brother Síd Abú Sa'íd, whom, immediately after his arrival in Seville, he sent on to Badajoz. Abú Sa'íd, having concluded a peace with the Christian king, returned to Seville. The two brothers then marched upon Murcia, the capital of the states of Ibn Mardanísh, which they invested, taking with them Ibn Humushk, the former friend of that rebel. During the siege of Murcia the people of Lorca, another city subject to Ibn Mardanísh, shook off his yoke, and proclaimed the supremacy of the Almohades. After taking possession of Lorca, Síd Abú Hafss stormed the city of Bastah (Baza), the taking of which was soon followed by the surrender of Almeria, whose governor, named Mohammed,³⁰ a nephew of Ibn Mardanísh, bought by ready submission the pardon of his rebellion.

When the news of this success reached Morocco, there happened to be encamped near that capital considerable forces of the Arabs of Eastern Africa, which had been brought thither by Síd Abú Zakariyyá, governor of Bujéyah (Bugia), and Síd Abú 'Imrán, governor of Tremezen. The day of their arrival had been one of great festivity and rejoicing: profiting by the assembly of such considerable forces, the Khalif determined to employ them against the infidels. Having, therefore, reviewed them, as well as his own troops, he started for Andalus, after appointing his brother Síd Abú 'Imrán to command at Morocco in his absence. He arrived in Cordova in the year 567 (beginning Sept. 3, A. D. 1171): after some stay he left that city and repaired to Seville, where he was met by Síd Abú Hafss on his return from the expedition against Ibn Mardanísh. This rebel, seeing the siege protracted, and having no hopes of succour, had made a sally, and, breaking a passage through the ranks of the besieged, whom he found unprepared, had effected his escape. However, his brother Abú-l-hejáj, and his son Helál, had tendered their obedience to the Almohades; and he himself (Ibn Mardanísh) had died soon after in Rejeb of the same year³¹ (March, A. D. 1172). After the death of his father, Helál sent to offer the Almohades possession of Murcia; upon which, Abú Hafss hastened to that city. Helál went out with a party to meet him; and Abú Hafss, having received him with every kindness, sent him on to the Khalif, who was at that time in Seville. After this, the Khalif Abú Ya'kúb went out of Seville, intent upon an incursion into the enemy's country. He laid siege to Ubeda,

²⁹ This *Síd* Abú Hafss, who was 'Abdu-l-múmen's brother, must not be confounded with the *Sheikh* Abú Hafss, who was no relation of that Sultán, and whose descendants, the Hafssides or Bení Abí Hafss, became in time kings of Eastern Africa.

³⁰ Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát (*loco laud.*) gives some interesting details about this chieftain. His name was Mohammed; but he was more generally known under the surname of Ibn *Sáhíbi Al-basít*, ابن صاحب البسيط ('the son of the hero of Albacete,') a surname given to his father, 'Abdullah Ibn Mardanísh, after his victory over Ibn Húd, in the neighbourhood of that town. His uncle, Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh, had intrusted him with the government of Almeria, and given him besides his own daughter in marriage; but when he heard of his submission to the Almohades, the rage of that rebel, who was then at Valencia, was so great, that he ordered the immediate execution of the wife (his own daughter) and all the children of his cousin. The wife, however, was spared; though the children were drowned in the Albuhera, a lake close to Valencia.

³¹ Conde (vol. ii. p. 380) gives three different dates for the death of this chieftain, 567-9-71; but the former is the most probable, as agreeing with the account of the *Kartás*, Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, and Abú-l-fedá.

and remained some days encamped before the city; he then raised his tents, and marched to Murcia, whence he returned to Seville in the year 568 (beginning August 22, A. D. 1172), taking with him Helál Ibn [Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn] Mardanih, whom he had so far distinguished as to take his sister for a wife.³² Abú Ya'kúb gave to his own uncle, Yúsuf, the government of Valencia, and to his brother, Síd Abú Sa'íd, the investiture of Granada. After this, having received intelligence of an incursion which the enemy, commanded by Count Al-ahdab,³³ had made into the country of the Moslems, the Khalif went out to meet them at the head of his forces. Having overtaken them near Kal'ah Rabáh (Calatrava), he defeated them with great loss; after which he returned victorious to Seville. Having arrived there, and wishing to provide for the defence of that frontier, he gave orders for the rebuilding of the fortress of Al-kal'ah (Alcalá de Guadaya), which had been in ruins since the time of the civil wars between Ibnu-l-hejáj and Koreyb Ibn Khaldún,³⁴ during the reigns of Al-mundhir Ibn Mohammed and his brother 'Abdullah, both Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah. After this, the son of Alfonso bestirred himself, and made an incursion into the Moslem territory. The Khalif collected his forces, and dispatched against him an army under the orders of Síd Abú Hafss, who not only repelled the invasion, but attacked the enemy of God in the very heart of his dominions, took from him Kantarah As-seyf (Alcantara), and defeated his armies wherever they attempted to make a stand. In the year 571 (beginning July 21, A. D. 1175), five years after his crossing to Andalus, the Khalif started from Seville on his way back to Morocco. Before taking his departure, however, he gave his brother Al-hasan the investiture of Cordova; and his brother 'Alí that of Seville. Soon after this, the plague having broken out at Morocco, three members of the Sultán's family were attacked, and died of it. These were Síd Abú 'Imrán, Síd Abú Sa'íd, and Síd Abú Zakariyyá. The Sheikh Abú Hafss also died of it, as he was journeying from Cordova [to Morocco], and was interred at Salé. After this, the Khalif having summoned to his presence his own brothers, Abú 'Alí and Abú-l-hasan, they came over from Andalus, and appeared at court: he then gave to the former the investiture of Sijilmésah, and caused the latter, 'Abu-l-hasan, to return to Cordova. He also granted investitures to his two nephews, the sons of his brother Síd Abú Hafss; to Abú Zeyd he gave the government of Granada, and that of Malaga to Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah. In the year 573 (beginning June 29, A. D. 1177), the Khalif being displeased with his Wizírs, the Bení Jámí', exiled them to Merida. In the year 575 (beginning June 7, A. D. 1179), he gave to Ghánim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mardanih the command of his fleets, and directed him to attack Lisbon; which he did, returning with considerable spoil. In the same year (A. H. 575) happened the death of the Khalif's brother and Wizír, Síd Abú Hafss, whose life was a tissue of valorous performances against the

³² This happened in the year 567, according to the author of the *Karttás* and Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát.

³³ القومس الأحدب *Comes Al-ahdab*, or 'the hump-backed count.'

³⁴ Ibnu Hayyán (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxxvii. fo. 46,) gives an account of these civil wars from the work of a writer named Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-ash'ath الأشعث ابن who wrote a history of Seville. Koreyb Ibn 'Othmán *Ibn Khaldún* and his brother Kháled, ancestors of this fragment, having resuscitated the old feuds between the Arabs of Yemen and the Bení Modhar, took the field as chiefs of the former against Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hejáj, who was the representative of the latter. After a long and desultory warfare the two Bení Khaldún were taken prisoners in 277, and put to death.

enemy of God, and of praiseworthy deeds for the cause of religion. Abú Hafss' two sons having come over from Andalus, and informed the Khalif of the annoyance to which the Moslems of that country were exposed through the incessant attacks of the Christian king, he determined to re-commence the holy war, for which end he began to summon the Arabian tribes from Eastern Africa.

Abú Ya'kúb's assiduity in the prosecution of the holy war.

On his return from the expedition to Kafssah, which city was taken in the year 577 (beginning May 16, A.D. 1181), Abú Ya'kúb received the congratulations of his brother Síd Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ya'kúb, who came over from Murcia, as well as those of all the Almohades and the chiefs of Andalus who hastened to his presence [for that purpose]. Abú Ya'kúb welcomed their arrival, and they all returned to their respective countries honoured and satisfied. The intelligence then came to him that Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Wánúdín, with the Almohades of Seville, had made a foray into the enemy's territory, had laid siege to the city of Eborá, plundered the neighbouring districts, reduced some of its fortresses, and then returned victorious to Seville. He also heard that 'Abdullah Ibn Is'hák Ibn Jámí', the commander of the fleets of that city, had met at sea the naval forces of Lisbon, which he had defeated, sinking or capturing twenty of their ships, taking at the same time considerable spoil, and making numbers of prisoners. Subsequently to this, the news came to him how Alfonso, son of Sancho, had laid siege to Cordova, and made several incursions in the neighbourhood of Malaga, Ronda, and Granada; after which he had appeared in sight of Ezija, and stormed the castle of Shankílah,³⁵ wherein he had left a garrison of Christians, and then returned to his own dominions; that upon this Abú Is'hák had mustered all his forces, and repaired to the subdued fortress (Shankílah), which he had besieged [though in vain] for about forty days; for when King Alfonso heard of it, he sallied out of Toledo to the succour of the besieged, and Abú Is'hák was compelled to desist from his undertaking. During the course of these events, Ibn Wánúdín (Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf) had gone out of Seville with an army of Almohades, and laid siege to Talavera: the garrison having made a sally, he defeated them completely, and returned [to Seville] loaded with spoil. The news of these occurrences, which came to Abú Ya'kúb in rapid succession, induced that Khalif earnestly to prosecute the holy war. To this end, he appointed his two sons, Síd Abú Is'hák and Síd Abú Yahya, to the command of his forces in Andalus: he confirmed the former in the government of Seville, and gave to the latter the investiture of Cordova: he also gave that of Granada to his son Síd Abú Zeyd Al-hirssání; and that of Murcia to Síd Abú 'Abdillah. He himself prepared to cross over to Andalus; for which purpose he arrived at Salé in the year 577 (beginning May 16, A.D. 1181), and was met there by Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Is'hák Ibn Jámí' at the head of the Arabian tribes of Eastern Africa. Thence the Sultán went to Fez, and after sending in advance the tribes of Hentétah and Tímmelel, and the forces of the Arabs, he himself crossed the sea from Ceuta in Safar of the year 578 (June, A.D. 1182). He landed at Jebalu-l-fatah (Gibraltar), and thence proceeded to Seville, where he was met

³⁵ شتفيلة perhaps Sietefila شتفيلة

by the forces of Andalus. During his residence at that city he was displeased with Mohammed Ibn Wánúdín, whom he exiled to the castle of Gháfek. He then marched towards Shatareyn (Santarem), which he besieged; but after some days he gave orders for raising the siege, and the men were disheartened and discontented. The Christians of the town, having made a sally, found the Khalif almost alone, and unprepared for the attack; the consequence was, that the Khalif and those who were with him were sadly tried in the cause of God, and turned their backs after a most sanguinary conflict. On that very day³⁶ the Khalif died; some say, of an arrow-shot which he received in the midst of the fight; others, of a disease which attacked him on the road. (May God have forgiven him!).

Reign of his son, Ya'kúb Al-mansúr.

After the death of the Khalif [Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf] before Santarem, above related, his son Ya'kúb [Abú Yúsuf] was immediately proclaimed. He returned with the army to Seville, where he received the oaths of the inhabitants. He then appointed the Sheikh Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Abí Hafss to the post of Wizír, and intrusted to his brother, Síd Abú Yahya, the prosecution of the war against the infidels. Abú Yahya reduced some fortresses, and committed all manner of depredations in the enemy's country. After this he (Ya'kúb) crossed the sea to the capital of his African dominions (Morocco). On his way thither he was met at Kasr-Masmúdah by Síd Abú Zakariyyá, son of Síd Abú Hafss, who had come from Telemsán with the Sheikhs of the tribe of Zaghabah. He then proceeded to Morocco, where he suppressed iniquity, administered justice with an even hand, and promulgated laws. One of the first occurrences of his reign was the rebellion of Ibn Ghániyyah, which we are going to relate.

Account of the origin and rising of Ibn Ghániyyah.

We have elsewhere related how the enemy of God took possession of Mallorca, and how the inhabitants of that island were left without a ruler by the death of their governor, Mubashsher, who had formerly been a freed-slave of Mujáhid. Whilst the Christians were besieging his capital, this chief had sent to implore the assistance of 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf; but before the re-inforcements which that Sultán sent had arrived, the island was taken and plundered, and the city burnt down by the Christians, who set sail for their country, loaded with immense spoil. Yúsuf appointed one of the bravest officers among the Lamtúnah, named Wáthúr Ibn Abí Bekr, to be governor of the island, and gave him the command of a division of five hundred cavalry. The new governor rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to the inhabitants: he subjected them to several vexations; among other things he ordered them entirely to desert their city, and build another inland. This, however, was openly resisted by the inhabitants; and a tumult ensuing, the leader of the discontented was seized and

³⁶ On Saturday, the 12th of Rabi'-l-akhar, 580, according to the author of the *Kartás*, who relates this differently, and says that Abú Ya'kúb defended himself valiantly, and killed six of his assailants with his own hands, but was at last pierced by the spear of a Christian knight. See Moura, p. 235.

executed by order of Wáthúr. This so much exasperated the people of the island, that they rose against the governor, and made him their prisoner. They then sent an embassy to 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, who, having heard their case, granted them pardon, and appointed Mohammed Ibn Ghániyyah to succeed Wáthúr in the government of the island. This Mohammed was the son of 'Alí Ibn Yahya Al-masúfí, better known under the surname of Ibn Ghániyyah. His brother Yahya [Ibn 'Alí] was then commanding the western provinces of Andalus in the Khalif's name; and, as he held his court at Seville, his brother had appointed him his lieutenant in Cordova. The two brothers were filling their respective governments when 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf sent letters to Yahya, commanding him to remove his brother to the government of Mallorca. In compliance with the Sultán's orders, Mohammed sailed for that island, taking with him his sons 'Abdullah, 'Alí, Is'hák, Az-zobeyr, Ibráhím, and Talhah. The two first named had been under the special care of their uncle Yahya, who doted upon them, and was a second father to them.

Immediately after his arrival on the island, Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ghániyyah seized Wáthúr, whom he sent in irons to Morocco. After he had ruled for ten years³⁷ over the island, his brother Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah died. He had previously appointed his nephews, 'Abdullah and Is'hák, to be governors of Granada and Carmona. After this happened the death of 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, and the decay of the empire of the Bení Lamtúnah commenced, which began every where to give way under the blows of the victorious Almohades. Seeing this, Mohammed sent [to Andalus] for his two sons, 'Abdullah and Is'hák, who repaired to Mallorca in their father's fleet. The empire of the Lamtúnah was finally subverted: subsequently to this, Mohammed, having designated his son 'Abdullah to be the heir of his dominions, Is'hák, the other brother, took offence at it, and, having entered into a conspiracy with some of the Lamtúnah, put his brother 'Abdullah, as well as his own father Mohammed, to death. This done, the conspirators tried to rid themselves of Is'hák himself; but he anticipated them, and through the means of Lob Ibn Maymún, general of the sea, who embraced his cause, he was enabled to attack them in their dwellings, and put them to death; thereby gaining complete possession of the island in the year 546 (beginning April 19, A. D. 1151). At first, Is'hák governed with great wisdom and moderation: he took to planting and building; but after this he rather changed, and the inhabitants became disgusted with his rule. Lob Ibn Maymún then deserted his cause, and went over to his enemies the Almohades. Is'hák in the mean while made war on the infidels. He was in the habit of presenting the Khalif Abú Ya'kúb with Christian slaves: he persevered in this custom until he died, shortly before that monarch, in the year 580 (beginning April 13, A. D. 1184), leaving thirteen sons: Mohammed, 'Alí, Yahya, 'Abdullah, Al-ghází, Seyr, Al-mansúr, Jab-bárah, Táshefín, Talhah, 'Omar, Yúsuf, and Al-hasan.

Is'hák was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who, soon after his accession, dispatched an embassy to the Khalif Yúsuf [Abú Ya'kúb], offering to place himself under his government. The Khalif sent him 'Alí Ibn Ar-robertín to receive his allegiance. No sooner, however,

³⁷ If the appointment of Mohammed Ibn Ghániyyah to the government of Mallorca took place, as Ibnu Khaldún himself and the author of the *Kartás* state, in the year 520, twenty-three years must have elapsed between his taking possession of the government and the death of his brother Yahya, which happened in Sha'bán, 543. See above.

were Is'hák's brothers made aware of his determination, than they seized him, and put him in prison, appointing 'Alí Ibn Is'hák, one of themselves, to the command. About this time news came to Mallorca of the death of the Khalif, and the appointment of his son Al-mansúr, who succeeded him in the empire. Encouraged by this, 'Alí confined Ibn Ar-robertín to a dungeon, and after appointing his brother Talhah to command in Mallorca during his absence, sailed with a fleet to Bujéyah (Bugia), of which city he gained possession in the year 581 (beginning April 3, A. D. 1185), making the governor, Síd Abú-r-rabi'ah, and Síd Abú Músa 'Imran, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who chanced to be there at the time, his prisoners.

* * * * *

We have related elsewhere how Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, before leaving Mallorca for his African expedition, had confined Ibn Ar-robertín to a dungeon, and appointed his brother Talhah to govern the island in his absence. No sooner, however, did Ibn Ar-robertín, who was an enterprising and shrewd man, see the ground clear from his enemies, than he meditated a revolt, and, having entered into a secret negotiation with the Christian freedmen who guarded his prison, promised to let them go to their native countries with their children and families if they would assist him in his escape. They acceded to his wishes, and having risen within the *Kassábah*, they released Mohammed Ibn Is'hák from prison, and all repaired to court. However, when the news of this occurrence reached Tripoli, where 'Alí Ibn Ghániyyah was at the time, he immediately sent his brother 'Abdullah to Sicily, who [having there obtained some re-inforcements] sailed to Mallorca, and landed at a port on the island, whence he gained possession of the capital by stratagem.

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
 CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA
His adventures in the holy war.

In the year 586 (beginning Feb. 7, A. D. 1190), the Khalif Ya'kúb having learned through a messenger sent him by Abú Yúsuf Ibn Abí Hafss, governor of Seville, that the Christians had taken the important city of Shelb (Silves),³⁸ and defeated the Almohades close to the former city, into the neighbourhood of which they were making continual excursions, reducing many of its fortresses, he summoned his men to the *jihád* or holy war, and started immediately for Andalus. He arrived at Kasr-Masmúdah, where he made some stay; thence he crossed over to Taríf (Tarifa), whence he proceeded by forced marches to Silves. He was soon joined before that city by the forces of Andalus, to whom he intrusted the siege of the city, whilst he himself marched to Hisn-Torash,³⁹ which he reduced, returning afterwards to Seville. In the year 587 (beginning Jan. 28, A. D. 1191), the Khalif returned to Silves, putting himself at the head of the army before that place, which he took: he was there met by Ibn Wazír, who arrived before Silves, after taking another fortress on his way to the camp. The object for which the expedition had been planned being now gained, the Khalif

³⁸ قاعة *i. e.* a capital, from its being the chief town of a considerable district in the Algarbe or West of Spain. It was taken on the 8th of September, 1189, by Alfonso I. of Portugal, assisted by a fleet of English crusaders.

³⁹ حصن طرش This word not being pointed, I am unable to fix its true pronunciation. There was a castle called Torosh (now Torrox) between Granada and Almeria; but this cannot be the place here meant.

returned to the capital of his African dominions, where he soon after appointed his son, An-násir, heir to his empire. In the year 588 (beginning Jan. 17, A. D. 1192), Síid Abú Zeyd, governor of Eastern Africa, arrived at the court, bringing in his company the chiefs of the Arabian tribes of Helál and Solaym. The Khalif received them with cordiality and attention; after which the messengers returned to their respective countries. In the year 590 (beginning Dec. 26, A. D. 1193), the intelligence being brought to Ya'kúb how the power of the rebel Ibn Ghániyyah had greatly increased in Eastern Africa,—where he was committing all manner of ravages and depredations,—he decided to proceed to the seat of war. Scarcely, however, had he reached Meknásah, when the news he received of the state of affairs in Andalus made him change his determination and return to the West, in order to march thither in person. He accordingly arrived in Cordova in the year 591 (beginning Dec. 15, A. D. 1194). After staying in that city for three [days],⁴⁰ that he might collect together the troops he had summoned from every province of Andalus, Ya'kúb started in pursuit of the enemy, and arrived at Al-ark (Alarcos) in the district of Badajoz, where he pitched his camp. He was here met by the whole of the Christian forces, commanded by three of their princes, namely, Ibn Adefonsh (Alfonso III. of Castile), Ibn Errink (Sancho I. of Portugal), and Ibnu-l-babúj⁴¹ (Alfonso IX. of Leon). The battle was fought in the year 591 (beginning Dec. 15, A. D. 1194). Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss commanded the volunteers; his brother, Abú Yahya, had charge of the Almohades and the rest of the troops. This battle became ever after celebrated for the complete defeat of the Christians, of whose number no less than thirty thousand perished by the swords of the Moslems. The relics of the [Castilian] army, in all about five thousand men, principally officers and knights, took refuge in the neighbouring castle of Alarcos; but Al-mansúr followed them thither, compelled them to surrender, made them all prisoners of war, and caused them afterwards to be exchanged for a similar number of Moslem captives. On this memorable day, Abú Yahya, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, died a martyr for the faith, after performing great feats of arms; whence his sons were ever after known under the surname of *Bení-sh-shoheyd* (the sons of the martyr).

After this victory Al-mansúr repaired to Seville, which city he again left in the year 592 (beginning Dec. 5, A. D. 1195), to make an incursion into the country of Al-jauf, where he

⁴⁰ The text reads *أراح ثلثا*, 'he stopped or rested for three,' which cannot be understood otherwise than by 'days,' from the fact of Ya'kúb having landed at Algesiras on the 19th Rejeb, 591 (28th June, A. D. 1195), and his having arrived at Alarcos on Thursday, the 3rd of Sha'bán of the same year (12th July, A. D. 1195), as asserted by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát; thus making the interval between his landing and his appearing in sight of the enemy, thirteen days.

⁴¹ The MS. reads *السيوح*—but *البيوج* is meant. Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (fo. 37, verso,) calls Ferdinand II. of Leon, *Ferdeland Al-babúj*; but the meaning of the word *babúj*, which is not to be found in dictionaries, not being explained by that writer, I am unable to assign a reason for it. There can, however, be no doubt that by *Ibnu-l-babúj* the historian here intends the son of Ferdinand, i. e. Alfonso IX. of Leon. According to the Christian authorities, Alfonso solicited the aid of his neighbours, Sancho VI. of Navarré, and Alfonso, of Leon; but though they proffered their assistance, and marched to join him, he fought the battle without waiting for their arrival. Neither was the King of Portugal (for such is in my opinion the monarch here designated under the appellation of Ibn Errink, or the son of Enriquez,) present at the engagement.

reduced several fortresses and cities, which he destroyed, as Turjélah (Truxillo), Talavera, and others. He also went forward to Toledo, round which capital he hovered, destroying the crops, burning the villages and towns, carrying off the inhabitants, and laying waste every thing on his passage. After this he returned to Seville in the year 593 (beginning Nov. 23, A. D. 1196). Whilst the Sultán was residing there, the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd was charged with entertaining opinions contrary to the Mohammedan faith. His house being searched by the Sultán's orders, there were found papers in his own handwriting⁴² which proved the charge, and he was accordingly cast into prison, though he was afterwards released, and accompanied Al-mansúr to Morocco, where he died. Again Al-mansúr left Seville to make an incursion into the dominions of Ibn Adefonsh (Alfonso III. of Castile). This time he penetrated as far as Toledo, in the neighbourhood of which he encamped; but, having received intelligence that the Lord of Barcelona (Pedro II. of Aragon?) had come to the assistance of Alfonso, and that both were besieging Majoritt (Madrid),⁴³ he raised the siege, and hastened thither. Scarcely, however, had he appeared in sight of that town, when the troops of Alfonso took to flight without waiting his approach; after which Al-mansúr returned to Seville, where he was met by the ambassadors of the Christian kings, who came to ask for peace, which he granted. Having then given the investiture of Seville to Síd Abú Zeyd Ibnu-l-khalífah; that of Badajoz to Síd Abú-r-rabi', son of Síd Abú Hafss; that of Al-gharb (the western provinces) to Síd Abú 'Abdillah, son of Síd Abú Hafss; the Sultán crossed over to the capital of his African dominions in 594 (beginning Nov. 12, A. D. 1197). He was soon after attacked by a disease which brought on his death. After drawing up that memorable will [containing instructions to his son and heir] which has been handed down to posterity, and which was witnessed by 'Isa, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, the Khalif Ya'kúb died (may God show him mercy!) in Rabi' II. of the year 595 (Feb. A. D. 1199).

Reign of An-násir, son of Al-mansúr.

On the death of Al-mansúr, his son Mohammed, whom, as above stated, he had designated for his heir, succeeded him. On his accession to power he assumed the surname of *An-násir lidíni-llah* (the defender of the religion of God). He named to the post of Wizír Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján,⁴⁴ a nephew of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, and after him Abú Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss.

⁴² See vol. i. Appendix, p. xix.

⁴³ *مجریط*—a corruption of Majoritum. This town, as well as Calatrava, Uclés (*أقليش* or *أقلیح*), Jebel Suleymán, now Alcalá (see vol. i. page 534), and Salamanca, had been reduced by Ya'kúb on a former occasion.

⁴⁴ This name is sometimes written *يوجان* Yúján, at other times *بورجان* Búján, (see vol. i. App. p. xii.) In my copy of the *Karttás* the name of this Wizír is written thus *برجان* *Berján* or *Burján*. His *kunya* or appellation was *Al-asfar*, 'the yellow,' no doubt from the colour of his hair, or because he was of a sallow complexion.

Conquest of Mallorca.

The conquest of Mallorca happened thus. When 'Alí [Ibn Is'hák Ibn Ghániyyah] and his brother Yahya, as has been related, sailed for Eastern Africa, after appointing their brother Talhah to govern the island, another brother of theirs, named Mohammed Ibn Is'hák [who was confined in a dungeon], succeeded, in conjunction with Ibn Ar-robertín, in bribing his guards, and was released by them from prison. This done, Mohammed decided on acknowledging the supremacy of the Almohades. Having, therefore, proclaimed the Khalif Al-mansúr, he dispatched Ibn Ar-robertín to Africa, to inform that Sultán of the rising in his favour. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, Al-mansúr sent a fleet under the command of Abú-l-'ola Ibn Jámi' to take possession of the island in his name; but to this Mohammed would not consent, and sent to ask the Lord of Barcelona for some troops to oppose the landing of the Almohades. The Christian granted his request; but the people of Mallorca, dreading the vengeance of Al-mansúr, rose against their king, Mohammed, and deposed him, appointing in his room his brother Táshefín. When the news of this insurrection reached 'Alí, who was then residing at Kosantínah, he immediately dispatched to Mallorca his two brothers, 'Abdullah and Al-ghází, who, having gained over to their party some of the inhabitants, deposed Táshefín, and appointed 'Abdullah in his stead. Al-mansúr, in the mean time, made repeated attempts to gain possession of the island: he several times sent his fleet, first under Abú-l-'ola Ibn Jámi' above mentioned, then under Yahya, son of the Sheikh Ibráhím Al-hazrají;⁴⁵ but all was in vain, for the people of the island stoutly repulsed the attacks, and killed great numbers of their assailants, whence the power of Ibn Ghániyyah ['Abdullah Ibn Is'hák] waxed stronger. These events happened within the year 583 (beginning March 12, A. D. 1187). However, on the death of Al-mansúr, his son and successor, An-násir, sent a fleet under the command of his uncle, Síd Abú-l-'ola, and of the Sheikh Abú Sa'íd Ibn Abí Hafss, who appeared in sight of the island, and besieged 'Abdullah in his capital. This time the Almohades were victorious, owing to the defection of Táshefín, 'Abdullah's brother, who went over to them with the troops under his command; upon which the Almohades took the city by storm, and put to death ['Abdullah and] most of the inhabitants. Síd Abú-l-'ola then returned to Morocco, after appointing 'Abdullah Ibn Tá'allah Al-kúmí to be governor of the island. Some time after this, An-násir deposed 'Abdullah, and named in his stead his own uncle, Síd Abú Zeyd [Ibn Túján], who gave 'Abdullah Ibn Mutá'i⁴⁶ the command of the sea; after him, Síd Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen; after him, Abú Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí 'Imrán At-tínmeleí, under whose government the island fell into the hands of the Christians in the year 627 (beginning Nov. 19, A. D. 1229).

⁴⁵ الهزرجي *i. e.* from the tribe of Hazraj, a branch of the Masmúdah.

⁴⁶ No doubt, the same individual above alluded to; but why should he be called there Ibn *Tá'allah*, and here Ibn *Mutá'i*? The meaning of the two names, however, is the same, *i. e.* 'he who obeys the commands of God.'

An-násir's high deeds in the prosecution of the holy war.

When An-násir received the intelligence that the fortresses round Valencia had fallen into the hands of the Christians, he was greatly grieved and perplexed. He wrote to the Sheikh Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss, asking his advice and assistance on this emergency; but he refused to comply with his requests. He then left Morocco in the year 609 (beginning June 2, A. D. 1212), and arrived at Seville, where he spent some time in making preparations for the campaign he meditated. This done, he left that city at the head of his forces, and invaded the dominions of Ibn Adefonsh (Alfonso III. of Castile), from whom he took the castle of Shalbaterra (Salvatierra). Thence he proceeded by forced marches to attack the infidel. The Christian king, in the mean time, had laid siege to Kal'ah Rabáh (Calatrava), and compelled its governor, Yúsuf⁴⁷ Ibn Kádis, to surrender. On the approach of An-násir the Christians went out to meet him. The Almohades marched in good order until they came to a place called Al-'akáb, where the Christian king, having just been re-inforced by the Lord of Barcelona (Pedro), who had come to his assistance, was strongly entrenched. The two armies joined battle, but, alas! the wheel of fortune turned against the Moslems, who were put to flight with dreadful slaughter. This disastrous battle was fought at the end of Safar of 609 (July, A. D. 1212). After this, An-násir returned to Morocco, where he died, in Sha'bán of the ensuing year. They say that Alfonso had entered into a secret compact with his cousin, the son of Al-babúj, King of Leon,⁴⁸ that he should affect to be the friend of An-násir, and then take to flight; which the Christian did, as agreed between the two. After this they [the Almohades] returned to Andalus to oppose the frequent incursions which the Christians were making in their territory. Having, upon one occasion, arrived in sight of Seville, the Christians were met by Síd Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, who defeated them with great slaughter; by which victory the Moslems were somewhat revived.

Revolt of Ibnu-l-faras.

This Ibnu-l-faras, whose name was 'Abdu-r-rahím Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, belonged to the classes of the Ulemas in Andalus. He was more generally known under the surname of Al-mohr, and had at one time been one of the courtiers of Al-mansúr. Having, on one occasion, uttered certain expressions which made him fear the vengeance of that Sultán, he retired from the audience-room and hid himself for some time. No more was heard

⁴⁷ The author of the *Kartás* calls him Abú-l-hejáj [Yúsuf] Ibn Kádis. He seems to me to be the same officer alluded to in vol. i. p. 124, and 413, note 8.

⁴⁸ This passage is rather obscure, and reads thus in the manuscript: قد باطن بن عمه السروح [البيوج] صاحب لعمون [ليون] في ان يوالي الناصر و يجر الهزيمة علي المسلمين ففعل ذلك
The fact, if true, is very curious, and is not to be found in the Spanish chronicles.

of him, until, after the death of Al-mansúr, he appeared in the territory inhabited by the tribe of Kezúlah, assuming the title of Imám, and pretending to be the Kahttání alluded to in those words of the Prophet, (may the blessings of God and his salvation be on him!) "The time shall come when a man of the stock of Kahttán shall lead men with a stick, and shall fill the earth with his justice, as it had before been filled with iniquity," &c.⁴⁹

To him are attributed the following verses:

"Tell the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí to be prepared for the attacks of the lion of Helál.⁵⁰

"For here comes the Lord of Kahttán, the wise man of his race, the end of every opinion, the conqueror of kingdoms.

"Men shall obey [the motions of] his stick, and he [shall go] in front of them, commanding and forbidding like an ocean of science and government!

"Hasten to his call; for God is his protector, and shall soon [through his means] grind to powder the heretics and the impious."⁵¹

An-nasír having sent some troops against this rebel, he was defeated, and put to death; after which his head was brought to Morocco, and suspended to the walls.

Reign of Al-mustanser, son of An-násir.

On the death of Mohammed An-násir, son of Al-mansúr, which happened in 611 (beginning May 12, A.D. 1214), his son Yúsuf, who was then sixteen years old, was inaugurated with the empire. On his accession to power, Yúsuf assumed the surname of *Al-mustanser-billah* (he who seeks for the help of God). Ibn Jámi' and the Sheikhs of the Almohades having

⁴⁹ In a chapter of his historical Prolegomena, entitled "An account of the Fátémí, and of the various opinions respecting him which are current among the people," Ibnu Khaldún records this tradition differently: لا تقوم الساعة حتى يخرج رجل من أهل بيتي اسمه أسبي ونسبه نسبي يملأ الأرض قسطاً وعدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلماً "The time shall come when a man of my family, bearing my name and patronymic, shall fill the earth with equity and justice, which had before been filled with tyranny and oppression. He shall rule over it seven years; others say nine."

⁵⁰ The lion of Helál, no doubt, because he belonged to the tribe of that name, one of those domiciled in Eastern Africa.

⁵¹ قولوا لابن عبد المؤمن بن علي .: تاهبوا لوقوع الحارث الحلبي
 قد جاء سيد قحطان و عالمها .: و منتهى القول و الغلاب للدول
 و الناس طوعاً عصاة و هو سآيقهم .: بالامر و النهي بحر العلم و العمل
 تبادروا اليه فآله ناصره .: و الله خاذل أهل الزبيح و البيد

gained him over, they governed in his name: owing to this circumstance, and also to the extreme youth of Al-mustanser, Abú Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, who was then governor of Eastern Africa, was at first rather slow in sending in his allegiance; but when Al-mustanser had removed his chief Wizír, Ibn Jámi', as well as his *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*, 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Abí Zeyd, Abú Mohammed failed not to send his homage to court.

After this, Al-mustanser began to attend to the affairs of government as assiduously as his extreme youth would permit: he distributed the government of the several provinces of his empire among the princes of the royal family: he gave the investiture of Fez to [his uncle] Síd Abú Ibráhím, brother of Almansúr, who took [on the occasion] the surname of *Adh-dháher*, and was the father of Al-murtadhí [who reigned afterwards]. To his uncle Síd Abú Is'hák Al-ahwal he gave the investiture of Seville. During this governor's rule the raging fire of war preyed on the fortresses which the Almohades had taken [from the Christians], and the brave defenders of Andalus were defeated and dispersed.⁵²

On the death of Ibn Abí Zeyd, at the instigation of Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján, Al-mustanser deposed Ibn Jámi' from the Wizírate, and appointed in his room Abú Yahya Al-hazrají. He also named to the office of *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*, Abú 'Ala Ibn Asharfí. He then restored Ibn Jámi' to his favour, and re-instated him in the office of Wizír. He also deprived Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján of the government of Telemsán, which he gave to Sa'íd Ibn Al-mansúr, and sent the former to Murcia, where he was imprisoned by his orders, and kept in close confinement. The reign of Al-mustanser passed on in tranquillity and peace until the Bení Merín made their appearance in the neighbourhood of Fez in the year 613 (beginning April 19, A. D. 1216). Having sent against them [his uncle] Síd Abú Ibráhím, with the forces of the Almohades, this general was defeated and taken prisoner; though no sooner did the Bení Merín recognise him than he was set at liberty. Then came the news of the death of Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss, Lord of Eastern Africa, whom Al-mustanser immediately replaced by Síd Abú-l-'ola, brother of Al-mansúr, then governor of Seville. After this, however, Al-mustanser deposed him, and appointed in his room Si'ayah Ibn Muthana,⁵³ who repaired thither, as we shall hereafter relate when we come to treat of the Bení Abí Hafss.

About this time there appeared in the territory of Fez a man of the family of the 'Obeydites, who claimed descent from Al-'ádhed,⁵⁴ and assumed the surname of Mahdí. Al-mustanser sent against him [his uncle] Abú Ibráhím, the brother of Al-mansúr. On his arrival at Fez, this general bribed some of the partisans of the rebel, who seized him, and brought him into his presence, when he was immediately put to death. In the year 619 (beginning Feb. 14, A. D. 1222), Al-mustanser gave to his uncle, Abú Mohammed, better known under the surname of Al-'ádil, the investiture of Murcia, after removing him from the government of Granada, which he held. After this the state was disturbed [by wars and seditions]. Al-mustanser died in the year 620 (A. D. 1223).

⁵² The MS. reads thus *واستولي القيس علي السعائل التي اخذها البوحدون* Instead of *القيس* the sense requires *القبس*

⁵³ *سعايه بن مثنى*

⁵⁴ The twenty-fourth Sultán of Egypt, of the dynasty of the 'Obeydites or Fátimites.

Reign of 'Abdu-l-wáhed Al-makhlú', the deposed brother of Al-mansúr.

On the death of Al-mustanser, which happened on the day of 'Idu-l-adháhi of the year 620 (Jan. 4, A. D. 1224), Ibn Jámí' and the Almohades having united their councils, appointed as his successor Síd Abú Mohammed⁵⁵ 'Abdu-l-wáhed, brother of Al-mansúr, who was accordingly proclaimed.

On his accession to power, 'Abdu-l-wáhed gave orders that a sum of money should be offered to the rebel Ibn Asharfí, on condition of his laying down his arms. He also wrote to confirm his own brother, Abú-l-'ola, in the government of Eastern Africa, notwithstanding that Al-mustanser [who had been prepossessed against him] had long contemplated his removal; but, as Abú-l-'ola was dead when the confirmation reached him, he was succeeded by his son, Abú Zeyd Al-mushammar, who declared himself independent in those provinces, as we shall hereafter relate when we come to narrate the events of Eastern Africa. After this the Sultán sent down his orders to Murcia for the release of Ibn Túján [Abú Zeyd], who, as before related, was confined in the castle of that city; and it was done as he commanded, against the advice of [his Wizír] Ibn Jámí', who was of a contrary opinion. 'Abdu-l-wáhed also sent his brother, Abú Is'hák, with a fleet to assail the island of Mallorca, as his predecessor, Al-mustanser, had done before he died.

About this time a son of Al-mansúr, named Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, who was governor of Murcia, revolted against the Sultán, at the instigation of Ibn Túján [Abú Zeyd]. This man [who was his Wizír at the time] had prevailed on him to rise and seize on the empire, by asserting—which assertion he proved by witnesses—that he [Ibn Túján] had heard Al-mansúr designate him for his heir to the Khalifate in the event of An-násir's death. As the people were discontented with the administration of Ibn Jámí', and the governors of Andalus happened all to be the sons of Al-mansúr, and favourable to his views; and as he had, in the first instance, opposed his uncle's proclamation, Abú Mohammed found no difficulty in seizing on the empire, which he did, assuming on the occasion the surname of Al-'ádil. All his brothers [in Andalus] hastened, though in secret, to take the oath of allegiance to him. These were Abú-l-'ola, governor of Cordova; Abú-l-hasan, governor of Granada; and Abú Músa, governor of Malaga. On the other hand, 'Abdu-l-wáhed having removed Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, better known by the surname of *Al-báyesí* (of Baeza),⁵⁶ from his government of Jaen, which he gave to his uncle Abú-r-rabi' Ibn Abí Hafss, the deposed governor also joined the insurgents and proclaimed Al-'ádil. Having then joined his forces to those of Abú-l-'ola, governor of Cordova, who was also Al-'ádil's brother, they both marched to Seville, where a brother of Al-mansúr and of 'Abdu-l-wáhed commanded at the time. 'Abdu-l-'azíz, for such was his name, immediately embraced their party: the only one who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Al-'ádil, and who remained faithful to

⁵⁵ Conde (vol. ii. p. 432) calls him Abú-l-málik.

⁵⁶ He was so called on account of his living afterwards at Baeza.

'Abdu-l-wáhed, was Síd Abú Zeyd Ibn Abí 'Abdillah, the brother of *Al-báyesí*. However, Al-'ádil marched from Murcia to Seville, taking in his company Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján, and made his entrance into that city. When this intelligence reached Morocco, the Almohades declared against 'Abdu-l-wáhed, and compelled their monarch to deprive Ibn Jámi' of his office, and to exile him to Heskúrah. About the same time, Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Abí Yahya Ash-shahíd Ibn Abí Hafss rose with the tribe of Hentétah, whilst Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí did the same with that of Tíhmelel. He ['Abdu-l-wáhed] sent Abú Is'hák Ibn Jámi' to station himself with the fleet in the Straits [of Gibraltar], to prevent the passage of ships from Andalus. He also sent a secret message to Ibn Jámi', who had set out for Heskúrah, enjoining him to return to him; but he failed in all his plans, being soon after dethroned, and privately put to death in Rabi'⁵⁷ of the year 621 (from March 22 to May 19, A.D. 1224), when the Almohades sent in their allegiance to Al-'ádil.

Reign of Al-'ádil, son of Al-mansúr.

Al-'ádil received the oaths of the Almohades at the same time with a letter of Zakariyyá Ibnu-sh-shahíd, announcing to him the capture of ['Abdu-l-wáhed] the deposed Sultán. Upon this, Al-báyesí [Abú Mohammed], who knew well the ill-will which that monarch bore him, decided to revolt against him, and to assume the supreme power at Baeza, which he did, under the surname of *Adh-dháfir*, remaining for some time undisturbed. Al-'ádil then sent against him his own brother, Abú-l-'ola, who besieged that city, but could not reduce it.⁵⁸ After this, Al-'ádil dispatched Abú Sa'íd, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, who was also unsuccessful. In the mean time affairs were daily presenting a worse aspect in Andalus against Al-'ádil. The Christians made repeated incursions into the neighbourhood of Seville, where Abú-l-'ola was residing at the time, and defeated the troops of the Almohades near Tablada. In Africa, Al-'ádil's courtiers instigated him against Ibn Túján, who was seized and conveyed prisoner to Ceuta. Mean while the party of Al-báyesí waxed stronger in Andalus through the means of the Christians, who lent him assistance. Seeing this, Al-'ádil determined to send troops to Andalus, to re-inforce his brother, Abú-l-'ola.⁵⁹ As he was at Kasr-al-mejáz, 'Abik⁶⁰ Ibn Abí Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, arrived there,

⁵⁷ First or second is here wanting, as there are two months so called. Conde says that he was deposed on the 13th of Safar, 621 (March 6, A. D. 1224), and murdered three days after; but the dates given by the author of the *Kartás*, whence the Spanish translator borrowed his narrative, are very different. The African historian places the former event on the 21st of Sha'bán, 621 (Sept. 5, A. D. 1224). On the following day, which was a Sunday, the oath of allegiance was publicly taken to Al-'ádil, and thirteen days after, (on the 14th Ramadhán,) he was strangled. See the *Kartás*, by Moura, p. 269.

⁵⁸ The author of the *Kartás* says that he was obliged to capitulate, and swear allegiance to the Sultán; but no sooner had the enemy retired from before Baeza, than Al-báyesí wrote to Alfonso, and entered into an alliance with him against Al-'ádil.

⁵⁹ The text here is doubtless corrupted, but I have not the means of correcting it: فاجاز العادل الي العدو الي
 اخاه ابا العلي علي الاندلس

⁶⁰ عقب

and entered his presence. Al-'ádil having said to him, "How farest thou?" he replied in verse.⁶¹ Al-'ádil was so pleased with his answer that he appointed him governor of Eastern Africa. He wrote to his cousin, Síd Abú Zeyd, to come to him to Salé. Abú Zeyd did as he was commanded. The Sultán then spent some time at this place, and sent for the Sheikhs of the neighbouring tribes. Among those who came on this occasion was Helál Ibn Hamidán Ibn Mukaddam, Amír of the tribe of Al-khalatt, with whom Ibn Túján happened to be on terms of great intimacy. Another chieftain, named Ibn Jarmún, who was then Amír of the tribe of Sufyán, not choosing to obey the summons, the tribes of Al-khalatt and Sufyán fought with one another. Upon this, Al-'ádil hastened to Morocco, where, immediately upon his arrival, he showed his resentment against Ibn Túján, by depriving him of his office, and appointing in his room Abú Zeyd Ibn Abí Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, Ibn Túján having fallen into disgrace [with his master], Ibnu-sh-shahíd and Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí, Sheikhs of the tribes of Hentétah and Tímmelel, seized on the supreme power. This was followed by the revolt of [the tribes of] Heskúrah and Al-khalatt, who made an incursion into the territory of Morocco. Ibn Túján went out to meet them, but gained no advantage over the invaders, who completely ravaged the country of Dukélah. Al-'ádil then sent against them an army of Almohades under the command of Ibráhím Ibn Ismá'il, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, the same who had opposed the sons of the Sheikh Abú Mohammed in Eastern Africa, as we shall hereafter relate; but he also was defeated and put to death. Ibnu-sh-shahíd and Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí then went to their respective tribes, assembled their forces, and took the field against the tribe of Heskúrah; they likewise agreed to deprive Al-'ádil of the command, and to proclaim in his stead Yahya, son of An-násir. Accordingly, having arrived at Morocco, they made a sudden attack upon the royal palace, which they plundered of all its valuables, and seized the person of Al-'ádil, who was strangled on the day of *Al-fitr*, or 24th of Shawwál of the year 624 (Oct. 7, A. D. 1227).

Reign of Al-mámún, son of Al-mansúr.

Al-'ádil had a brother named Idrís Al-mámún, who was governor of Seville. When the intelligence of the revolt of the Almohades and Arabs against his brother, and the overthrow of his empire, reached him, Al-mámún, who, as before stated, was governor of Seville, rose in that city and had himself proclaimed by the inhabitants, the example being soon followed by most of the people of Andalus, as well as by Síd Abú Zeyd, governor of Valencia and the eastern parts of Andalus, who hastened to send in his allegiance. Then came the events above recorded; the rising of the Almohades against Al-'ádil, his execution at Al-kasr, and the election of Yahya, his cousin, son of An-násir. Ibn Túján then entered into a secret correspondence [with some of his partisans], and aimed at the overthrow of the established dynasty. [At his instigation] the tribes of Heskúrah and the Arabs

⁶¹ The verse reads thus in the MS., but I have not attempted a translation of it, as without some comment or explanation it is by no means easy to seize the sense:

حالي متي علم ابن منصور بها .: جا الزمان اليه منها تأيياً