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HISTORY OF THE
DOMINION OF THE ARABS
IN SPAIN

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH OF

DR. J. A. CONDÉ

BY MRS. JONATHAN FOSTER

IN THREE VOLUMES

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
XLV.	Heroic Action. Abdelmumen passes over into Spain. He returns to Africa	1
XLVI.	Of the War between the Almoravides and Almohades. The King Abdelmumen Ben Aly prepares to pass over into Spain. He dies	7
XLVII.	Caliphate of Amuminin Jufez, Son of Abdelmumen .	13
XLVIII.	Misunderstandings that now arose between the Almohades of Spain. They send Ambassadors to the Ameer Amuminin. Juzef Abu Jakob repairs to Seville	20
XLIX.	Of the Campaigns of the Almohades in the Territories of the Christians. They defeat the Infidel Commander, Sancho Albulbarda. They take Tarragona. Of the Marriage of the Ameer Amuminin Juzef Ben Abdelmumen in Spain. He returns to Africa	25
L.	The Ameer Amuminin returns to Spain. Siege of Sant Haren (Santarem). Singular Occurrence. Death of the King Juzef Abu Jakob. Accession of Jakob Almanzor	31

CHAPTER PAGE

LI. Of the Campaign undertaken by the Ameer Amuminin in Spain. He devastates the Country and returns to Africa. The King of the Christians sends a Challenge to Jakob Almanzor. Reply of the Ameer 38

LII. Jakob Almanzor passes into Spain. Preparations for the Battle of Alarcos 43

LIII. Of the Battle of Alarcos. The Ameer Amuminin returns to Morocco. His Death . . 48

LIV. Caliphate of the Ameer Amuminin Mohamad Abdallah 57

LV. Of the Battle of Alacaub. The Ameer Amuminin returns to Morocco. His Death . . 67

LVI. Caliphate of Almostansir Billah. Of the Administration of the Government during the Minority of the Caliph Of his Death, and the War of Succession 76

LVII. Of the Election of Cid Abulola Edris Almemin Ben Jakob Almanzor. The Ameer refuses the Presumption of the Xeques, and conquers the Christians. He passes into Africa. His Death. The Empire of the Almohades finds its Close. 84

LVIII. Of the Empire of the Beni Merines . . . 96

PART IV.

I. Civil Wars continue to rage among the Moslemah of Spain 104

II. Continuation of the War among the Moslemah. James of Arragon takes possession of the Islands of Majorca, Minorca, and Iviça. Death of Abu Aly Almahoun 112

CHAPTER. PAGE.

III. Appearance of King Ferdeland of the Christians before Xeres. Battle of the Guadalete. Campaigns in Aragon and Andalusia. Ubeda and Cordova are taken 117

IV. Of the Disorders that continued to prevail among the Moslemah. King James takes Valencia. The Prince Alfonso Ben Ferdeland arrives in Murcia, where he makes a Treaty with the Moslemah. Government of the King of Granada 125

V. Denia is taken by Gaycum, King of the Christians, and Jaen, with other places, by King Ferdeland 135

VI. King Ferdeland besieges Seville. He takes it after a Siege of Eighteen Months. His Death. Of the various Cities conquered by his Successor, King Alfonso 141

VII. Conspiracy of the Moslemah against Alphonso Ben Ferdeland. They rebel against him, and slaughter his Troops. The Christian King marches against the Faithful. 151

VIII. The King Gacum and King Alphonso each makes an attempt to conquer Murcia for himself. Intrigues and Agreements made between the Christian Leaders. Enmity of Alphonso and Aben Alahmar 159

IX. Death of the King, Aben Alahmar. He is succeeded by his Son Muhamad II. He conquers the Rebels. Interview of Muhamad and Alphonso in Seville 166

X. The King of Granada sends Letters to Abu Juzef, King of Tunis, describing the state of his Affairs. Abu Juzef crosses into Spain. His First Victory. Death of the Infant Don Sancho, who is slain after the Battle 173

XI. Treaty of Abu Juzef, King of Morocco, with Alphonso, King of Castille. The latter besieges Algeziras.

CHAPTER PAGE

Result of the Siege. New Treaty between Alphonso and Abu Juzef. Interview of the King of Granada with the Prince Don Sancho. The Father of the latter takes Arms against him. Alphonso dies 179

XII. Congress of the Moslemah Kings and Walies. Death of Abu Juzef, King of Tunis. Don Sancho takes the City of Tarifa, after having burnt the Squadron of Abu Jakob 187

XIII. Defence of Tarifa by Don Guzman, and Death of his Son. Don Sancho takes Quesada and Alcabdat. His Death. Continued Wars. Death of Momamad II. King of Granada 194

XIV. Wars in Spain and Africa. Gebal Taric is taken by the Christians 202

XV. Rebellion in Granada, and Abdication of Muhamad III. He is succeeded by his Brother Nazar. Death of the Christian King Herando (Ferdinand) of Castille in Alcabdat, and that of Muhamad in Almunecaub 208

XVI. Reign of Nazar, and his almost immediate Downfall. Irruptions of the King Pedro of Castille . . 214

XVII. Of the Kings contemporary with Nazar . . 221

XVIII. Reign of Ismail Ben Feraz. Battle of Fortuna. Irruption of Pedro, King of Castille. He takes various Towns and Fortresses. Death of the two Princes of Castille. Assassination of King Ismail 225

XIX. Reign of Muhamad Ben Ismail. His Wars with the Christians and Africans. He takes Gebaltaric 236

XX. King Muhamad Ben Ismail continues his Campaigns. Compulsory Cession of Gebaltaric to Abul Hassan,

CHAPTER PAGE

King of Fez. Muhamad marches his Troops to the relief of Gebaltaric. The Africans cause him to be assassinated. He is succeeded by Juzef, called Abul Hagiag. 244

XXI. Reign of Juzef Ben Ismail. Battle of Guadacelito gained by the Christians 250

XXII. The Christians take Algezira Alhadra. A Truce is made with the Enemy. Policy of King Juzef. Religious Ordinances 258

XXIII. Death of King Alphonso of Castille. Mourning of the Moslemah. A Madman assassinates the King of Granada. Jusef Ben Ismail is succeeded by his Son Muhamad 270

XXIV. Of the Conspiracy against Muhamad. The Throne is usurped by Ismail. His unhappy Death. He is succeeded by Abu Said 275

XXV. Of the Treaty concluded between Muhamad, King of Granada, and the King of Castille. Heroic Determination of the former. Abu Said is assassinated by Don Pedro, King of Castille 282

XXVI. Mohamad Ben Ismail returns to the Throne of Granada. He concludes a Treaty with the King of Castille. Death of Don Pedro and of Mohamad of Granada 287

XXVII. Of the Reign of Abu Abdallah Muhamad Juzef. His Death. He is succeeded by his second Son, Muhamad. The latter proceeds to Seville incognito. His Interview with the King of Castille . 294

XXVIII. Death of Muhamad, King of Granada. He is succeeded by his Brother Juzef. Treaties concerted between the Christians and Juzef Ben Juzef. Death of the latter 801

CHAPTER PAGE

XXIX. Muley Mohamad is proclaimed King of Granada. He is deposed. Mohamad El Zaguir is enthroned in his Place. Deposition and Death of the latter . 309

XXX. Wars of Granada, and Death of Juzef Aben Alahmar . 315

XXXI. Wars between the Moslemah and Christians. Muhamad El Hayzari is dethroned by Muhamad Aben Ozmin. Another Party proclaims Aben Ismail . . 324

XXXII. Aben Ozmin is compelled to fly from Granada. Proclamation of the King Aben Ismail . . 330

XXXIII. Treaty for a short Truce between Aben Ismail, King of Granada, and the King of Castille. Campaigns of the Prince Muley Abul Hassan. He succeeds to his Father, Aben Ismail 336

XXXIV. Death of Don Enrique, King of Castille. A Truce is made. Discord in Granada. Catholic Kings in Seville. Incursions 342

XXXV. Insurrection in Granada. Abul Hassan marches to the Relief of Loxa. The Throne is occupied by Abu Abdallah. Abul Hassan Hassan retires to Malaga. Victory over the Christians . . . 347

XXXVI. The Factions in Granada continue their Discords. Unsuccessful Incursion of Abdallah El Zaquir. He is taken Prisoner by the Christians. Compact by which he obtains his Liberty . . . 352

XXXVII. Increased Bitterness of Party Spirit in Granada. Remarkable Discourse of the Ayme-Macer. Abdallah El Zagal is proclaimed King . . . 358

XXXVIII. Conquests of the Christians. The War against the Moslemah is continued 363

XXXIX. The Christians take many Cities and Towns from the Moslemah 371

CHAPTER PAGE

XL. Surrender of Guadix and Almeria . . . 377

XLI. The Disorders in Granada still continue . . 384

XLII. Siege of Medina Granada. Capitulation of that City 390

XLIII. Of the Manner in which the Treaty of Surrender was received in Medina Granada. Remarkable Discourse of Muza Ben Abil. End of the Mosleman Empire in Spain 397

Singular Anecdote 404

INDEX . . . . . 409—474

HISTORY

OF THE

DOMINION OF THE ARABS IN SPAIN.

CHAP. XLV.—Heroic action. Abdelmumen passes over into Spain. He returns to Africa.

Having completed the conquest of Eastern Africa, Abdelmumen Ben Aly proceeded towards Tangiers, with intent to pass into Andalusia. Continuing his march towards Almagreb, and arriving at Medina Uhran, the king dismissed his troops, to the end that the Alarabes might return to their homes, but he first selected one thousand men from each tribe, with their wives, children, and families, with whom he peopled the newly founded city of Bateha.

Now the cause and occasion of that city being founded arose on this wise: certain bands of the Almohades, perceiving that their king was extending his conquests, and delayed his stay in the East beyond the time when they had hoped to return to their homes, became wearied of his service; these men believed that the only way whereby the eager desire they felt to return to the land of their birth could be satisfied was to kill the king Abdelmumen. Conspiring for this purpose they agreed among themselves that the most feasible mode to attain their end was to assassinate Abdelmumen by night while he was sleeping in his pavilion; and this they resolved to do.

But a certain honourable and noble Xeque, discovering some trace of this conspiracy, repaired to the king and related what he knew concerning the plot thus laid against

his life. He furthermore entreated that Abdelmumen would resign his bed for that night, permitting the Xeque to sleep in it in his place, without suffering any one to know the change thus made, and going himself secretly to the tent of the Xeque. "In this manner," observed the latter, "I shall redeem thy life, Oh king, by means of mine, which is but of little value, and we shall deceive these plotters, for the general benefit of all Moslemah. I for my part hope that God will reward me with a tenfold recompense, should these accursed wretches bring their work to its proposed conclusion, or, if not, I shall at least have done what it was my duty to do for thy security, and in either case God is the rewarder."

Abdelmumen did not consider the warning thus given to be a thing that could be safely neglected, and accepted the offer of the Xeque, who remained to sleep in the pavilion and bed of the king, while Abdelmumen retired in disguise to the tent of the Xeque. And that night the latter died a martyr, seeing that the conspirators fell upon him with their daggers and murdered him in the bed of the king.

At the hour of dawn on the following morning the King Abdelmumen made the Azala for the Xeque, and when he found him assassinated, he wrapped him in the weeds of the grave with his own hands, and placed him upon a camel, which he set at liberty to go without a guide whithersoever it would. The camel wandered accordingly to right and left, until it finally became exhausted and fell, whereupon Abdelmumen Ben Aly commanded that on that same spot where the camel had fallen should be constructed the sepulchre of the Xeque. There he interred him accordingly, erecting a chapel with a spacious vestibule before it, and around that chapel he finally built a considerable town. The king then commanded that ten men from each Cabila of all the tribes belonging to Almagreb should remain to dwell in the town, which was done, and from that time the sepulchre of the Xeque who died thus nobly has been held in great veneration, the people of the neighbouring Comarcas visiting the place devoutly even to the present day.

When King Abdelmumen returned to Medina Telencen, after his campaign in the East of Africa, he caused the

Vizier Abdel Selim Ben Muhamad Alcumi to be taken and thrown into prison; that done, Abdelmumen further commanded that poison should be administered to him in a cup of milk, and so he finished Abdel Selim. The king then departed from Telencen and arrived at Tanja, in the moon Dylhagia of the year 555. In that month the fortifications which he had commanded his people to construct at Gebal Tarik were completed, having been commenced on the 9th day of Rebie Primera in the same year. These works, thus undertaken at Abdelmumen Ben Aly's command, were conducted under the superintendence of his son, Cid Abu Said Othman, Wali of Granada, the master by whom they were directed being Alhaug Yaix, the great architect of Andalusia.

At the commencement of the year 556, the King Abdelmumen Ben Aly passed over to Gebalfetah on the coast of Spain, which is in fact Gebaltarik. There he examined the disposition and construction of that city, and the fortifications just completed by his orders, with infinite satisfaction, approving all that had been done. He remained there two months, during which he received visits from all the Walies and generals of Andalusia, in discourse with whom the king informed himself of all things relating to the condition of Spain; nay rather of every province thereof. Every day there came numerous Xeques and great men to salute their sovereign, and among them were many Alimes, with certain of the distinguished Andalusian poets, who recited to Abdelmumen the verses which they had composed in his own praise. One of the poets and orators thus presenting himself to the King Abdelmumen Ben Aly, was Abu Giaffar Ben Said of Granada, who was a youth of tender age, but having entered the presence in company with his father and brothers, who had come to salute the king, he recited to him the following verses:—

FROM GIAFFAR BEN SAID, OF ANIA, A GRANADINE.

Speak but thy wish, O mighty lord,
And Fate, obedient to thy will,
Shall straight the sought-for boon accord.
Wide waves the crescent fair, and still
Where floats that banner thy sole word

Is law; since all thy hest fulfil.
Oh, monarch, to whose power sublime
Allah hath fettered Fate and Time.

Nor land, nor sea, hath dared rebel:
Earth fears thee, and the tameless wave,
That ne'er owned master, knows thee well,
And suffers no wild storm to rave.
Where round thy shores the waters swell,
The potent sea, thy willing slave,
Holds in protecting arms thy far dominion,
And safely bears thy barks on broad well-balanced pinion.

Vast are the realms that own thy conquering power,
Bought by the sword and bent to thy command;
And none may count the warriors that, as lour
The storm-clouds o'er a death-devoted land,
Hang on thy foes. Behold them in that hour,
When, camped o'er all the plain, the glittering brand
In each strong grasp a sunbeam, they are more
Than myriad waves that foam along the wild sea-shore.

Such and so mighty are the fearless bands
That march beneath the crescent—that true sign
Of fortune hovering near! The distant lands
Tremble to mark their coming. On the line
Of Algezira's coast the pale foe stands,
And gazing where thy silvery pennons shine,
Feels the cold terror thrill through heart and brain,
As sounds thy dread approach through the wide fields of Spain

Lightly, O King, shalt thou reclaim thine own
From the bold hands that dare usurp thy might:
Soon shall the rebel hordes their crime bemoan
As fly their chiefs before thy banners bright.
Then shall thy power recall the days that shone
O'er Moslemah of old; the deeds of might
Recorded by the sage Historian's hand
Shall once more charm the worlds, at thy sublime command.

Illustrious Tarik's deeds shalt thou renew,
And noble Muza's;—they whose might upheld
The crescent-moon of blest Islam, and threw
All other radiance into shade. Ye held
Zayda and Ben Nuceir, no power that knew
The lustre of his might, whose arm hath felled
The Christian of these times—our potent Lord;
Nor could your blades compete with Abdelmumen's sword

The king now commanded that the Gazua or Sacred War should be carried into Algarve, whither he sent a force of eighteen thousand Almohade cavalry against the Christians, who then occupied the fortress of that Comarca. The Xeque Abu Mohamad Abdallah Ben Abi Hafaz marched against the Infidel at the same time from Cordova. He had a well-appointed force, and having taken the stronghold of Hisn* Atarnikes, on the confines of Badajos, by assault, he put every Christian found therein to death, without sparing the life of a man.

Now King Alfonso of Toledo came to the aid of his people with such speed as he could make, but found that the fortress had already been taken by the Almohades, who marched forth to his encounter and gave him battle. The struggle that ensued was a very obstinate one, yet God finally avenged himself on the Infidel, who lost six thousand of his troops, in addition to the many who were taken prisoners. A large number of the latter were brought to Seville and Cordova in the possession of the victorious Almohades.

During this campaign many fortresses were recovered from the Christian, with the cities of Beja, Badajos, and Beira; Hisn Alcazar was also taken by the Almohades, when Abdelmumen appointed Muhamad Ben Aly Ben Alhaug to be Wali of that district and frontier; this done, the king returned to Africa, and went to take rest at Medina Morocco.

At the commencement of the year 557, the King Abdelmumen Ben Aly caused all the divisions and border demarcations of his provinces to be corrected and set in order, for the better regulation of the various contributions, and the more exactly to ascertain what force, whether of land or sea, each province could send him for the war against the Infidel, or any other enemy of the empire. In all these regulations, due attention was given to the population of each province, as well as to the proportion of its sea-coast, and every other distinctive peculiarity. In pursuance of the arrangements thus made, Abdelmumen drew from Holik Mamora four hundred Plazas, and one hundred and twenty from its port: from Tanja, Cebta, Velad-Africa, Uhran,

* Hisn: fortress.

and Mersa Henin, one hundred, and from Andalusia eighty. He furthermore determined the quality and quantity of arms which each province was bound to furnish, with the number of horses, mules, and camels, which he had the right to expect from each Amelia in aid of his wars.

Among other results of this investigation, was that of determining the amount of arrows, swords, lances, &c., manufactured in the empire of Abdelmumen Ben Aly; and it was found that ten quintals of arrows were made therein, with swords, lances, and other weapons, offensive and defensive, beyond all count, insomuch that the king might have supplied all his people, both Africans and Spaniards, with the same, had it been necessary to do so.

The tribe of Cumia alone contributed a vast amount of provisions in this sort, with twenty thousand horse; and that large contribution the Xeques of the Cabila had imposed on themselves as a sort of expiation, because it had been found that the conspirators who had intended to assassinate the king on the occasion above related, when the Xeque had resigned himself to die in his sovereign's stead, were men of the tribe of Cumia, and Abdelmumen had taken no other vengeance on them than that of leaving their punishment to be determined by their own Xeques.

The consequence of this proceeding on the part of the king was, that every man who could hold a bridle in that tribe made offer of his service for the war; and the Xeques, going far beyond what they had promised, set themselves in march with forty thousand cavalry, all well armed and appointed. Their captains then repaired to Morocco with that force, and held themselves prepared to serve the king therewith in whatever land he might be pleased to conduct them to; but not making known their intention until thus fulfilled, the inhabitants of the towns through which that large body of troops passed were amazed at the sight of so much cavalry, and the report of their strength having preceded them, the Almohades, when they saw the great contingent reach Wadi Om-Rabie, sent intelligence thereof in much surprise to the king. They related, that having enquired of those riders their country and their purpose, they had replied, "We are Zenetes of the tribe Cumia,

who have come to visit the Ameer Amuminin, even Abdelmumen Ben Aly, and to salute him on the part of our people."

When the General Abu Hafas heard of the advance of so great a force, he gathered his own cavalry around the person of the king, who was well content with that precaution, and commanded that all his Almohades should hold themselves prepared for whatever might occur, but charging all, under the heaviest penalties, to refrain from giving cause of offence, and threatening him who should occasion any discord with the utmost weight of his displeasure.

The day of the entrance of the Zenetes into Morocco was then held as one of great festival, and the king, receiving them among his cohorts, assigned them their place between the tribe Tinmaul and the tribe Alfemea; thus admitting those people of Cumia to a rank immediately following that of his guards. Abdelmumen then reviewed the troops thus added to his force, who performed extraordinary feats of horsemanship in his presence, and displayed the most wonderful dexterity therein: they bent their heads low as they passed before the king, and made their horses kneel at his feet; all which was done with an ease, order, and grace, that was acknowledged by the nobles then assembled to be most admirable.

CHAP. XLVI.—Of the war between the Almoravides and Almohades. The king Abdelmumen Ben Aly prepares to pass over into Spain. He dies.

In the year 557, the General Mohamad Ben Sad assembled troops in the territory of Jaen, collecting them from Guadis, Almunecaub, Alhadra, and the Alpuxarras. The powerful army of cavalry and infantry thus got together was furthermore increased by the forces of other leaders who joined themselves to the company of Mohamad Ben Sad: these were Ibrahim Ben Ahmed Hamsek, Abu Ishac Aben Hamusec, who had made himself master of Kenenat, and Ahmed Abu Giaffar, son of Abderahman Eloski, a brave

Alcayde who had been Wali of the frontiers of Granada, Jaen, and Murcia; Ahmed Abu Giaffar was a man of much learning, and was no less renowned for his genius as a poet than for his valour as a general. All these great captains now marched against the Almohade leaders, who held the city of Granada for King Abdelmumen Ben Aly.

When the defenders of the place were made acquainted with the approach of the Almoravide generals, they went forth to meet them with a large force of cavalry, and the two armies met in the Vega,* on Thursday,† the 28th of the moon Regeb. The leaders arranged their order of battle with great ability, and a struggle then ensued, which was one of the most sanguinary ever seen in Spain. Both parties fought with equal valour and indescribable fury; but the heroic firmness of the Almohades prevailed, and although the cavalry of Mohamad Ben Sad performed prodigies of bravery, yet the greater part of his troops were cut to pieces on that field; night only availing to deliver the valiant remains of the host from an otherwise inevitable death. The loss was very heavy on both sides, and the shedding of blood most horrible; nay, there were rivers of gore seen to flow from the ranks of the combatants, insomuch that the battle was called "The Day of Asabicaut," or of the "Effusion of Blood."

The brave generals of Andalusia retired to the hills under the cover of night, and the greater part of such relics of their people as remained to them sought refuge in the wilds thereof. Abu Ishac Aben Hamesec returned to Jaen, and there he left the Wali Abu Giaffar Ahmed, son of Abderahman Eloski, who fortified the city with lofty and very strong towers. Aben Hamesec then departed for Murcia.

But the Andalusian leaders, eager for revenge, now summoned all the country to their aid, gathering numerous bands from the Alpuxarras, Guadis, and other cities; many cavaliers from various districts also added their pennons to the banners of that host; but not confiding in their own strength,

* Our readers will remember that the level plains around Granada are called the Vega; a name which describes their character.—*Tr.*

† Alabar affirms that the battle was fought on a Friday, and at Margarracâd.—*Condé.*

the Moslemah generals of Andalusia called the Christians to their aid, and those Infidels sent them a well-appointed body of cavalry from Toledo.

It was determined that these forces should unite in the comarca of Cordova and the plains of Ubeda, thence to set forward against the Almohades; nor did the latter neglect to make due provision for the reception of the foe: they sallied forth well prepared to the encounter, and feeling no apprehension, whether of Mohamad Ben Sad, of Abu Ishac, of Aben Hamesec, or of their Christian auxiliaries.

The two armies came in sight of each other on the plains in the vicinity of Cordova, and a battle ensued, wherein all fought like maddened tigers and ravening wolves. But the valour of the Almohades again triumphed over the desperate rage of the Christians and Moslemah commanded by Aben Sad, who fled in dismay, after a terrible carnage, which left the field covered with corpses. This sanguinary encounter took place on Sunday, the twelfth day of the moon Xawal, in the year 557.

The Andalusian generals Mohamad Aben Sad and Abu Giaffar Ben Eloski withdrew to the territory of Jaen and Murcia, shortly afterwards obtaining possession of the last-mentioned city by capitulation.

In Africa, Abdelmumen was meanwhile making preparation for passing into Spain, resolved to wage a holy war in that country for the service of God. To that end he departed from Morocco on Thursday, the fifth day of the moon of Rebie Primera; and having arrived at Rabat Alfetah, he thence despatched letters to the provinces of Almagreb, Africa, Alquibla, and Sus, as well as to all the tribes who owned allegiance to his rule, exhorting each to take part in the Algihed, or sacred war, about to be carried into Andalusia.

The reply to these exhortations was given in the form of a general assembling of the Almohades from every part of Abdelmumen Ben Aly's dominions. Alarabes of various tribes, and more particularly of the Zenete Cabilas, came flocking to that invitation, and in a short time the king saw assembled around him more than three hundred thousand horse, eighty thousand of whom were veterans well practised in war, with one hundred thousand cross-bowmen, and

much infantry. The multitude of his followers was an oppression to the earth, which trembled beneath the tramp of those innumerable feet; the king's encampments covered the heights, the plains, and the deep valleys alike, insomuch that the whole territory of Salè, from Ain Gied to Ain Chamis, was concealed beneath their tents, which stretched along the coast also even to Holic Almamora.

But now was the pleasure of beholding the order and fair array of that stupendous multitude in arms, embittered by the unexpected sickness of him who was lord of all, even the King Abdelmumen Ben Aly. Every day the malady of the sufferer became more perilous and his pains more severe, until at length, perceiving that he could not long continue in life, he took measures for the final arrangement of his affairs. And first did Abdelmumen Ben Aly command that the name of his son, Cid Mohamad, which had till that moment been mentioned in the Chotba immediately after his own, should thenceforth be omitted altogether, an act by which he declared that prince deposed from the succession, which he had previously announced in his favour. This decision King Abdelmumen was induced to make by the fact of Cid Muhamad's disobedience, the Prince having even commenced preparations for a revolt against his father, in the hope of thus assuring himself possession of the throne, even before it had been vacated by the death of its rightful occupant.

The declaration of the king's resolve in respect to Cid Mohamad was made on Giuma, the second day of Giumada Segunda, in the year 558; and he instantly sent advices of his resolve into all the provinces of the empire, despatching couriers who were charged to make his sovereign determination known throughout the land. His malady was meanwhile continually increasing, and on the night of Giuma, the eighth day of the same moon—or as some writers affirm, at the hour of dawn on the tenth—Abdelmumen Ben Aly ceased to live. Blessed be He who never dies, whose empire is Eternity, and who knoweth neither commencement, change, nor conclusion!

The departure of this king took place in the city of Salè, where he had abode during the time of his sickness: he had accomplished the sixty-third year of his age on the day of

his death, which occurred in the year 558, as above related. Aben Choxeb affirms that the age of Abdelmumen at the time of his death was sixty-four; and from Sahib Salat we learn that his remains were borne to his hill-town of Tinmaul for interment, being there laid beside the tomb of the Imaum Mehedi.

Abdelmumen Ben Aly reigned thirty-three years, five months, and three days. He left a crowd of sons, and among them were Abu Jakub, who succeeded him in the empire; Cid Abu Hafas, the twin-brother of Abu Jakub and Cid Mohad, who had been deprived of the throne in the manner specified above. Other sons of Abdelmumen were Cid Abdallah, Wali of Begaya; Cid Othman, Wali of Granada; Cid Alhassan, Cid Hussein, Cid Suleyman, Cid Iza, and Cid Ahmed, with that erudite prince, Cid Abu Amraun, who was subsequently governor of Morocco for his brother, Juzef Abu Jakub. The king had also two daughters, Aixa and Zafia.

The death of Abdelmumen Ben Aly remained for some time concealed, the loss sustained by the empire being known only to his ministers, and to the Cadi Abu Juzef, who wrote to the Prince Cid Juzef Abu Jakub, heir to the crown, when the latter, repairing with all speed to Salè, received the oath of allegiance for Africa on the 11th day of the moon Giumada, which was the second moon of the year 558. It is true that there were certain difficulties made and obstacles raised to his succession, but these were readily overcome shortly after his arrival.

The complexion of King Abdelmumen Ben Aly was fair, with a tinge of clear red; his eyes were fine, his hair curling, his stature was tall, and he was robust in good proportion with that height; his eyebrows had a frequent movement, the nose was well-formed, the beard soft and thick, the figure, generally, dignified and graceful. This king was very eloquent in speech, of regular life and habits, a friend to the wise, the declared protector of able men, and a constant promoter of all things tending to good. Under the favour accorded to letters and the arts by Abdelmumen Ben Aly, these flourished during his time in all the states of the empire, and more particularly in Spain, notwithstanding the continual disquietudes of war by which that country

was oppressed. Abdelmumen was a man of the most undaunted bravery, prompt in action, undismayed in the utmost extremity of peril, and a patient sufferer of the severest toils incidental to warfare; indeed, he had a natural inclination and great genius for war, delighting much in the movement and extended travels occasioned thereby. No slave to the pleasures of the table, he was in truth singularly abstemious in that respect: his conquests have been sufficiently enumerated, and he may truly be called the defender of Islam in Africa and Spain, in the east as well as the west.

The cities and territories subjugated by Abdelmumen in Spain were Almeria, Evora, Beria, Baeza, Badajoz, Cordova, Granada, and Jaen, all which he accomplished by force of arms. In Africa his conquests comprised the whole empire.

Abdelmumen Ben Aly received the allegiance of so many lands, that he was obeyed through an extent of country which required four months of wayfaring from him who would pass through it from the eastern to the western borders thereof, – from Atrabol to Sûs Alaksa, that is to say. But from the north to the south the breadth of the empire might be traversed in fifty days, counting from the city of Cordova in Andalusia, to Sigilmesa in Africa.

The period of Abdelmumen's reign, counting from the death of El Mehedi, was thirty-three years, eight months, and twenty-five days; and, according to Aben Yahye Ben Omeira, he died in that suburb of Medina Salè, which is called El Hetah, when, having been carried for interment to Tinmaul, as above related, he was there buried with extraordinary pomp.

The Viziers or principal secretaries of Abdelmumen were Abu Giaffar Ben Atia and his brother Yahye Ben Atia, with Abul Hassan Ben Ayaus, Maymoun Alovari, and Abdallah Ben Gibal. Abu Giaffar Ben Atia was also the Almocri or reader of Abdelmumen; and after the disgrace of that Vizier, the office was held by Abdel Selim Alcumi, who, being likewise disgraced and put to death in his prison by means of poisoned milk, as before related, was succeeded by the king's own son, Cid Abu Hafaz. The charge was subsequently given to Edris Aben Gamea. The Cadies of

this monarch were Cid Abu Hafaz, Abu Amraun, Muza Ben Sohar of Tinmaul, who was followed by Abu Juzef Hegah Ben Juzef, and Abu Bekar Ben Maymoun of Cordova, a very learned and much distinguished man.

Certain of the writers affirm that the Algihed or sacred war commenced by Abdelmumen in Spain took its rise in the year 556, when he landed at Gebal Fetah, and commanded the restoration of that city, with the construction of numerous forts: these authors maintain that he there fell sick of the malady from the effects of which he afterwards died, but not until he had crossed to the opposite shore and reached Medina Salè. The date of 558 is given by these writers also as that of King Abdelmumen Ben Aly's departure from life; but it is certain that the account of this event which we have given above is the correct one, since it is confirmed by the minutes preserved in the Royal Chancery of Morocco.

CHAP. XLVII.—CALIPHATE OF AMUMININ JUZEF SON OF ABDELMUMEN.

THE Ameer Amuminin Juzef, son of the King Abdelmumen Ben Aly Zenete Alcami, received the name of Abu Jakob. The mother that bore him was called Aija; she was the daughter of the Alfaki and Alcayde, Abu Amraun of Tinmaul. Abu Jakob was born on Thursday, the 3rd day of Regeb, in the year 533. He was fair and well-coloured, and of good stature; his hair curled very finely, as did his beard, the latter still more closely than the hair of the head; his eyes were fine, the nose was well-proportioned, and the whole character of his countenance and figure was grave, majestic, and imposing. In disposition he was liberal and compassionate.

Abu Jakob was the first of the Almohade princes who waged the sacred war in person; he conquered many cities, subjugated much people, amassed immense spoils and riches, and maintained powerful armies. His empire extended from Suifa of the Beni Mutcouk Alcadias, in Eastern Africa, even to Velad Noul, in the extremity of Sus Alaksa, and to

the uttermost limits of Alquibla. In Spain, the dominions of this monarch stretched from Medina Tudila, which is situate in an Alcadia in the east, to Medina Santarem in Algarve, and this without the intervention of any lordship foreign to his own. He maintained his frontiers in an admirable condition of protection and defence; the people on the borders, as well as in the cities, lived in the utmost security; all who owned allegiance to his rule enjoying peace and a confident trust in the infinite justice of their king.

The cares of Abu Jakob were directed to all the interests of his empire alike, and his watchfulness was over each and all, whether far or near. He took personal share in all the departments of his goverment, nor would he suffer anything to be concealed from him, not considering the most unimportant affair which concerned the state to be beneath his attention. Neither his sons nor his ministers held undue influence in the councils of this wise monarch, nor were those who lived in his closest intimacy permitted to affect his maturely considered decisions. He had eighteen sons, the eldest of whom, who succeeded him, was Jakob, called Almansor, who had a twin-brother, named Yahye. These were followed by Ibrahim, Muza, Edris, Abdelaziz Abu Bekar, Abdallah, Ahmed, Yahye El Saquira, Muhamad, Abderahman Abu Muhamad, Abdelwahid the Deposed. Abdelhak, Ishak, and Telha, who was his Hajib, and through whom he communicated his orders. Neither Abu Hafaz, his brother, who subsequently rose in rebellion against him, nor his most trusted Viziers, exercised any considerable influence in his court. His Viziers were Abu Ola, Edris Ben Gamea, and Abu Bekar, who was the associate of his son Jakob in the office of Grand Justiciary, which was held by that prince.

The Alfaki of Abu Jakob was: 1st, the Cadi Abu Juzef Algazi; 2nd, Abu Muza Iza Ben Amraun; and 3rd, the Cadi Abul Abas Ben Mida, of Cordova. His secretary was Abul Hassan Abdelmelik Ben Ayas, and his narrator, Abul Fadal Ben Tahir of Bugia. The latter was a man of great eloquence and wonderful erudition, who subsequently entered the service of his son Jakob Almanzor, and died in that of his grand-son, Anasir. The king's physician was the Vizier Abu Bekar Ben Tafail, and to him, who died in the year 581,

succeeded Abu Meruan Abdelmelik Ben Cazim of Cordova. The illustrious Alfaki Abu Walid Ben Raxid likewise held that office about the person of King Abu Jakob, having been summoned to the court of Morocco by the Ameer Amuminin for that purpose in the year 578; but the king almost immediately appointed him Cadi of Cordova, and Abu Bekar Ben Zohar succeeded to his place at Morocco. Subsequently, Abu Walid was again recalled to Morocco, where he remained, with the exception of a short time passed in once more visiting Spain, until the campaign against Santarem, wherein he accompanied the Ameer Jakob Almanzor, son of Abu Jakob.

Abul Walid was not only a distinguished physician, but was well versed in many other branches of knowledge. Aben Alged assures us that he was an excellent poet, and he is said to have repeated all the translations of Bochari. He died at Morocco on the 21st day of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 595, having then attained the age of more than ninety-four years. During a portion of his later life, Abul Walid served his sovereign as Wali Alhazina, or Treasurer, having been summoned from Seville for that purpose.

But to return to the King Juzef Abu Jakob. That monarch was proclaimed in Africa immediately on the death of his father, Abdelmumen Ben Aly, in the Algarve of Spain, in 558, and died during the campaign of Santarem, an event which took place in the year 580, when Abu Jakob had just completed his fortieth year; he reigned twenty-one years, one month, and some days. His proclamation is said to have taken place on the 13th of the moon Giumada Segunda in that year, and authors relate the circumstances of that solemnity in the following manner:—

When the powerful King Abdelmumen Ben Aly died, his death was concealed, by reason of the absence of his destined successor, Juzef Abu Jakob, who was at that time in Andalusia. The intelligence that their sovereign had departed, was indeed not sent abroad among the people, until Prince Juzef had passed over from Seville; thus at least it is that the matter is related by Aben Chaxeb, who says that this disposition of things was arranged by the care and forethought of the Cadi Abul Hegah Juzef Ben Omar.

The historiographers of Juzef Abu Jakob's reign declare that he was proclaimed by common and unanimous consent, but not until two years after the death of his father, in the year 560 that is to say, and on Friday the 8th day of the moon Rebie Primera in that year. But although the Xeques, as well as the people, all agreed to the proclamation, yet the brothers of Abu Jakob, Cid Mohamad, Wali of Begaya, and Cid Abdallah, Wali of Cordova, opposed themselves to that act, and refused their consent to the same. The Prince Abu Jakob then gave proof of extraordinary moderation, refusing to permit the solemn and public proclamation of his rights to be made at that moment, nor consenting to call on his brothers for an oath of allegiance which they were unwilling to proffer; neither would he assume the title of Ameer Amuminiñ, but called himself Ameer only, until he had succeeded in uniting all discordant minds, and brought them by gentle means to his obedience.

Matruk relates this occurrence somewhat differently in his history, and says that Juzef Abu Jakob, being in Seville when the death of his father took place, was secretly informed of the circumstance by the ministers, who had prudently concealed the fact from the people. He adds that Juzef made an unusually rapid journey from Seville to Salè, and arriving in a very short time, was proclaimed without difficulty or dissent, those who ventured to offer an opposing opinion being so few that no attention was paid to them.

The first command put forth by Juzef Abu Jakob on his accession to the throne, was to the effect that all the countless multitude of troops gathered by Abdelmumen Ben Aly around Salè should be dispersed, and sent every man to his home. That done, the new king departed from the city and repaired to Morocco, whence he wrote to all the provinces, summoning the Xeques and Alcaydes for the ceremonies of his solemn proclamation. No province held by the Almohades, whether of eastern Africa, of Almagreb, or of Alquibla, refused their concurrence, and in Andalusia the obedience rendered to the mandate of Abu Jakob was equally general, according to Matruc, even Cordova and Begaya not making any exception, although the brothers

of the King were Walies of those cities : the proclamation was made simultaneously in Spain and Africa. During the festivals consequent on taking the oath of allegiance, King Juzef Abu Jakob displayed infinite liberality, distributing immense treasures in gifts to the people as well as to the Almohades, the Generals of all the Cabilas, and the assembled troops.

In the year 559, (still continuing the account given by Matruk,) there came to the court of Abu Jakob, his brothers, Cid Abu Mohamad, Wali of Begaya, and Cid Abu Abdallah, Wali of Cordova, both followed by a large and brilliant train of Xeques, Alfakis, and men of learning, all of whom were well received by the king, who did due honour to each, making the whole company many precious gifts, King Juzef Abu Jakob being a prince of exceeding magnificence, and liberal in the extreme, as we have related above.

Before the close of this same year the rebel El Sanhagi incited the people of Gomera to insurrection, assuming the title of king, and coining money on which he caused to be engraved the following words: "*Men duria Algoralb Nasraha Alahi : coraib.*" This man was proclaimed their sovereign by many followers whom he had assembled in Gomera and Sanhaga, when he made incursions on the Comarcas whose inhabitants did not accept him as their lord, slaying and taking captive the defenceless people, who were unprepared for such an onslaught. He possessed himself of Medina Tarda by force of arms, and committed horrible cruelties, making fearful carnage therein ; but the Ameer Amuminin Juzef Abu Jakob then sent an army of the Almohades against those disturbers of the public peace, and by these troops the rebels were defeated in a sanguinary battle. It was also the will of Fate that El Sanhagi should die fighting in that conflict, when his head was cut off and sent embalmed to Morocco.

In the year 560 the army of the Christians then in Andalusia, and which consisted of thirteen thousand men, conjoined themselves to that led by Mohamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis, who was accompanied by the renowned general, Ahmed Abu Giaffar Ben Abderahman Eloski. All these, together with Abu Ishak Aben Hamusek, and other rebel chiefs and Xeques, now marched against the host of

the Almohades, which was commanded by Cid Abu Said Ben Abderahman. These forces met in a spacious and beautiful plain, near Murcia, where it was the custom of the citizens yearly to celebrate a great festival, and hold an important fair or market. In this place the opposing armies obtained sight of each other at dawn of day on Saturday the 8th of Dylhagia, when by common accord, and with equal determination, they commenced a conflict which was a very terrible one. The clamours and battle cries of all kinds uttered by the ferocious combatants, who there cut each other to pieces with mutual rage and fury, were so loud and violent, that the sound thereof was heard at the distance of many leagues from the place of conflict. The slaughter was atrocious, and the whole plain, with the neighbouring fields, remained covered with bodies, left as an acceptable feast to the birds of prey and wild beasts. Each party fought with a bravery indescribable; but despite their valour, the troops of Muhamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis were finally defeated, and the greater part of their auxiliaries were slain, few being those who escaped the rage and fury of the Almohade soldiers.

The clamours and confused cries by which this battle was accompanied, caused it to be named the day of Algelâb, and there goes a rumour, that even for several days after the combat, fearful outcries and the noise of battle were heard to resound through that region, on account of which the place hath since been called *Fohos Algelâb !**

The Prince Cid Abu Said wrote an account of this victory to his brother King Juzef Abu Jakob; and Muhamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis, on his part, disgusted with the results of that unhappy battle, expressed his resentment in words by which Ahmed Abu Giaffar Ben Eloski and his father-in-law, Abu Ishak Aben Hamusek, were so much offended that both of these generals abandoned him; Abu Giaffar Ben Eloski openly separating himself from his party and retiring to Malaga, whence he shortly afterwards repaired to Morocco, hoping that he might there be permitted to attach himself to the Almohades, as he had resolved to do, in more unrestrained liberty.

* Fohos Algelaub: the place of clamour.

In the following year King Juzef Abu Jakob transferred the government of Begaya to his brother, Cid Abu Zacaria, charging him to make a visit of inspection, not only through all parts thereof, but through all the other provinces of Africa. Among the instructions given by King Jakob to his brother, was the recommendation to hear pitifully the complaints of the poor, to raise those who had fallen, and relieve such as felt themselves oppressed; but to restrain and humiliate the tyrannous and cruel men who crush the weak by their arrogance, and expend their riches to the injury of those who cannot resist them; using their influence to intimidate the judges of the provinces, or for the purpose of winning those officers to their cause by the corruption of gifts. In these last cases the king charged Abu Zacaria to be severe and inflexible, nor permit that any man should interfere with or impede him in his administration of justice.

In the year 561 Juzef Ben Monkefaid rose in rebellion; but he confined himself to the mountains, wherefore no troops were sent against him that year, nor until the early part of the year succeeding, when the Ameer Amuminin Juzef Abu Jakob himself advanced against the rebels with a well-appointed body of Almohade cavalry, whom he commanded in person, leading them as to a chase. Pursuing the rebel chief to his mountains, the king gave him battle, broke and defeated his troops, and following him in his flight until he had got him into his hands, then put him to death and sent his head to Morocco.

During that campaign King Juzef Abu Jakob was acknowledged and proclaimed in the Sierras of Gomera: before the close of the year 563 he had subjected all those territories to his obedience, and the rude yet brave and faithful dwellers in those lands saluted him as their Ameer Amuminin. This happened in the moon of Giumada Segunda in the above-mentioned year.

CHAP. XLVIII.—MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT NOW AROSE BETWEEN THE ALMOHADES OF SPAIN. THEY SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE AMEER AMUMININ. JUZEF ABU JAKOB REPAIRS TO SEVILLE.

IN the Axarquia of Spain there now arose discords and contentions between the principal generals of the party of Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Sadi Aben Mardanis, whose father-in-law, Ishak Ben Hamusek, Lord of Zecura, having separated himself from his interests, and refused him further obedience, Aben Sadi, offended thereby, divorced the daughter of Ben Hamusek. It is true that Aben Sadi soon repented him of his lightness of mind, and once more took her to wife, endeavouring to restore the friendship that had been interrupted, to its previous cordiality. He also wrote letters to the general Abu Giaffar Ben Abderahman Eloski, requesting him to leave Morocco and return to Spain, where he offered to give him Alcaydias and other tenancies in his states; whereupon Abu Giaffar Eloski determined to reinstate himself in Valencia, and replied in a manner that was conformable to the desires of Abdallah Ben Sad. The latter had meanwhile continued his alliances with the Christians, and kept a garrison of their troops in Valencia; a circumstance which caused infinite displeasure to the inhabitants, insomuch that the principal citizens went forth from the city and took up their abode in the villages and towns of the Comarcas.

In Africa King Juzef Abu Jakob was reposing himself at Morocco after his campaign in Gomara, and had not well done so when there arrived ambassadors from his provinces in Spain, with others from the Almagreb, Alquibla, and Axarquia of Africa, who came to congratulate him on the success of his arms, and also to present the Ameer with their reports on the condition of his territories in their respective provinces. In these embassies there came Cadies, Alfakies, Alchatibs, Xeques, and other persons of importance, who were presented to the king immediately on their arrival at Morocco, having previously delivered their letters of credence. They were all received very favourably by Juzef Abu Jakob, and that day was occupied in giving replies to their supplications, suggestions, representations, doubts, and affairs of all kinds, which were done in writing.

This being at an end, the envoys returned thanks to the king, and took their leave of him with a view to return to their provinces.

In this year there was a great spectacle given on the festival of Alfitra, which is held at the close of Ramazan, with a lion hunt; and the Andalusian general, Abu Giaffar Ben Abderahman Eloski of Talavera, who was present at the same, killed a raging lion with his lance as he sat on horseback: he celebrated that festival, moreover, in very elegant verses. All this took place at the close of Ramazan, in the year 564.

In the year 565, Abu Jakob sent his brother Cid Abu Hafaz to Andalusia, that he might there continue the sacred war against the Christians, giving orders for the assemblage of a fine body of cavalry to accompany him; and in a short time twenty thousand Almohade horse, the flower of the cavalry of Almagreb, were prepared to set forward in that service. The troops were embarked—for crossing the strait—at Alcazar Algez, in Zarifa, where they at once began to make incursions on the frontiers of the foe, and had many skirmishes with the Infidels.

In the east of Spain the discords which had arisen between the generals of the party of Abu Sadi and Ahmed Ben Muhamad Ben Giaffar Ben Sofian El Machzumi still continued. The latter, who was a man of great excellence, rich, magnificent, and liberal, held his splendid residence at Gezira Xucar, and he also now departed from the allegiance he had previously paid to Aben Sad; but fearing an attack from the formidable power of that leader, he wrote to the Almohades, offering his allegiance to their sovereign if assured of being received into his protection. Meanwhile he fortified himself in Gezira Xucar, into which place he assembled many of his partizans, among whom was the resolute and valiant captain Abul Aben Ahmed Ben Maad of Udes, with other generals, in whom El Machzumi placed his confidence. He then publicly withdrew his allegiance from Aben Sad Ben Mardanis, whom he deposed by public proclamation, declaring him to be a bad Mosleman, and the friend of the Infidel.

In the year 566, the Prince Cid Abu Hafaz commenced the foundation of Alcantara Tensifa, and the works were

commenced accordingly, the first hand being laid thereto on Sunday the 3rd day of the moon Safei, in the above-mentioned year. About the same period the King Juzef Abu Jakob determined to pass into Spain, partly for the purpose of assuring and fortifying his frontiers, but principally in the hope of giving life to the sacred war against the Infidels. He passed the Sea of Azakac very happily, and, without pausing to engage in any other warlike undertakings, proceeded at once to Medina Seville. The day of his entrance into that city was one of great festival; he was accompanied by the principal cavaliers of the district, and escorted by the fine cavalry of those Comarcas, all the inhabitants of the city coming forth to meet him with reiterated acclamations. He then received the visits of the Cadies and governors of cities, with the Alimes and Alfakies, who hastened from every part of Spain to salute their sovereign. The king then made inquiry into the condition of the provinces and cities, obtaining information from those personages respecting such arrangements as were desirable for the tranquillity and security of their respective districts, as well as for the more effectual administration of justice.

On the 7th day of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 566, the tower of Mertula, which had been erected at the command of Cid Abu Abdallah Ben Ali Hafaz, was declared completed: the superintendent of this work was the Alfaki and Alcayde Abu Bekar Ben Ali Barbostar.

The Wali Muhamad Aben Cadi Ben Mardanis still retained his seat in the eastern parts of Spain, as hath been related; but not without continual disquietude and alarms. After the terrible defeats of Asabicat and Agilaub his power declined visibly, and the discords which reigned among his kinsmen and generals daily debilitating the party of Aben Sadi, it was not without great difficulty that he maintained the cities and strongholds of his sovereignty. He passed the greater part of his time in Valencia, and from that point he repaired from time to time to the provinces and cities of his lordship, which were those situate on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea from Tarragona to Cartagena Alhalfe, comprising the fortified towns of Murbiter, Xucar Xativa, Denia, Lecant, Xegura,

and Lorca. To these were added the city of Murcia, with all its Comarcas, and not a few cities on the frontiers thereof. The father-in-law of Muhamad Aben Sad Ben Mardanis, even Ibrahim Aben Hamusek, who governed the city of Murcia in his name, had withdrawn from him the friendship previously existing between them, because Aben Sadi had attributed the adversities which his armies had suffered in battle to a want of courage on the part of Ibrahim Ben Hamusek; and the latter, offended by that reproach, had retired from Murcia to the city of Xegura, of which he declared himself the independent lord. Abu Ishak Ben Ibrahim Ben Hamusek furthermore took measures for the fortification of his castles against Muhamad Aben Sad, and among those he thus strengthened was more particularly that known by the name of Nodar Aben Hamusek.

In like manner proceeded Abu Bekar Aben Sofian, Wali of Gezira Xucar, who having also forfeited the confidence of Aben Sad in the luckless battles of Asabicat and Agilaub, abandoned his party openly, and raising his banners against his former friend, entrenched himself in Medina Xucar, as aforesaid. Yet, fearing lest Muhamad Aben Sad should march a force against him which would be beyond his powers of resistance, he wrote to the Almohade generals requesting their aid. And Aben Sad did in effect despatch his son Abul Hegiag Juzef to occupy the Comarcas of Gezira Xucar, and to besiege Abu Bekar Aben Sofian in that city.

Abul Hegiag, who had a large body of cavalry and well-appointed foot soldiers under his command, commenced the siege accordingly, surrounding the town so closely that from the Moon Xawal in the year 556 to that of Dylhagia in the same year, no living being but the eagles could enter the city; the son of Aben Sad Ben Mardanis also ravaged the Comarcas of Gezira during an entire month.

The besieged having consumed all their stores of provisions, soon became exhausted to such a degree that the citizens, not having any hope of relief, could no longer endure the privations they were made to suffer, and no long time elapsed before they began to murmur publicly against Aben Sofian. At length, a man, who was one of the most noble and respected of the inhabitants, Abu Ayab Ben Hillel

namely, taking counsel with others among the principal citizens, persuaded the garrison that they ought no longer to confide in the strong position of the citadel, since if the enemy found means to force an entrance into the city, the inhabitants were now so much debilitated that they could not walk, much less fight; so that even the bravest of their number would find himself destitute of strength to do any thing in its defence. And that assertion was strictly true, the extremities to which they were reduced by hunger being such that as a consequence of those sufferings the most robust among them remained weak and ailing all the rest of his life.

Abul Hegiag Juzef Aben Sad Ben Mardanis then obtained possession of the city, and when he returned to Murcia he took with him Abu Ayab Ben Hillel, whom he ever afterwards held in much esteem. Aben Sad subsequently conferred the charge of defending those frontiers on his brother.

The verses composed by Abu Bekar Ben Sofian, and in which he requested auxiliaries from the Almohades when besieged in Xucar, are still preserved, and dwell much on the hardships endured by the defenders of that city. Ben Sofian subsequently took refuge with the Almohades, but having found means to establish a secret understanding with certain among the inhabitants of Valencia, he ultimately succeeded in making good his entrance into the city, whose inhabitants were highly discontented, and had long desired to be under the protection of a prince powerful as was Juzef Abu Jakob, rather than that of a less mighty ruler. All these things took place in the year 556.

Abdallah Muhamad Aben Sad Ben Mardanis instantly despatched his son with an army to counteract the purposes of Abu Bekar Ben Sofian, and those troops besieged the city during three months, both by land and sea; but Abu Bekar Ben Sofian, to whom the command of the place had been entrusted by the Almohade sovereign, defended it well, and as Abul Hegiag Ben Abdallah, at the end of the time above specified, received letters from his father, with orders to repair to the succour of Tarragona, where the Christians were then waging a cruel war against him, he raised the siege of Valencia without delay.

Abul Hegiag then commanded his general, Aly Ben Casim, to sail with his fleet to Tarragona, while he led his cavalry, which formed a very large body, to the same destination by land. Between Tortosa and Tarragona, Abul Hegiag then fought several battles with the Christians, a constantly varying fortune presiding on either side; but the General Aly Ben Casim defeated the infidels with terrible slaughter in a great sea fight, wherein he took many of their ships and burnt others, inflicting a terrible loss on them, moreover, in the numbers of their people destroyed on that occasion.

CHAP. XLIX.—OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE ALMOHADES IN THE TERRITORIES OF THE CHRISTIANS. THEY DEFEAT THE INFIDEL COMMANDER, SANCHO ALBULBARDA. THEY TAKE TARRAGONA. OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE AMEER AMMUMININ JUZEF BEN ABDELMUMEN IN SPAIN. HE RETURNS TO AFRICA.

THE Almohades were meanwhile obtaining many triumphs on the frontiers of the Christians; King Juzef Abu Jakob having sallied forth with a determination to carry on the Algazua, or Sacred War, effectually. He marched from Seville with a mighty force, and overran the territories of Toledo, wherein he made terrible devastations. Having rendered himself master of the fortresses of Cantara al Seif, with the frontiers and Comarcas of that command, the king plundered the towns thereof; the country he had previously laid waste; he put the people to the sword, and made a vast number of Christians captive. King Juzef then returned in triumph to Seville, his soldiers loaded with spoil, and leading troops of prisoners in their train.

In the commencement of the year 567, the Ameer Amuminin Abu Jakob Ben Abdelmumen commanded that a magnificent Aljama should be erected in Seville, and the works being carried on with infinite diligence, the structure was completed in the Moon Dylhagia of the same year. He appointed the renowned and erudite Abu Cazim Ben Gafir Abderahman Alneboni to be the principal Chatib;*

* Chatib or Alchatib: preacher in the mosque.

and not content with the Aljama, he furthermore constructed the bridge over the river, which he made of boats chained together, erecting vast edifices at either end of the bridge, which last were destined to serve as magazines. Abu Jakob also commanded that the wall of the Zalelic should be raised and repaired, completing it to the foundations of the Bab Gehuar, and building two water-ferries or wharves for the daily discharge of ships; he also furnished the same with flights of steps, even to the edge of the water.

The king caused water, moreover, to be conducted from the fort of Gabir to the entrance of Seville; Abu Jakob expended immense sums in these and similar undertakings in Andalusia, employing himself with the same during a period of four years and ten months. Thus the return of the king to Morocco did not take place until the sacred month of Xaban in the year 571; and before leaving Spain he made more than one successful campaign in the Axarquia of that country, occupying numerous towns, some of which acknowledged his authority of their own accord, while others were subjugated by force of arms.

In the year 567, Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis, Ameer of Eastern Spain, departed from life in the Island of Majorca. It is true that this date is not the one given by all the writers; some affirming Abu Muhamad Aben Mardanis to have died in 561, while others maintain that this event did not take place until 569. He was succeeded by his son Abul Hegiag Juzef Ben Muhamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis, who then became Ameer of all Eastern Spain.

Abul Feder, speaking of this family, declares that on the death of the Ameer Abdallah Muhamad Aben Mardanis, who was lord of Murcia, Valencia, and many other cities, his sons sought refuge in Africa with the King Juzef Abu Jakob, surrendering their states to that monarch, all being convinced that they could not maintain themselves therein, because the Christians waged increasing war against them on the one side, while the African Almohades harassed them on the other, thus keeping the country in perpetual turmoil. For these causes they placed the whole of their states, according to the authorities here cited, in the hands of the Ameer Amumenin Abu Jakob, who thereby

obtained from the favour of fortune what he could scarcely have hoped to win by force of arms. He conferred other states and titles on the Aben Sades, and took a sister of those princes to wife,—an event which occurred no long time after the death of Abdallah Muhamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis. About this time it was that Abu Juzef Jakob built a city near Gebal Fetah; and this work he undertook principally with a view to the occupation of his one hundred thousand soldiers.

In the year 578, the Prince Cid Abu Bekar attacked the territories of the Christian King in the neighbourhood of Toledo, when he carried his incursions even to the gates of the city, slaying vast numbers of the people, capturing others, destroying the towns, burning the villages, and laying waste the cultivated fields. And now the terrified Christians were on the point of submitting themselves to his authority, when the general of the Infidels, Sancho, known by the name of Abulbarda, having gathered a large body of troops, sallied forth against the Almohades, whom he encountered with that army. This name of Abulbarda was given to the General Sancho on account of a precious saddle and housings which it was his custom to use, and which was most splendidly decorated with rich workmanship in gold and precious stones.

When the host of the Almohades encountered that of Abulbarda in battle, the Moslemah forces defeated the Infidel by the aid of God; and their general himself, even Sancho Alabarda, died bravely fighting as a good warrior is bound to do. Nay, the carnage made among the Christians on that occasion was so great, that of all the cavaliers and army there scarcely escaped a man; and we find it related of those who had been led by Abulbarda, that no less than thirty-six thousand perished on the part of the Christians in that conflict.

Nor were the fortunes of the Ameer Amuminin Juzef Abu Jakob less prosperous in the year 559, seeing that he made himself master of the city of Tarcuna* in Eastern Spain: his conquering soldiers fell on the Comarcas of

* Tarragona.

that stronghold as doth the fear-inspiring tempest; they gave up the country to fire and the sword, destroying the labours of the husbandman, and watering the fields with the blood of the cultivators. Such of the inhabitants as did not fall beneath their weapons they led captive, carrying away their flocks, and sweeping off all the products of the earth. That successful campaign concluded, the Almohade army then returned to Seville.

In the year 570, King Juzef Abu Jakob, desiring to secure the peace and tranquillity of Spain, resolved on that alliance to which allusion has been made in a previous page, and took to wife the beautiful daughter of Abdallah Muhamad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis, whose brother was then lord of Denia, Xativa, and the greater part of Eastern Spain. To receive and do honour to that lady, the Ameer Amuminin caused a magnificent Miherghana to be constructed, and the work was such that there is no tongue which could adequately describe the costliness, beauty, and vast extent thereof. In the year 571, King Juzef passed over to his African dominions and repaired to Morocco. In that year a terrible pestilence carried desolation through the whole land of Almagreb; many died of the same in Morocco, and among their number were three sons of King Abdelmumen Ben Aly, Cid Abu Ibrahim, Cid Abu Said, and Cid Abu Zacaria, the governor of Bugia, with the Xeque Abu Hafas Ben Yahye, of the tribe of Hentita, who was the founder of the race of Abu Hafis: the Cadi Abu Juzef Hegiag Ben Juzef also died of that malady. In the following year the Xeque Abu Ishak Ibrahim Aben Hamusek died at Mekinesa,—an event which took place in the Moon Safer of that year; and in 574 the renowned Xeque Abderahman Ben Tahir also died in Medina Morocco. He had been Wali of Murcia until deposed by Aben Ayadh, but after that deposition had passed over to Africa and joined himself to the party of the Almohades, in whose capital of Morocco he died as above related. The distinguished Andalusian here in question made admirable verses, and some which he addressed to his son Abdelhac are still preserved, as are his canzonets of love composed in honour of the daughter of the Vizier Abdel Atia, with others

of a moral import, to which El Zieari of Valencia not unfrequently refers in his lectures and discourses.

About the same time died that renowned general of Muhamad Abdallah Aben Sad Mardanis, called Ahmed Ben Abderahman Eloski, of Talavera, who had also retired to Morocco after his separation from the party of Aben Sad, and passed many years in that city; but subsequently returned to Andalusia, and died at Malaga in 574, as just related. Having been distinguished for his genius as much as renowned for his ability in war, Ahmed Ben Abderahman Eloski had many admirers, and by them he was buried with great pomp in the Vega of Malaga. The site chosen by his friends for that purpose was a very pleasant one; and around the tomb they planted twelve beautiful trees, bearing flowers and fruit at the same time. His verses on the Lion Hunt held at Morocco in 564 are yet extant, as is the poem, also written by Ahmed Ben Abderahman Eloski, on the flower of the almond tree, which announces to us the return of the spring, and is the first bright smile of the year, preceding the radiant Season of Delights.

King Juzef Aben Jakob remained at his court of Morocco until the commencement of the year 575, when he received intelligence to the effect that an insurrection had broken out in Velad Africa, where the General Aben Ziri had collected troops, and, exciting the people of Cafisa to revolt, was disturbing the entire province. The king then wrote to his Walies, commanding them to assemble their forces without delay; and a considerable army having been raised accordingly, the Ameer Amuminin Juzef Aben Jakob marched to Velad Africa in person.

Arrived before Cafisa, he besieged that city with unremitting eagerness, giving the defenders neither peace nor truce, but harassing them by perpetual assaults, until he at length made good his entrance by force of arms. But the final combat on that occasion was reserved for the public place or square of Cafisa, where the followers of Aben Ziri were defeated with a fearful amount of slaughter, their general himself dying sword in hand. And so ended that rebel.

But the insurrection was still not entirely quelled, nor did the completion of this affair take place until the commencement

of the year 576, when King Juzef Aben Jakob, passing through the whole province, found means to subjugate the rebellious tribes; and having tranquillised all, returned in triumph to his court at Morocco, into which city he nevertheless did not make his entry until the year 577.

Towards the close of the preceding year there had been a great mortality in Africa, and many of the inhabitants had been swept away. It was at the same period that Aben Zargan Mesaud, son of the Sultan of Rihai, entered the service of King Aben Jakob, with a large and very brilliant body of horse. In the year 578 the Ameer Amuminin took a journey for the purpose of revisiting the various works which he had commanded to be undertaken at the Almadenes, or Mines, and at that time he built the stronghold of Zicandar, which gives its name to those Almadenes.

CHAP. L.—THE AMEER AMUMININ RETURNS TO SPAIN. SIEGE OF SANT HAREN (SANTAREM). SINGULAR OCCURRENCE. DEATH OF THE KING JUZEF ABU JAKOB. ACCESSION OF JAKOB ALMANZOR.

IN the year 579, King Juzef Abu Jakob passed into Spain, and entered on his third campaign in the Holy War. He had departed from Morocco on Saturday, the twenty-fifth day of the moon Xawal in that year, leaving the city by the bab or gate of Delala, with intent to proceed to the province of Africa; but on his arrival at Salè, there came to meet him the General Abu Abdallah Mohamad Ben Ishak, with the assurance that all was now tranquil and secure throughout the whole province; whereupon the Ameer Amuminin changed his order of march, and determined to pass over into Spain, as he consequently did, departing from Salè on Thursday, the 30th of Dylcada, in the above-named year. Abu Jakob then arrived happily at Dhaher de Velad, which city he entered on the second Giuma* after his departure from Salè. On Wednesday, the 6th of the moon Dylhagia, the Ameer Amuminin re-entered Mekineza, where he remained until after the Festival of the Idaladhaha, which took place towards the close of Dylhagia. He then pro-

* Giuma: Friday.

ceeded to Medina Fez, where he passed the remainder of the month. At the commencement of the year 580, and on the fourth day of Muharram, King Juzef Abu Jakob left Medina Fez for Cebta, seeing that he had commanded the generals to assemble in that city such troops as he proposed to take with him into Spain. The first who then crossed the sea were the tribes of Zeneta, Masamuda, Magarava, Zanhaga, and Owara, with many other of the Cabilas from Barbary. These were followed without delay by the army of the Almohades, Algazaces, and crossbowmen; and when the great body of the soldiery had passed the Strait, King Abu Jakob also traversed the same with his guards, his viziers, and the nobles of his train. His embarcation took place on Thursday, the fifth day of the moon Safer, in the above-named year; and he landed at Gebal Fetah, in the spacious and secure harbour of that city.

From Gebal Fetah the King continued his march to Gezira Alhadra, whence he proceeded to Gebal Asulf, and then by Calat-Chulan, Aukes, Xeres, and Nebrija, to Medina Seville. Having remained there during Friday, the 23rd of the moon Safer, Abu Jakob entered Guad-Bagar; and it is related that his son, the Cid Abu Ishac, with the Alfakies and Xeques of Seville, having left that city to meet and do homage to his person, he sent to command that they should await his coming in Almunia, making halt there until he arrived.

Having performed the Azala of Adohar, or prayer of the mid-day, Abu Jakob then mounted his horse, and soon arrived where the Prince and Xeques were awaiting him. All dismounted from their horses the moment their sovereign came in sight, and the King, also dismounting, embraced his son; after which the whole company remounted, and at once took their way towards Medina Sant Aren, in the Algarve of Spain: thus commenced the march for the Gazua, or Sacred War, the Ameer and his company reaching that city on the seventh day of Rebie Primera, in the year 580.

Abu Jakob at once established his camp before Sant Aren, besieging the place very closely, and assaulting it with various machines and engines of war. There the con-

tinued surprises which were prepared for the defenders kept them on the alert day and night, insomuch that their garrison was much exhausted; but in the night of the 25th of Rebie Primera, the King gave orders for the removal of his camp to the North and West oft he town,—a determination which he had taken in direct opposition to the wishes of his most experienced Alcaydes; but none dared question the will of the Ameer. At nightfall of the day when this order had been given, the King, having made his Azala of the last Alaxa,* summoned his son, Cid Abu Ishac, Wali of Seville, to his presence, when he commanded the Prince to march, before the dawn of the coming day, for an incursion which Abu Jakob had resolved to make on the territory of Lisbona; giving orders, moreover, to the effect that Cid Abu Ishac should take with him the troops of Andalusia, and let their march be ever made in the day-time, hoping thus to render the Sacred War more successful.

Now in these commands there was something not rightly understood; Cid Abu Ishac believing his father to have given orders for leaving the camp and returning to Seville during the night; for the Devil sent a rumour through the whole leaguer, to the effect that Abu Jakob had commanded that the camp itself should be struck that night; whereupon the whole army set itself in motion, troop after troop, and departing, as they believed themselves commanded to do, the soldiers continued their march through the entire night.

The dawn had but just appeared when Cid Abu Ishac also prepared to march, as he too supposed himself to have been ordered to do by the King his father; wherefore, with the first light of day his companies likewise departed, many others soon marching after them. The King meanwhile remained in his pavilion, knowing nothing of what had taken place.

But by the time that the Ameer Amuminin had risen and made his Azala of Azohbi, the dawn had brightened into day, and Abu Jakob then discovered that his camp was without troops, save only the small body of his guard, and those attached to his baggage-train, with a

* The Alatana or Alaxa is the prayer made at the close of night.—*Tr.*

few Andalusians of his Spanish guard, and there remained besides that horde of idlers which ever hangs about a camp, but which can serve no other purpose than that of causing confusion, and increasing the embarrassment of any difficulty which may chance to arise amidst the contingencies of war. This band had not been able to quicken its movements to such an extent as to depart with the main body, the haste of whose march hath been already notified; and the motley crowd was still in its quarters.

When the sun arose, the Christians discovered from their watch-towers and walls that the camp had been struck, and that none now remained but the few soldiers attached to the service of the King's pavilion. They were also quickly afterwards informed by their spies and algazaces that the Almohade army had of a certainty departed from the field. The gates were thereupon opened instantly, and the whole force of the city sallied forth, crying in their tongue, "Upon them!—upon them! On the King! Where is he?" The Christian cavalry then attacked the tents of the guard, and, slaying all whom they found, soon penetrated to Abu Jakob's pavilion; they tore the bed-clothes and curtains in their rage, and surrounded the Ameer Amuminin, who had only his sword wherewith to defend himself, but who nevertheless killed the first six of his assailants; yet the numbers who crowded around him prevailed, and, pierced through with their lances, he fell covered with wounds. In like manner certain damsels of his hareem, whose tents were within the enclosures of the King's pavilion, were put to death by the lances of the Christian combatants.

Scarcely had the Ameer fallen, thus valiantly resisting his enemies, when two Almohade cavaliers, at the head of a brave troop of their followers, whom it pleased God to send, broke through the Infidel ranks, making a notable slaughter among them, and driving such as they did not slay to take refuge within their ranks. A few hours later the larger part of the army also returned, when the siege was renewed, and the city was attacked with such a furious desire for vengeance, that nothing could resist the impetuosity of that rage; and the place being taken by storm, more than ten thousand persons fell beneath the Almohade swords. The besieged fought as do men who are driven

to despair; since they knew that not one of them would be suffered to retain his life. Among the Moslemah likewise were many who died that day, fighting like wounded lions and raging tigers.

The camp was now raised, and the troops marched from that ill-omened city, but without knowing whither they were directing their steps, nor even yet able to comprehend what had befallen them. Silent and dejected, the soldiers followed the call of the signals for moving; and in this mournful plight the army returned to Seville. On that sorrowful march the illustrious monarch, Juzef Abu Jakob, expired from the loss of blood caused by his many wounds, any one of which must needs have proved mortal: that lamentable event took place, according to Matruc, on Saturday, the twelfth day of Rebie Postrera, in the year 580; and this writer affirms that the King died near Gezira Alhadra, when on his way to embark for Africa, his remains being thence conveyed to Tinmaul, and interred near the sepulchre of his father, Abdelmumen. Others say that he did not expire before he had reached Morocco, from which city, as these authors relate, it was that the body was taken to Tinmaul, which was done by order of Abu Jakob's son and successor, Jakob Aben Juzef, who had taken the command of the troops from the day when his father had received those wounds of which he died.

But in contradiction of all this, Aben Yahye Ben Omeira assures us that King Juzef died at the passage of the Tagus, immediately after the camp had been broken up from Santarem; but that his death was kept secret, and the body taken to Seville, where it was embalmed for transportation to Africa. He adds, that, being conveyed to Salè, the remains of the Ameer were kept for some time in a suburb of that city, called Alfeth, and were afterwards borne to the sepulchre of Abdelmumen Ben Aly in Tinmaul, when they were laid near the tomb of the last-mentioned sovereign. The time of Juzef Abu Jakob's reign was twenty-two years, one month, and six days. The death of the Ameer was concealed, as Aben Yahye declares, by order of his son, until the Almohade force had reached Salè, when it was made known.

God only is Eternal. There is no Lord, save Him alone; neither is there any refuge in other than He.

The Ameer Amuminin Jakob Aben Juzef, son of Juzef Abu Jakob, was called Abdallah Jakob, to which name he added the appellation of Almanzor Bifadl Allah. The mother who bore him was the daughter of his father's Vizier, and he was brought to life in the palace of his grandfather Abdelmumen Ben Aly,—an event which occurred at Morocco, in the year 555. This sovereign was called, in addition to the names previously given, Abu Juzef. On his seal he caused to be engraved the following words: "My confidence is in God."

Jakob Almanzor, called Bifadl Allah, was of the middle height, and had a well-proportioned figure. His complexion was ruddy, his eyes fine, the lashes long, the eyebrows meeting in the centre of the brow; the face was round, the nose perfect, the neck slender, the shoulders broad. The mind of this Sovereign was liberal, his heart generous and compassionate; he was persevering and brave, eloquent and learned—the friend of the wise, and of all men whose qualities were such as to render them useful to religion and the state. To his counsels he invited only men of the highest distinction; and these he honoured not only during their lives, but after their death, seeing that it was his wont to accompany them to their graves; and he frequently paid visits to the tombs of those honoured dead, at later periods. All his people respected as well as loved the Ameer Jakob Almanzor. He had four sons,—Osman, who was his successor in the empire, Abu Abdallah Anasir, Abu Mohamad Abdallah Alfadil, and Abul Ola Edris Almamun. His viziers, and alchatibes or secretaries, were those of his father, whose physicians also he retained as his own. His Cadies were first, Abu Alabas Ben Medhama, a Cordovian, and subsequently Abu Amraun Muza, son of the Cadi Iza Ben Amraun.

The Ameer Amuminin Jakob Almanzor was proclaimed on the nineteenth day of the moon Rebie Segunda in the year 580; but the solemn communication of his accession to the throne did not take place until Saturday, the second day of Giumada Segunda, in the same year, the circumstances which compelled him to conceal the death of his father having caused it to be deferred thus long. The death

of this monarch took place on Thursday, the 22nd of Rebie Primera, in the year 595, or as others say on Giuma the 23rd. That event occurred at the close of the night, and in the City of Morocco. The remains were conveyed to Tinmaul for interment, and were laid near those of his father, Abu Jakob, and of his grandfather, Abdelmumen Ben Aly. Jakob Almanzor completed his fortieth year on the day of his death, his reign having endured through five thousand one hundred and two days, or, what is the same thing, fourteen years, eleven months, and four days.

The first care of Jakob Aben Juzef, after the public solemnization of his accession to the throne, and his reception of the oath of allegiance, was to take one hundred thousand doubloons of gold from his treasury, and command that these should be distributed to the poor of the villages in Almagreb. He also wrote letters to the provinces at that time, giving orders for the setting at liberty of all such prisoners as were incarcerated for slight offences only: he furthermore commanded that all obligations incurred by the King his father should be satisfied without delay. He forgave such debts as were owing to himself from his poorer subjects, and remitted the arrears of taxes also, when due from such persons to the treasury of the State.

The appointments of the Cadies were augmented by Jakob Almanzor, who ameliorated the condition of the Alfakies also. He visited all the provinces of his empire, inquiring into their wants, and making himself minutely acquainted with all things concerning the well-being of their inhabitants. The frontiers of his estates he carefully fortified, and supplied all with sufficient garrisons of carefully-selected troops, cavalry as well as infantry, paying the Almohade soldiers with infinite liberality.

With equal attention Jakob Almanzor arranged all things needful to the welfare of religion and the State; he was the first of the Almohade princes who adopted the custom of inscribing on the commencements of his letters and mandates the following words:—"*El hamdolillahi Wahidi*" —"To Allah alone be the praise!" and God exalted and aggrandised his empire accordingly, rendering it the most noble and most extensive in all the East, West, and South,

whether of Africa or Spain. In the latter country was the glorious day of Alarca reserved for this monarch, and then it was that his name was rendered truly illustrious.

Jakob Almanzor made a tour of inspection through the whole of his African dominions, from Velad Noul even to Barca, when he carefully strengthened all the fortifications, more especially on the frontiers of the Realm. He built mosques and schools in Almagreb, Africa, and Spain, constructed and endowed almarestanes, or hospitals for the sick, and aljamas for the learned, whom he caused to be distinguished among themselves by different degrees of rank. He likewise fixed the rewards and emoluments to be conferred on the physicians, masters, and attendants of the infirmaries, of which last he provided a sufficient number in every province for the maimed, the halt, and the blind. This great monarch also erected watch-towers, repaired and built bridges, constructed cisterns, and made wells to supply water in the public ways in desert places. He furthermore took order for the maintenance of caravanseries, hostelries, and houses of refuge for the traveller, causing a sufficient number of such to be provided, from Sus Alaksa even to Suica Mascuc. Wherefore, and in consideration of all his pious intentions and good words, God granted prosperity and good fortune to Islam in his time, his generals being invariably the victors over his enemies without any alloy of adversity to mar the success of their undertakings.

In the same year which saw the death of the Ameer Amuminin, even Juzef Abu Jakob Ben Abdelmumen, the Lord of Majorca began to put himself in movement. He, Aly Ben Ishac, namely, of the family of the Aben Ganias, princes of the Almoravides, had no sooner heard of Abu Jakob's death than he assembled a powerful army, and passing into Africa, laid siege to Begaya, which he took by storm, after a long series of surprises and assaults. He then drove the Wali of Begaya, Suleyman Ben Abdallah, a grandson of King Abdelmumen Ben Aly, from the city, causing his name to be omitted from the Chotba, and commanding that in the place thereof prayer should be made to God for Nayr Edin Allah, Caliph of Bagdad. He also found means to

excite the tribes and towns of those Comarcas to insurrection against their sovereign, the Ameer Amuminin Jakob Almanzor.

CHAP. LI.—Of the campaign undertaken by the Ameer Amuminin in Spain. He devastates the country and returns to Africa. The King of the Christians sends a challenge to Jakob Almangor. Reply of the Ameer.

In the year 582, suspicions were conceived by Jakob Almanzor against two of his brothers,—Cid Abu Yahye, and Cid Omar, as also against his uncle, Cid Abul Rabie, for which cause he deprived them all of life. In the same year, Medina Cafisa and Cabes, in the province of Africa, were in revolt, the Wali of the Almoravides, Aly Ben Ishac, having incited their inhabitants to rebellion, as hath been already related.

Jakob Almanzor instantly assembled his army, and left Morocco to march against the insurgents on the third day of the moon Xawal, in the year 582. He laid siege to Cafisa with a large body of men; but the men of the city defended themselves with so much valour, that the siege proved to be a greatly protracted one. The skirmishes that took place were meanwhile perpetual, and caused infinite suffering to the dwellers in the Comarca, as well as to the combatants; but in the year 583 Jakob Almanzor made good his entrance by force of arms.

Having thus subjugated Cafisa, where he made a fearful carnage among his rebellious subjects, and gave them a terrible lesson, the Ameer Amuminin commenced a campaign in the Almagreb of Africa, where he defeated and dispersed the forces brought against him by the insurgent leaders, and did not lift his sword from over their heads until all the Cabilas had submitted themselves to his authority; nay, some of these men were compelled to serve in the remainder of the war against the rebels, nor did they fail to give many proofs of fidelity in that service. Having passed triumphantly through the whole land of Almagreb, where he tranquillized all the disturbed towns, Jakob Almanzor returned to his Court of Morocco.

After this expedition in Africa, and when the King had

duly reposed from his labours, he turned his attention towards Spain; setting his army in order, with intent to continue the Sacred War in Andalusia, more especially in the Algarve of that country. This was Jakob Almanzor's first campaign against the Infidel; and proceeding to Spain for that purpose, he embarked at Alcazar Algez, whence he sailed to Gezira Alhadra, where he landed on Thursday, the third day of the moon Rebie Primera, in the year 585.

Continuing his way from Gezira Alhadra, he directed the march of the troops on Sant Aren, detaching bodies of light cavalry to ravage the country, even to Medina Lisbona. On this march the Ameer Amuminin wholly devastated the land: he cut up the cultivated fields, and carried away all their fruits, killed or took prisoners the inhabitants, destroyed the villages, burnt all the products, even to the seed-corn; nay, he carried the devastation of the Comarcas to such an extent, that he left them in the condition of the parched and sand-covered desert. In that campaign, the King gathered an enormous amount of spoil on the enemy's ground, and returned to the African shores with no less than thirteen thousand women and children, whom he had taken captive, an unhappy prey to the violences and terrors of a war more vengeful and more fatally embittered by hatred than had ever before been waged between two nations.

The victorious Jakob Almanzor arrived at Medina Fez in the last decade of the moon Regeb, in the year 585, and remained there some few days. While the king was thus resting from his toils, he received intelligence to the effect that the city of Almeiz, in eastern Africa, had risen in rebellion: he therefore departed from Medina Fez on the 8th day of the moon Xaban, in the same year, and arrived at Medina Tunis on the 1st of the moon Dylcada. Here he was informed that the city of Almeiz was already tranquillised, the rebel chief having fled to Sahara on hearing that the Ameer Amuminin was advancing against him.

In the year 586, the Christians, who continued to disquiet the frontiers of Algarve, took Medina Xelbe or Huelba, with Beja, Beira, and other places of less importance; having put themselves in movement on learning that Jakob Almanzor had returned to Africa, and that the

more readily because they were informed that he was much occupied in the last-named country by the necessity for subjugating the rebels who had risen against him. These things caused the enemies of God to raise their heads, and thus did they avail themselves of the absence of the Ameer Amuminin.

This unpleasant intelligence was quickly brought to Jakob Almanzor, whom the losses incurred grieved exceedingly. Discontented and wrathful with his generals in Andalusia, the king then wrote letters, reproaching them with infinite asperity, and laying on their shoulders the blame of what had occurred. He furthermore commanded them to look carefully to their steps, and hold themselves prepared for the reconquest of the Algarve, declaring that he would soon be with them in person, and proposing in effect to set forth immediately after the dispatch of his letters.

The Almohade generals of Andalusia, having received these orders from their sovereign, united their forces with those of Mohamad Aben Juzef, Wali of Cordova, whence they sallied forth with a powerful host, composed of Almohades, Alarabes, and Andalusians, directing their march upon Xelbe, and besieging that city without giving respite to the defenders, either by day or night. After a succession of combats, they took the place by storm; subsequently occupying the Alcazar of Abi Denis, Medina Beja, and Berra, all of which they entered by force of arms.

These things accomplished, the Wali returned in triumph to Cordova, dragging fifteen thousand captives in his train, three thousand of that number being Christians, and all marching chained together in bands of fifty. In that order did Mohamad Aben Juzef, governor of Cordova, re-enter his city. This took place in the moon Xawal, of the year 587; and at the same time Jakob Almanzor returned from the province of Africa to the western portion of his dominions, making halt at Medina Telencen, and remaining there until the close of the year.

In the moon of Muharram, and at the commencement of the year 588, the king departed from Telencen, and repaired to Medina Fez, where he fell sick of a grievous malady, which endured seven months. When he had recovered his

strength, the Ameer set forth to return to Morocco, where he remained at his court until the year 590, at which time he left the city for a journey to the coast, whence he embarked for Spain, whither he had determined once more to carry the sacred war. Then it was that the renowned and splendid victory of Alarca was obtained, and this was the second campaign of Jakob Almanzor in Spain. May God have received him favourably for that cause.

The absence of the Ameer Amuminin from Spain having been much prolonged, as related above, by the sickness which thus detained him in Africa, his enemies availed themselves of that occasion, and becoming very arrogant, obtained considerable advantages over the Moslemah. The Christians fell upon the lands of the Faithful as do wolves upon the sheep-fold, persecuting the true believer with cruel and fearful onslaughts, whereby the towns and fields were alike laid waste. These they continued until they did not leave a district in Spain which was not ravaged and desolated by their troops.

The poor Moslemah, meanwhile, found neither counsel nor aid whereby to restrain the violence of their foe, insomuch that his accursed hordes pressed on, victorious and inflated, until they proudly encamped before Gezira Alhadra, whence the King of the Christians wrote a letter of defiance to the Ameer of the Faithful, even Jakob Almanzor, whom he addressed with extraordinary arrogance. The words of this proud and insolent epistle were as follows:—

"In the name of God, the Clement and All-merciful. The King of the Christians to the King of the Moslemah. Since thou canst not come against me in person, nor dispatch thy people of war to meet my people, send me barks and ships of passage, that I may cross in them with my forces to where thou art abiding. I will then fight with thee in thine own country; and these shall be the conditions of our conflict:—If thou shouldst vanquish me, I will be thy slave, thou shalt have great spoils, and shall be he who is thenceforward to give the law: but if I come forth conqueror, then all shall remain in my hand, and I will give the law to Islam."

This letter having been read by Jakob Almanzor, he be-

came much enraged; his zeal for religion was also enkindled anew, and he resolved to avenge the insults thus offered to Islam. The Ameer commanded that the letter of the Infidel should be read to all his army; the Almohades, the Alarabes, the Cabilas of Zeneta, Masamuda, &c. with all the rest of the assemblage: his warriors and subjects were thus made acquainted with the contents thereof, when all were seized with a burning thirst for vengeance, and every man gave evidence of the earnest desire by which he was inflamed for the sacred war,—the soldiers assembling with tumultuous violence, and demanding to be led against the enemy.

Jakob Almanzor then summoned his son and future successor, Cid Mohamad, to his presence, and giving him the letter of the accursed Alfonso, commanded him to make answer thereto. The prince, having read it accordingly, wrote the following reply on the back thereof:—"Thus saith the Omnipotent Allah, 'I will turn against them, and will make of them the dust of desolation by armies which they have not seen: neither shall they be able to turn aside or escape from the same. I will cast them into the depths of the abyss, and bring them to nothing.'"

Cid Mohamad then returned the paper to his father, who, having read it, praised the sagacity of the writer. He then remained some time in thought; but after that period of consideration had passed, he gave the missive to his messenger, whom he instantly despatched therewith. That done, the Ameer issued orders to the effect that the red pavilion should be drawn forth, and the great sword brought to his tent, while the Almohades and other troops received directions for an immediate march towards the seat of the sacred war. Almanzor wrote, moreover, to all the Almagreb, Africa, and Alquibla, to the intent that all might assemble their forces for that holy enterprise; and at his call the people congregated from every part, old men and youths, with men of all ages and from every region, the inhabitants of the deep vallies and the lofty mountains alike assembling, and their numbers gathering mightily from the most distant portions of the realm

CHAP. LII.—JAKOB ALMANZOR PASSES INTO SPAIN. PREPARATIONS FOR THE BATTLE OF ALARCOS.

THE Ameer set forth from his court of Morocco on Thursday, the 19th day of the moon Giumada Primera, in the year 591, having carefully arranged the order of his march. Among other directions, he commanded that food should be supplied to the troops twice in each day, and took every other measure for the successful progress of an army that prudence could dictate to the wisest of leaders. Then did that infinite multitude set forward, no man turning his head to look behind him. The cavalry and infantry of that host were in such number, that the earth might scarcely suffice to feed them, or the rivers to give them water for their drinking: yet in all that mass there was but one mind, no man had any other wish in his heart save that of engaging the Infidel foe.

When the army reached Alcazar Algey, due order was taken for the passage of the troops, and they crossed the sea in companies, one following close on another. The first who traversed the strait were men of the Arabian tribes; then came the Zenetes, Masamudes, and Gomaras, with volunteers from the Cabilas of Almagreb and the Algiazazes; these were succeeded by the cross-bowmen, the Almohades, and the guards then on service, all of whom encamped in the public squares of Algezira Alhadra; after those troops had landed, the Ameer Amuminin himself took ship, with a numerous train of Almohade Xeques, Viziers, and Alfakies from Almagreb;—when it pleased God that the passage should be made very happily, and in a short time the whole force was encamped in Alhadra.

The arrival of Jakob Almanzor in Spain took place one hour after the Azala of Giuma, the 20th day of the moon Regeb in the year already mentioned, and he instantly continued his march, desiring to proceed against the enemy before the fervour of those troops who had hurried so eagerly to engage in the sacred war could have had time to cool. Thus the king pressed forward with his army, unchanged in heart or resolve, each man feeling proud that he

had been chosen to uphold the glory and defend the safety of Islam.

The enemy at first showed a disposition to retire, but had not well done so before the Ameer Amuminin received intelligence to the effect that the accursed Alfonso had not been preparing for retreat, as they had appeared to do, but with his host had halted before Medina Alarca, when Jakob Almanzor commanded that the army of the Faithful should be moved against him, confiding in God and the power of his favour. He exhorted all to walk firmly in that path of glory and obedience to God on which they had so nobly entered, without turning aside for any other purpose, or giving their attention to any other object until vengeance had been secured—nay, without even turning the head. Thus the defenders of Islam continued their way with fixed resolve. They proceeded by forced marches, until they arrived at a point between which and Medina Alarca there were but two short days' march, and there the enemy encamped: this was done on Thursday, the 3rd of Xaban, in the year 591.

At this place the Prince of the Faithful held a council of war, exhorting his generals, Xeques, and wise men, to consider what arrangements might best enable them to vanquish the enemy of Allah in the battle about to be fought, seeing that so hath God commanded to be done, so doth the Prophet teach, and for their fulfilment of this order are the Faithful commanded in the Book of God, where it is said, "They consult together in their weighty matters, and hold their deliberations in prudence, dispensing liberally to the poor of what we have bestowed on them;" and also in that other Aleia* which saith, "Thou shalt be merciful to them, and shall ask pardon for them, advising with them on the difficult labours of war, and thus go forth confiding in God, for He aideth and loveth the men who put their trust in Him."

The Ameer first convoked to his council the Xeques of the Almohades, next the Alarabic Xeques, those of Zeneta, Masamuda, Gomara, and Agza, with the chiefs of the volunteers. Each man then gave his opinion as to the

* Aleia: verse of the Koran.

measures most suitable for securing a fortunate result to the Moslemah cause, and at the last the Ameer Amuramin invited the generals of Andalusia to his Mexuar. They appeared before him accordingly without delay, when the king received them with the salutations due, and all having taken their places, Jakob Almanzor addressed the last comers in the words that follow:—

"Oh ye Andalusians! it is true that the Xeques and generals whom I have consulted are very brave and prudent cavaliers, well experienced in affairs of war, and of great constancy in the battle; they are very zealous moreover for the glory of Islam, and unwearying in its defence. Yet, with all this, they have not the needful knowledge of such strategy as is used by the Infidels. You, on the contrary, bordering as your frontiers do on those of the misbeliever, and living with him in perpetual conflict, as is your wont, you must well know his method of ordering his battle, with the stratagems and deceptions practised by the Christians in their combats."

To this the Andalusians replied: "Oh Prince of the Faithful! we all here who speak to thee have fixed our eyes on a general of infinite ability and no less brilliant valour; he is endowed with prudence, rich in resource, and largely experienced in the practice of war, insomuch that all its emergencies are familiarly known to him; well practised himself also, and anxious for the promotion of whatever can extend the glory of the Moslemah. This man shall tell thee, Oh king, what we perchance might not avail to explain to thee so effectually. He of whom we speak is the honoured and illustrious general, Abu Abdallah Ben Senanid, who hath come hither in our company. For the rest, thy opinion and decision, which may God be pleased to guide, will be the most judicious, and thy command the most profitable. May God have pleasure therein."

All the generals there assembled then agreed that it would be well to refer themselves to the decision of Abu Abdallah Ben Senanid, and the Ameer instantly commanded that he should be summoned to his presence; when the general having appeared, Jakob Almanzor requested his opinion, and he replied to this effect:—

"Oh Ameer of the Faithful! it is a truth that the

Christians, whom may Allah confound, are well provided with craft and deceit; they have much address in the wiles, contrivances, and stratagems of war, wherefore it will be doubtless expedient for us to proceed after their manner. My opinion, with due respect to thine own, Oh king, is to this effect; that in giving them battle, the Almohades, who are of known valour and loyalty, with the Andalusian Moslemah, conducted by their Xeques, should be the first to commence the attack, but both must be placed under the command of one brave and experienced general, whom thou wilt be able to choose from thy most renowned leaders. These troops, thus commanded and selected from the flower of all thy force, and of such as are not to be found in Spain, shall open the war and give the first battle. After this may follow all the Cabilas of Alarabes, Zenetes, Masamudes, Agzades, and other provincials forming part of this host, with those most vailiant volunteers who ever bear victory attached to their banners. With those two divisions shalt thou break and defeat the Infidel—may Allah cast them low—while thou, oh king, with the remnant of thy Almohades, whom may God have in his keeping, the negro battalions and thy guards, shall remain near to the field of battle, and behind the Moslemah host, but in a place concealed; and if, with the aid of God, we, for the glory and aggrandisement of thy empire and sovereignty, should vanquish the enemy, thou shalt come forth to the rout and discomfiture of his squadrons; or if victory should not declare for us, thy people can then advance at the most opportune period of the struggle, to give succour where it may be most urgently required. In this manner thy reserve shall present a barrier to restrain the impetuosity of the foe, opposing a new front to his persistence and bravery, or rather to his arrogant pride. So is it that I think the battle should be ordered, oh king, and may God make thee victorious."

To this Almanzor replied, "Guala! Guala!* The counsel thou hast given appears to me to have been dictated by

* This is an expletive of great force, but may be rendered variously according to the intention of the moment:—"By Allah," "Well done," "By thy life," are the equivalents most frequently given for this exclamatory term of the East; the reader may select that which shall best pleaes him.—*Tr.*

Allah himself, to whose name be praises. May He have His pleasure in thee."

The troops were then assembled and distributed to their several posts, while the Prince of the Faithful passed that night on the carpet of prayer, imploring the powerful protection of Almighty God, and entreating that He would be pleased to give his aid to the Moslemah, by sending confusion and discomfiture to the host of the Infidel. The night was that of Giuma, the 4th of the moon Xaban, in the year above mentioned of 591. Towards the hour of dawn the eyes of the Ameer were overcome by the power of sleep, and he slumbered for a short time on his arrakea,* but awoke very soon after he had fallen asleep, yet feeling cheerful, animated, and full of hope. He then summoned his Almohade Xeques and Alfakies, and these having entered the presence, the Ameer said:—

"I have called you hither to relate to you what God hath made manifest to me in a dream at this fortunate hour.

"While I was making my prostrations in my Azala, mine eyes were conquered by the force of sleep, and I remained as in a trance. Then did I behold the gates of Heaven thrown open, and at the same instant there appeared to come forth from them a cavalier of beautiful countenance and graceful form: he was seated on a white horse, and in his hand he bore unfurled a green banner, whose folds filled the whole space of the earth. And he saluted me, crying "Azalam!" whereupon I said to him, "Who art thou? may God preserve thee." And he replied, "I am an angel of the angels of the seventh heaven; I come at the command of the Lord of all the Worlds to announce to thee the victory. Thou and those who have joined with thee for the sacred war, and to fight beneath thy banners for the faith, shall receive the rewards prepared by Allah for such as truly serve Him."

* Arrakea: pallet or camp-bed.

CHAP. LIII.—OF THE BATTLE OF ALARCOS. THE AMEER AMUMININ RETURNS TO MOROCCO. HIS DEATH.

THE day, which was Saturday, the 5th of Xaban, being thus come, the Ameer Jakob Almanzor took his place in his red pavilion, as prepared to give battle to the enemy. He summoned the illustrious Abu Yahye Abu Hafaz, who was his principal vizier and one of the most distinguished of the Almohade generals, a man of austere habits and virtuous life, a great soldier, and full of zeal for the faith. When Abu Hafaz, appeared, the king committed to him the command of the rear and main body of the host, placing under him the Andalusians, as well as the select force of Alarabes, Zenetes, and other tribes of Almagreb.* Thus the Ameer appointed Abu Hafaz to be general-in-chief, and entrusted all things concerning the day to his care. The banners were then instantly displayed, and the Atambores gave the signal for motion.

The tribe of Henteta and the troops of Andalusia were placed under the orders of Abu Abdallah Ben Senanid, while all the Alarabes were commanded by the General Germon Aben Rebah. To Merad El Magaravi was given the charge of the Cabilas assembled from Mazmuda, and to Mohin Aben Abi Bekar, those of Mezani. The tribes of Abdelwadi were conducted by Gabir Aben Mohamed Ben Juzef, and Abdelaziz Atahani led those of Tahan. The Cabilas of Hescura, and some others from Masamuda, were commanded by the General Thegir, and the men of Gomara by Mohamed Aben Menafid. The volunteers were led by Haag El Saleh Abu Hariz Ala Warbi; but all these leaders were under the command of the chief vizier Abu Yahye Ben Abu Hafas. The Ameer Amuminin Jakob Almanzor Aben Juzuf Ben Abdelmumen remained with the reserve of the Almohade troops and the soldiers of his guard. All now being in good order throughout the host, command was then given to commence the march.

The camp at once began to move; the Xeque Abu Yahye

* Almagreb: Western Africa.

Abu Hafaz, mounted on a fiery horse, proceeding in the van of the army, with the Andalusian General Abdallah Ben Senanid, and other cavaliers and Alcaydes of Andalusia, followed by their cavalry, which was the flower of the force. In the place whence the Xeque Abu Yahye moved his camp each morning, did the Ameer Amuminin erect his pavilion, and encamp in his turn on the evening of each day an arrangement which was maintained until the scouts and light skirmishing parties of Yahye discovered the host of the Christians. They found the camp of the enemy rising up the acclivities of a hill which was itself seated at the foot of a wooded mountain much cleft and broken in parts, with deep ravines and beds of torrents furrowing its sides: the Infidel hordes occupying the plain at the foot moreover, and extending even to the level ground before Alarcos or Alarca, ss the city is also named.

The Mosleman army advanced shouting and in close order upon the foe, as the sun arose on the glorious day, which was Wednesday, the 9th of the moon Xaban, in the year 591. Abu Yahye then arranged his forces in order of battle, giving to the generals those banners which were to serve as their bond of union: the green standard was entrusted to the volunteers. He then commanded the Andalusian troops to take position on the right, while the Zenetes, Masamudes, and other tribes of Western Africa, were posted on the left, and the Algazar volunteers, with the crossbowmen, took their place in the centre of the advance; Abu Yahye himself, with the tribe of Henteta, remained in the centre and head of the main body.

When all the Cabilas had assumed the positions assigned to them, and were now standing in battle array, every tribe united under its own banner, and the whole awaiting the moment for attack with admirable constancy and good order, there rode forth the general of the Alarabes, Germon Ben Rebah, and that leader, proceeding in turn through all the Moslemah squadrons, passed between their files, exhorting them to be of good courage, and repeating to the soldiers the following Aleias from the Sacred Book: —"O ye Faithful, take heart, be of good cheer, fear none but God: He will aid you and fortify your feet, so that you shall stand firm, and the victory shall haply be yours."

Meanwhile, the Christian foe, whom may Allah confound, stood arranged along the heights, and now set in movement a column of its cavalry, consisting of not less than seven or eight thousand horse, all covered as well as their riders with defences of iron: the breast-plates, cuirasses, and helmets of the cavaliers shone glittering in the sun, their lucent morions also glancing proudly. This body commenced the battle, and now came thundering onwards, their steel panoply guarding them from every harm, and with fearful clangour all now threw their impetuous force upon the Moslemah ranks, raging as lions, and thirsting for blood.

Beholding them approach, the brave General Yahye exclaimed, "Good heart, ye Faithful! be firm, let no man lose his rank. Ye fight in the service of Allah; keep that trust in your mind, and God the glorious and all-powerful will give you the victory. This is your first deed of arms, and after it shall follow a glorious martyrdom and the joys of paradise, or victory and rich spoils."

The general of the Ameer also rode forth, exhorting the combatants to their duty. He passed from file to file, exclaiming, "Courage, ye servants of Allah! courage! Allah fights for you, and ye are his servants. All who follow the banner of Allah are conquerors, and you shall see that God hath given our enemies into our hands; therefore, good heart, and upon them."

At this moment the impetuous force of the Christian cavalry attacked the Faithful with so much fury that their horses encountered the points of the Moslemah lances. Repelled by these, they then receded a few paces to return with increased fury to the charge, but were repulsed in the same manner. A third time the Christians disposed themselves for the terrible encounter, when the brave Abdallah Ben Senanid, with the General of the Ameer, cried out, "Keep firm, companions and friends! good heart, ye Moslemah! Allah supports you from his throne on high!" But at that instant the Infidel attacked the centre with such fiery eagerness, believing that there, where Abu Hafaz Aben Yahye held command, the Ameer Amuminin was fighting in person, that they broke and disordered the valiant Moslemah, and the General Abu Hafaz himself, maintaining the combat with the bravery of a lion, then obtained

the crown of martyrdom, by dying for his Lord. The Christians made a fearful carnage among the tribe of Henteta, by whose ranks Aben Yayhe was surrounded, as well as among the volunteers and others, all of whom had been chosen and sealed by Allah for the glory of martyrdom, and entered that day on the myriad joys of paradise.

The Cabilas of Alarabian volunteers, the Algazacos, and the crossbowmen, were meanwhile attacking the Infidel in their turn with admirable bravery, surrounding the Christian band, whom they environed on all sides by the multitude of their numbers. The dust and vapour which now rose from the struggling masses in that mortal strife were at length such as to impede the light of the sun, and make the day appear to be night. Abdallah Ben Senanid, with his Andalusians and other troops, pressed forward to the heights, where Alfonso himself was in command, and there they broke, routed, and threw into irremediable confusion, the vast multitude of his countless hordes, whose numbers may not be spoken: so much, however, is known, that there were then around him, counting cavalry and infantry, more than three hundred thousand men.

At that point of the battle the slaughter made among the Christians was very terrible. Among them there were ten thousand cavaliers of those who go armed in steel, as did the body that first commenced the attack, and which was the flower of Alfonso's cavalry. These troops had made their Christian Azala before the battle, and had sworn by their crosses that they would not turn their backs on that fight while a man among them should remain in life; a promise which God caused to be fulfilled for the advantage of the Believers, the vow thus made being accomplished to the letter.

On other parts of the field, and where the combat was most fatal to the Infidels, their troops, perceiving that the battle was lost on the plain, began to fly: they directed their steps towards the heights on which Alfonso* was posted, hoping to avail themselves of his protection, but they were cut off by the Moslemah, who were there also, defeating

* The monarch here in question is Alphonso VIII. of Castille, who was cousin to Alphonso IX. King of Leon.—*Tr.*

and dispersing all. Discomfited and dismayed, the Christian fugitives then again turned bridle, hoping to regain their own frontier, and flying in boundless disorder whithersover they might. But the Alarabes and volunteers, with the men of Hinteta, the Algazaces, and the crossbowmen, followed closely in pursuit, cutting them to pieces and grinding them to dust, until they had made an end of the whole. And so was the force of Alfonso destroyed, and his cavalry in which he so much trusted brought to nought.

Certain of the Alarabian cavaliers now hastened to the Ameer Amuminin, who still remained in his concealment, giving him to know that God had put his enemies to flight; wherefore Jakob Almanzor, hurrying forth with his Almohades, marched forward to take part in that conflict wherein Allah was destroying the might of the Infidel: the Ameer having remarked that Alfonso still maintained the contest at a certain part of the field, and, surrounded by the most valiant of his troops, was still fighting with a barbarous courage. First came the Ameer's brilliant cavalry, with its banners displayed, and next came the infantry, amidst the astounding clangour of their Atakebiras or trumpets and Atambores or drums, insomuch that the earth trembled as they rushed over it, while the hills and vallies re-echoed to the sound of their war cries.

Now at the moment when the Ameer Amuminin appeared, it chanced that Alfonso happened to raise his eyes from the slaughter that he was making around him, when he beheld the white standard of Jakob Almanzor in his immediate vicinity, and saw that it was still advancing, the brilliant letters glowing amidst the folds thereof, proclaiming that "There is no God but Allah; Mohamed is the Messenger of Allah; There is no Conqueror but Allah." The words being those which follow:—

"Lè Allah illè—Mohamed Resoul Allah! le Galib illè Allah."

Then Alfonso said, "What may this mean?" and he received the terrible answer for reply:—"What should it mean, thou enemy of God, but that here thou seest the Prince of the Faithful who hath vanquished thee, and he hath now arrived with his rearguard; for know, that with only the van of his army he hath broken thy strength."

Then God put great terror into the heart of the Christian king, and he fled, followed by the Moslemah, who killed large numbers of his people in that pursuit, not removing the lances from the loins or the swords from the necks of the flying until they had sufficiently stilled the thirst of their weapons in the blood of the Christians, compelling them to exhaust the bitter cup of death, even to the dregs.

The Moslemah now laid siege to the fortress of Alarcos, believing that Alfonso had taken refuge there, but he had entered at one gate only to depart by another; and so the enemy of God escaped; but he bore nothing with him of all his riches save only the bridle that he held in his hand.

The victors subsequently made good their entrance into Alarcos, burning the gates and slaying all who defended them. The Faithful likewise made themselves masters of the rich spoils that were left in the Christian camp,—arms, treasures, provisions of every kind, and muniments of war, with many women and children, all of whom were taken captive. As to the number of the Christians whom they slew, that cannot be counted; it was so great, that God, who created them, alone can know its amount. In Alarcos, moreover, there were taken twenty thousand prisoners, to whom the Ameer restored their liberty after he had them in his power,—a thing which greatly dissatisfied the Almohades and other Moslemah, all of whom considered that action to be one of the chivalrous extravagances proper to kings.

This great and signal victory was gained on Wednesday, the 9th of the illustrious moon Xaban, in the year 591. Thus the period which had elapsed between the day of Alarcos and the famous battle of Zalacca was one hundred and twelve years. The victory of Alarcos was the most renowned and advantageous to Islam, as well as the greatest ever won by the Almohades, whose fame God exalted thereby, as they had contributed to glorify Islam. Jakob Almanzor wrote an account of his triumph to all the provinces of the Moslemah owning his authority, in Spain as well as on the opposite shore of Almagreb, Alquibla, and Africa. The Ameer received a fifth part of the spoil, and the remainder was divided into portions which were ultimately distributed among his Almohade troops.

The Moslemah force then proceeded to make incursions into the territories of the Christian, taking possession of his cities, occupying his fortresses, burning towns, villages, and farms, and slaying or carrying off the inhabitants, whose wealth they plundered. These forays were continued until the Moslemah bands arrived at Gebal Suleyman, whence they returned loaded with spoils, while the Infidels did not dare attempt to disturb them. All then repaired to Seville, which city the Ameer Jakob Abu Juzef Almanzor entered in triumph. He then commanded the construction of a magnificent Aljama therein, giving instructions to the effect that the Alminar, or minaret of the same, should be a very lofty one.*

At the commencement of the year 592, the Ameer left Seville to enter upon another campaign againt the Infidel, wherein he took the fortress of Calatrava, with Guadaligiara, Mahubat, Gebal-Suleyman, Fih, and Kis, which are on the confines of Toledo. In that last-named city was dwelling the King Alfonso, whom Jakob Almanzor besieged therein. The Ameer then destroyed the gardens, and dug up the fields in the vicinity of Toledo, which he pressed very closely, cutting off the water by which the wants of a large portion of the inhabitants were supplied: the Ameer likewise applied machines and engines of war to the walls, but perceiving that the siege appeared likely to be a protracted one, he struck his camp and proceeded on to Medina and Talamanca, which he entered sword in hand, putting all the male inhabitants to death, and carrying away captives the women and children. The city was then plundered by the troops, after which they set fire to the place, levelled its walls to the earth, and abandoned the ruins to their desolation; that done, the army returned to Seville: terrible was the devastating tempest; the troops took many fortresses on their way, and among them were those of Albalat and Torgiela. They entered Seville triumphant, in the moon Safer of the year 593.

The renowned Giralda; but the tower existing in the present day is nearly one hundred feet higher than the Alminar or Minaret, as left by Jacob-Joseph.—*Tr.*

The Ameer Amuminin now commanded that the Aljama, with its lofty Alminar already begun, should be continued with all speed to the completion thereof. He furthermore gave orders for the preparation of a large and beautiful ball, whose size is such that it hath no equal; and the diameter being so great that it could not enter by the gate of the Almuedan, it was necessary to remove a certain portion thereof, for the purpose of giving it entrance. The weight of the massive iron bar which supports the ball is of forty Alrobas.* The ball itself was constructed, raised, and fixed on the minaret by Aben Alait El Sikeli, and the value thereof was estimated at one hundred thousand Dinars.†

While these things were taking place in Andalusia, and during all the Spanish campaigns, the erection of the Alcazaba, or Citadel of Morocco, with its great towers, was continued unremittingly, and also by order of the Ameer Amuminin, who likewise caused the Almimbar of the Aljama, called that of the Catabinas, to be restored. In the vicinity of Salè, Jakob Almanzor furthermore laid the foundation of a new city, called Rabat Alfetah, with its handsome Aljama and Almimbar.

In Spain, moreover, the Ameer gave orders for the foundation of a new city on the shores of the Guadalquiver; this he named Hisn Alfarag: it was commenced immediately on the completion of the great Aljama of Sevilie, and when that work was accomplished Jakob Almanzor returned to his African territories. He arrived at his court of Morocco in the moon Xaban of the year 594, and then found that many of the various works which he had undertaken, such as the Alcazaba, the Alcazars, and the Aljamas, with their towers, had arrived at completion. In these constructions the Ameer expended his fifth of all the treasures taken from the Christians.

We find it related that all these important labours were performed by the architects on their own account, seeing that they worked after a given estimate; but the cost of

* About one thousand pounds.

† This Ball was removed when the Giralda received its present elevation, and the figure of Faith, now crowning the structure, was then placed at the summit.—*Tr.*

2272

the various fabrics was so enormous that their funds were exhausted, and they could scarcely find means to answer the demands made upon them, since they did not dare to press for payment of the sums due to them from the treasury of the Ameer. In one of the Aljamas the architects had made seven doors, to correspond with the seven gates of paradise: when Jakob Almanzor first entered the building he expressed much satisfaction at the sight of the structure, and was more especially pleased with these doors, the workmanship of which delighted him exceedingly. Whereupon he enquired of the architect, "What beautiful doors are these? and why is their number seven, neither more nor greater?" To this the architect replied that the doors were the seven gates of paradise, the one by which the Ameer Amuminin had entered being the Gate Athammin, or of Rewards; and the king hearing his words, rejoined, "This I comprehend perfectly, and rejoice much in the appropriate thought and ingenuity of the arrangement you have made."

Having rested himself for some time in his court, the Ameer made arrangements for having the oath of allegiance taken to his son, the Prince Mohamed Abu Abdallah, who was also called Anasir Ledinallah, and whom he declared to be his future successor. The principal Almohade Xeques then took the oath, as did those of all the provinces, and Mohamed Abdallah was acknowledged heir to the throne in Andalusia no less than in Almagreb, Alquibla, and Africa, from Atrablos to Velad Sus-Alaksa, and even to the Deserts of Alquibla.* The great cities, the fortresses, the castles, and the villages, with all that may be found throughout the empire, in mount or valley, in rock or fountain, among the cultivated inhabitants of the realm, or amidst the wandering Cabilas, each and all accepted the oath of allegiance, and in every part the name of the prince was added in the public prayers of every Giuma in the year.

No long time had elapsed from the day when this ceremony had been performed, before Mohamad Abdallah was admitted to a share in the government; but scarcely did he

* Alquibla, the south; here taken for the extreme south of Africa.

feel himself seated on the throne to govern the empire in his own name, during the life-time and by the command of his father, when that exalted sovereign, who was then reposing peacefully beneath the shade of the laurels he had so gloriously won, and had begun to enjoy his leisure amidst the pleasant gardens of his Alcazar, was assailed by the malady which terminated his life.

The sickness of the Ameer increasing, he soon perceived that he was drawing near to that bourne which is the final term of all human hopes, and knew himself to be very near his death. Then did Jakob Almanzor declare to his Viziers that three things remained oppressively on his conscience at that moment—three, and no more. First, that he had brought the Alarabes into the west of Africa, although he knew that they were a people of mingled origin: next, that he had built the city of Rahbat Alfetah at so heavy a cost to the royal treasury: and lastly, but also principally, that he had given liberty to the twenty thousand Christians whom he had held in his power at Medina Alarca.

No long time after having uttered these words, the King Jakob Almanzor died. May God have had mercy upon him! His departure took place in the Alcazaba of Morocco, immediately after the Azala of Alaxa, or last prayer of the night of Giuma, the 22 of Rebie Primera, in the year 595. God alone is eternal, and His Empire and Sovereignty are for evermore.

Jakob Almanzor was one of the most virtuous and excellent of the Moslemah Kings, and among the Almohade Princes he was the best of all,—wise in counsel, of distinguished valour, and admirable goodness. May Allah have received him to his mercy and forgiven him his errors, for He it is who alone can pardon the failing and reward the just!

CHAP. LIV.—Caliphate of the Ameer Amuminin Mohamad Abdallah.

The Ameer Amuminin, Mohamad Ben Jakob Ben Juzef, Ben Abdelmumen Ben Aly Alcumi Zeneta Almohadi, was

called moreover Abu Abdallah Anasir Ledinallah. The name of the mother who bore him was Om Atala; she was the daughter of Cid Abu Ishak, son of the Ameer Abdelmumen Ben Aly, and was by consequence of the same royal race with the Ameer Muhamed Ben Jakob himself. On the seal of Mohamad Abdallah were engraved the following words: "My trust is in Allah, for of a truth He is the best surety;" and on his banner was written the sentence, "Be the praise to God alone."

This monarch was of moderate stature and well-proportioned form: his complexion was clear, his eyes were very fine, his beard was black and very thick, he had heavy eyebrows and long lashes, with a thoughtful and serious expression of countenance. Mohamad Abdallah displayed much prudence in whatever business he undertook, whether respecting peace or war, but he had a fault which is very dangerous in a king, that namely of confiding too implicitly in his ministers, and not sufficiently acting for himself on important occasions. His Viziers were Aben Said and Aben Motani; his Hagib or Grand Vizier was Abu Said Ben Gamea. The oath of allegiance which had been taken to him in the life of his father was solemnly renewed after the death of that sovereign, by the agency of his Almohade Xeques, who caused it to be taken in all the provinces of the empire; when the Chotba was made for Mohamad Abdallah Ben Jakob in every Mosque, and his accession to the throne was proclaimed from all the Almimbars.

During that portion of the moon Rebie Primera which remained after his father's death, Mohamad Abdallah continued in his court of Morocco, as he did through the moon of Rebie Segunda; but in the commencement of Giumada Primera, in that same year of 595, he departed from Morocco, and repaired to Medina Fez, where he remained until the last Thursday of that moon. On the day last mentioned, the Ameer set forth for the mountains of Gomara, where he put down Aludan El Gamri, who had risen in rebellion: having also tranquillised the neighbouring Comarcas, and subjugated the whole territory, the Ameer then returned in triumph to Medina Fez. He remained for some time in that city, occupied with the erection of an Alcazaba or Citadel, and with the restoration of

the walls which his great grandfather Abdelmumen Ben Aly had destroyed when he took the city. Here then Mohamad Abdallah held his court until the year 598, when he received intelligence to the effect that the Almoravide leader, El Mayorki, was extending his conquests into Africa, and had already made himself master of many towns.

Then the King Abdallah Ben Jakob, called Ledinallah Anasir, left Medina Fez and sallied forth, directing his march towards the province of Africa; having arrived at Gezair, in the district of Mezgana, he commanded that a part of his army should march against El Mayorki, from that city, and that force ultimately obtained possession of the cities and fortresses which had been occupied by the rebel, the troops entered the city of Africa, sword in hand, in the moon of Rebie Primera, of the year 600, when the inhabitants presented themselves to the Ameer, assuring him of their submission to his authority, and taking the oath of obedience. King Anasir Ledinallah then forgave them and received them to his protection, giving them for their Cadi the Imaum Almuhadiz Abdallah Ben Hufala. These things arranged, the Ameer continued his march and passed through the whole province, which he laid under contribution, making himself acquainted at the same time with the state of the various Comarcas.

El Mayorki and his Almoravides were meanwhile compelled to fly before the Ameer, and took refuge in the deserts, their leader fortifying himself in Medina Mehadia, which he had held as his own from the time when he had been appointed Waly thereof.

Now this Yahye Ben Ishac El Mayorki was a soldier of high renown, and an experienced general in all the labours of war: he was pursued by the Ameer Ledinallah Anasir, until the latter had shut him up in Mahadia, when the king besieged the place very closely, assailing the walls with various machines and engines of war for casting missiles, nor did he give the defenders rest by day or night, but attacked them at every hour with his Almohades and troops from Almagreb, all of whom comported themselves with the utmost valour.

But Yahye Ben Ishac, as might have been expected from

so brave and and accomplished a leader, defended the place with such effect, that he caused the Almohades long to despair of success, the siege having been an unusually protracted one.

Many months of perpetual toil and combat had thus passed, and the Ameer now determined to press the place more closely than ever. He caused machines and engines of such size as had never before been seen, to be used against the walls, some of them casting one hundred enormous missiles in the course of the day, in such sort that he ruined the city, whose people beheld vast masses of stone constantly falling into the midst of them, to the grievous destruction of their lives and property. The king likewise shot globes of iron into Mehadia, and there fell some of these on the seat of green glass as well as on the uppermost part of the lion of metal. Wherefore the General Yahye Ben Ishac, perceiving that all the city was ruined, and that he could no longer maintain it, sent envoys to King Anasir Ledinallah, imploring his clemency, and entreating security for his life, or at the least for the lives of the unfortunate inhabitants. The Ameer forgave him accordingly, granting the safety he had required for the citizens also; nay, El Mayorki was subsequently treated with much honour by Anasir Ledinallah, and when the latter saw what good service Yahye Ben Ishac performed with the Almohades whom he afterwards commanded, the monarch bestowed on him a magnificent house. Then Mohamad Abdallah received the oath of allegiance from the people of Mehadia, and that conquest he made in the year 601.

In the year 602, Mohamad Abdallah conferred the government of the province of Africa on the Xeque Abu Mohamad Abdelwahid, son of Abu Bekar Ben Hafaz; but when that governor was on the point of returning to Almagreb, and had arrived as far as Guadi Xelaf, he was there met by El Mayorki Yahye Ben Ishac, with a great host of Alarabes from the Cabilas of Sanhaga and Zeneta, a rebel horde, gathered from wherever the insurgent chief once more could collect them. With these El Mayorki fought a sanguinary battle with the Almohades; but the latter defeated him and made a terrible carnage among his fol-

lowers, El Mayorki himself escaping only by the swiftness of his horse. This conflict, which was a very obstinate one, took place on Thursday, the last day of Rebie Primera, in the year 604.

Having happily driven the Almoravides and followers of El Mayorki from Africa, King Anasir Ledinallah prepared to send an expedition against the Islands of Majorca, where the brother of Yahye Ben Ishac, even Abdallah Ben Ishac, was king. The Ameer transported his troops to those islands by means of numerous ships; and although the Almoravides defended them well, yet the forces of Mohamad Abdallah obtained possession, and besieging the King, Abdallah Ben Ishac, in his city of Majorca, they took the place by storm, making Abdallah himself their prisoner. They then cut off his head, which they sent embalmed to Morocco; but the body they hung on the hooks of the city walls. The smaller islands of Minorca and Iviça then surrendered by capitulation.

It was in the year 604, also, that Mohamad Abdallah commanded Medina Alwuhida to be rebuilt, when he caused the works to be carried forward with so much diligence, that the place was restored before the close of the moon Regeb in the same year. The Ameer furthermore gave orders for the reparation of the walls of Medina Mezma in Velad Rief, and he built the Alcazaba of Bedis.

In the moon of Xawal, King Mohamad left Medina Fez for his Court of Morocco; but before his departure from the first-named city he commanded that the canal or Azaquia, which is in the quarter of the Andalusians, should be opened, causing the water to be brought from the fountain without the iron gate, and carrying the same even to the space between the Northern gate and the height on which stands the Aljama of the Andalusians, where it was poured forth. In these works the Ameer Amuminin consumed vast sums of money: he built a mosque, moreover, in the quarter of Cairvanese, commanding that no man should make his Azala in that of the Andalusians; so that the whole of the people were compelled, during five years, to go for their Azalas exclusively to the mosque of the Cairvanese; but after a certain

time the mosque of the Andalusians began to be once more frequented, and the two were then used alternately.

In the year 605, King Anasir Ledinallah was in Morocco, when he received intelligence from Andalusia to the effect that the accursed Alfonso had once more raised his head, and was devastating the territories of the Moslemah, ravaging their fields, after plundering them of their products, burning their towns, occupying their fortresses, and taking captive such of the inhabitants as he did not slaughter. The distressed people implored the help of their Ameer; and Mohamad Abdallah commanded that troops should accordingly be assembled for the Sacred War in Spain. Large sums were then distributed by the King to his generals, whom he charged to divide the same among their soldiers, and he also wrote letters to all the provinces of Almagreb, Africa, and the South, exhorting his people to do their part in the Holy War, again about to commence. To these letters Mohamad Abdallah received instant replies, affirming the good will of his subjects to proceed against the Infidel, and announcing the immediate assembling of the Provincial forces.

Nor did any long time elapse before a vast multitude had congregated from all the tribes in every part of the empire, cavalry as well as infantry; seeing that in addition to the troops furnished by the provinces, in accordance with the obligations of their military service due to the State, there came large numbers of people, of all ages, as volunteers, from every region of the empire. These troops being ready for the march, the King Anasir Ledinallah once more departed from his Court of Morocco, leaving the city on the ninetenth of the illustrious moon Xaban, in the year 607, and continuing his progress without detention until he reached Alcazar Algez.* There he encamped, and thus remained until the whole host, infantry and cavalry, had crossed into Spain, with their arms, munitions of war, and all things required for the service of the campaign.

The embarkation was commenced in the moon of Xawal, and continued until the end of Dylcada in the year above

* Alcazar Algez: the present Algiers.

mentioned. When the tribes had all passed over, the Ameer Amuminin Muhamad Anasir Ledinallah took ship also, following immediately after the Almohades. He landed very happily on the coast of Zarifa, whither all the chief generals of Andalusia, with the Xeques and Alfakies, had repaired to receive him, and where all now offered their homage, with congratulations on his safe arrival.

After making halt at Zarifa during three days, the King proceeded towards Seville, with an army innumerable as are the sands of the desert, and which marched in bands that covered the fields and mountains, plains and deep valleys; nor did Muhamad Abdallah fail to nourish a secret complacency in his heart, as he beheld the countless masses of that multitude, which were a marvel even to himself who had assembled them. He now distributed his host into five divisions, or armies: the first comprised the Alarabes, Zenetes, and Masumudes, with those of Zanhaga, Gomara, and other tribes; in the second were the people of Almagreb; the third was formed of the volunteers, of whom there were no less than one hundred and seventy thousand, counting foot and horse. The Andalusians, with their generals, formed the fourth, and in the fifth were the Almohades. The Ameer commanded that each division should be encamped apart; and in the order thus determined, the troops directed their march towards Seville, where they arrived on the 17th of the moon of Dilhagia, in the year 607, and made halt there for some time.

The rumour of these preparations had resounded through all the provinces of Spain; and when the Christians knew how vast a multitude had set forth against them, they trembled with exceeding terror, and the hearts of their kings were filled with dismay. They made haste to strengthen the fortresses on their frontiers to the utmost of their power, and at the same time dismantled all those of the Moslemah which they had taken on those borders; nay, some of the Christian leaders wrote to the Ameer Amuminin, entreating for peace, and begging that he would abandon his enterprise. Among those who thus came to his mercy was the King of Bayona,* who voluntarily offered

* The "King of Bayona" here in question is, without doubt

his obedience and a humble submission; for that accursed Infidel had scarcely well heard of the Ameer's arrival in Seville before his heart was filled with terror, and, reflecting on what it were best that he should do for the security of himself and his territories, he sent his envoy to King Ledinallah, requesting permission to visit the Ameer Amuminin in person; when, his request being granted, he set forth with that intent.

Now the Ameer had given orders to the effect that in all the Cities and Comarcas where this accursed Christian was to pass, he should be well and hospitably entertained during three days; but on the fourth, when he was about to depart, the general in command of the city or other halting-place was enjoined to shut up and detain one thousand of the cavaliers that formed his train: so was it done. The accursed reprobate then departed from his court, and marched, with his people, to visit the Ameer. When he entered on the territory of the Moslemah, the generals went forth to receive him with their troops; and treating him in conformity with the orders they had received, he was entertained with the most splendid hospitality: but on the first day of his march they shut up one thousand of his cavaliers, and did not cease to do the same until he had reached Medina Carmona, when there no longer remained to him more than one thousand of his people.

The three days of hospitality having passed, and that of departure arrived, the general in command surrounded and detained the last one thousand guards thus left to the Christian; but when the King of Bayona saw this, he inquired of the Alcayde of Carmona, "If thus thou leavest me without a train, who, then, shall go in my company?" To which the Alcayde replied, "Thou shalt journey under the safeguard of Anasir Ledinallah, Ameer of the Faithful, and beneath the shadow of the Moslemah swords." This accursed one accordingly set forth in that sort from Carmona—he, his wife, and his principal servants.

Sancho VII. King of Navarre, whose misunderstanding with the Pope, then Celestine III. will be fresh in the recollection of our readers. —*Tr.*

One of the chief objects of the Christian in this his visit to the Ameer was the wish he had to present Mohamad Abdallah with the Book of the Prophet, which he bore with him in a casket of gold, filled with precious perfumes and covered with a costly green silk, richly adorned, having a border of gold mingled with rubies, emeralds, and other jewels of untold value. This noble gift, which the Infidel had inherited from his forefathers, by whom it had been held in great reverence, he now brought in his profane hands,* proposing to present it to the Ameer Amuminin.

Now the distance from Carmona to Seville is about forty miles, and the Ameer had commanded that the road, for the whole distance, should be lined with soldiers. From the gate of the first-named city to that of Medina Seville, and to the gate called the Carmona Gate, by which the Christian was to make his entrance, the latter was, therefore, secured by files of soldiers, ranged along the whole line in their dresses of ceremony, their lances borne aloft, or their naked swords in their hands. The crossbowmen were also commanded to be there, with their bows bent in preparation for the shot.

Thus did the King of Bayona proceed from Carmona to Seville, making his way beneath the shadow of the Moslemah sword and lance. The Ameer furthermore gave orders to the effect that his red pavilion should be erected at a certain distance from the Carmona Gate, and in the centre thereof were placed three almohadas or cushioned seats; that done, Mohamad Abdallah summoned to his presence an Aljamiade general called Abu Giux, to whom he spoke as follows:—

"Thou seest, Abu Giux, that I am here prepared to meet this Caffre, and when he cometh before me, it is not possible for me to refuse him the due honour; but if, when he shall

* The reader will not fail to remark that the Arabic writers, reproduced in this part of his work, by the learned Condé, indulge in many vituperative phrases rarely found in the earlier pages of the History; but the Translator has not thought it well to omit these expressions, indicative as they are of the spirit of the times: these phrases also are therefore rendered with that fidelity which has been made the first duty of the Translator throughout these pages.

enter my pavilion, I should rise from my seat, I shall afterwards regret having done so, and it will appear to me an offence against our law and the Soona to have done that great honour to a Caffre; yet to remain seated would, of a truth, be a failure in courtesy and attention, seeing that, after all, he is a powerful and very great king, who hath come from afar to visit me: this, then, is what it seemeth to me good that thou shouldst do: take thy seat on the almohada in the centre of the pavilion, and when this visitor enters by one door, I will enter by another; whereupon thou, arising from thy seat, shalt take me by the hand and place me on the almohada to thy right, while thou shalt also take his hand, and seat him on the left." And so was the reception arranged. Abu Giux seated himself in the centre of the pavilion; and as the sovereigns entered each by his door he took them by the hand, and seated them, the Ameer Amuminin on his right, and the King of Bayona on his left.

Then followed the compliments of salutation, Abu Giux having first said, "This is the Ameer Amuminin, my sovereign, whom God exalt." That done, the general proceeded to serve as interpreter in the conversation which ensued, and the two monarchs discoursed of their affairs so long as it seemed good to them.

The conference being finished, the Ameer mounted his horse, the King of Bayona being likewise on horseback, and following a little after him: thus they entered the city, with the Almohade generals, Xeques, and troops of the guard in attendance. The Ameer then retained his guest for some time, making him rich presents, such as befitted so noble a monarch to give. After these things, Mohamad Abdallah dismissed the Christian, and he returned to his own states whence he had come, well content, and rejoicing in the honourable reception accorded to him by the Prince of the Faithful, Anasir Ledinallah. On all the road, as he made his way back, the King of Bayona was served and attended in whatsoever he could desire.

CHAP. LXV.—OF THE BATTLE OF ALACAUB. THE AMEER AMUMININ RETURNS TO MOROCCO. HIS DEATH.

No long time had elapsed from the departure of the King of Bayona, before Mohamad Abdallah set forth for the Sacred War, directing his march on the territory of Castille. He left Seville on the first day of the moon Safer, in the year 608, nor made halt till he had gained Sarbaterra,* which is a strong fortress on the summit of mountains so lofty that they seem to be suspended in the clouds. To this fortress there is no road, save only one path by narrow defiles, and along the edges of many a fearful abyss. Here the Moslemah force encamped, and laid siege to the place, which they attacked with infinite fury, bringing no less than forty great catapults, and other engines of war, against the walls. By these means they destroyed all the exterior works; but it was, nevertheless, found wholly impossible to obtain any advantage of importance.

Now the principal Vizier of the Ameer Amuminin was Abu Said Aben Gania, who was not of the lineage of the Almohades; on the contrary, he was very much their enemy. He had, indeed, no sooner received the office of Hagib and first Vizier to Mohamad Abdallah, than he set himself to humiliate and oppress the Almohade nobles, insomuch that many Xeques and distinguished cavaliers, who had contributed by their valour to exalt the Almohade empire, now found themselves constrained to retire from the service of their king. This was at length carried so far that there remained to the Prince of the Faithful no other ministers than his first Vizier and a certain confidant of Abu Said,—an obscure person, called Aben Muneza; yet such was the intimacy to which not only the Vizier, but that Muneza, was admitted, that the Ameer finally resolved on no measure without having taken the counsel of these men, by whose will he was wholly guided. And now, as, passing beneath Sarbatera in this campaign against Castille, the king expressed his admiration of the extraordinary strength which that fortress exhibited, these two said to him,

* The Arabic writers call this place Saritût, a corruption of Salvatierra.—*Condé.*

"O Ameer, the army must not pass until we have entered the castle by force of arms; and this, if it shall please God, will be the first victory." But the siege endured so long that a swallow built her nest upon the pavilion of the Ameer, and laid her eggs therein; nay, she had time even to hatch the same, and feed her young till the birds flew away. That unlooked-for detention—which exceeded eight months—brought on the winter; and as the season increased in severity, provisions failed, and the cavalry wanted fodder for their horses. At length the soldiers began to perish in great numbers, partly from want of food, and partly from their exposure to the inclemency of the weather, all which caused discontent to prevail throughout the army.

When these things were made known to Alfonso, and he was informed that the energy and bravery of the Moslemah were no longer such as they had brought with them to the battle, his heart rejoiced greatly; and availing himself of the opportunity thus offered to him, he raised his crosses without delay, when the banners of the Infidel were quickly floating over all parts of the land. Many Christian kings likewise assembled their forces and gathered round him, their powerful hosts well provided with every necessary for war, and these being continually augmented by the people who flocked to join them from all parts.

Beholding that assemblage, and finding himself at the head of so numerous an army, the exultation of Alfonso attained its height; and he pressed forward, with more and more eagerness, for the contest. The people of Santa Maria marched forth to his encounter; but they were ill-advised, and their imprudence enabled Alfonso to defeat them. He then continued to advance along the frontier line of the Moslemah, and crossing the same, he entered their territory, and laid siege to Calatrava.

That fortress was then under the command of the brave and experienced general, Abul Hegiag Ben Cadis, with seventy Moslemah cavaliers, who maintained and defended it. The siege was eagerly pressed by Alfonso, who renewed his assaults by night and day, when many obstinate conflicts ensued: but Aben Cadis and his people defended the

place with infinite valour and steadiness; nor could the fury of the Infidel prevail.

The garrison was nevertheless in a grievous strait, and Aben Cadis daily despatched letters to the Ameer Amuminin, making known to him the exhausted condition of his resources, and entreating aid; declaring at length that if the king did not presently send him succours, it would not be possible for him longer to hold the fortress.

These letters were, meanwhile, never seen by Muhamad Abdallah, from whom they were concealed by his Vizier, lest he should depart from Sarbaterra before effecting the reduction of that castle. And the same thing occurred in respect to many other affairs of the state, with none of which the Ameer was made acquainted; neither were the complaints and representations of his subjects permitted to reach his ears, all being intercepted by the Vizier.

Thus it came to pass, that when the siege of Calatrava had been prolonged until Aben Cadis had lost the greater part of his people, who had died some of hunger and others of their wounds, he had obtained some remission of their sufferings by fixing a term with Alfonso, which having elapsed, he had promised to surrender the fortress if not relieved within the limits of the period so assigned: but this he had done in the undoubting trust that succours would be sent him by the Ameer. The time was now expired, but no succours arrived: wherefore the general saw himself compelled to resign the fortress of Calatrava to the hands of Alfonso, and so was it done, the enemy abiding by the conditions he had offered, which were that those within the walls should be free to go or stay at their pleasure, the security of life extending to the soldiers, as well as to the inhabitants and people of service; but all the Moslemah went forth, and the Christians then took possession of Calatrava.

Aben Cadis himself departed for the army of the Ameer Amuminin, whither his father-in-law, who was a very brave and virtuous cavalier, from whom he had received much service and many proofs of valour during the siege, was fully determined to bear him company. Aben Cadis declared on the contrary, that he would not have him do so,

since it was certain that he was going to his death, and it would be for the greater security of the old man that he should remain in Calatrava. To this the excellent cavalier replied, that he would not be entreated from accompanying his son-in-law, and the less, as he well knew the fate preparing for him; but he added, that his life had been exposed to perils full many a time, seeing that he had not even then shunned to affront a thousand dangers for the defence and security of the Moslemah of Calatrava, and in the siege just terminated. In conclusion he added, as he had not died with him there, he desired to die in his company elsewhere, if death were indeed to be inflicted at that time. At a word, he left his friend and son-in-law no choice in the matter, but compelled Aben Cadis to take him in his company.

When they approached the camp of the Ameer, some of the principal generals of Andalusia came forth to meet them, saluting them and informing them of the state of things, adding, moreover, that they had grievous doubts of the fate reserved for them on their arrival. The Vizier Abul Said Aben Gania was presently informed of the arrival of the two generals, and commanding that they should be lodged by the Negro Guard, he furthermore gave orders to the effect that Aben Cadis and his father-in-law should be but evil entreated in the lodging thus assigned to them; nay, the hands of the two leaders were subsequently fastened behind their backs, and they were thus detained as prisoners. The Vizier then repaired to the pavilion of the Ameer, and when Muhamad Abdallah enquired of him, "What hath become of Aben Cadis, that he doth not come with thee?" Abul Said replied, "Traitors, O King, are not fittingly presented to the Commander of the Faithful." He then proceeded to dispose the mind of the Ameer to the injury of the two generals, and so embittered their sovereign against them, that he commanded his guards to lead them to his presence, when he reproached them with heavy words, accusing them of a treason which they had not committed, and refusing to hear their exculpations. Finally, Muhamad Abdallah gave orders for their instant death, when they were dragged forth accordingly, and died pierced by the lances of the guard.

All the army felt revolted by that spectacle of horror, and the effect produced thereby was a very bad one; those who most openly bewailed and condemned that cruelty being the Andalusians, whose good will to the war was changed to worse than indifference thereby, and the previous loyalty of their intentions was much disturbed by what they then witnessed. The Vizier, being made acquainted with the complaints of those troops, soon conceived suspicions as to what might be their ultimate purposes, and commanding them to be summoned to the royal pavilion, he announced to them, in the presence of the Ameer, that they were thenceforward to have nothing in common with the Almohades, but were to be encamped apart from all, and perform a distinct service.

Now the King Anasir Ledinallah was much concerned for the loss of Calatrava; nay, the vexation it caused him was so bitter, that for some days the despite and anger he felt was such as to prevent him from either eating or sleeping. Knowing, moreover, that the army of Alfonso was very near his camp, he was the more desirous of seeing himself freed from the labours of the siege which had detained him so long: he therefore commanded that repeated assaults should be made upon the fortress; and these were continued, until the Christians, having lost the greater part of their number, were compelled to surrender; yet they would even then not do so but by capitulation; and the conditions being arranged, in the last day of Dylhagia, of the year 608, Sarbaterra was placed in the hands of the Ameer.

When Alfonso knew that the fortress of Sarbaterra had surrendered, he marched to the encounter of King Anasir Ledinallah, with all the Christian kings who had come to his assistance; and the prince of the Faithful, made aware of his approach, immediately sallied forth with his Moslemah to encounter the Infidel. The two hosts came in sight of each other at a place called Hisn Alacaub, and there they made halt. King Anasir Ledinallah then passed his troops in review, and having done so, he caused his red pavilion to be erected as the signal that he proposed to give battle: the tent was fixed accordingly on a slight eminence, when the Ameer took his place therein, seated on an Adarga or small shield, with his horse saddled and standing before the

entrance. A circle of his guards stood round the pavilion, forming a barrier on all sides with their arms. In front of the guards was then arrayed the whole army with their banners and Atambores, and amidst the troops was the Vizier and General Abul Said Aben Gania.

The host of the Christians then advanced in good order to the battle, and the multitude of those forces was such that in its extension over the field the sight was as that of the countless swarms of the locust.* The volunteers, who formed a body of one hundred and seventy thousand men, proceeded to the encounter of the Infidel; but their companies fell into confusion, and failing to attack the foe in concert, they were surrounded in detail by detached bodies of his countless hordes, when a fearful carnage was made among their ranks. The Moslemah maintained the fight, it is true, with admirable valour and endurance: the volunteers who that day obtained the crown of martydom were beyond the power of man to count,—there was none that would look back, and they died fighting to the last man.

The Christians next made a charge of irresistible impetuosity on the Almohades and Alarabes, who performed prodigies of valour; but in the hottest of the battle, and when the combatants of both armies, covered with blood, were half concealed beneath the dust raised in the fierceness of that conflict, the Andalusian generals, with their well-appointed troops, turned their bridles and fled the field. This they were incited to do by the hatred and desire for vengeance which they had nourished in their hearts from the moment when they beheld the unjustly inflicted death of that brave and noble captain Aben Cadis; and it was on this weighty and important occasion that they determined to take revenge for the affronts they had received from the Vizier Aben Gania Abu Said, and for his insufferable insolence towards their body.

When the Almohades, Alarabes, and other tribes of Almagreb, saw the flight of the Andalusians, and perceived

* This battle took place during the pontificate of Innocent III.; and that Pontiff, justly alarmed by the vast preparations which the Moslemah had made for the war, caused a crusade to be published, which united nearly all the Christian princes against the sovereign of Islam.—*Tr.*

also that the brave volunteer legion had been cut to pieces, while the weight of that fiery conflict pressed ever more cruelly on themselves, and the impetuosity of the Christians, as they bore on the right flank of the Moslemah host, was every moment increasing, they also fell into confusion, and began to fly before their enemies. The Christian combatants then followed them with yet greater eagerness, attacking and breaking their lines in all directions, until they had utterly defeated that portion of the Moslemah army likewise.

The Infidel troops next attacked the circle of the Negro guards which surrounded the Ameer, but found that to be an impenetrable wall, on which they could make no impression: wheeling their fiery horses, they gave the spines of the animals to the points of the brave lifeguards' lances, but again returning to the charge with an impetuosity not to be resisted, they finally broke the Negro bands and destroyed the defence which had been presented by that body of the royal guard. The Ameer Muhamad Abdallah was meanwhile still seated on the Adarga in the midst of his pavilion, saying, "God alone is true, and Satan is a betrayer." But when the Christians had nearly penetrated to where he sat, and those who had so bravely defended him had died fighting, very few now remaining of the ten thousand men composing his Negro guard, an Arabian came to him with a swift mare, and said, "How long wilt thou yet remain seated, O Ameer! The judgment of God hath already been spoken, and the Moslemah are fully defeated." Then Muhamad Abdallah arose, and was about to mount his horse, which stood there ready for his use, as hath been said: but the Arabian added, "Nay, rather do thou mount this mare of a noble race, who knoweth not how to fail her rider in his need, and may God give thee deliverance, for in thy life is the safety of all."

King Muhamad mounted the mare accordingly, while the Arabian took his horse, and they fled together, surrounded by the confused crowd of fugitives, which were the miserable relics of the Ameer Muhamad Ben Jakob's slaughtered guards.

The Christians followed hard in pursuit, and continued the carnage of the Moslemah till deep in the night, when

the latter passed hours of terror, wherein the swords of the Infidel did not cease to lord it over them until they left not one of so many thousands remaining alive; for it had pleased Alfonso to issue a command to the effect that no captive should be taken, but that all the Moslemah should be killed; whence it happened that in the atrocious conflict of Alacaub there were no prisoners made, but all were put to the sword. This fearful rout of the Faithful took place on Monday, the 15th of the moon Safer, in the year 609; and from that day commenced the decay of the Moslemah power in Spain, since their affairs were never afterwards found to prosper therein, and the Christian foe, becoming masters of one district after another, gradually occupied and kept possession of almost all the land.* It is true that the mischief was in part repaired by the Ameer Amuminin Abu Jakob Juzef, called Almostansir Billah, who was the son of this Anasir Ledinallah—on whom may God have had mercy—seeing that Abu Jakob did to a certain extent re-establish the supremacy of the Faithful: nay, that monarch raised the minarets once again, and to a certain extent succeeded in subjugating the Infidel, of whose territories he occupied a considerable portion, which he had conquered by might of arms.

When Alfonso—may the curse of Allah rest upon him—had thus happily for the Christian cause concluded the battle of Alacaub, he passed on with his victorious army to Medina Ubeda, which he took by storm, and did not leave a Moslem alive therein, whether high or low, great or small. He subsequently continued to make himself master of other places, until he had successively obtained possession of all the principal cities, insomuch that there remained but a very small part of the country in the hands of the Faithful, and even that portion was perturbed by continual dissensions, until it pleased God to place it in the hands of the Beni Merina sovereigns—to whom may Allah grant prosperity!†

* A result to which Sancho VII. contributed in no small degree; the King of Navarre having taken part therein, with all the force he could muster, notwithstanding the visit paid to Muhamad Abdallah as related in the text, or perhaps in consequence of that visit.—*Tr.*

† The latter part of the passage in the text which relates to the

Of the Christian kings who were present at the battle of Alacaub, and who assisted to take Ubeda, it hath been reported that not one of them survived to the end of the year, but all came to an evil end.

The Ameer of the Faithful, who directed his flight towards Medina Seville after his defeat in the battle of Alacaub, arrived in that city during the last decade of Dylhagia, in the above-mentioned year.

Now this Ameer had vaunted himself much, and with a vain and light presumption, on the infinite number of his troops: he had looked with complacency on the force, order, and arrangement of that host, seeing that for this campaign he had assembled a multitude both of cavalry and infantry, such as no other king had ever before collected, one hundred and seventy thousand volunteers forming part of that army, as hath been related, while there were three hundred thousand soldiers, who were all excellent Almohade, Zenete, and Arabian troops. Such, therefore, was the presumption of Mohamad Abdallah, and so great was his confidence in that multitude of men, that he believed there was no power in humanity which might avail to conquer them. But the Glorious and Omnipotent Allah made manifest to him the truth that victory is in His hands alone, as is the power and the glory: so great is Allah—so glorious and so adorable.

When the Ameer Amuminin returned to Morocco after that unhappy campaign of Alacaub, he made arrangements for declaring his son Cid Abu Jakob Juzef, who called himself Almostansir Billah, successor in the empire. The principal Almohade Xeques took the oath of allegiance to that prince accordingly; and his name was added to the Chotba in all the Alminbars of the empire. This ceremony took place towards the end of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 609,* when the prince was in his tenth year.

battle of Tolosa, or of Alacaub, as the Arabic writers call it, is extracted in substance from the metrical history of the Beni Merina dynasty, called "The Odour of the Rose," and which was written by Ismail Ben Juzef, annalist of those sovereigns, on the history of whose domination we shall presently enter.—*Tr.*

* This is 690 in the text; but that date is manifestly an error of the press.

The solemnities of the allegiance being at an end, the Ameer of the Faithful, Muhamed Abdallah, withdrew from the affairs of his court, concealing and shutting himself up in his Alcazar, where he resigned himself to idleness and the secret pleasures of his gardens. Thus the reins of government fell into the hands of the Prince and his viziers, who satisfied their passion for vengeance, and gratified their particular interests, in his name, to the injury of all. Some writers have asserted that Muhamed Abdallah retired from his court in despair at the evil fortune which had befallen him at Alacaub, and which had caused him a sadness of heart never to be conquered; but others maintain that he was induced to that retirement by idleness and poverty of spirit only, which caused him to avoid all business, and neither to desire nor seek anything but the pleasures of life.

The Ameer Muhamed Abdallah, called Anasir Ledinallah, gave the government of the province of Africa to his kinsman the Xeque Abu Mohamed Abdul Kalid Ben Abis Hafas Omar Ben Yahye, of the tribe Hinteta, ancestor of the Beni Merina, kings of Tunis. Among the viziers of Mohamed Ben Abdallah he had one of but little understanding, called Aben Mutenna. That the term of this unfortunate monarch's days was advanced by force is considered certain,—a poisoned drink was given to him; nay the venom thus administered was so potent that he died a few hours after drinking the potion wherein it was contained. The departure from life of the King Ledinallah took place on Wednesday, the 11th of the noble moon Xaban, in the year 610, after he had reigned fifteen years four months and eighteen days, the first day of his sovereignty being Friday, the 22nd of Rebie Primera, in the year 595, when he was proclaimed, and the last, the 18th of the moon Xaban, as above said, in which he died.

CHAP. LVI.—CALIPHATE OF ALMOSTANSIR BILLAH. OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY OF THE CALIPH. OF HIS DEATH, AND THE WAR OF SUCCESSION.

THE Ameer of the Faithful, Jusef Almostansir Billah, called also Almanzor Billah, was the son of Muhamed Abdallah

Ben Jakob Ben Jusef Ben Abdelmumen Ben Aly Anasir, and was left by the death of his father at a very tender age, not having then completed his eleventh year. The mother who bore him was called Fatima, and she was a daughter of Aben Aly Juzef Ben Abdelmumen Ben Aly; consequently of the same race with his father. The name by which he was most commonly known was Abu Jakob. He was of moderate stature and fair proportions, had a florid and beautiful complexion, long black hair, and beautiful black eyes, but with an expression of countenance somewhat arrogant and haughty. The Alcatibes or secretaries of Almostansir Billah were those of his father; his viziers were men of his own kindred and the Almohade Xeques who possessed the confidence of those kinsmen. His uncles governed the states of the youthful monarch with absolute and despotic power, distributing the provinces to those in their intimacy at their own will and pleasure, and as seemed them good.

When the festivities which solemnised the proclamation of Almostansir Billah had been brought to a close, his uncle, Cid Abu Mohamed Abdallah Ben Almanzor, departed from Morocco and passed into Spain, where he held the office of Wali of Valencia. But this Xeque also held the cities of Xatiba, Deina, Murcia, and their dependencies, as his own, the most weighty affairs of that sovereignty being conducted in Abu Muhamed's name by his Naib or lieutenant, the Xeque Said Aben Bargan, one of the principal generals of the Almohades. Another uncle of Almostansir Billah, Abdallah the Elder namely, exercised almost equal power in the province of Africa, whither he had repaired for the purpose of putting down certain rebellious movements which had been excited by the party of Yahye Ben Ishac El Mayorki. But Cid Abu Abdallah not only ruled Andalusia as the absolute sovereign of the country, giving Alcaydias, governments, and offices of all kinds at his pleasure, or as it suited his Vizier to suggest to him; he did much worse, since he bestowed those employments without regard to the virtues or merits of those that received them, and thought only of the gifts they brought. From this state of things much injustice resulted, and the vexations inflicted on the cities and Comarcas caused a general discontent to prevail in the ranks of the people. An Alcayde or Cadi was now per-

mitted to retain his office no longer than the moment when another offered more than he had paid for that tenancy or jurisdiction. The rich and powerful turned the balance of justice at their wills; with their treasures they could purchase whatever their hearts desired, even to impunity for their crimes. Thus there were no longer upright defenders of justice, and judges rigid in the maintenance of equity, to be found in the land. The conscientious administration of better times was replaced by avaricious mercenaries and covetous seekers after fortune,—a race ever found to be violent, venal, and dangerous in the highest degree to the welfare of the state.

The Christians availed themselves eagerly of the opportunity offered by this lamentable condition of things, and thought only of extending the conquests they had already commenced so happily. Inflated by the victory of Alacaub, as fortunate for them as it was fatal and destructive to the Moslemah, they determined to profit to the utmost by the occasion which they saw to be presented. For it had not been concealed from the Infidel assailants that the Moslemah were much dismayed and defeated by that unhappy campaign in Alacaub; they knew, moreover, that instead of turning all their thoughts to the recovery of their losses and the restoration of their supremacy, the Faithful had now become divided into parties and factions, the too frequent causes of decadence and ruin.

The Christian powers therefore assembled their people, entered the territory of the Moslemah, laid waste the fields and drove off the flocks in their usual manner, continuing that devastating march without meeting any man who attempted to bar their progress until they had advanced even to Medina-Ubeda, and Baeza. Nay, they even occupied those cities for a certain period, but they could not long maintain themselves therein, seeing that both were situated too far within the Moslemah frontier to be peaceably held by the Infidel.

In the year 613 the Christians took the town of Donias and the stronghold of Hisna Bejor, subsequently proceeding to besiege the fortress of Alcaraz; that place was enabled by the inaccessible site on which it stood to defend itself successfully for some time, but after two months of obstinate

conflict, the succours, which the general defending the fort had trusted in, not arriving, and all hope of such being lost, the garrison was compelled to surrender, when a similar fate befel other towns of inferior strength situate in the same district.

In the Algarve or western part of Spain, moreover, the Christians worked as fearful evil at that unhappy time, overrunning the country in sanguinary hordes, by whom the fields were devastated, and the people carried away captive or deprived of life, which last was the lot of great numbers. The enemy also besieged the fortress of Cantara on the Tagus, and after a short resistance made themselves masters of the place by force of arms.

In the moon of Giumada Primera, in the year 614, the Christians and people of France came against Alcazar Alfekeh: the place was well defended by Abdallah Ben Mohamad Ben Wazir, who was the Wali of that fortress, the command of which he had inherited from his father. Yet did the Infidel succeed in storming the fortress after many obstinate combats, and they then took the heads off more than one thousand of the Moslemah cavaliers. Abdallah himself escaped with life, although he was taken prisoner. Being subsequently ransomed, he passed over to Morocco, but returned at a later period to Spain, when he died a tragical death, together with his brother, Ibrahim Ben Mohamad, in the Alfitna, maintained by Abu Abdallah Ben Juzef Aben Hud Algiuzami.

In that same year of 614, the Christians advanced even to the frontiers of Toledo, their desolating bands taking their way by Calatrava and Consugrea: thus, subjugating the country as they proceeded, the Christian troops arrived before Medina Baiza, to which city they laid siege. But the Xeque Cid Mohamad, uncle of the King Almostansir Billah, who held the province of Cordova and its frontiers, was then at Medina Baiza with a well-appointed force of cavalry; wherefore, sallying forth upon the enemy, he defeated them in several skirmishes and surprises, compelling the Christian hordes to strike their camp and retire within their own frontiers.

The government of Seville was in the hands of Cid Abu Aly, while his Xeques held those of Sidonia, Xeres, Ecija,

and Carmona: these generals now hastened to the assistance of Western Spain, where the Christians were occupying the Comarcas with a powerful army, and had laid siege to Alcazar de Abidenis. The Wali of Xeres marched against them with a strong force of cavalry from Cordova and Seville, intending to carry succours to the besieged; but the opposing armies met before the Wali could attain his end, and after a sanguinary conflict, wherein the Moslemah performed prodigies of valour, Cid Mohamad was compelled to yield the day to the superior numbers and good fortune of the Christians, who defeated and put him to flight. The Infidel then followed eagerly in pursuit, and slew vast numbers of the Moslemah, whose wounds and wearied condition, exhausted as they were with their efforts in the fight, did not leave them a chance of escape from the fury of their enemy.

The loss of Alcazar de Abidenis was the immediate result of that defeat, and the Christians, having made good their entrance, put to death all living creatures whom they found therein—men, women, and children—without sparing the life of any who held by Islam. This unhappy circumstance took place in the year 615.

In that same year of 615, Abu Ibrahim Ishac commanded the construction of the Alcazar of Seid, which is a large palace on the banks of the Xenil, outside the city of Granada: he also caused to be erected the Rabita or burial-place of the kings, which is in front of that palace.

In the year 616, the Christian conquerors, encouraged by their previous successes, made an attempt upon the cities of Cazires and Torgiela, advancing to the siege of the first-named place, and feeling confident in their power to render themselves masters of the same; but the cavalry watching the frontier of Algarve, thirsting for vengeance and eager for the combat, fell upon the camp of the Christians one morning at dawn of day, attacking their enemy with such terrible impetuosity, that, thus taken by surprise, they were defeated and massacred before they had found time to offer an effectual defence, the Moslemah making a fearful carnage among their bands. The attempt of the Christian leaders to establish order in the terrified masses proved of no avail,—all fled in dismay, well followed in their flight

by the cavaliers of Xeres and Seville, whose lances kept them faithful company to the last, when the field lay covered beneath the dead and those who were soon to be numbered with them. The tents, machines of war, provisions, flocks, and Moslemah captives, then in the power of the Infidel, all fell into the hands of the victors, no man attempting to save anything, his life excepted; nor were there many who could succeed in doing so much, seeing that those who had formed that force were left for the most part to be the food of beasts and birds of prey.

The incursions made by the Infidel on the territory of Valencia met a similar fate. Having desolated the Comarcas of Almanxa and Rekina, the Christian troops were marching, laden with their spoils, on the Comarcas of Valencia, when the frontier guard sallied forth to their encounter, and met them, encumbered as they were, at Canabat: here the Moslemah gave them battle, when their bands were defeated and routed with a cruel slaughter, the prey and captives which they had taken being all regained by the swords of the Faithful.

The Ameer Amuminin Juzef Almostansir Billah was meanwhile passing his days shut up in his palaces of Morocco, surrounded by women and slaves; nor did he concern himself with any other thing save the delights of his Alcazar in the city, or amidst the agreeable sites of his country palaces. Incapable of performing his duty as the shepherd of his people, he was much occupied in the care of other flocks, and employed himself almost perpetually amidst the infinite numbers of animals in all kinds that he possessed. He conversed only with slaves, peasants, herdsmen, and grooms, but was at the same time given up to every species of pleasure, and, exhausted by the excesses of his life, he died while yet in the bloom of youth, departing to the mercy of Allah on the 13th of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 620.

Now the close of Almostansir Billah's life had been sudden and unlooked-for, and as he left no successor, there broke forth among his kinsmen that civil war for the succession to the empire, which is known as the Alfitna or Insurrection of the Alhafasies, and his death was the signal

for discords which soon raged with fearful violence throughout the realm.

The first who seized the sovereignty was the uncle of Almostansir Billah, Prince Abul Melic Abdel Wahid, son of Abu Jakob Ben Juzef Ben Abdelmumen, who obtained possession of the throne without any great difficulty; but the unbridled power now exercised by the Xeques in every province gave rise to innumerable factions, whose chiefs pretended to nothing short of sovereignty. Thus the Prince Abdallah Abu Mohamad, son of Jakob Almanzor, and known as Aladel Billah, made himself master of Murcia, and, aided by a powerful party, exalted himself to the title of King in that province, where dissensions and disorders were no less prevalent than in other parts of the now distracted empire.

This Abdallah Mohamad was a wise and virtuous man, who hoped to find a remedy for the misfortunes which bad government had inflicted on the land of Spain; but his severity was distasteful to that infinite number of long unrestricted Xeques who were in the enjoyment of Waliates, Governments, Alcaydias, and other lucrative employments of similar character, and who found their profit in the disorders that prevailed. Thus it came to pass, that the more zealously Abdallah Mohamad endeavoured to restrain the wicked injustice of the rioters, the more enemies he created for himself; and the Walies, whose ill-used influence he laboured to diminish, became each one a dangerous opponent, by whom he was abhorred, as well as baffled at all points. Prince Mohamad, nevertheless, succeeded in maintaining his authority, and even in prevailing on the Xeques of his party in Morocco to proclaim him the Ameer of the Faithful, deposing the Ameer then enthroned in that city, even Abul Melic Abdel Wahid. This they effected on the 13th day of the moon Safer, in the year 621, compelling Abul Melic to abdicate his power by threatening his life, which they spared only on condition of his taking an oath to that effect, when they declared Abdallah Mohamad their king. Nay, at the end of three days from that of Abul Melic Abdel Wahid's deposition, the partizans of Abdallah Mohamad deprived his predecessor of life, fearing the steps he might take, if

aided by fortune, for his restoration to that throne of which they had deprived him against his will, and being in dread of the cruel vengeance which they knew that he would take on all who had offended him, should it ever be in his power to do so. Abul Melic reigned eight months and nine days.

The Christians were meanwhile continuing to ravage the Comarcas of the Moslemah in Spain: they entered the territory of Valencia with a powerful army, ravaging and plundering the country, as was their wont. The force with which they devastated Andalusia was so mighty a host, that no equal force could be brought to contend with it in the disunion and disorder which then prevailed. Mohamad, the Wali of Baeza, offered to become the vassal of the Christian King, who accepted that proposal on certain conditions, the principal of which were that Mohamad should assist him in his future conquests, and pay him tribute. On these conditions, the Wali was left in his government of Baeza, and gave his aid to the Christians in their war against Islam. The fortress of Huejada was taken about this time by the Infidel forces, but not without great loss on their side, as well as on that of the Moslemah, among whom they made a terrible slaughter.

And now, as it was found that the new Ameer Abu Mohamad Abdallah El Aladel would not permit the Xeques to exercise the despotic power to which they pretended, nor suffer them to tyrannise over the people as they were disposed to do,—nay rather, was compelled by his rectitude and love of justice to refuse many of the ambitious requests they made to him, those same men who had proclaimed him king became dissatisfied with his rule, and thought only of the means by which they might best destroy their own work.

Nor did they long wait for a favourable opportunity for effecting their purpose; and the occasion presented itself in this wise. The Christians, assisted by the Wali of Medina Baeza, fell upon the territories of Mohamad Abdallah with a powerful army, and took several fortresses; among others those of Anduxar, Martis, and Xudar; but as the King had not power sufficient to restrain these opponents, or meet them in the field, he made a truce with them, and finally

concluded a peace, hoping thereby to obtain leisure for assuring himself on his throne, and ameliorating his own condition, as well as that of the State.

But herein the Xeques found the occasion they had desired, and censuring his proceedings, they declared him a bad Mosleman, inciting the people to insurrection against him, and so working on the multitude that they would no longer pay their accustomed obedience; they furthermore refused the ordinary contributions from their products, and absented themselves from that service to the State to which they were bound by their tenures.

Finally, Mohamad Abdallah was proclaimed an unlawful usurper of the throne by a solemn and public proclamation; and that these might not be merely vain ceremonies, the Xeques, having won over the principal officers of his guard, found means to enter his apartments secretly, and strangled him in bed. Thus ended the life of the virtuous King Mohamad Abdallah, who died in the year 624, after he had held the reins of empire three years, eight months, and nine days.

CHAP. LVII.—OF THE ELECTION OF CID ABULOLA EDRIS ALMEMIN BEN JAKOB ALMANZOR. THE AMEER REFUSES THE PRESUMPTION OF THE XEQUES, AND CONQUERS THE CHRISTIANS. HE PASSES INTO AFRICA. HIS DEATH. THE EMPIRE OF THE ALMOHADES FINDS ITS CLOSE.

THE Almohade Xeques then, by common consent, proclaimed Cid Almemin Abulola Edris Aben Jakob Almanzor, their Ameer. He was an illustrious general, great in counsel, and of a noble mind: his victories in the province of Eastern Africa had brought him much renown, and he had subsequently been appointed Governor of Medina Seville, where he was highly esteemed. It was by his order that the Alcazar of Malaga, called the Palace of Seid, had been erected; and this work he had seen completed under his own direction in the year 623.

The people had no sooner proclaimed that noble king their Ameer Amuminin, than he began to follow the good example left by his brother Muhamad Abdallah, restraining and correcting that unlimited authority to which the Almo-

hade Xeques of the two councils had of late pretended, but which he was firmly resolved to subdue. Abulola Edris commenced his work by writing a book against the Policy and Laws of El Mehedi,—pointing out their inconsistencies, making obvious the disorders and misgovernment which had resulted from their adoption, and manifesting his determination to correct the constitution and ameliorate the government instituted by the Founder of the Almohade Dynasty.

In all this the Ameer Amuminin was ably supported by his Vizier, Abu Zacaria Ben Abi Amer, a wise man and profound politician, who had, indeed, suggested many of his views to the king, Abulola Edris Almemin Almanzor, in whose opinions, as regarded the infirmities of the State and the remedies demanded by the same, he fully concurred, both being firmly convinced that in an absolute and despotic government there should be no other laws than those of God, and no authority beyond the will of the sovereign.

When the Almohade Xeques became fully aware of the views entertained by the new Ameer, they diligently sought means for avoiding their own ruin, and maintaining themselves in the authority and sovereign power which they had usurped. They openly expressed their opposition to his purposes, and, affecting contempt for the choice of the people, they declared the election of Abulola Edris to have been effected by force, and affirmed his rule to be merely the result of a popular tumult. They next proceeded to the proclamation of another sovereign; but they imposed their decision on its object by force rather than by his free will, and the Xeque they chose was the weak and incapable Abu Zacaria Yahye Aben Anasir, to whom they instantly took the oath of allegiance. They soon afterwards proclaimed him publicly with great pomp, affirming him the legitimate successor of the Ameer Muhamad Abdallah, and declaring the Xeque Cid Almemin Abulola Edris to be an intruding usurper of the throne of the Almohades.

Immediately after the solemn ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance, the Xeques sent their new sovereign into Spain with a well-appointed force of cavalry, wherewith they hoped that he would be able to expel the actual

possessor of the empire. When Abulola Edris heard of Yayhe Ben Anasir's arrival, he assembled his troops, and with the aid of the Christian cavaliers who were then in Seville, was enabled to march forth and meet his rival, whom he encountered in the Comarcas of Sidonia. Here several conflicts ensued, with various fortune on either side; but when the candidates for empire came to a pitched battle of power against power, Abulola Edris Almemin broke and defeated the army of his competitor, Yahye Ben Anasir, who was himself compelled to fly to the mountains as his only means of saving the few of his people yet remaining to him.

Abulola Edris did not pursue the conquered pretender to sovereignty, since the poor relics of Yahye Ben Anasir's army were not of force to cause him any apprehension: he therefore repaired to the frontiers, whither he was summoned by the more pressing duty of restricting the aggressions of the Infidel.

The arrogance of the Christian Powers had indeed arrived at such a point at that time as to cause the utmost alarm in Andalusia. Not content with harassing the frontier, they had now extended their incursions even to the centre of the country, advanced parties of Christians having begun to devastate the plains of the Xenil; nay, their forces had taken possession of Loxa and Alhamra, and they were then laying siege to Jaen. But the Ameer Amuminin Abulola Edris Almemin advanced with prompt resolution to the succour of his people; and falling upon the camp of the Christians, he gave them battle before Jaen, when they were vanquished with very heavy loss. This defeat compelled the forces assailing Jaen to raise the siege of that city; they struck their camp accordingly, and fled in all haste from the district, abandoning the fortresses which they had occupied therein, with whatever prey and spoils they had taken in the course of their incursion.

When Almemin Abulola Edris had thus secured his frontiers, he determined to punish the insolence of the Xeques, who were preventing his proclamation in Almagreb, and throwing obstacles in the way to his receiving the oath of allegiance in the South as well as in Eastern Africa. Thus, leaving his most trusted generals to govern Seville

and other less important cities of Andalusia, he embarked for Almagreb, passing to the opposite shores on the 22nd of the moon Xawal, in the year 624.

During the moon of Ramazan, in the year 626, the great battle of Gezia Tarik was fought, and in that conflict died Ibrahim Aben Gamen, Admiral of the fleet of Morocco, and Wali of Cebta.*

The Ameer Amuminim Abulola Edris Almemin arrived at Morocco, with a body of light cavalry, in so much haste and secrecy, that his enemies had scarcely received notice of his approach when they found their king in the midst of them. With a spirit truly royal, Abulola entered that court where the Xeques and Councillors, who were his mortal enemies, held sovereign power, and were governing in full authority. Repairing at once to the Alcazar, he commanded that the Xeques of the two Councils should be summoned to his presence, when he reproved them severely before his guard for their disloyalty, and for the insolence of their pretensions to the exercise of arbitrary power. He did not refuse to listen to the exculpations they offered, but having convinced himself and all around him of the perfidy and ambitious intentions of those nobles, the Ameer condemned them all to death, a sentence which was immediately executed by his guards on those present: these were the principal and most important of the Xeques, who disputed his power, and the soldiers, leading them into the court of the palace, took off their heads.

On those still absent a similar sentence was pronounced by Abulola Edris, all who defended and sheltered them being condemned to the like punishment; and so exactly was the command sent forth by that rigorous justice obeyed, that in a few days no less than four thousand heads were laid before the Ameer Amuminin, who commanded

* The interruption here given to the narrative by the interpolation of this remark relating to an event which took place nearly two years later, will not fail to attract the reader's attention; but the Translator has not considered a departure from the order of relation adopted by the author to be advisable, although occasionally venturing to transfer the members of a paragraph, when the meaning of the narrator has required that slight change, to redeem it from a certain obscurity occasionally to be remarked in the pages before us.

that they should be suspended on the hooks of the city walls.

All now trembled before this king; his Negro Guard and Andalusians were the terror of Almagreb; insomuch that no man dared to do any other thing than obey with trembling haste whatever orders were issued by the severe Abulola. The condemnation of the Xeques took place in the year 627.

And now, as the cause of that unmeasured authority possessed by the Council, whose members had been thus summarily dealt with, was the law and constitution of El Mehedi, so Abulola Edris Almemin annulled that law and corrected the constitution. He restricted the powers of the two Councils, whose functions he limited to such a degree that they were thenceforth to be considered but as Councillors of the Cadi, without the faculty of intervention in any of the more important affairs of state. They were even forbidden to take share in the administration of justice, save only in ordinary causes, and the usual questions of business arising between private individuals.

Next, trampling the prejudices of the people under foot, the Ameer Abulola Edris Almemin commanded that the name of El Mehedi should be omitted from the public prayers and discourses; nay, he gave orders that the words referring to him should be removed from the coins on which they had hitherto appeared, and erased from all the public inscriptions, declaring that it was no longer permitted to continue or maintain the memory of that imposture which had been practised on the popular credulity by the self-elected Imaum, called El Mehedi. The Ameer furthermore prohibited the mention of his name in public acts, under very heavy penalties, although it had ever before been the custom that he should be commemorated in all such documents, even from the accession of the Ameer Abdelmumen Ben Aly to that day.

Strong measures, of a verity, and difficult of execution were the changes thus determined on and commanded by Abulola Edris Almemin; but the spectacle of those heads of the Xeques and their partizans, fixed on the hooks of the city walls, as aforesaid, kept all men in terror, and none dared to censure or disobey those commandments.

Now the season of the year when so many heads were

thus affixed to the city wall was a hot one, and the weather being sultry, the whole place was infected by the odours they sent forth; therefore the inconvenience endured by the citizens from that cause was represented to the king by his Alcatib or secretary, the Alfaki Abu Said of Fez. But Almemin Abulola replied in these words: "Be at peace, Abu Said, for the spirits* of those heads guard this city, they do not injure it; those emanations are sweet and aromatic to all who love me and are loyal—they are pestilent and mortal to such only as abhor me and would do me wrong: wherefore give thyself no care in the matter: I know well what is needful to the public health."

In that same year of 627, the troops of Abdelola Edris Almemin had an encounter with those of the Xeque Abu Zacaria Yahye Aben Anasir, at no great distance from Medina Morocco; the battle was an obstinate one, but Almemin defeated his opponent, inflicting on him heavy loss, insomuch that there remained no less than ten thousand of the people of Yahye Aben Anasir on the field of battle. The Xeque Abu Zacaria saved his life only by flying with a part of his army to the Mountains of Fez.

Having then made things quiet in Almagreb, the Ameer Amuminin turned his thoughts towards Spain, where the partizans of Yahye Aben Anasir were inciting the people against him, more particularly those of Granada. The Christians also, still aided by Mohamad, Wali of Baeza, had once more entered the land and made themselves masters of numerous fortresses, among which were Sarbaterra and Borgalhimar, with some others of less importance. Losses had been sustained in Andalusia, while in Valencia, Cid Abu Abdallah, the brother of the Ameer Amuminin, had been compelled to surrender the Fortress of Baniscola; nay, fearing still more fatal reverses of fortune, the prince had entered into a compact of alliance with Gacum the King of the Christians.†

For all these reasons it was that Abulola Edris Almemin resolved to return to Spain, and he departed for

* The Arabic of the manuscript here used may be rendered "breath," "word," or "spirit."—*Condé.*

† James of Barcelona.—*Tr.*

that country accordingly. There, after resting for some few days in Seville, he prepared to attempt the reduction of Medina Baeza, which was in the power of the rebel Xeque Muhamad, the ally of the Christians, by whom those Infidels were favoured and protected, he being in effect the cause of their having entered the country with so much facility and success. The Ameer therefore assembled his forces of Malaga, Seville, and Cordova, departing to besiege Medina Baeza, with the resolve to maintain his camp before that city until he had made good his entrance thereto, either by convention or force of arms. But the alliance which Muhamad had formed with the Christians having indisposed his people towards their Wali, they opened the gates of their city to the Ameer Amuminin after a few days of siege, and, in exculpation of the short opposition made to Abulola, they presented him with the head of Muhamad, saying, "This, O king, is the head of him who sheltered and entertained the Christians, compelling us to receive them and give them provisions."

Abulola Edris Almemin rejoiced mightily over that gift, the death of Muhamad having set his hands at liberty for other and yet more pressing occupations; wherefore, in consideration thereof, he took the city into his especial favour and protection.

About this time, a cavalier of the highest distinction, who was descended from the last kings of Saragossa, made himself master of Murcia, which he did by the aid of the Christian princes. The name of the noble was Abu Abdallah Muhamad Aben Juzef Aben Hud Algiuzami: he was an excellent man as well as a very brave general, and was received very well in the city of Murcia, where he was proclaimed by the title of Almetuakil Alle Allah. To maintain himself in the state he had thus acquired, Aben Juzef Algiuzami united his forces with those of Abu Zacaria Yahye Anasir, the competitor of Abelola Edris Almemin, who was then occupying the territory of Jaen, and making some progress in the Alpuxarras.

That rebellion of Murcia and the alliance of those two Xeques caused infinite anxiety to the Ameer Abulola Edris; and to the end that he might have his hands at liberty to attack them with all the forces he could muster, he wrote

letters to the King, Ferdelando of the Christians, making friendly proposals to that monarch, and concluding a peace with him. Nay, Abulola Edris did not scruple to send very precious gifts to that Infidel, with the understanding that Ferdelando was not to make war on the Ameer Amuminin, while the latter should be occupied in the subjugation of his territories, and the punishment of the rebels who were usurping the same.

While the Ameer was thus arranging his alliance with the Christian Ferdelando, Abu Juzef Algiuzami had fallen upon the Comarcas of Granada, when Cid Abu Abdallah, the brother of Abulola Edris, went forth against him, and several skirmishes were fought between them with varying fortunes; but the advantage remained for the most part with Abu Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud, and victory ultimately folded her wings on his banners, insomuch that Cid Abu Abdallah was at length compelled to shut himself up in Granada. Here Abu Muhamad Aben Hud besieged him with determined bravery, and having secret intelligence with the inhabitants, these last were persuaded by the zealous endeavours of his partizans to throw open their gates to the besieging forces, when they proclaimed Abu Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud to be their sovereign and Prince of the Faithful. This event took place in the year 628.*

Cid Abu Abdallah then withdrew to the Alcazaba or citadel, where he fortified himself as he best might; but perceiving that the dispositions of the Granadines were not in his favour, and considering the little security that he could hope for in their city, he departed from it secretly, and took refuge in Medina Cordova with his brother, Abulola Edris Almemin.

Cid Abu Abdallah found the Ameer preparing to bring succours to the place, with the loss of which he had come to make him acquainted; and that intelligence caused infinite regret to Abulola Edris, disconcerting his measures, and giving him heavy anxieties for the future, since he could not but fear that the civil war then raging would result in the ruin of the state. Abu Abdallah Muhamad

* Or according to Abdel Halim, in 626—*Condé.*

Ben Juzef Aben Hud was in fact rapidly making himself master of the Granadine Comarcas, all the cities and fortresses of those provinces declaring for him, with the sole exception of those then occupied by his ally Abu Zacaria Yahye Anasir, who did not regard the rapid success of Aben Hud with favourable eyes.

The Ameer Abulola Edris Almemin had meanwhile become doubtful of his fortunes in Spain, considering that the forces he could command in that country were not sufficient to bring the perilous contest he had to wage with those two rebels to a happy conclusion: he therefore determined to pass over into Africa, and there to assemble an army so powerful as to be capable of inspiring terror into the hearts of the nobles thus dismembering the state: that determination was no sooner taken than the Ameer departed from Seville with all diligence to put his resolve into execution.

But King Abulola Edris had no sooner left the country than fresh troubles arose in Valencia; when a noble Xeque of that province, called Abu Giomail Zeyan Ben Mudafe Algiuzami, took arms against the Ameer's brother, Cid Abu Abdallah, whom he compelled to flee the city as his only hope of escape from death; wherefore, as his brother Abulola Edris had then already embarked for Africa, Cid Abu Abdallah took refuge with the King Giacum* El Barceloni, who was then at truce with him. This took place in the end of the year 629.

The Ameer of the Faithful, Abulola Almemin Edris, had meanwhile arrived in the neighbourhood of Guadalabid on his way towards Medina Morocco, when he was overtaken on the road by the mandate of Death,—that power which effectually cuts short the steps of Man, putting an end to his vain hopes, and bringing his enterprises to the dust. His departure from life took place at the close of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 629, and with the death of that virtuous king the empire of the Almohades in Andalusia may be said to have found its close: but it will not be out of place here to give a brief account of the final extinction of that dynasty, once so powerful both in Africa and Spain.

* This "Giacum El Barceloni," or of Barcelona, is the "Gakum" of a previous passage. (*See page* 89.)

When the news of the king's death reached Medina Morocco, numerous parties and factions were formed by the different supporters of those who pretended to the succession. Some raised their voices for a nephew of Abulola Edris, called Abu Zacaria Yahye, the son of his brother, the Ameer Amuminin Muhamad Ben Jakob Almanzor, known as Anasir Ledinallah. This Abu Zacaria Yahye, who was called Almotesim Billah, was at that time in Spain, where he was seeking to maintain his pretensions to the throne, but with little success; his partizans wrote letters, therefore, requesting him to pass the strait and repair to Morocco.

Others, and these were the greater number, proclaimed the son of the Ameer Abulola as his successor: this prince was called Abu Mohamad Abdelwahid, and had also the name of Raxid. He received the oath of allegiance, and was publicly proclaimed in Andalusia, as well as in Almagreb, Africa, and Alkibla. His cousin, Abu Zacaria Yahye, called Almotesim Billah, was not more fortunate on the African side than he had previously been in Andalusia, nor did he succeed in making good his right to the throne of the Almohades: after many reverses and much suffering, Abu Zacaria departed from life at Fez de Abdallah, which is situate between Tessa and Medina Fez,—an event which took place in the moon Xamal of the year 633.

The death of Abu Zacaria Yahye did not put an end to the prevalent disorders, and the King Abu Mohamad Abdelwahid, continually occupied in the endeavour to allay these evils, yet never finding means to tranquillize the country, passed his days in perpetual disquietude. He perished miserably by suffocation in a morass, into the midst of which he had been forced by an unruly horse, which had run away with its rider: that unhappy death occurred on the 9th of the moon Giumada Ultima, in the year 640, when Abu Mohamad Abdelwahid had reigned ten years, five months, and nine days.

To this unfortuate monarch succeeded his brother Abul Hassan Aly, called also Said, who was the younger son of the Ameer Abulola Edris Amumenin. In the reign of Abul Hassan Aly Said it was that the Beni Zeyanes and Beni Merines began to lift their heads in revolt. The

chiefs of those parties were both of noble and highly distinguished families in Eastern Africa; and they gave the Ameer Abul Hassan so much occupation, that in all his reign he had not one hour of repose. He set forth with a very powerful army against Jagmerasin Ben Zeyan, who called himself Sultan of Telencen, and they met on the mountains of Tamahajert, on the borders of Telencen, when a conflict ensued in which Abu Yahye Jagmerasin Aben Zeyan defeated the Ameer Abu Hassan Aly, who died fighting in the hottest of the battle. That event occurred on Tuesday, the 29th of the moon Safei, in the year 646;* after the reign of Abul Hassan had endured five years, eight months, and twenty days. His troops then dispersed, and fled in various directions.

Abul Hassan was followed on the throne by Omar Aben Ibrahim Ishac, son of the Ameer Amuminin Jakob Juzef Ben Abdelmumen Ben Aly: he was called Almortadi, was a virtuous, brave, and learned prince, whose efforts were all directed towards the welfare of his people, and well merited to have lived in less turbulent times. He continued the war which had been commenced by his predecessor against the Beni Merines, but with fortunes that frequently varied. During his reign, Abu Yahye Ben Abdelhac revolted and made himself master of Tessa, as he did also of Medina Fez. At the same time the Fakir Abul Cazior, son of the Fakir Abul Abbas, incited the people of Cebta, or Ceuta, to revolt. This Abul Cazion, who was a native of Azefa, was a person of much learning: the insurrection headed by him took place in the year 647.

Now the Ameer Omar Aben Ibrahim undertook a journey to Medina Tinmaul, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of El Mehedi, as had been the wont of his forefathers, the earlier Almohade Princes, when there instantly arose against him a kinsman of his own, called Abulola Edris, son of Muhamad Ben Ali Hafas Ben Abdelmumen Ben Aly, who was furthermore named Alwatik-Billah and Almutamed Alehi. He likewise received the by-name of Abu Dibus, or the Lord of the Club, from the circumstance that, being in Andalusia, he had ever beside him a weapon

* Other writers say 641.—*Condé.*

of that character, when the Andalusians scoffingly bestowed on him the appellation above mentioned.

Coveting the sovereignty of his kinsman, and forgetting the former nobility of his nature, Abu Dibus formed an alliance with the enemies of his own house and race, proposing a compact of mutual assistance to the Beni Merines, and promising to give them the half of the realm, on condition that they should make him master of Morocco. Nor did those nobles refuse the proffer, and by their aid the city was compelled to surrender; Almutamed Alehi, called Abu Dibus, himself commanding the cavalry of the Beni Merines on that occasion.

The unfortunate Ameer, Omar Aben Ibrahim Ben Ishac, was then compelled to fly for his life, and with certain cavaliers of his train took the way towards Medina Azamor, where he hoped to be secure; but the inhabitants of Azamor, seeing that he had only a very few followers, rose in rebellion and cast him into prison. It is true that, by promises and offers of reward, the Ameer succeeded in prevailing on a servant of the prison to liberate him from that dungeon, and, leaving the place by night, he was let down from the city walls. He then fled, together with his assistant, on horses which had been previously provided. But they had not proceeded far, when the miserable slave attacked the Ameer suddenly as he was pursuing his flight, without suspicion of evil: and although the valiant Omar Ben Ibrahim long defended himself against the miscreant traitor, yet he was finally deprived of life by the impure hands of that treacherous slave. The unhappy death of the Ameer Almortadi took place on the 2nd day of the moon Safer, in the year 665. The tomb of Omar Ben Ibrahim, still a well-known sepulchre, was subsequently much visited: the period of his reign was eighteen years, nine months, and twenty-two days.

The sons of the murdered Ameer Omar Aben Ibrahim were kept in prison by Abu Dibus during all the time of his ill-won sovereignty. Abulola Edris, called Abu Dibus, whose reign extended to the period of two years and some months, obtained possession of the state by the help he had purchased from the Beni Merines; but no long time after the commencement of his rule,

he Beni Merines, offended by the non-fulfilment of his promises, made war upon him for that cause. The fortune of arms varied to a certain extent for some time, but was for the most part adverse to Abu Dibus; yet in the third year of his troubled sovereignty he determined to venture his all on the chance of a pitched battle.

The armies met accordingly on the banks of the Guadilgafir; that encounter taking place on the 2nd day of Moharram, in the year 678. An obstinate conflict then ensued, and was maintained with equal success throughout the day; but towards the fall of night the enemies of Abu Dibus defeated and routed him, when the desperate Edris Abulola died fighting with the fury of a wounded lion. His head was then taken off and carried to Medina Fez,—an event which occurred on the 9th day of the moon above mentioned. Few of the many sanguinary battles fought in Africa proved more fatal to life than did this of the Guadilgafir, the field having been left covered with corpses, an acceptable feast for the beasts and birds of prey.

And so ended the empire of the Almohade princes, descendants of the Ameer Amuminin Abdelmumen Ben Aly, which concluded without leaving trace or sign of those monarchs remaining. Their dynasty endured one hundred and fifty-two years.

Praise be to God, whose empire never endeth; whose power is infinite; and of whose glory there is no end; nor is there any other God but He!

CHAP. LVIII.—Of the empire of the Beni Merines.

Now this is the genealogy of Abdelhac, the father of our present lord, the Ameer of the Faithful—whom may God exalt. He was the son of Abu Chalid Mahayu, a grandson of Abu Bekar, of Hamema, of Muhamad, of Quinar, of Merin, of Vertagin, of Mahûh, of Gerig, of Fatin, of Ikdar, of Iahfit, of Abdallah, of Vertit, of Maaz, of Ibrahim, of Segih, of Vatites, of Talisten, of Mensir, of Zaquia, of Versic, of Zenat, of Jana, of Yahye, of Jamrit, of Daris, of

Regib, of Madaguis Elebter, of Jezid, of Cais, of Ilan, of Modar, of Vezar, of Maad, of Adnan.

Abu Bekar, the grandfather of Abdelhac, was a noble Xeque of the land of Zaub, in Alkibla or the south country; he accompanied the Ameer of the Faithful, Jakob Almanzor, to Spain, and was present at the renowned battle of Alarcos, in which the Zenetes, among whom Abu Bekar fought bravely, suffered greatly from the onslaughts of the enemy: he came forth from that encounter with life, but wounded with many wounds, and returning to Africa, he died in his own country of Zaub in the year 592.

Abu Chalid Mahyu, the son of Abu Bekar, and father of Abdelhac, took up his abode at a later period in the land of Almagreb, where his son Abdelhac rendered himself famous by his deeds in arms. Abdelhac was indeed a brave and excellent man, who feared no other being save God alone: he carried on perpetual wars with the Alarabians of Riyah; and in these he had great and notable successes, but finally died in a battle with those borderers, as did also his brother Idris, who was in his company.

On the death of Abu Chalid Mahyu, the command of his tribe was taken by his son, Abu Said Ozman, who caused himself to be entitled Ameer. He took a solemn oath to avenge the blood of his father and uncle, and not to lay the weapon out of his hands until he should have slain one hundred of the most noble Xeques of the tribes who were his enemies, making a cruel war on the Alarabians with that intent, and subjugating many of their tribes.

Among the first of the Cabilas who submitted themselves to the domination of Abu Said Abdallah Ben Ozman Ben Abu Chalid were the following:—Hobara, Zucara, Tusala, Mekinesa, Butuya, Festala, and Siderata: after these came the Cabilas of Bahtula, Mediula, and Meliona, all of whom confessed themselves to be his tributaries, and paid him the Almahona or tribute-money of vassalage; the Hafites or doctors being the only persons exempted. These conquests Abu Ozman completed in the year 614.

This Ameer likewise compelled the people of Medina Fez, Yesce, and Alcazar Abdel-Kerim, to make certain conventions with him, and they also, acknowledging his supremacy, consented to pay him service and tribute. The states of Abu

Said Ozman Ben Abu Chalid were much extended by the uninterrupted prosperity of his arms during the three-and-twenty years which was the period of his reign; seing that he held the command of those rude dwellers in the desert, his Merine followers, from the death of his father, Abu Mohamad Abdallah Ben Abu Chalid, which took place in the year 615, to the year 638. His own death was caused by the thrust of a lance in the throat, given him by a servant who had been taken from his Infidel parents in his childhood, and had been brought up from that time by Abu Ozman.

After the departure of that Ameer to the mercy of Allah, the empire of the Beni Merines fell to his brother, Abu Muarref Mohamad, to whom all the Merine Xeques took the oath of allegiance, proffering to make war on all whom he should attack, and to defend all whom he should take into his protection. The Ameer Muarref Mohamad continued that subjugation of the tribes dwelling in Almagreb, which had been commenced by his brother, Abu Ozman. Being a well-experienced and very valiant warrior, he conquered his enemies in many battles, and happily subjected several of their tribes to his authority. For this cause he was much celebrated by the poets, who declared of this Ameer that his repose was to do battle with the foe, day and night, that his decorations and ornaments were armour and weapons, while his sports were the sanguinary conflicts of the field. Once only was Abu Moarref defeated by the Almohades, and that day he died fighting.

Now the manner of that event was on this wise. Abu Said, the Ameer of the Almohades, had sent against Muarref Mohamad an admirably well-appointed force, in which there were no less than twenty thousand Almohade troops, and a body of Alarabians from Hescura, with certain valiant generals of the Christians. That host encountered the army of Abu Moarref on the confines of Fez, and a terrible conflict ensued. The battle was indeed one of the most obstinate and sanguinary ever known, since it commenced with the first gleam of dawn and did not terminate until the approach of night, when the soil was dyed red with the blood of the slain.

In the later part of the afternoon, aud just as the sun was setting, Muarref Mohamad, the Ameer of the Beni

Merines, encountered a bravé general of the Christians, with whom he commenced a single combat, wherein the Christian killed Muarref by a thrust of his lance, the horse of the Ameer being so greatly wearied by the many hours during which his master had been fighting that he did not turn with the rapidity required, and thus the Christian could wound him much at his ease. When Muarref Muhamad fell, the spirit of his people fell with him, and being totally defeated they were driven from the field. That sanguinary battle took place on Thursday, the 9th day of Giumada Secunda, in the year 642.

The command of the Beni Merines was then assumed by the brother of Muarref Mohamad, Abu Bekar Yahye, who was the son of a free woman, and a daughter of the house of Abdelwaid. The Ameer Yahye was ambidextrous, and could throw a lance from each hand at the same moment with infinite force and facility. When the Merine Xeques proffered the oath of allegiance to this sovereign he divided the whole of the lands among them, and yielded to them the revenues of Almagreb.

Fixing his camp in Velad Zarhun, Abu Bekar Yahye Ben Abdallah thence made war on Mekinesa, which he reduced to his authority in the year 643, having taken Medina Fez three years previously. And there he was subsequently buried, his tomb being within the gate called Babe Giseyin (which is that whence he departs who wills to travel towards Andalusia), and near the sepulchre of the Xeque Muhamad Festeli.

On the death of Abu Bekar Yahye, that monarch was succeeded in the empire of the Beni Merines by Abu Juzef, another son of Abdallah Ben Abu Chalid, and brother of the three preceding Ameers. This valiant prince did not cease to make war against the Almohades until he had driven them from every part of his territories: nay, he extirpated that race as the husbandman roots up the weeds from a field which he proposes to cultivate, without leaving trace or sign thereof. He made himself master of Medina Morocco, and his entry into that city took place on the day Axura in the year 678. Four years prior to that period Abu Juzef Ben Abdelhac made his first voyage into

Spain, and it was during his absence on that occasion that the massacre of the Jews of Fez took place.

In the same year, and in the Moon Xawal, a commencement was made for the foundations of the new city of Fez, which received the name of Medina Ibeida, because the edifices then newly erected therein were whitened. In the year 677 the works were completed.

The second journey of Abu Juzef to Spain was made in the year 676, when he repaired to Medina Tarifa, with intent to pass on to Seville. On this occasion there went in his company the two sons of Abu Juzef, the Ameers Abu Jakob and Abu Zeyan Mendel. They proceeded by Ronda, and in that campaign Abu Juzef caused his power to be much dreaded in the land of Spain. His third voyage to that country took place in the year 681, and as he then saw that the walls of Algezira-Alhadra were in a very dilapidated condition, he repaired all the Bunia, and greatly strengthened the fortifications. Here the Ameer was met by his son-in-law Inad, who was then in the Comarca of Ronda with his forces. Abu Juzef then found means to procure auxiliaries for the reduction of the rebels by whom he was still disquieted.

A fourth journey to Spain was undertaken by that monarch in the year 684, when he was again accompanied by his two sons, Abu Jakob Juzef and Abu Zeyan Mendal. On that occasion he laid siege to the city of Xeris, and was detained before the place nearly four months.

In the Moon of Muharram of the year 685 Abu Juzef died; an event which took place in the Almunia on the Green Island, whence his remains were transmitted for interment to Medina Salè. The period of this monarch's reign was twenty-eight years, six months, and twenty-two days. In his time it was that the Great Anoria* was constructed in the river of Fez.

The Ameer Jakob Juzef had seven sons; the eldest was Abu Melic Abdel Walid, who received the oath of allegiance as successor to the throne, but died in his father's lifetime; the second was Abu Jacob Juzef, who became

* Anoria: wheel for raising water from the river.—*Tr.*

Ameer on the death of his father; the third was Abu Zeyan Mendel; the fourth was Abu Salem Mendel, who also died in his father's lifetime; the fifth was Abu Amir Abdallah, who died in battle against the Ameer Omar Ben Ibrahim Aben Ishac Almortadi; the sixth was Abu Muarref Muhamad; and the seventh Abu Yahye.

On the death of the Ameer Abu Juzef, his son Abu Jakob Juzef became sovereign of the Beni Merines, as hath been related. The reign of this king was twenty-one years, nine months, and fourteen days. He had four sons,—Abu Salem Ibrahim, Abu Amir, Abdallah, who died at Tangiers, and Abdelmumen Abu Kurhan Mafot.

The noble sovereign Abu Jakob Juzef crossed the strait to Andalusia, where he besieged the city of Bejer, as he did subsequently that of Telencen, in Almagreb, which was a much protracted siege, and became the more remarkable being the period of Jakob Juzef's existence, since the death of that monarch took place before its conclusion. The departure of Jakob Juzef occurred in the Moon of Dylcada of the year 706, when his remains were removed to Medina Salè for burial. By his death his cousin, Abu Said Amir, son of Abu Amir Abdallah, who was a son of the King Jakob Juzef Ben Abdelhac, succeeded to the kingdom, but Abu Said was not acknowledged in Telencen until after many dissensions and much strife caused by that succession.

When he had seated himself firmly on the throne, Abu Said Amir deprived the principal persons who had opposed his accession of their lives. The term of his reign was one year and three months; that of his whole life being but twenty-four years. He died in the vicinity of Tanja, during the Moon of Safer, and in the year 708. His body was at first interred in the Alcazaba of that city, but was subsequently transferred to Salè, and buried near that of his grandfather.

After the death of Abu Said Amir, the brother of that sovereign, Abu Rebie Zuleyman Ben Amir Abu Amir Abdallah, son of the King Abu Jakob, assumed the sceptre of the Beni Merines. In his time the city of Ceuta returned to its first and ancient lords, an event which occurred in the year 709. Abu Rebie Zuleyman reigned two years, four months, and twenty-three days. He died at Medina

Tessa, on the 1st of the Moon Regeb, in the year 710, and was buried in the courts of the mosque in that city.

The successor of Rebie Zuleyman Abu Abdallah was the uncle of his father Abu Said Ozman, son of the King Abu Juzef Jakob Ben Abdelhac; he was born during the life of his grandfather, and in the year 674; the duration of his reign was twenty years and six months; he died in the immediate vicinity of Medina Fez as he was approaching that city from Telencen, and his departure from life occurred in the moon of Dylcada, in the year 731. He was succeeded by his son, Abu Hassan Aly, who reigned two years and four months, dying in the mountains of Hinteta, which are situate on the confines of Morocco. Abu Hassan departed to the mercy of Allah on the last day of the moon Rebie Primera, in the year 752.

The successor of Abu Hassan was Abu Inan Faris, who was called Motewakil Allè Allah, Prince of the Moslemah; he retained the empire during a period of seven years and nine months. Abu Inan died on the 24th day of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 759, when his son, Abu Bekar, succeeded him, but reigned only seven months and twenty days. Abu Bekar Ben Inan Faris was followed by his uncle, Abu Salem Ibrahim, son of the King Abul Hassan. This sovereign was called Almostain Billah: he governed the state two years, three months, and five days: his death took place in the moon of Dylcada, in the year 762. The brother of Almostain Billah was the successor of that monarch: he was called Abu Amir Taxifin, and was a son of the King Abul Hassan. His reign endured but three months, and he was followed by his nephew, Abu Zeyan Mohamad, son of the Ameer Abu Abderahman Jakob, who was a son of the King Abul Hassan. Zeyan Mohamad held command during five years, and died in the year 768. After him came his uncle, Abu Faris Abdelaziz, also a son of the King Abul Hassan: his reign had endured five years when he died, an event which took place at Telencen, in the moon of Rebie Primera, and the year 773. By his death, the empire fell to his son, Abu Said Mohamad, who was a child of five years only, and did not remain on the throne more than two years; at the end of which time, and in the

moon of Muharram, 775, the government was taken from his hands.

After the death of Abu Said Mohamad, the reins of empire were assumed by Aben Zeid Abderahman Motewakil Allè Allah, son of the Ameer Abul Hassan Aly Ben Said Othman Ben Abu Juzef Jakob Ben Abdelhak. That sovereign ascended the throne in the court of Morocco, in the moon of Moharram, and the year 775: and it is this great monarch who is happily reigning on the day when we finish the book now before you, O reader; that day being the moon Rebie Primera, in the year 783.

In this king hath Allah presented to us good hope of prosperity—may the Almighty permit these signs and indications to be accomplished, granting us all that is desired from a good prince, which is victory over the Infidels and all felicity to the Moslemah. There have now passed seven years and two months of Abu Zeid Abderahman's reign: may God grant that his empire shall be constantly governed in justice and rectitude, to the welfare of the Moslemah, according to His sovereign will and pleasure.

And now have we arrived at the end of our History with the promised brevity, presenting therein a compendium of all things worthy to be remembered that have taken place from the foundation of Medina Morocco even to the present day; commencing with the time when, the site of the city being but the abode of lions and the pasture of the hart, the first stone thereof was laid, a period of time from which to the present day three hundred and twenty years have passed.

Firstly, there governed in the new city the Almoravides, who were masters thereof seventy-nine years; next came the Almohades, who held the same one hundred and twenty-six years; and then followed the Beni Merinas, who have ruled one hundred and fifteen years from the time when the Almohade empire came to a close, even to these our days; the whole sum of which, to the end that none may be ignorant of the same, is three hundred and twenty years. The year of the foundation was that of the Hegira 462; and the present year, which is that of the completion of this our History, is the year of the Hegira 783.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.—Civil wars continue to rage among the Moslemah of Spain.

After the disastrous battle of Alacoub, which the Christians call the battle of Toledo, the whole dynasty of the Almohades gave manifest indications that the greatness thereof was tending towards its decline. The conquered prince, Muhamad Aben Juzef, called Ledmallah Anasir, filled with dismay by the grievous misadventure of Alacoub, attributed the rout of his army, not to the bravery and good conduct of the Christians, but to the incapacity of the Andalusian generals: he had, therefore, no sooner arrived at Medina Seville than he took a cruel vengeance on those leaders, striking off the heads of the most distinguished men among them, and depriving the remainder of their Alcadias, governments, and other offices.

By that unjust and impolitic proceeding, Muhamad still further estranged the Andalusian nobles, already much offended by the affronts they had previously received, insomuch that not a few of the most honourable Xeques, resolving on revenge, then became the determined enemies of his house, and awaited only the favourable moment for making their dissatisfaction manifest. The Ameer Muhamad subsequently departed from Spain and repaired to Africa, without an attempt to recover the losses he had sustained, or to repair his shattered fortunes by new campaigns in Andalusia. Arriving in Morocco, he concealed himself in his palace, as we have before related, resigning his days to indolence and the enjoyment of vain delights, and ultimately dying of poison, presented to him by the hands of those who had been the ministers of his vengeance and the instruments of his pleasures.

The son of Muhamad Aben Juzef, called Almostansir Billah, was still but a child, and was consequently governed

by the Xeques who were his kinsmen. These princes divided the provinces of Spain and Africa among themselves, not with the purpose of governing the people prudently, and maintaining them in justice during the minority of their sovereign, as they ought to have done, but to the sole intent of enriching themselves, which they effected by the exhaustion and ruin of the land. The most unheard-of extortions and the most vexatious imposts were invented by the inordinate covetousness of the Walies and Viziers, who thought only of extracting the utmost extent of profit for themselves from the general disorder: each endeavouring to retain his hold on the offices iniquitously conferred upon him, by acts of violence or by a succession of the gifts and bribes wherewith he had purchased those employments, as the case might be.

While the provinces of the state were thus daily impoverished by misgovernment, the Christians on their part went raging through the Comarcas, doing their utmost to increase the desolation everywhere prevailing. They cut up the fields, after having destroyed or carried away the growing crops; they burnt the towns, and slaughtered the unhappy dwellers in Andalusia, occupying all the fortresses of the country, insomuch that the frontier of the Moslemah remained without the means of defence. The Ameer Almostansir Billah was meanwhile employed in the breeding of flocks and herds; that prince gave his thoughts principally to the care of various kinds of cattle, having become a pastor of sheep, instead of the true defender of his people, and the guardian of that precious flock, the Moslemah of Spain, which was thus daily exposed to the attack of those ravening wolves, the Christians, who tore them to pieces at their leisure. At length that negligent ruler of his people died, without leaving any succession, when his uncle Abdelwahid, the son of Abu Jakob, was placed on the throne by the concealed plots and intrigues of the principal Xeques. The brothers of the new monarch, Cid Muhamad and Cid Abu Aly, then exercised absolute authority in Spain, which they governed with a sceptre of iron, and then it was that the dissatisfaction of the Andalusian people began to make itself felt.

In Murcia, Abdallah, who was known by the illustrious

appellation of Allahdel, exalted himself to the dignity of king, the Xeques of the province declaring themselves in his favour; and under the shadow of this party other factions began to take their rise. Muhamad, the Wali of Baeza, resolving to maintain himself in his lordship at whatever cost, made a compact with the Christians, to whom he afforded a degree of help and favour which enabled them to make perpetual incursions on Andalusia. This deplorable condition of public affairs rendered the King Abdallah Allahdel abhorrent to the people; his name was never mentioned but with maledictions; he was solemnly declared in the Aljamas to be the enemy of God and a persecutor of the Faithful, for which cause the sceptre was taken from him and he was deposed.

A similar state of things was meanwhile prevailing in Africa, where the Xeques dethroned the King Abdelwahid, proclaiming his brother in his stead: this brother of Abdelwahid was the renowned Cid Abu Aly Almamoun, an illustrious prince of distinguished merit, and one who might have put a period to the sufferings of his people, had not Fortune declared herself adverse to the prosperity of his race. He was an object of great dread to the insurgents, and equally intimidated the Christian foe. Determined to remove that fruitful cause of revolt, the unlimited power then exercised by the Almohade nobles, the new sovereign suppressed the counsels of the Xeques, thereby hoping to deliver his empire from much of the turbulence and anarchy by which every portion thereof was disquieted. But Abu Aly Almamoun was unduly generous on that occasion, and as he did not make an end of those ambitious ministers who formed those counsels, so they instantly rose against him in open rebellion, kindling new discords through all Africa as well as in Spain, where there already existed so much disunion and so many sources of misfortune.

The rebel Xeques now sent a brave and experienced general against their sovereign, and the more effectually to animate their chief for the war he was about to undertake, they declared him to be their king, and the legitimate successor to the throne of the Almohades. The monarch thus chosen by the insurgent Xeques was the noble Yahye Ben Anasir, but the extraordinary ability and great valour

of the King Abu Aly Almamoun enabled him to vanquish Yahye Ben Anasir, when the latter was compelled to retire to the mountains, where he wandered about with no other security or protection than such as was afforded by the inaccessible asperities and wildness of his retreat. By that victory the possession of the empire appeared to be secured to King Abu Aly, and in this hope he had no sooner tranquillized the provinces of Spain than he returned to Africa for the purpose of restoring order to that country also; but he had not well planted his foot on the soil before he received intelligence to the effect that a powerful enemy had once more risen up against him in the East of Spain, where the empire of the Almohades was again placed in imminent peril.

The Xeque whom Abu Aly Almemoun was now called on to oppose was no other than Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud, a noble cavalier descended from the kings of Saragossa. This noble, perceiving that an opportunity was offered for avenging himself and his house on the Almohades, and hoping to recover the ancient rights of his family, which had once been in possession of a flourishing state in the eastern parts of Spain, as we have heretofore related, availed himself of the eloquence wherewith he was endowed with so good effect that a large number of valiant cavaliers declared themselves in his favour, devoting their lives to his service, and assuring him of their readiness to die in the defence of his rights. The known generosity and other qualities essential to a great captain, which were known to be possessed by Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Juzef, with the activity of his partizans, rapidly extended the amount of his influence, and a large number of zealous followers were soon arrayed beneath his banners. These men assembled in Escuriante,* a wild and desert part of the Taa† of Uxixar, a citadel which was strongly fortified by art as well as by the nature of its position; and here they swore fealty to their chosen leader by common accord, declaring him to be their lawful sovereign, and

* Casiri tells us that this word is derived from the Arabic "Escuria," a place of rocks, and he gives the same etymon for the word Escorial or Escurial.—*Tr.*

† Taa: a medical district.—*Tr.*

proclaiming him the Ameer of the Moslemah in Spain.* The solemnities of Abu Abdallah's public installation were performed on the first day of the Moon of Ramagan, in the year 625.†

To increase his credit with the people, and in the hope of encouraging those of distant provinces to declare themselves in his favour, Abu Abdallah Muhamad sent abroad a declaration to the effect that the object he had in view was no other than the restoration of their liberty to the cities oppressed by unjust extortions—a measure from which the new monarch expected a vast accession to the number of his own followers, with a proportionate desertion from the ranks of those who still retained their allegiance to the Almohade rulers. Abu Abdallah likewise declared that he would re-establish the dues of right, or legal impositions, as they had been fixed of old, abolishing those voluntary charges, so called, with which the people had been loaded by their tyrants (for by that most abhorred of titles it was that he called the Almohade princes), whom he furthermore accused of lenity towards the Christian enemy of Islam, and reproached for their disregard of religion. The Imaums, Alchatibes, and other ministers of the Faith, also preached in the mosques to the effect that those sacred places had been profaned by the Almohade impiety; and still further to excite the popular fanaticism, they purified the holy buildings by lustrations and the performance of solemn ceremonies: after these demonstrations the benediction of the Imaum was publicly pronounced over the restored fanes, the king himself, with all his nobles, having worn vestments of mourning on the occasion of those ceremonies, in token of their affliction for the evils which had been suffered by the Faith.

About the same time another insurrection, excited by the Wali Giomail Aben Zeyan Ben Mardanis, broke forth in Valencia, and as the rumours of these troubles reached the ears of Yahye Aben Anasir, who was then wandering a

* Alcoday declares this event to have taken place in the moon Regeb. — *Condé.*

† According to the authority quoted in the preceding note, towards the end of the moon Regeb.— *Condé.*

fugitive among the mountains of Almunecaub, that general took courage from those disasters which he perceived to be threatening his enemies. He did his utmost to increase the prevalent discord, fomenting the revolt against the Almohades by every means in his power, and eagerly stirring the already furious flames of civil war, without regard for the evils he was thus bringing on his country.

The illustrious Ameer, Abu Aly Almamoun, then returned to Andalusia, where his first care was to make peace, and concert a treaty with the King Ferdeland of the Christians,* who was at that time making war upon him with varying fortunes, in the Comarcas of Cordova. The conditions of their compact having been agreed to by both parties, the Ameer Muhamad Almamoun assembled such forces as he could gather, and departed in search of his enemy. The troops of Muhamad encountered the host of Aben Hud in the plains of Tarifa, where the two armies first gained sight of each other: they at once rushed to the attack with infinite animosity, and no otherwise than they would have done had they been men of a different law instead of children of one and the same faith. In the sanguinary conflict which then ensued, the troops on either side fought through the greater part of the day, while victory hesitated to declare herself on the part of Muhamad or that of Aben Hud; but at the setting of the sun, and as if weary of destroying each other's lives, the combatants ceased the struggle, and suspended their conflict by common accord. Thus the arrival of night occasioned a brief truce between those valiant enemies, but at the hour of dawn on the following day they renewed the strife, which was recommenced with undiminished ardour on both sides. Yet the Almohades, being inferior in point of numbers, could not long maintain the assault of the Andalusians, and the Ameer Muhamad Almamoun was vanquished with the loss of his principal officers.

Among those who perished on that day were Ibrahim Aben Edris Ben Abi Ishat, Wali of Ceuta, and Abu Zeyad Almegayad, Wali of Badagos, both kinsmen of the Ameer, while his son, Abul Hassan, who commanded the vanguard

* Ferdinand, third king of Castille.—*Tr.*

of his army, was also wounded. This renowned and sanguinary battle was fought on the 6th day of the moon Ramazan, in the year of the Hegira 626. Abu Aly Almamoun would not further tempt the fortune of arms at that time; he returned with his army in good order although defeated, nor did Aben Hud venture to molest him in his retreat, since the Almohades had caused his troops to buy their victory very dearly, and had rendered manifest the truth of that maxim which saith, "There is a time when you should make a bridge of silver for your retreating enemy;" seeing that the Almohades were very valiant cavaliers, and had proved themselves to be so on that day.

Abu Aly Almamoun then determined to pass over into Africa, there to assemble a powerful army, the numbers of which might assure him the victory over those who followed the fortunate banners of Aben Hud, in despite of their acknowledged valour. Having arrived at this decision, the Ameer committed his affairs in Spain to the guidance of his son, Aben Hassan, and of his brothers Cid Abdallah and Cid Muhamad. These matters arranged, he departed for Africa.

Availing himself of the occasion presented by the revolt of Aben Hud, Giomail Ben Zeyan took possession of Valencia, from which city he expelled Cid Muhamad Almanzor, the Wali thereof, who was brother to the Ameer Almamoun. Several encounters then took place between Giomail Aben Zeyan and Cid Muhamad Almanzor, but with continued ill-fortune on the part of the latter, although that noble Xeque fought with distinguished bravery. His valour could nevertheless not avail him; and perceiving himself to be abandoned by the greater part of his followers, he sought refuge at the court of the King Gaymis of the Christians,* with whom he had made peace. But the tyrant Gaymis was a mortal enemy to the Moslemah, and although he had taken arms with the ostensible purpose of avenging Cid Muhamad Almanzor, he had no intention of restoring to that prince the states he had lost, but seized the occasion merely as a pretext for attacking and devastating the Comarcas of Valencia, on which he entered as

* James of Aragon.—*Trans*

the self-styled defender of the aggrieved Wali, in whose name the Christian then occupied all the fortresses of the land. The insurrection of Giomail Ben Zeyan in Valencia took place in the year 627.

When Yahye Ben Anasir received intelligence of the victory which Abu Abdallah Muhamad Aben Hud had obtained over the Ameer Almamoun, he sent an embassy of congratulation to the former, to whom he proffered his friendship and alliance. Following up these demonstrations of amity with an apparent zeal, Yahye then gathered his people, and descending from the mountains he began to commit devastations on the territories of the Almohade sovereign. But as men do not suffer a competitor in empire any more than in love, so the reply of the King Aben Hud was not that which Yahye Ben Anasir had hoped for: nay, on the contrary, Aben Hud, like the prompt and able captain that he was, gave orders for the rapid advance of a body of cavalry, led by Aziz Ben Abdelmelic, by whose bravery and zeal, aided by the ability of the Cadi Abu-Hassan Aly Ben Muhamad El Casteli, the King Aben Hud made himself master of Murcia, having been greatly favoured on that occasion by certain companies of Christian cavaliers, who had come to his assistance.

Aben Hud then repaired to Murcia in person, and was immediately proclaimed in that city: he made a discourse to the inhabitants, setting forth the motives by which he professed to be actuated, and which he declared to be no other than the liberation of Spain from the tyrannous yoke of the Almohades, whom he affirmed to be corruptors of the Moslemah discipline and habits. The king furthermore attributed to them all the discords of the state of whose decadence he called the Almohades the origin and sole cause: in conclusion, he assured his hearers that their Almohade oppressors were heretics and cruel barbarians, who considered no Moslemah to be their brother but such as was an Almohade like themselves.

And now, as the people did in effect suffer greatly from the misgovernment of the Almohade rulers, and as many of the nobles were likewise mortally offended by the arrogance and tyranny of those princes, so it was not a difficult matter to dispose the hearts of the people against them: it was therefore

amidst public acclamations that Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud was proclaimed King of Murcia, from whose inhabitants he received a voluntary oath of allegiance.

The many admirable qualities of body and mind which distinguished Abed Hud, went far to secure for him the favour of the people, while his admirable eloquence drew after him men of all parties; wherefore a few months only had elapsed before he found himself master of the entire province. The king then appointed his general Aziz Ben Abdelmelic, an officer in whom he had great confidence, to be his Wali in his city of Murcia: he gave the government of Medina Xativa to Yahye Ben Muhamad Ben Iza Abul Hassein of Denia, and in the last-named city he placed a son of that Abul Hassein as governor. The people gave to their King Aben Hud the title of Almetuakil Alle Allah.

CHAP. II.—CONTINUATION OF THE WAR AMONG THE MOSLEMAH. JAMES OF ARRAGON TAKES POSSESSION OF THE ISLANDS OF MAJORCA, MINORCA, AND IVIÇA. DEATH OF ABU ALY ALMAMOUN.

THE absence of the King Abu Aly Almamoun, with the victory obtained by Aben Hud, and his successes in Murcia, caused the latter to believe that all obstacles were now cast down before those who followed his banners; wherefore, having been informed that the Wali of Seville, who was brother to King Abu Aly Almamoun, had assembled an army, and was advancing against him, Aben Hud proceeded boldly to seek his foe. The Wali of Seville had meanwhile called together the people of Algarve, and knowing that Aben Hud would march to his encounter with a powerful host, he demanded an auxiliary force from the Christians of Gallicia, and marching with all his cavalry on the territory of Merida, he there joined himself to the generals of Cid Abu Abdallah. Here, in the vicinity of Alhanje, the assembled army of Almamoun met the forces of Aben Hud, and a sanguinary battle ensued, when the latter was once again victorious, the generals of Cid Abu Abdallah and his auxiliaries suffering a total defeat, and being compelled to

take refuge in Medina Merida. The sanguinary battle of Merida took place in the commencement of the year 629.*

Among those who thus sought their safety in Merida was the Almohade general Abdallah Ben Muhamad Ben Wazir, with his brother Abu Omar Abderahman Ben Muhamad. The first-named of these generals had been Wali of Alcazar Alfetah, called also Alcazar de Abidenis, which was at that time in possession of the Christians, as was Montanchis, and other strongholds of the same district. Now there were likewise many brave cavaliers in Merida who belonged to the party of the Almohades, but many more who were disposed to that of Aben Hud; and these last contrived by guile and artifice treacherously to deliver the two brothers, even Abdallah and Abderahman, into the hands of the generals of Aben Hud, before they had passed the first night of their abode in the city.

On the return of Aben Hud from the frontier of the north, the two generals Abdallah Ben Muhamad Ben Wazir, and his brother Abu Omar Abderahman, were taken to Medina Seville, which was the place of their birth; but the excited populace there fell upon those illustrious prisoners with their knives, and, despite of their merits and nobility, the brothers were cut to pieces: this happened, as is affirmed by some writers, to the no small regret of the King Aben Hud, by whom Abu Omar Abderahman in particular was greatly esteemed for his learning and admirable genius, not less than for his bravery. Abu Omar was the author of the notes to that admired elegiac poem of which his father Abu Bekar Ben Wazir was the author.

But as regards the fate of these two noble captains, Abdaliah Ben Mohamad and Abu Omar Abderahman, we find it related by other authorities that they were put to death by order of Aben Hud himself, and expired beneath the lances of his guard; but these authors describe the execution of the brothers as taking place a short time before that monarch passed with a powerful army from Medina Murocca to the land of Granada. During that campaign all the alcaldes of the country are said to have declared themselves of the party of Aben Hud, who was received with acclamations of

* The date given by Alcoday is 627: but this is an error.— *Conde*

joy and triumph by the inhabitants of Granada. Other annalists declare that it was in the last-named city, and not in Seville, that the two generals, Abdallah and Abu Omar (who, having been taken captives, endured their hard fortune with admirable constancy) were made prisoners, when Aben Hud instantly commanded his people to put them to death, neither their own merits nor the renown of their father availing to deliver them from that evil fate. Thus, yielding to the irrevocable decrees of destiny, the noble brothers were pierced with lances, and that by command of a prince who prided himself on his urbanity and love of letters.

It is related of this illustrious Wali, even Abu Omar, that as he was passing in the calm of a fair evening through a beautiful valley which lies between Arcos and Medina Aben Zelim, and is called Guadalhamema, he heard the sweet and plaintive song of a turtle-dove; whereupon he composed the exquisite verses of that renowned canzonet which is called "The Plaint of the Turtle," and which the dwellers in Algarve are wont to sing at night by the light of the moon.

About the same time it was that the Christians from the territory of Toledo made incursions on the territory of Cazorla, occupying all the forts of that Comarca. They also took possession of Quixata, but had been masters of the latter only a short time, when the Moslemah forces of the frontier regained the mastery of the place and drove the Christians forth. In the northern parts of Spain the Infidel attacked and entered Torgiela, inflicting a terrible loss on the Moslemah who defended the fort, and who were of the Comarca of Batadyns. The Wali of Torgiela was Ibrahim Ben Muhamad Ben Sanenid Alansari, called Abu Isbak.

In this year of 629 the tyrant Gaymis proceeded with a powerful and well-appointed force against Majorca, which Cid Muhamad and his followers believed the Christian to be assailing on their behalf, and with the purpose of aiding them against their enemies. The Infidels made themselves masters of the havens, and obtained possession of the principal island, after having vanquished the brave and glorious constancy of the Wali Said Alhaken Aben Osman El Coraisi, of Tabira in the Algarve. This general made so noble a defence, and caused so great a loss to the Christians,

that it may be said he permitted them to advance no step which they had not first moistened with their blood; yet he was at length compelled to retire and shut himself up in the fortress, where he still defended himself for some time longer. The day of Aben Osman's retreat to the citadel was Thursday, the 14th of the moon Safer, in the year 629; but in a short time he perceived that no hope of succour remained to him, and he was compelled to surrender on the most ruinous conditions. His example was followed by the Xeques and Xarifes of Minorca and Yebizet,* who offered themselves as the vassals and tributaries of King Gaymis. There were four Xeques who thus bent themselves to the vassalage of the Christian,—Abdallah, Sahib of Hamajuda, Aly of Beni Saida, Aben Yahye, Sahib of Beni Fabin, and Muhamad, Sahib of Alcazor. Alhakem Aben Otman was continued in the Waliazgo of those islands, in accordance with a petition to that effect presented by the Moslemah inhabitants to their Christian victors: he remained in his office accordingly, until the Cadi Abu Abdallah Muhamed Ben Ahmed Ben Hisem, incited by envy, led the people into insurrection against him, when the disorders thus occasioned caused the Christians to visit those islands, on whose inhabitants they then laid a yoke the tyrannical burthens of which were heavily aggravated.

During the course of the same year it was that the unexpected death of the Ameer of the Faithful, Abu Aly Almemoun, took place; he died near Morocco, and after that unhappy event the hopes of the Almohades in Spain were cast down, never more to rise. The rebel Yahye Ben Anasir then once again put forth his claims to the throne, and laboured to make his rights avail, contending for that sceptre which he maintained to be his of right, since he had received the oath of allegiance as King of the Almohades in Morocco. But however well founded were the claims of Yahye Ben Anasir, his party was much inferior in strength to that of Muhamad Abdallah Aben Hud, whom he had long perceived to be his only effective rival.

While these two claimants were thus contending for the possession of Andalusia, Giomail Ben Zeyan was in active

* Yebizet: Iviça.

movement on his part to extend the territories which he had seized in Valencia: he occupied the city of Denia, and placed his cousin Muhamad Ben Sobaye Ben Juzuf Algezami in the government thereof, after having driven forth the Wali, Hussein Ben Yahye, who took refuge with his father Ahmed Ben Iza El Charagi, Wali of Xativa. This Ahmed Ben Iza, who was the kinsman of Abu Omar Ben Ati, had obtained the Waliazgo of Denia for his son Hussein, (who was born in that place,) as the reward for his many services, and by means of the great riches he possessed he soon contrived to reinstate the ejected Hussein in his government, which the latter then held till the Christians took possession of the city, as we shall relate hereafter.

Yahye Ben Anasir was meanwhile assembling his forces with unwearied diligence; he summoned his partizans and friends to his aid, exhorting all to gather around him with such strength as they could muster; and a well-appointed host was accordingly congregated in Arjona. The command of these troops was conferred by Yahye Ben Anasir on his nephew, Muhamad Abu Abdallah Ben Jusef Ben Anasir of Arjona, a youth of admirable qualities: he was indeed virtuous and prudent as a man of advanced years, while his bravery and ability as a leader in the field were such that his reputation was equal to that of the renowned Almanzor Ben Abi Amer. This distinguished youth was also known as Aben Alahmar, and by his excellence he had rendered himself remarkable among the most noble of Andalusia. Anxious to signalise his zeal in the service of his uncle, Muhamad Abu Abdallah fell with his cavalry on the city of Jaen, which he took by force of arms, making his entry into the place on Giuma in the moon of . . .* and in the year 629. But at the taking of Medina Jaen, Yahye Ben Anasir himself was dangerously wounded, insomuch that he died of his injuries a short time after, leaving to his nephew the care of avenging him, with the inheritance of his lands and the succession to his claims.

Muhamad Abu Abdallah Ben Juzef concealed the death of his uncle, Yahye Ben Anasir, until he had occupied the cities of Guadix and Baeza in his name, when, perceiving

* The name of this month remains a blank in the original.—*Tr.*

himself to be much applauded and esteemed by the inhabitants of those districts, he made public the decease of his kinsman, Yahye Ben Anasir, and was at once proclaimed King in Arjona, Jaen, Guadix, Baeza, and the fortresses of their Comarcas. Muhamad then declared himself to be the enemy of Aben Hud, and of all who held for his party.

CHAP. III.—APPEARANCE OF KING FERDELAND OF THE CHRISTIANS BEFORE XERES. BATTLE OF THE GUADALETE. CAMPAIGNS IN ARAGON AND ANDALUSIA. UBEDA AND CORDOVA ARE TAKEN.

Now Ferdeland, King of the Christians. was an embittered enemy of the Moslemah: the desire of rendering himself master of all their possessions in Andalusia inflamed his heart, and he devastated the fields of that land by perpetual onslaughts, burning towns, demolishing the farms of the open country, and laying waste the entire district, wherever he appeared. The discords and civil war now raging between Aben Hud and the partizans of Giomail Ben Zeyan greatly favoured the purposes of King Ferdiland, while the new and powerful intervention of Mohamad Aben Alahmar was even yet more advantageous to the Christian monarch. The towns and cities were divided among all these parties; and the Walies or Alcaydes by whom they were governed, being principally anxious for their own security in the positions to which they had attained, knew not to what leader they might best attach themselves for the more effectual furtherance of that purpose; nay, many among these governors, listening rather to their ambition and covetousness, than to the voice of honour and duty, declared themselves lords and independent rulers of the cities, fortresses, and territories they held, refusing to give their aid to any one of the contending parties then dividing the land. The inhabitants of such districts were meanwhile induced to inaction by the deceptive appearance of peace and tranquillity presented to them by that determination of their rulers to take no part in the struggle proceeding around them, insomuch that they believed themselves secure and fortunate, while they were in fact merely isolated from

their brethren, unprepared for defence, without the means of maintaining themselves against the onslaughts of the first aggressor who might be pleased to make their subjugation his aim, and wholly unprepared to resist or oppose the powerful armies led by the respective candidates then disputing the possession of the ruined empire. These divisions and discords had indeed attained to such a point, that the enemy of Allah founded his best hopes on the suicidal proceedings of those claimants to monarchy by whom the Moslemah were arrayed against each other, all of whom were lending their aid to the ruin of the unhappy state of Andalusia, and doing their best to secure their own extinction: nay, it was but too manifest that the Moslemah were labouring for no other purpose than that of bringing their dominion in Spain to a close, and so effectually effacing even the memory of their greatness, that none but the most deplorable and saddening traces should finally remain of what they had once been.

While matters were in this condition, King Ferdiland appeared with his light cavalry in the territory of Cordova, where he took many of the most strongly fortified towns, whose inhabitants he slaughtered or carried away captive. The entrance of his troops into Medina Balma was marked by unusual circumstances of cruelty, since they did not even spare the old men past bearing arms, nor refrain from shedding the innocent blood of the women and children: at a word, they put the inhabitants to death without distinction of sex or age, and these atrocities effectually intimidated those who might have attempted the defence of the neighbouring towns, insomuch that the Christians continued their progress without finding any who dared to oppose their advance, until they arrived even to the Comarcas of Seville and Xeres.

The noble King Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud was deeply moved by the new misfortunes thus inflicted on his already suffering people: he disregarded the advantages which his youthful competitor, Muhamad Aben Alahmar, was fast obtaining in the territory of Granada, and thought only of preparing forces to march against the Christians: to this purpose he applied himself with so much diligence, that he speedily assembled a power-

ful army of foot and horse, all well-appointed, and in such vast numbers that their multitude covered the plains and mountains. Aben Hud then departed to seek the enemies of Allah, who were encamped on the shores of the renowned Guadalete, which is a river passing near to Medina Xeres, where the Christians had stored their rich prey of captives and flocks.

The Moslemah commenced their march in the firm confidence that those bold invaders could not escape the punishment they reserved for them, having left themselves no means of retreat: and of a truth the two armies soon found themselves each in the presence of the other. Aben Hud established his tents among the olive-grounds of the Comarca, and instantly sent forth a body of one thousand Moslemah cavaliers to engage in a skirmish with the enemy; but the latter would not venture to leave his defences on that occasion. The Christians prepared themselves, nevertheless, for the battle which they perceived to be inevitable; yet, despairing of success, and not expecting to escape from that place with their lives, they determined first to take a cruel and inhuman vengeance on the prisoners in their hands: the unhappy Moslemah captives were therefore brought in chains before the camp of their victors, who put them all to the edge of the sword without sparing a man.

The general of the Christians, then desiring to animate his people to a contest from which there was but little hope that they could escape with life, addressed them in the following terms:—"The enemy stands before you, and you have the sea at your backs; for you there is therefore no refuge, save in Heaven above; wherefore do as you will see me do, and let us die well avenged."

The cavaliers of the King Aben Hud, hearing the cries of the captives whom the cruel Christians were cutting to pieces after the manner we have described, poured forth upon those Infidels with a rage and impetuosity that could not be controlled; all the camp got instantly into motion, amidst the clangour of trumpets, the pealing sound of the Atambores, and the wild cries of battle: that fearful clamour seemed menacing to bring heaven and earth together, and filled the souls of those who listened, as it did the writer of these words, with indescribable terror and

dismay. The Christians also rushed to the combat in savage hordes; and a sanguinary conflict then commenced, in which both sides fought with the rage and fury of wild beasts. The Moslemah cavaliers, confiding in their bravery and vast numbers, had formed a circle around their enemies, whom they attacked with their lances, and of whom they hoped thus to make an end: but the resolute bands of the Infidel found means to force a way through their ranks, and cutting a path through the infantry in like manner, they bore down and hewed in pieces whatever presented itself before them. The Moslemah cavalry then renewed the attack; but that circumstance served only to increase the confusion and dismay of the foot-soldiers, who were driven back upon the olive-grounds, amidst which they entered, with the Christian pursuers among their ranks. In that manner, although with heavy loss, did the Infidel contrive to escape from the field, where the Moslemah likewise endured serious injuries, more especially among the volunteers of their force, large numbers of whom died there that day, as did the noble cavaliers who formed the guard of the King Aben Hud.

Having, then, despatched certain companies in pursuit of the retreating foe, the Moslemah retired to take repose and obtain the remedies required by their many wounds at Xeres and Sidonia. That battle of the Guadalete was fought at the close of the year 630.*

Abu Giomail Ben Zeyan was, meanwhile, avenging on the Christians that Moslemah blood which they had shed so cruelly, and made numerous incursions on the territories of Aragon: he cut up the growing crops, burnt the towns, destroyed the villages, and devastated the country on all sides, even to the confines of Hisnamposta and Tortosa, whence he returned with vast riches and a large number of captives.

Nor were the Christians inactive on their part: they took possession of Benisola, Castellon, Buñol, and Alcalaten, passing thence along the bank of the Xucar, and falling on Hasnalmanzora, which they entered by surprise at night. At the close of the year, they likewise made themselves

* A.D. 1234.—*Condé.*

masters of Motelia, and laid siege to Burriana, which last place surrendered without delay, after having received assurance of safety, not for themselves only, but for the inhabitants of the whole Comarca. Muhamad Aben Alahmar had meanwhile obtained possession of the cities of Loxa and Alhama, with all the Sierra. These events took place in the year 631.

Now the Christians were not a little inflated by the successes of Motelia, Burriana, and the other cities abovementioned; wherefore, desirous of a further extension to these conquests, they proceeded towards Ubeda, above which city their banners soon appeared, and they laid siege to the place, which they attacked eagerly with different machines and engines of war. But the defence of Ubeda, which was thickly peopled, could not be long maintained, although the city was surrounded by a good wall: the Wali therefore commenced a negociation with the King Ferdiland, from whom he demanded certain conditions and guarantees, which were not refused, and were subsequently fulfilled with much exactitude by the Christian King. Security for the persons and property of the inhabitants being assured by these negociations, Medina Ubeda was surrendered. The loss of that city took place during the moon of . . . . . in the year 632.*

In that same year the followers of the Cross extended their incursions over the Algarve, and took possession of Alhanje and other fortresses, the Moslemah being prevented by their fatal discords and civil wars from throwing any obstacle in the path of their success. A similar fate befel Medelin and Mudela, towns which belonged to the Beni Meddeli Beni Mardanis: nay, the like misfortune was now decreed against that head of the state of Andalusia, the ancient and populous city of Cordova.

The King Abu Abdallah Mohamad Aben Hud was meanwhile diligently assembling his forces in Ecija, with intent to proceed to the relief of Medina Ubeda, and proposed thence to pass into Granada. Then it was that the Christian generals to whom the garrison of Ubeda had been committed by their king, received intelligence which gave

* A.D. 1235.

them to know that the city of Cordova was but negligently guarded: they therefore determined on a bold enterprise, confiding in the old and often-proved declaration that fortune favours him who greatly dares: wherefore, having joined in much secrecy the frontier forces which were at Andujar to a portion of the troops defending Ubeda, they scaled the walls of Cordova during the dark hours of a very gloomy night, and made themselves masters of a tower, after having slain the careless guardians who should have been watching the same: the tower thus surprised was one of those on the south of the city.

At the hour of dawn the people of Cordova were made aware of what had happened, when some of the more determined among the inhabitants proceeded to attack the tower thus occupied by the Christians, in the hope of regaining it from those Infidel hands; but the position was so strong a one, and was beside so well defended, that all their efforts were vain, and the foe remained in possession of his conquest.

Intelligence of that misfortune was then despatched to the King Aben Hud, and the peril in which the city stood of being totally lost was not concealed, the messengers of Cordova representing to the king that large numbers of the Christian people were already hurrying to the aid of their brethren; while those envoys furthermore declared that King Ferdeland himself was also approaching with a large army to make the reduction of Cordova the more secure.

Aben Hud lost not a moment in repairing to the succour of the city; but when arrived within half the distance, he received notice to the effect that the Christians had already obtained possession of all the southern suburb, while King Ferdeland, having advanced from Estremadura, had arrived with a large force before Alcolea, which city he was closely besieging. Aben Hud then called a council of his Alcaydes, but they could not determine on the steps that should next be taken: some proposed to attack the Christians at once, and thus give courage to the Cordovese; but others, who were more timid, declared that it would not be prudent to encounter the enemy without having first ascertained his numbers and the disposition he had made of his forces.

Perplexed by these varying counsels, Aben Hud was more

than ever undecided as to what should be resolved on, and at length despatched a certain Christian, called Don Suar, who was then in his camp, to obtain intelligence respecting the Infidel force in Cordova. This enemy of Allah proceeded to the city accordingly; but he returned with deceit and falsehood on his lips, exaggerating the strength of the Christian foe, whom he declared to be in masses innumerable; at the same time there came a message sent from Denia by the Wali Abu Giomail Ben Zeyan, with letters to the effect that Abu Giomail had compelled the Christians to raise the siege of Callera, but that they, on the other hand, had taken from him the Fortress of Montecat, in the plains of Valencia. He added that the whole territory was now in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy of Islam, and implored the king to go at once to his assistance, that he might be enabled to defend himself from the tyrant Gaymis. The Wali concluded by declaring that if Aben Hud would then afford him protection, he for his part would acknowledge himself the vassal of that monarch; since he thought it better to have the Moslemah sovereign for his lord, than to pay tribute, with vile and degrading conditions, to the sovereign of the Infidels.

This letter, which the King read to the generals of his army, determined him to the adoption of a measure, to which he was, besides, partly induced by the discouragement which he perceived in his troops, who had not forgotten the impetuosity of the Christian charge before Xeres, and were but faintly inclined to the perilous toils of a difficult siege. Aben Hud was, moreover, attracted by the hope of gaining the friendship of Abu Giomail Ben Zeyan, whose states he believed on the point of becoming his own. All these considerations induced him to take the fatal resolution of abandoning Cordova; and thus it was that he was led to follow the irresistible impulse of that fatality, whose influence and results had been engraved on tablets of adamant by the hand of Eternal Providence. He departed accordingly, persuading himself that Cordova would not permit the enemy to become master of its destinies so easily as might appear; or that even if the city were lost for the moment, that evil would not be irremediable, since the Christians would not find it possible to maintain them-

selves in a city so much within the frontier of Andalusia; and, at the worst, he could himself advance on it at a more favourable moment with a powerful army, wherewith he could not fail to recover the place from the Infidel enemy.

The most stubborn and sanguinary conflicts were meanwhile daily taking place within and about Medina Cordova. The inhabitants, numerous and brave, fought with infinite resolution for their country, their liberty, and their wives. Obstinate contests were of frequent occurrence in all their streets and squares; nor did they fail to maintain themselves with admirable constancy, while there remained to them a shadow of hope that succours were at hand; but when they knew that the King Aben Hud had abandoned them, they lost heart, and from that time the defence was no longer continued with the zeal and ardour by which it had been previously distinguished. At length, the hope which had animated the Cordovans having been withdrawn, they began to think of negociations for surrendering their city, and proposed the conditions on which they should do so. But the Christians had now become certain of their triumph; they would concede nothing to the defenders but the security of their lives, with permission to depart whithersoever they might choose: and with these conditions the Cordovans were compelled to be content.

Thus was lost the principal city of Andalusia, which was given up to the enemy of Allah on a Sunday, the 23rd of the moon Xawal, in the year 633; or according to the computation of the Infidels, in the end of June, in the year 1236. The victors instantly placed their crosses over the Minarets of the mosques, and profaned the great aljama of Abderahman, of which they made a church.* The grieving Moslemah then went forth from Cordova—which may Allah restore to us!—and took shelter in the various cities of Andalusia; while the Christians divided the houses and inheritance of the Cordovese among themselves.

* The bells which the Hagib, Muhamad Almanzor, had caused his Christian captives to bear from Compostella to Cordova, are said to have been found by Ferdinand in the court of the great mosque; when it is added that the victorious monarch commanded their instant restitution to Compostella, whither they were carried by the Mahometan prisoners whom he had taken in that war.—*De Marlès.*

Other fortresses and towns, made acquainted with the surrender of the capital, then placed themselves under the faith and protection of King Ferdiland, because they despaired of their ability to resist his power. Among these were Baeza, Astaba, Ecija, Almodavar, and others, whose inhabitants the Christian King received as his tributaries.

CHAP. IV.—OF THE DISORDERS THAT CONTINUED TO PREVAIL AMONG THE MOSLEMAH. KING JAMES TAKES VALENCIA. THE PRINCE ALFONSO BEN FERDELAND ARRIVES IN MURCIA, WHERE HE MAKES A TREATY WITH THE MOSLEMAH. GOVERNMENT OF THE KING OF GRANADA.

Now Abu Giomail Ben Zeyan had assembled a very numerous army, and encouraged by the hope of instant aid to be received from the King Aben Hud, he proceeeded to Hisn* Santamaria, and laid close siege to that stronghold. The Christians by whom Santamaria was garrisoned were brave and numerous: although driven to great straits by Abu Giomail, they defended their position well, giving repeated surprises to the camp of the besiegers, when many obstinate contests ensued, in which both sides fought with indescribable valour. At length, and when the defenders had lost all hope of human aid, they rushed forth on a certain day to the conflict, as might a troop of raving wolves; and the battle then delivered was so fierce a one that the blood of the besiegers flowed in torrents, and Abu Giomail Ben Zayen was compelled to raise the siege. He then returned to Valencia, leaving the Fortress of Santamaria still in the power of the Christians. The battle which decided the fate of Santamaria was fought towards the close of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 634.

The King Abu Abdallah Muhamad Aben Hud was meanwhile proceeding towards Almeria, a port at which he proposed to take ship for Valencia, intending thence to repair to the assistance of Abu Giomail Ben Zeyan. He arrived safely at Almeria, where he was entertained by his Alcayde Abderahman in the Alcazaba† of the Alcazar, where

* Hisn: a fortress.—*Tr.*

† Alcazaba of the Alcazar: Citadel of the Palace.—*Tr.*

a great festival and splendid banquet were prepared for him, as well as for the principal generals of his suite. But on that same night, which was the one between Thursday the 27th and Friday the 28th of the moon Giumada Primera, in the year 635, the unfortunate sovereign was suffocated in his bed with a treacherous cruelty. So perished that prudent, grave, and illustrious King, Abu Abdallah Mohamad Aben Hud, who was worthy of a better fate. His reign was a continued series of struggles and disquietudes,—a period of great clamour, vanity, and pomp; but the heritage which descended from it to his people was nothing better than present dangers and ultimate ruin, with calamity, grief, and perdition for the whole empire of the Moslemah. The virtues and heroic valour of Abu Abdallah Mohamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud were celebrated by Mohamad Asabuni, of Seville, in very elegant verses. His troops did not suspect the treachery which had been practised against him; and in the morning after that assassination had been committed, intelligence to the effect that their king had died of apoplexy was published in the camp: other accounts went forth, declaring that he had departed in a fit of inebriation; but the truth was, that he had arrived at the fatal term of his days in the manner related above, and that so was accomplished the irrevocable decrees of God, the Almighty and Inscrutable. On the death of their sovereign and master, those troops returned to their homes; neither was it possible for the generals to detain them, or induce any of them to continue the enterprise which they had commenced for the relief of Valencia.

When the account of Aben Hud's death was received in Medina Murcia, the people of that city proclaimed his brother, Aly Ben Juzef, called Adid Dolah, to be their King, that ceremony taking place on the fourth day of the moon Muharram, in the year 636; but Abu Giomail Ben Mudafe Ben Juzef Ben Said El Gazemi instantly rose in rebellion, and by perfidy and deceit he soon found means to prevail against Aly Ben Juzef. Having obtained the favour of the populace, Abu Giomail Ben Mudafe attacked Adid Dolah on a Giuma, which was the 15th day of the moon Ramazan; and having taken him prisoner, that prince was beheaded on the 26th of the same moon. Aly

Ben Juzef, called Adid Dolah, was a man of but little religion; and it was this circumstance which caused his ruin.

Now the treacherous Alcayde of Almeria, Abderahman Ben Abdelmela, resolving to complete the measure of his disloyalty, and hoping to ingratiate himself with Muhamad Ben Anasir, called Aben Alahmar, caused the people of Almeria, and of all that country, to declare themselves in favour of the above-named ruler, who had maintained himself in the lordship of Arjona and Jaen, of which he had made himself master on the death of his uncle, Yahye Ben Anasir, as before related. The new sovereign, Mohamad Aben Alahmar, was thereupon proclaimed in Almeria with great festivities and acclamations of triumph.

The Wali of Jaen, Aben Chalid, was at the same time earnestly employed in winning over the hearts of the Granadines to the same ruler; and Muhamad Aben Alahmar, who took care to lose no opportunity of aggrandisement, passed through the whole country, in all parts of which he was received with acclamations. He made his public and solemn entrance into Granada towards the close of the moon of Ramazan, in the year 635. The government of the cities which had accepted his rule Mohamad Aben Alahmar committed to such men as had distinguished themselves for prudence and bravery, or who were rendered prominent by other high qualities. He prudently took care, moreover, to select for each place such a Wali as he knew to be agreeable to the inhabitants of the same.

The Christians, led on by their King Gaycum, whom others call Gaymis, were meanwhile employed in devastating the Comarcas of Valencia: marching forth from the fortress of Santamaria, they bound themselves by oath to obtain possession of the city of Valencia (which is a garden of delights not to be surpassed in Spain), or to die in the attempt. A great host of not less than eighty thousand Infidels had been assembled for that enterprise; and these troops passed the Guadalabiad without a check. It is true, that the cavalry of Giomail Ben Zeyan went forth against them, and he did his best to prevent the Christians from fixing their camp, maintaining sharp skirmishes with them for many days; but it was not possible to impede their progress, and the city was soon besieged both by land

and sea. Nay, the masses of people from Afranc and Barcelona by whom Valencia was then surrounded were such and so many, that none but Allah, by whom they were created, could recount their number. They began their siege of the place on the 17th day of the moon Ramazan, in the year 635; and immediately commenced the attack of its walls by machines of varied form, and engines for casting missives of numerous kinds.

The King Giomail Ben Zeyan, on his part, defended Medina Valencia well with his own troops; but fearing that these would be insufficient, he despatched messengers to other leaders of the Andalusian people, requiring succour at their hands. He likewise sent a similar demand into Africa, more especially to the men of the Cabila of the Beni Zeyan, who were his kinsmen.

And the latter did in effect make instant preparation for proceeding to his assistance. They came with numerous ships, and remained for several days in sight of the coast; but a tempest which prevailed during the whole of that time made it impossible for those much-desired succours to land, and they were finally compelled to return, abandoning their enterprise, as the only means then remaining to them for preserving their own lives.

From Andalusia no troops could be sent to the aid of Aben Zeyan, seeing that all things in that unhappy region were in the extremity of confusion: disquietude and terror prevailed in all its borders,—the Walies, more especially those of Murcia, thinking only of how each might best exalt himself to independent sovereignty, and all being at strife for the disputed empire.

At length the inhabitants of Valencia, exhausted by the sufferings endured through the prolonged siege, and weary of repelling the assaults and escalades perpetually made upon their walls by the besiegers, resolved no longer to continue the defence; they compelled the Wali Giomail Aben Zeyan to propose terms of surrender, and demanded that the negociations for that purpose should be opened without delay. To that intent there were consequently despatched two generals, in whom all had much confidence, and the conditions they obtained from King Gayeum of the Christians were as follow: Security for their lives and

property was offered to the inhabitants of the city, with permission to remove themselves whithersoever it might please them to go, with all their possessions: to such as chose to remain in Valencia, the free exercise of their religion was accorded, and although they were then to be considered as vassals of the Christian king, and were reduced to the condition of his other tributaries, yet they were guaranteed the protection of their own laws and customs. It was stipulated, furthermore, that a certain delay should be granted to all the dwellers in Valencia for the due disposal of their property, as well as for the safe transfer of their persons. These conditions accepted and duly signed by both parties, the city of Valencia was resigned to the hands of King Gayeum: and that surrender took place on the twenty-seventh day of the moon Safer, in the year 636.*

Other treaties were subsequently agreed on, by which a truce of some years was established between the contending parties, and the beautiful city was then abandoned to its victors by the sorrowing people, the Moslemah passing forth from its gates in the space of five days, and taking their way for the most part across the Xucar, few consenting to remain among the Christians, or even considering themselves secure while in their immediate vicinity. And so was brought to a conclusion the monarchy of Giomail Aben Zeyan, with the empire of the Moslemah in Valencia.

Muhamad Aben Alahmar, King of Granada, was now the sole support of the Moslemah sovereignty in Spain. He set himself at once to seek a remedy for the numerous calamities afflicting the state, and did everything that in him lay for the reparation of the evils by which all were so grievously oppressed. The government of Medina Granada was committed to Viziers of tried prudence and ability—men highly esteemed in that city: and with them Muhamad Aben Alahmar concerted measures for the good government of the place. He then called out the warriors of his people, and assembling around him his most distinguished generals, he put himself at the head of a brilliant body of not less

* The day of St. Michael, A.D. 1238.—*Condé.*

than three thousand horse, departing thence, with the troops of the Comarca and fifteen hundred chosen foot-soldiers, to lay siege to the stronghold of Martos. Here the King Mohamad fixed his camp, and, pressing the siege with infinite impetuosity, reduced the place to such straits that the garrison had already opened negociations for surrender, when the Christians of the frontier brought troops to the relief of the fortress, and Mohamad was compelled to raise the siege.

Grievously harassed in his retreat by the Infidel forces, who made desperate efforts to surround and cut him off, the king suddenly turned on the most animated of his pursuers with the best of his cavalry: an obstinate conflict then commenced, and after many hours of hard fighting, the bravery of the Moslemah, who fought with indescribable fury, and the ability of Aben Alahmar, availed to turn the fortune of the day: the Christians were broken and routed on all sides, nor were there many of their number who came forth from that carnage with life, some few,—who had taken flight in the early part of the battle, excepted.

Now at this time the land of Murcia was more especially torn and divided by the various factions of such leaders as there pretended to empire. The Alcaydes of its cities had taken possession of the different fortresses, and disputed daily among themselves as to the limits which each man claimed as that of his Amelia or government, and which all were desirous of extending, by encroachment on the territory appropriated by his neighbour. All these contentions were a source of perpetual suffering to the inhabitants, who derived no other result from those conflicts than desolation for their property and death for themselves, insomuch that every man lived in endless tumult and terror,—a state of things which caused disaffection and discontent to prevail throughout the country.

While such was the condition of their affairs, the people of Murcia received intelligence to the effect that King Ferdeland of Castille was about to send against them his son, the Prince Alphonso, with a powerful army; whereupon they began to tremble at the calamities and sufferings that could not but result from that invasion. The leaders, also, finding no disposition in their hearts for such union among

themselves as might have enabled them to act for the common defence, as it was their duty to do, resolved to send their messengers to Prince Alphonso, each for his own part; and these men they charged to offer him the most humble supplications, with assurance of their submission and obedience.

All these emissaries were very favourably received by the Prince Alphonso, and they made an agreement with him as to the conditions of that vassalage to which the leaders of Murcia had proffered their submission: the letters which contained the terms of their compact were subsequently signed by Muhamad Ben Aly Aben Hud, who was Wali of Murcia, by the governor of Lecant, and by the Alcaldes of Elche, Oriola, Alhama, Alido, Aceca, and Chinchila. The Wali of Lorca, even Aziz Ben Abdelmelic Ben Muhamad Ben Chalib Abu Bekar, alone refused to take part in the treaty thus effected: that general, having been appointed Wali of Murcia by the King Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud, had laid claim to the sovereignty of the whole province after the death of his lord, and had placed Alcaydes of his party in Mula, Cartagena, and some other cities of minor importance.

The conditions thus proposed by the Murcian leaders to the Christian prince were ratified in Alcaraz, and from that place Alfonso Ben Ferdeland proceeded peaceably into Murcia, being accompanied by numerous cavaliers and Alcaydes of the province, who all treated him as their lord. He visited and examined the whole district, without permitting offence of any kind to be offered to the inhabitants; nay, the day of his entrance into Medina Murcia was held as one of high festivity, and the moderation of which the Christian prince gave proof was so consolatory to all parties, that numerous towns which had at first refused to accept his rule, did finally resort to his protection, and pronounced the promise of obedience.

In Andalusia the Christians of the frontier were meanwhile making incursions on the territory of Arjona; they cut up the growing crops around Jaen, Alcabdat, and other cities, after which they laid siege to Medina Arjona, which was but ill provided with the means of defence. The

inhabitants of the city, therefore, despairing of succours from without, commenced a negociation with the enemy, and having received assurance of safety for their lives, they surrendered the place to the Christian troops, who instantly occupied the Alcazar, while the people of Arjona left their homes with one accord, retiring subsequently to different places of refuge as they best might.

From that time the Christians continued to extend their dominion in Andalusia, occupying one town or fortress after another, while none could offer effectual opposition. Among the many places thus taken by the Infidel, were Pegalhajar, Mentexas, and Carchena; they even entered on the Vega* of Granada, while no power remained in the Moslemah to ward off the ruin inflicted on them by that devastating tempest.

At length the brave King Aben Alahmar, who had not been sleeping, found means to assemble a force, with which he sallied forth against the bold assailants of the Law. With three thousand horsemen, and a well-appointed body of foot, he gave battle to the enemy, whom he defeated and drove from his territories, compelling him to abandon a large part of the treasures and booty of various kinds, which he had taken from his towns, while large numbers of the Christian soldiery remained extended on the field as an agreeable offering to the wild beasts and birds of prey.

Towards the close of the moon Xaban, in the year 639, the Wali of Xativa, even Ahmed Aben Iza, El Chazregi, died in that city. He had been appointed to the government thereof by the King Abdallah Muhamad Ben Juzuf Aben Hud, and was now succeeded by his son Yahye Abul Hussein. The principal Arraiz or commander-in-chief of the forces in that district, was Abu Bekar Muhamad.

Now the Prince Alfonso Ben Ferdeland, having received the homage of nearly every city in Murcia, began to prepare for his departure from that province; but before doing so he took the fortress of Mula by force of arms. This place, which was garrisoned by the troops of Aziz Ben Abdelmelic,

* Vega: plain or valley.

the Wali of Lorca, was a strong and populous town, having a magnificent Alcazar, surrounded by lofty walls well supplied with towers of massive thickness. On his passage, the Christian prince also ravaged the territories of Cartagena and Lorca, which were in like manner retained by Aziz Ben Abdelmelic, who, having been placed in his office before the death of Abdallah Muhamad Aben Hud, would neither yield the place to his successor, nor take part in the conventions which had been made with Alfonso Ben Ferdeland.

The King Muhamad Aben Alahmar now turned all his attention to the security of his frontiers; he repaired the walls and towers of the strongholds, and having set all things in order, returned to Granada, where he likewise occupied himself in the construction of many useful works. Very beautiful edifices of various kinds were then erected by that monarch; among them several infirmaries for the sick, with hospitals for the poor who were become too old for work, and for such pilgrims as were passing through his realms. He furthermore established colleges for youth, founded schools for children, built public bakeries, slaughter-houses and baths, and provided granaries and magazines of different kinds for the due storage of provisions. These works compelled Aben Alahmar to impose temporary contributions on his people; but the latter did not complain of these imposts, because they perceived a wise frugality to pervade every department of the king's household, and knew that all the money gathered from themselves was employed in objects of utility, and undertakings destined to promote the public welfare.

Aben Alahmar also constructed beautiful fountains, and with these he connected aqueducts for the irrigation of the neighbouring gardens; his most especial attention being for some time constantly directed to the best means for assuring and maintaining an abundant and easily distributed provision of all the means of life throughout his city. To maintain these works it was not found sufficient to assign the income which was received from the tenth of the Zunna and Xara; wherefore it became necessary that the king should seek an addition from other sources, which he did

not fail to do. Aben Alahmar held frequent councils, to which he summoned the most prudent and able of his Xeques and nobles; he gave audience likewise to the poor as well as the rich, two days in the week being set apart for that purpose. It was his custom to visit the schools, colleges, and hospitals for the sick, in person; and being especially anxious to assure himself that the duties imposed on the physicians of the latter were effectually performed, he would not unfrequently put questions on that subject to the sick and needy themselves.

A no less admirable order was observed in the government of this wise monarch's household. The inhabitants of his hareem were not numerous; they were for the most part the daughters of the most distinguished nobles of his state, and although the many avocations of Muhamad Alahmar did not permit him to pass much time in their society, he was careful to see that they were in all things appointed and attended as befitted their high station, treating them ever with the utmost respect and attention. He was also especially desirous of maintaining them in cheerful contentment and good intelligence with each other,—a purpose for which he employed his best efforts.

The King Muhamad Aben Alahmar did not fail to cultivate carefully the friendship of such Ameers as were most powerful in Africa; he sent ambassadors and letters to Yugomarsan and to Abu Zacaria Yahye Ben Hafsi, King of Tunis, as he did also to the Beni Zeyans and Beni Merines, who were then at war with the Almohades. By these divisions and discords the African leaders promoted the exaltation of the House of Anasir, but at the same time they unhappily favoured the projects of the Christians in almost equal proportion, enabling those enemies of Allah to obtain signal advantages on almost all the Moslemah frontiers.

In the Algarve of Spain, the Christians made incursions at this time, with forces of irresistible magnitude and power; they cut up the growing crops, drove off the flocks and herds, burnt the towns and villages, destroyed the farms, and bore away many unhappy Moslemah into captivity, to say nothing of the numbers whom they slaughtered. They

occupied the fortress of Lerida, as they did also that of Merina, and taking Medina Alisbona by force of arms, they devastated and laid waste all the neighbouring Comarcas. These events took place in the year 640.

CHAP. V.—DENIA IS TAKEN BY GAYCUM, KING OF THE CHRISTIANS, AND JAEN, WITH OTHER PLACES, BY KING FERDELAND.

ABU Giomail Ben Zeyan Aben Mardanis, the general who had lost the city of Valencia, was meanwhile desirous of trying his fortune in Murcia, and having entered that province with a well-appointed army, he made himself master of several fortresses with but little difficulty. There then went forth against him the Wali of Lorca, Aziz Ben Abdelmelic; and the cavalry of the latter having encountered the troops of Giomail Ben Zeyan in the Comarcas of Lecant, a battle ensued, in which the Wali Aziz was not only defeated, but lost his life. This event occurred on a Sunday, which was the 26th day of the moon Ramazan in the year 640, when Abu Giomail took possession of Lorca. He also made himself master of Cartagena, by favour of the Wali Muhamad, who died towards the close of that year.*

While Abu Giomail Ben Zeyan was thus fortunately proceeding through Murcia, the King, Gaycum or Gaymis of the Christians, advanced with a formidable host to Medina Denia, which he closely besieged. From the time of Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Juzef Aben Hud, that city had been held by the brave and experienced general, Yahye Ben Muhamad Iza Abul Hassein, who defended it well, but King Gaymis invested the walls by sea as well as land; he assailed them moreover perpetually, with various engines and machines, insomuch that after a long and obstinate siege he compelled the city to surrender, and the enemies of Allah took possession thereof. That deplorable event

* Yahye Ben Iza Aben Alabar affirms that this Wali lived until the year 645, and adds that Murcia fell into the hands of the Christians at his death.—*Conde.*

place himself beneath his faith and protection, resigning all that he possessed into his power, and kissing his hand in token of obedience.

King Ferdeland would not permit Mohamad Alahmar to surpass him in generosity and confidence: he embraced his visitor, declared him to be his friend, and would take nothing from him of all that called him master, contenting himself with receiving the Moslemah sovereign as his vassal, and otherwise leaving him the undisputed sovereignty of all his territories and cities.

It was then agreed that Muhamad Aben Alahmar should yearly pay to King Ferdeland a certain amount in Mitcales of gold, that he should be obliged to serve him with a stipulated number of cavaliers, whenever the Christian ruler should call on him to do so, and should repair to the court of that monarch when summoned, as was the wont of all his great men and nobles. Ferdeland likewise required that Muhamad Aben Alahmar should allow a Christian garrison to hold the guard of Jaen, and that his generals should retain the place as a sort of hostage. All these conditions being agreed to, were ratified in the camp before Medina Jaen, during the moon of . . . in the year 643. Aben Alahmar then took his leave of King Ferdeland, who treated him with much honour, and the Moslemah sovereign returned to his camp; but he departed instantly afterwards for the city of Granada, taking in his company Abu Omar Aly Ben Muza, the Wali of Jaen, to whom he then gave the command of his cavalry.

Muhamad now remained eight months in Medina Granada, continuing the works by which he had been previously occupied, and increasing the strength of his fortifications; at the end of that period there came letters from Ferdeland, King of Castille, making known the design of the Christian king to proceed against Seville, and expressing the hope of Ferdeland that Aben Alahmar would not refuse to accompany him in that campaign. The King of Granada instantly acquainted the cavaliers whom he intended to take in his company, with this request, and having made all things ready, he marched from Granada with five hundred horsemen, all selected with the utmost care. Having then joined himself to the Christians, he entered with them upon the territory

of Seville, where they occupied the fortress of Alcala de Guadaira, which King Ferdeland gave to the King of Granada, as being the first fruits of the campaign.

The Christians having extended their incursions to Medina Carmona, which was at that time held by Abul Hassam, a son of Abu Aly, that general, who had ever defended the city and its territory with infinite ability and valour, then resigned the command of the same to a brave Alcayde, in whom he knew he could safely confide, having determined himself to repair to Seville,—a step to which he was induced by intelligence which had been sent him, informing him of the Christian king's intentions as regarded that city, whose fall he determined to share. Other generals of reputation also hastened to take part in the defence of Seville, they for the most part having received orders to that effect from the Wali thereof, Cid Abu Abdallah, Prince of the Almohades and uncle of Abul Hassam, who was then at Seville.

The devastating tempest of the Christian arms had now passed forward even to Xeres, where they tore up the vine plants, destroyed the gardens, burnt the olive-grounds, and laid waste all that lay beyond the city walls. Then the Moslemah, beholding these ravages, were seized with so bitter a grief that they declared themselves prepared rather to yield their city to King Ferdeland, and live as the tributaries of the Christians, than see the gardens and plantations, which they had cultivated with so much care and labour, thus devastated and destroyed before their eyes. From this it resulted that the inhabitants of Carmona and Costantina also resolved to entrust themselves to the Infidel power; they compelled their Alcaydes to send ambassadors to the Christian king, requiring him to receive them as his vassals, and not permit that their possessions should be laid waste. A similar step was taken by the dwellers in Lorca, who therein acted on the advice given them by the cavaliers of Granada, and surrendered their castle without awaiting the Christian attack.

It chanced about this time, that a body of troops of King Ferdeland, attempting to cross the Guadalquiver by certain fords with which they were not well acquainted, became embarrassed among the morasses and fens which abound in that place, when the people of Cantillana perceiving them to be

in so perilous a condition, poured forth upon the struggling companies, and did them heavy damage: unable to control their horses, and with little power to defend themselves, the cavalry was for some time exposed in helpless inactivity to the attack of their assailants, but the arrival of the Christian infantry at length compelled the men of Cantillana to retire within their walls. Determined on revenge, the Infidels then besieged the place, which they assaulted with the utmost fury, nor did they turn from their purpose until they had forced the gates, when they entered Cantillana sword in hand, and made a frightful carnage among the people thereof.

The King Muhamad Aben Alahmar saw these things with infinite sorrow, and spoke of the matter to King Ferdeland, entreating him to command his people first to try persuasion in all the towns and fortresses near which they might pass. He added that with such as would accept no terms, and refused to listen to any reasoning, force might be used, but even in such cases, the old men, the women, and children, should by no means be considered as among the offenders; nay, he maintained that none who would surrender themselves disarmed could be justly subjected to such violence as they then beheld.

The advice thus given by Aben Alahmar was highly acceptable to the king of the Christians, and the Granadine sovereign himself wrote letters to many of the towns, sending his own cavaliers with these missives, in which he exhorted the inhabitants to moderation; and his words being enforced by the representations of his messengers, who pointed out to the people the line of conduct necessary to their preservation, those means availed to the prevention of many evils, and saved the effusion of much blood.

The first town which surrendered to the Christian power in consequence of Aben Alahmar's exhortations, was Guillena, from before whose walls the Infidel force pressed on to the siege of Alcala del Rio. This place was defended by a brave and noble cavalier, called Abul Xetaf, who sallied forth with his horsemen, and gave a sanguinary reception to the Christian troops, throwing them into great disorder, and making a fearful carnage in their flying hordes. Nay, the matter would have gone much worse for the Christian com-

batants, if the Granadine cavaliers of the King Aben Alahmar had not arrived at the most critical moment; but these are warriors who yield to none that the world produces in the management of their horses and the use of their arms, and by their aid the people of Abul Xetaf were in their turn overcome, and compelled to draw their bridles; the Christians and Granadines then pressed them so closely, that they could not make their way back to their own fortress, and were compelled to fly for refuge to Medina Seville. Muhamad Aben Alahmar then persuaded the inhabitants of Alcala to place their fate in the hands of King Ferdeland, assuring them that he would himself take care to make the way clear before them, and facilitate their being received to the favour and protection of that monarch, without further injury. On this counsel the men of Alcala acted without delay; they surrendered their stronghold to the Christian, and received assurances of security in return.

CHAP. VI.—KING FERDELAND BESIEGES SEVILLE. HE TAKES IT AFTER A SIEGE OF EIGHTEEN MONTHS. HIS DEATH. OF THE VARIOUS CITIES CONQUERED BY HIS SUCCESSOR, KING ALFONSO.

IN the commencement of the year 644,* King Ferdeland laid siege to Seville, which he invested by land and sea; but the defenders of the city, whose force consisted in part of a brave and well-appointed cavalry, made frequent sallies on the besieging troops, who were encamped on either side of the river, and among whom they made no small amount of carnage.

The King of Granada, Muhamad Ben Alahmar, was stationed with his people near Hasnalfarag, and before the gate of the Alcazar; here he had many obstinate and sanguinary skirmishes with the cavalry of Algarve, led on by Mohamad, lord of Niebla. These encounters gave occasion for numerous acts of prowess, and wonderful deeds of arms were then performed by Aben Alahmar and his cavaliers, insomuch that even the bravest among the Christian generals beheld them with

* A.D. 1246.—*Condé.*

envy and admiration, while King Ferelnand himself expressed the highest satisfaction in the good service lent him by the King of Granada and his noble Xeques.

There were fearful combats also fought at sea between the galleys of the Christian and the Moslemah; many of the naval forces perished on either side, and the barks fell on each other with a cruel persistence whenever they could meet. The garrison of the fortress of Atrayana * likewise sallied forth with great frequency to join battle with the Christians, and at a word the city was attacked and defended on all sides with a singular determination and bravery.

Eighteen months had at length elapsed since the Christians commenced the siege of the place, when Muhamad Aben Alahmar, King of Granada, proposed to King Ferdeland that the ships of Seville should be burnt, whereby the defenders would be cut off from their supplies of provisions. He furthermore advised that the communication which the garrison of Seville had up to that time been able to maintain with the fortress of Atrayana, should be interrupted,—measures which, if taken successfully, could not fail to hasten the downfal of the place. This advice appeared exceedingly good to King Ferdeland; wherefore machines were prepared for the purpose: cauldrons of sulphur, pitch, and other inflammable substances, were made ready for the conflagration of the vessels, while barges heavily laden, were abandoned to the power of the winds, impelled by whose force, by the current of the river, and by their own weight, they dashed violently against the centre of the bridge, formed of boats chained together, which had served as a communication for those of the city with the garrison of the castle of Atrayana. The strong chains which held the boats were broken by the shock with which those heavy masses fell against them; and their bridge thus destroyed, the besieged could no longer help themselves, as they had previously done.

While the leaguer of Seville was thus continued with so much constancy, the Christians, commanded by the Count of Barcelona, were also laying siege to the city of Xativa, which they assailed with every kind of machine and engine of war. So closely did they invest the place, that, having no

* Triana.—*De Marles.*

hope of succour from without, the Wali, Yahye Ben Ahmed Abul Hussein, was forced to commence a negociation for surrender, and did but seek to secure the best conditions that he could obtain. Yet, whatever these might appear to be, they could not but prove ruinous, since nothing better than death or destruction could be hoped for from the perfidy and fraudulent promises of the treacherous Barcelonese. The offer he made to the inhabitants was, that all should be left tranquilly in their houses, and to the peaceable enjoyment of their possessions, with the free exercise of their religion. He was admitted into Xativa accordingly, making his entrance towards the close of the moon Safer, in the year 644. Yet no long time had elapsed before he drove thousands of the Moslemah from the city and its neighbourhood, leaving them no other resource than that of wandering, impoverished and wretched, to whatever place might offer them shelter. Nay, the man who writes these words,* hath seen the Wali of Medina Xativa, even Yahye Ben Ahmed Abul Hussein, with his commander Abu Bekar, reduced to such extremity of distress, that they sustained their lives only by the liberalities of their friends, and had become wandering fugitives on the face of the earth.

At the commencement of the year 645, the Wali of Lorca, Muhamad Ben Aly Abu Abdallah, died in that city. He was a virtuous man, and of great ability in the art of governing; he consequently conferred many benefits on the inhabitants of Lorca; opening canals for the passage of water, building hospitals for the poor and for pilgrims, and giving his best cares to whatever other works were best calculated to promote the welfare of those he governed. In the wars of Murcia, Muhamad Abdallah had distinguished himself by his genius and bravery, no less than by his prudence.

Attached to the party of Abu Giomail Aben Zeyan, Muhamad Abdallah Ben Aly had favoured the attempt made by that leader on Medina Murcia, and his entrance into the same; having deceived and circumvented for that purpose the Christians who then formed the garrison of the city.

* Aablar Alcoday, of Valencia.—*Conde.*

The horrors of war were meanwhile continuing to rage around Medina Seville; the Christian besiegers made themselves masters of Gules, they burnt the suburb of Ben Alfofar, and plundered that of Bab* Macarena, where they made a fearful carnage. The besieged inhabitants continued to defend themselves nevertheless with undiminished resolution, they too being in possession of many wonderful engines: some of these cast forth a hundred murderous missives at one throw; and others there were, the darts from which were launched with such force that they were capable of transpiercing a horse from one side to the other, even though the animal were barded with iron. The Christians combated our people with equal bravery and eagerness, being more especially careful to guard all the approaches to the city, to the end that no provisions might be brought to the relief thereof.

In the year 645, and while that prolonged siege still continued, the Moslemah dwelling in the city of Valencia became wearied of the vassalage and servitude to which they had been reduced by the Infidel: our brethren could no longer endure the charges and vexations of every kind laid on them by those enemies of Allah, and they retired from Valencia, the capital, as well as from the other towns and villages of the kingdom. Those who were not rich were more especially attracted by the fame of that good government and security in which the Granadines were said to be rejoicing under the wise rule of their king, even Muhamad Aben Alahmar; many of these wanderers therefore passed over to the territories of that noble sovereign, who gave orders for their amicable reception, and caused them to be treated as their misfortunes required. They were exempted from every species of impost for a certain number of years, and Aben Alahmar, being careful to alleviate their distresses by every means in his power, thus gained for himself a body of useful citizens, by whom the strength and riches of the state were ultimately much increased.

The people of Seville had now become exhausted by the length and rigorous closeness of the siege they had endured,

* Bab Macarena: the Macarena gate.—*Tr.*
† A.D. 1247.—*Conde.*

and having no hope of succours from without, they began to think of yielding to the necessities of their condition. Opening the negociations for that purpose by means of their Alcaydes, they proposed conditions to King Ferdeland, which that monarch accepted without making any change therein, so earnestly did he desire to see himself master of the city which was the head and chief of the state. The conditions thus demanded by the Moslemah, and accorded by King Ferdeland, were as follow:—The Sevillians were permitted to continue in their homes, and dwell therein with all liberty, enjoying the possession of their houses and revenues in full security: for all this they were to be subjected to the payment of a small tribute only; the tax was indeed so light that it did not exceed the sum theyhad been wont to pay their own kings, as Zunna and Xara. Such of the inhabitants as would not consent to remain in the city were allowed a convenient time for the disposal of their effects—of which they retained the undisturbed control—and for their own departure, not only from the capital, but the realm; nay, for the space of one month, these Christian victors held themselves bound to furnish beasts of burthen to all who should decide on immediate departure, giving mules and other animals to those who wished to travel by land, with ships in sufficient number for all who preferred to pass into Africa, or other parts demanding a voyage by sea. To the Wali, Abul Hassam, King Ferdeland caused an intimation to be made, to the effect that if that Xeque would remain in Seville or any part of its territory, domains should be assigned to him on which he might reside at his pleasure. But Abul Hassam had no sooner resigned the keys of the city than he departed from its gates: that event took place on the 12th of the moon Xaban in the year 646,* and on that same day the Wali embarked for Africa.

King Ferdeland then took up his abode in the Alcazar of Seville, while his generals occupied the forts of the city and all the fortresses of the Comarcas: the Moslemah immediately began to depart from their homes; many accepted the protection of the King Muhamad Alahmar, and repaired to the territories of Granada; others betook themselves to

* Other authorities give 645 as the date of this occurrence.—*Conde*

the various cities of the Algarve; and some few passed over to Ceuta with the Almohades. So ended the empire of those princes in Seville, and the Moslemah lost that beautiful city; the mosques and towers thereof were filled with crosses and idols, while the sepulchres of the Faithful were profaned.

Muhamad Alahmar, King of Granada, then took his leave of King Ferdeland, whom he left busily occupied in the distribution among his own cavaliers of the lands and dwellings abandoned by the Moslemah. More grieved than satisfied was the heart of Aben Alahmar, as he thought of the advantages which his own arm had aided the Christian to obtain, and he returned to his territories with a saddened spirit, well knowing that the aggrandisement and successes of the Infidel could not but result in the ultimate extinction of the Moslemah power. He found consolation only in the hope that the greatness which he had assisted to increase would fail to secure permanence, remembering what he had more than once known to happen; namely, that vast power is not unfrequently lost when it passes into the hands of a new master, since it is then often seen to fall by its own weight. The king had confidence in Allah, moreover, and did not believe that He would wholly abandon his own people.

The day of Muhamad Alahmar's entrance into his capital was held as one of high rejoicing: the inhabitants came forth in vast crowds to receive their sovereign, and as he rode on his way through the city, every street resounded with the voice of acclamation.

The attention of Aben Alahmar was now more than ever directed towards the promotion of industry among his people; he encouraged their application to the useful arts by all the means he could devise, conferring rewards on the best workmen in all kinds, granting exemptions to the husbandmen, and those who distinguished themselves among their fellows in the breeding of horses; nor did he refuse advantages of a similar kind to the good armourer, saddler, and maker of caparisons for horses; nay, even the weaver and handicraftsman of other kinds obtained their portion in his favour, when remarkable for their ability and application.

The arts of life, thus encouraged in the states of Aben

Alahmar, became unusually flourishing, and the soil, which is very fertile of its nature, gave evidence of extraordinary fruitfulness, as a consequence of the careful cultivation bestowed thereon. The growth and fabric of silk was much protected and encouraged by Aben Alahmar, and attained to such perfection in the kingdom of Granada, that the manufacture of stuffs made from that material eventually surpassed those of Syria. The king was equally attentive to the labours of the miners; those of gold, silver, and other metals, being placed under the immediate superintendence of men chosen for their knowledge of such matters: he took especial care to see that the gold and silver coins were of due purity and weight, nor did he neglect the beauty of their form; the arms impressed on his shield were of blue and white, a diagonal band of azure crossing the field of silver, while the legend *Le Galib illa Allah*—"There is no conqueror but God"—was inscribed upon them in letters of gold.

The cause assigned for Muhamad Aben Alahmar's choice of this legend is as follows: His people, in their rejoicing for his triumphs in war, had saluted their sovereign on a certain occasion by the title of *Galib*, "The Conqueror," to which Aben Alahmar had replied, "*Wa le Galib illa Allah*"—"Of a surety there is no conqueror but God;" and from that time he had adopted the phrase in question as his device and the impress of his coins: nor were these words ever changed by his descendants; they not unfrequently varied the colours of their shield, and even altered the band, bearing red and green, as well as blue, but all preserved the device chosen, as above described, by Aben Alahmar.

That prudent king selected the most able and virtuous masters that could be found as the preceptors of his sons, of whom he had three: the first of these princes was called Muhamad, the second Aben Fargia, and the third Juzef; but not content with this, Muhamad Alahmar was himself accustomed to impart instruction to all in the few hours of leisure that his numerous cares permitted him to command. One of King Mohamad's most valued recreations was the reading of history, and he caused the events of old

times to be related to him by his Ruya or narrator of traditions: he amused himself also in his gardens, where he cultivated flowers and aromatic plants with a delight that never knew diminution. It was by Muhamad Aben Alahmar that the great work of the Alhambra was commenced; he directed the labours in person, and was frequently to be seen among the architects and builders.

The principal counsellors of Aben Alahmar were, first, Abu Meruan Abdelmelic Juzef Ben Senanid, a native of Jaen, and belonging to one of the most illustrious houses of that city, who was his chief Vizier, and Aly Ben Hamet Asaibani Azadi, a native of Granada, and also descended from a rich and noble family long settled in the capital, who was his second vizier; the general-in-chief of his forces was Abu Abdallah Muhamad Arramim, and the admiral of the fleet Abdallah Muhamad was the King's admiral, who was commander on the sea; the Alcayde of his cavalry was Abu Muza; and Yahye Ben Alcatib of Granada was the secretary of his Mexuar or council. He had besides three other Alcatibs or secretaries for the transmission of orders and the preparation of letters; Abul Hassan Aly Arrayni, namely, Abu Bekar Ben Chatab, and Abu Omar Juzef Ben Said Alyahsi of Loxa. The Alcadies or judges of the court were seven, and of these the most distinguished of their time were Abu Amer Yahye Alascari; Abu Abdallah Muhamad Alansari, a renowned jurisconsult, as hath been sufficiently made manifest by his numerous works; and Abu Abdallah El Tamimi, of the Asalamies of Loxa, who was the judge of the criminal court. The remainder of these sages were Aben Ayahd Ben Muza El Yahsebi, Aben Adha, Abul Casim Abdallah Ben Abi Amer, and Aben Fant, who is also known as Alasbaron of Seville.

While the King of Granada, Mohamad Aben Alahmar, was thus enjoying the peace which he had established with the Christians, and employed his best efforts for the promotion of all the arts that were best calculated to increase the prosperity of his kingdom, and render those who lived under his government content and happy, King Ferdelard of Castille, the conqueror of Cordova and of Seville, was called on to yield his life to the irrevocable decrees of God

the Omnipotent, and the mandate for that event went forth on a Giuma,* which was the 21st day of the moon of Rebie Primera in the year 650.† When the intelligence of Ferdeland's death reached Muhamad Aben Alahmar, he sent his messengers to King Alphonso, the son and successor of King Ferdeland, with letters of condolence, and others wherein he proposed to renew with that monarch the treaties of peace and alliance which he had concerted with his father, and which the Granadine sovereign desired to maintain on the same terms. To these proposals Alphonso despatched an affirmative reply, and added his thanks to Aben Alahmar for the courtesy he had received at his hands.

This King of the Christians was a very learned, wise, and generous monarch, endowed with great goodness, and displaying infinite nobility in all his actions. Two years only had elapsed after his accession to the throne of Castille, when he wrote to Aben Alahmar, making known his intention of invading the Algarve and the territory of Xeres, at which time he requested the King of Granada to send him a body of cavalry, or to proceed himself to meet and accompany him in that campaign. Nor did Aben Alahmar refuse compliance; he repaired to the Algarve at the head of a well-appointed force, although with a grieving heart; and on this occasion he more than once remarked to his cavaliers, "How deplorable and wretched would be our lives, if it were not that our hopes are permitted to extend into the regions beyond the tomb."

When the forces of Aben Alahmar had joined those of Alfonso Ben Ferdeland, they marched in concert on the territory of Xeres, and laid siege to that city. In the early days of the siege, the Almohade cavalry and the Xerezanos did not fail to sally forth with much bravery, and they gave not a few surprises to the camp of the besiegers, with whom they fought many sharp skirmishes; and as on both sides there were large numbers of accomplished cavaliers, the admirable manner in which they encountered each other, and the valour with which they fought, was a pleasure

* Friday.
† A.D. 1252.—*Condé.*

to behold. On these occasions, the Granadines daily distinguished themselves by the dexterity and facility with which they wheeled their horses; they forced their chargers into the midst of the enemy's ranks, or compelled them to draw back with a rapidity and address that even the Xerezanos themselves could not but admire, although they rarely came forth with much advantage from those trials of skill and bravery. Nor had any long time elapsed before the citizens, fearful lest their gardens, vineyards, and orchards should be cut to pieces before their eyes, compelled the Wali of the city, Aben Ubeid, who occupied the Alcazar, to open negociations for a surrender of the place to the Christians. Having no hope of human succours, the Wali then proposed conditions to the King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland; and by these, the citizens who did not choose to remain in the city were permitted to depart in safety with their riches of gold, silver, and vestments; while those who were content to continue in their homes were equally at liberty to do so; the latter were furthermore guaranteed the secure possession of their houses and lands, and were assured of such treatment in every respect as was accorded by the king to others who were his vassals. Especial security was finally given for all the Almohades, their households and families, which being done, and all duly signed and ratified on both sides, the city was surrendered to the conqueror,—an event which took place in the year 652.*

King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland then caused the Alcazar of Xeres to be occupied by a very brave general, called Don Gomis,† who was one of the noblest cavaliers of his court. He subsequently proceeded to invest the towns of Arcos, Sidonia, and Nebrisa; but after some short time spent in directing the operations, King Alphonso left the siege of those places to the care of his brother, the Prince Anric,‡ while he departed to Seville; and the King of Granada, even Muhamad Aben Alahmar, took his way towards his own capital. The towns besieged by Prince Anric were meanwhile quickly compelled to surrender, but were accorded similar conditions to those obtained by Xeres.

* A. D. 1254.—*Cond.*
† The Count Don Garcia Gomez.—*Tr.*
‡ Prince Henry of Castille.—*Tr.*

No long time after the completion of these conquests, the Prince Anric fell into discord with his brother, King Alphonso,—as some say, because of a rivalry in love: be that as it may, Prince Anric was compelled to leave the court of Alphonso, and he then wrote letters to Muhamad Aben Alahmar, with whom he had formed a close intimacy, requesting that sovereign to receive him at his city of Granada: but the King Aben Alahmar, unwilling to awaken displeasure against himself in the mind of the King of Castille, replied by despatching a general who was much in his confidence to Prince Anric, whom he advised to pass over into Africa, sending him letters for that purpose to his friend Abu Zacaria Yahye Ben Hafsi, the King of Tunis, in which he requested that monarch to treat Prince Anric as he would himself. The Christian prince acted on that counsel accordingly; he took the letters of Aben Alahmar, and crossed the sea to Medina Tunis, where he was received with much honour by Abu Zacaria, who entertained him as befitted the valour and nobility of both host and guest.

CHAP. VII.—CONSPIRACY OF THE MOSLEMAH AGAINST ALPHONSO BEN FERDELAND. THEY REBEL AGAINST HIM, AND SLAUGHTER HIS TROOPS. THE CHRISTIAN KING MARCHES AGAINST THE FAITHFUL.

Two years had now elapsed since the conquest of Xeres, when the King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland wrote letters to Muhamad Alahmar, requiring his aid for the war which he was again about to undertake in the Algarve; remarking that he proposed to act against their common enemies, the Almohades, and that Aben Alahmar had an equal interest with himself in the expulsion of that faction from Spain.

The King of Granada then sent his directions to the people of Malaga, whom he despatched to assist Alphonso Ben Ferdeland in that war, giving the command of his troops to the Wali of Malaga, who was of the Beni Escaliola. That general instantly joined his cavalry to the army of King Alphonso, and together they laid siege to the city of Niebla, extending their incursions over the whole

territory of Saltis, in which Muhamad Aben, a distinguished general of the Almohades, then held command.

Now Medina Niebla was a city of great strength; its walls were lofty and well furnished with towers, all built of stone, and of admirable workmanship; the forces within the city were brave and numerous; they made frequent sallies and night attacks on the foe, gave notable surprises to the camp of the besiegers, and resisted the attacks of their assailants with invincible valour: they had machines of wonderful construction, with which they cast stones and darts; launching other missives of thunder and fire* moreover, which caused no small amount of damage to the Christian camp. The siege was thus prolonged to an unusual extent; but at the end of nine months the inhabitants of the city became weary of the privations to which they were subjected: the want of provisions had long made itself grievously felt among them; but they were at length so completely exhausted, that they could endure their sufferings no longer, and persuaded their Wali to commence a negociation with the Christian foe.

Aben Ubeid, seeing that no assistance was to be hoped for from without, then went forth himself from the city to arrange his conditions with the King of Castille, when Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, giving proof of extraordinary generosity, did not refuse anything that was required by Aben Ubeid. In that convention was comprised the surrender of the whole territory of the Algarve, when the King of Castille bestowed immense domains on the Wali Aben Ubeid; among others, the Algaba of Seville, with the King's garden and its towers. Alphonso furthermore conferred upon him the tenth of all the oil in the royal Alxarafe,

* The question as to whether the Moors were at this time acquainted with the use of powder—of which, as our readers are aware, they claim to be the inventors—has given rise to much discussion, but cannot be mooted here. It is nevertheless certain that they were in the full use of that material some seventy years later, at the battle of Guadacelito and the siege of Algeziras, namely; the first taking place in 1340, and the second in 1342. From this circumstance, and from what is here said of the siege of Niebla by a writer who was of the period, it would appear to be highly probable that the Moors were even then in possession of the secret which has so essentially affected the modern practice of war.—*Tr.*

which produced a very large revenue. This was the price at which the Christians obtained the city of Niebla, with Huelba, Gebalayun, Serpa, Mora, Alhaurin, Tabira, Far, Laule, Xinibos, and almost every other town of the Algarve, a rich territory, strongly fortified, having a large population, a soft and delicious climate, a fruitful soil, and every product that could render the life of its inhabitants agreeable. This conquest was completed by the Christians in the year 655.*

During the war thus waged by Alphonso of Castille in the Algarve of Spain, Mohamad Alahmar, King of Granada, was employed in the careful examination of all his states: he visited each of his provinces in its turn, fortified the towns of his frontiers, and placed the whole kingdom in a state of defence. That prudent sovereign clearly perceived the many difficulties that must oppose themselves to the duration of his friendship with the Christians, who, being his natural enemies, would be moved to his injury by the slightest occasion, seeing that the wormwood cannot lay down its bitterness, nor the colocynth its acridity; neither can we look that the thorn-bush should produce grapes for the wine-cup.

Convinced of this truth, Aben Alahmar remained for some time in the cities of Guadix, Malaga, Tarifa, and Algezira, preparing all for such events as might ensue: he repaired the walls of Gebaltaric, and gave directions for the due munition of all those places with such stores as they required. While the King of Granada was in those districts, there came to visit him certain of the Moslemah cavaliers who had formerly dwelt in Xeres, Arcos, and Sidonia, with some others who were of Murcia, all offering to enter his service and acknowledge him their king, if he would assist them to throw off that hard yoke of suffering and servitude which had been imposed on them by the Christians.

To these proposals Muhamad Alahmar replied by assuring the Xeques that they should shortly be made acquainted with his decision. On his return to Granada he was accompanied by the Wali Abu Alhac, and by Abu Bekar, Vizier

* A.D. 1257.—*Condé.*

of Murcia; and the king had no sooner arrived in his capital than he assembled his council and took the advice of his Xeques and nobles in respect of that matter. The greater part of Muhamad Alahmar's counsellors were then of opinion that the peace with king Alphonso Ben Ferdeland ought to be broken, since it was the obvious duty of the Moslemah to assist their brethren; they added, that the aggrandisement of the Christian king was greatly to be feared, and that in a war against Alphonso, all the Faithful would hasten to range themselves beneath the banners of the Granadine king.

Muhamad Alahmar praised the zeal of his counsellors for the defence of Islam, but did not fail to set before them the perils and inconvenience of an open breach with the Christian powers; he admitted that it would be well to favour the people of Murcia, which the vicinity of that province to his own states would facilitate his doing, but in secret only: he added, that when all the arrangements to that effect were made and well understood, the people of Xeres and the Algarve might commence their insurrection, when King Alphonso, finding it needful to divide his forces and attention, would send to require the accustomed service and assistance at the hands of his ally, the King of Granada. Then, as Muhamad Alahmar furthermore affirmed, would be the moment for him to make his demonstration in favour of his brethren, by refusing, under some easily-found pretext, to comply with the demand of Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, the rupture of his friendship with whom would then have a manifest cause. Aben Alahmar furthermore assured the Xeques that he would not fail to invade the territories of the Castillian king, inflicting all possible injury on the Christians, and bringing whatever aid was in his power to the assistance of his brethren the Moslemah.

The opinions and promises of Muhamad were received with general approbation, and the Xeques of Xeres and Algarve sent letters to the people of their respective districts, to the intent that all should be ready to rise on a certain day, while envoys, bearing missives to the same purport, were despatched by the nobles of Murcia on their part. All the dwellers in every Comarca were therein warned to be ready at a given signal, when the inhabitants of each city

were to take arms and drive the Christian troops, by whom their fortresses were garrisoned, from their borders. The principal actors in this movement, hoping to animate the people to revolt, set forth rumours to the effect that Muhamad Alahmar, King of Granada, had already taken the insurgents into his shelter and protection: they added that he was about to invade the Christian territories, and make a sanguinary war on the Infidel.

Nothing more was needed to excite the unthinking multitude, blind lovers of novelty, and ever ready for tumult; they took arms without further consideration, and raising the cry of war, they attacked the Christian garrisons of the respective cities, while they loudly proclaimed Muhamad Alahmar their king. In one and the same day the movement commenced in Murcia, Lorca, Mula, Xeres, Arcos, Nebrisa, and other towns, the inhabitants of which all fell upon the Christians and drove them from the fortresses. In Xeres the carnage was fearfully great. The Count Don Gomis defended the Alcazar with extraordinary valour; covered with wounds, he still fought like a lion, although all his people were already lying dead or fatally wounded around him; but overwhelmed by the perpetually renewed numbers of his assailants, he ultimately fell, exhausted with the loss of blood, and died but a short time after.

And here, where the resistance of those Christians who had held the Alcazar had been so obstinate a one, the name of King Aben Alahmar was heard resounding from every part, while the two Walies of that monarch who governed Algezira and Tarifa were themselves compelled by their own people to march forth to the aid of the men of Xeres, and together they made their way into the Alcazar with the violence which has been described above: an act by no means in accordance with the cautious policy which their master desired to maintain. These events took place in the year 659.*

The example thus given did not fail to be followed eagerly in all the land, and many towns recovered their liberty, revenging themselves on such of the Christians as had tyrannised over them. The people of Murcia, being secretly assisted by those of Granada, as had been agreed

* A.D. 1261.—*Condé.*

on, were among those who obtained their freedom; but the King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland now sent his generals in all directions, and it became manifest that the work on which they had entered was but just begun. The Castillian monarch despatched his messengers, as had been anticipated, to Muhamad Alahmar, King of Granada, requiring his assistance in that war of Murcia, when the last-named sovereign, assigning motives of religion and the compulsion of policy, excused himself from complying with the Christian's demand: he even intimated that he should not be permitted by subjects to remain neutral on that occasion. But while thus putting an end for the time to the friendship existing between Alphonso Ben Ferdeland and himself, Muhamad Alahmar did so in such sort that he might renew the broken ties at some future period, in the event of its ever becoming needful that he should do so, although in his heart he was not desirous of any occasion demanding that concession.

The Castillian monarch, being much dissatisfied with the reply of Muhamad Alahmar, sent orders to his frontier, commanding that the people of Granada should be treated as enemies to the Christian forces: having received these directions, the Infidel was the first to commence hostilities, a circumstance which was no sooner made known to the King of Granada than he fell upon the Alcala of Aben Zaide, and devastated the whole district. In the vicinity of Medina Alcala, where King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland then was, the late friends and now mortal enemies met in battle, when the two hosts encountered each other with a furious animosity, and very obstinate was the engagement that ensued. At length the Zenete cavaliers, by whom Muhamad Alahmar was accompanied, enabled that monarch to bear off the honours of the field, and the Christians were compelled to retire. The battle of Alcala de Aben Zaide was fought in the year 660.*

From that time there were daily skirmishes and encounters, in which the fortunes of the opponents proved constantly varying, and no signal victory was obtained on either side. King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland now despatched

* A.D 1262.

his best generals into the Algarve with command to subjugate the rebellious towns of that province, and Muhamad Aben Alahmar was meanwhile occupied in repeated attacks upon the Christian frontiers, from which he carried away captive all the Infidels that he could get into his hands, while he deprived his enemies in like manner of all their flocks.

The people of Murcia continuing to implore the assistance of the Granadine sovereign, Muhamad Alahmar assembled a large body of foot and horse, of which he made certain divisions, appointing a distinguished general to each of them. But on this occasion, the favour shown by the King of Granada to certain Zenete and Zegri cavaliers of the frontier, with some others who had done him especial service, offended three noble Walies who were of the Beni Escaliola, and who did not conceal the dissatisfaction which they felt. These were Abu Muhamad Abdallah, governor of Malaga, Abul Hassan; Wali of Guadix; and Abu Ishac, Wali of Comares; all of whom excused themselves from taking part in the campaign of Murcia, alleging that their presence was required in their respective governments; and although Aben Alahmar, dissembling his displeasure, permitted them to depart to the cities they ruled, yet all the mildness and reserve with which he had received their refusal to take active service, did not avail to cure the wounds which those Xeques bore away in their hearts.

Before departing for the war of Murcia, and considering the uncertainty of human things, Aben Alahmar determined to declare his eldest son, the Prince Muhamad, his successor to the throne, and his future associate in the government: this he did, not only lest death should cut short his steps on the path he was about to tread, but also for the purpose of assuring to the prince a higher degree of authority in the affairs that would be regulated by him in his absence. The young prince was accordingly proclaimed, and received the oath of allegiance, his father commanding that the name of Muhamad should be added in the Chotba immediately after his own, in all the Aljamas of the kingdom. That solemnity took place at the commencement of the year 662, the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, being the only Xeques who were not expected at the festival by which

the appointment of Aben Alahmar's successor was accompanied.

And those Walies now sent their letters by common accord to King Alphonso of Castille, declaring themselves his vassals, and taking shelter beneath his faith and protection; they offered to march their forces in his aid against the King of Granada, and declared that they would make neither peace nor truce with the latter until they had first received the consent of the Christian king to that effect. For all this they required that Alphonso should on his part assist and defend them in all that they might undertake against the King of Granada.

The King of Castille was greatly rejoiced by that embassy: he promised the rebel Xeques his aid and support under every circumstance, and exhorted them to commence their operations against the King of Granada without delay, adding that he had already despatched messengers along the line of his frontiers with commands that the three Walies, Abu Muhamad Abdallah, Abu Hassan, and Abu Ishac, with their followers, should be assisted in all their enterprises, and treated everywhere as his allies and good servants. Nor did the Walies fail to do as they had resolved in their hearts and promised to the Christian; they fell upon the territory of Muhamad Alahmar with great fury, extending their incursions far and wide throughout the land.

By this diversion King Alphonso was enabled to make war on the insurgents of Andalusia and Murcia much at his leisure; Aben Alahmar being prevented from despatching his forces to the relief of the struggling Moslemah, as he had prepared to do, by the necessity which now existed for making head against those who had kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions. The Castillian king laid siege to Medina Xeres, which he long pressed very closely, while he devastated all the Comarcas around the city, and occupied the neighbouring fortresses. Five months were passed in the endurance of much privation on the part of the besieged; at the end of that time the Moslemah of Xeres surrendered, with the one sole condition that their lives should be spared. They were thus driven

from their homes in the utmost destitution, and the place itself remained wholly depopulated: those who had been its inhabitants then dispersed themselves in small bands through the whole of Andalusia: they all departed poor and miserable, many taking refuge in the dominions of Muhamad Alahmar, King of Granada, and others passing over into Africa. Malaga and Algezira likewise offered an asylum to no small number of those impoverished and wretched people, the depopulation of whose dwellings took place in the year 663.

Sidonia, Rota, Solucar, Nebrisa, and Arcos, were in like manner reduced to surrender without any other condition than that of safety for their lives: the unhappy dwellers in all these places went forth deprived of every possession, their debilitated persons alone excepted, the greater proportion of them taking refuge in the kingdom of Granada, in such sort that Aben Alahmar, while deprived of his territories on the one hand, beheld the population of his states increase in the manner we have described, on the other. He now made a division of his forces, with the determination of despatching troops to the aid of the people of Murcia, who were defending themselves well, while he marched in person with his cavalry against the rebels of Guadix and the frontiers of Jaen. Muhamad Alahmar thus gave the due share of attention to all requiring his care, and with his flying camp, the king seemed to make his appearance every where; nay, he seemed almost to present himself in all parts at one and the same moment.

CHAP. VIII.—THE KING GACUM AND KING ALPHONSO EACH MAKES AN ATTEMPT TO CONQUER MURCIA FOR HIMSELF. INTRIGUES AND AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN LEADERS. ENMITY OF ALPHONSO AND ABEN ALAHMAR.

THE King, Gacum, of the Christians now marched his troops also against Murcia, having long entertained the desire of adding that province to his conquests, while the cavaliers of King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland were extending their incursions over the land, their master hoping to erect the first fruits of that his first campaign of conquest into a kingdom for

his brother Don Manuel, whom he tenderly loved. These conflicting pretensions impeded the progress of both monarchs, and the two sovereigns ultimately decided on a marriage to be solemnised between the Prince Don Manuel and a daughter of King Gacum, which was effected accordingly.

Now the Queen Iolant,* wife of Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, was also a daughter of King Gacum, and sister of the princess who was destined to be the consort of Prince Manuel. But Iolant was a vain and envious woman; she was not so beautiful as her sister, and felt deeply mortified at the thought of the intended conquest being estranged from herself to crown her sister, whom she abhorred. Thus she left no means unattempted for the prevention of that purpose, and wrote letters in her own name to the King of Granada, entreating him to restore the amity which had previously subsisted between his states and those of the King of Castille, so much to the advantage of both; she represented furthermore, that if Muhamad Aben Alahmar would propose terms of peace to King Alphonso, he would then be enabled to reduce the Walies who had risen against him to their allegiance, while her husband might on his part accomplish his purposes in Murcia without permitting King Gacum to take any part in the conquest of that country. In these her letters, Queen Iolant did not conceal her enmity to her father's house; she made it obvious that her principal motive in what she then sought to accomplish was the desire she felt to prevent him or any one of his family from becoming sovereign in Murcia, and admitted that she intended thereby to satisfy her desire for vengeance on her kindred, who had offended her by certain domestic arrangements in which she felt the highest interest.

These letters, with the confidence which Aben Alahmar felt in the person to whom the charge thereof had been committed, and whom he had long known, caused the King of Granada to comply without hesitation, and he wrote to King Alphonso, as the queen had desired, offering to do whatever might be in his power for the service of the Castillian King. The latter was highly satisfied with that demonstra-

* Yolande.

tion on the part of Aben Alahmar, whom he invited to a conference at Alcala de Aben Zaide; but at the same time Alphonso caused intimation to be given to the rebel Walies, assuring them that he would not abandon their cause, even though it should suit his purpose to make peace with the King of Granada.

The day on which the two sovereigns were to arrive in Alcala de Aben Zaide was then fixed on, and having met there accordingly, they proceeded to treat of their affairs in much apparent confidence. After long discussions it was at length agreed that Muhamad Aben Alahmar, and his son, the Ameer Muhamad, whom he had appointed his successor, should renounce all pretensions or rights which they might consider themselves to possess to the territory of Murcia; Alphonso Ben Ferdeland on his part declaring that he would no longer aid or shelter the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, to the end that Aben Alahmar might more effectually reduce them to his obedience. The King of Castille promised furthermore that he would himself procure the submission and return to their duty of the rebel Xeques, for whom he obtained the truce of a year, within which time those Walies were bound to resume their obedience, or failing in this, were thenceforth to expect no favour or protection from King Alphonso, who in that case left Aben Alahmar to deal with them as it might seem good in his eyes.

It was stipulated furthermore by these conventions, that the kingdom of Murcia was to be fully subjected to the King of Castille, and to be ever united with the states previously beneath his rule, but that it was to be placed in the hands of a Mosleman prince, who should govern it according to the laws and customs of the Faith. Among other immunities secured to the Moslemah by that agreement was the important one that no imposts should be laid on them, save only that of the tenth which they were accustomed to pay of all that they possessed to the public treasury, and of which a third was for the most part assigned to the sovereign of the kingdom for the maintenance of his state and dignity. Finally, the Ameer secured the pardon of Alphonso Ben Ferdeland for such Xeques and nobles who had taken part in the rebellion of Murcia; but

it was also decided that the Walies whose names are about to follow should suffer a perpetual banishment from the realm. These exiled nobles were, Abu Alhaki, the Wali of Medina Murcia, Aben Amru Aben Galib, and Aben Adha, with the Vizier Abu Becre.

Aben Alahmar likewise made a compact with the King of Castille to the effect that the service of cavalry which the first-named sovereign had supplied to the latter in time of war, should now be commuted for a certain sum in gold, to be paid yearly, while King Mohamad Alahmar should be held to appear at the court of Castille only at the general assemblies held there by the great nobles and tributaries of the kingdom. On the conditions thus laid down, Aben Alahmar agreed to facilitate, and even, if necessary, to enforce the submission of Medina Murcia with its territory and dependencies. The treaty of Alcala de Aben Zaide was then agreed to by the two kings, and by the Ameer Muhamad, the successor to the kingdom of Granada; that done, it was also signed by many nobles of Alphonso's court and by certain of the most distinguished Xeques of that of Granada. These events took place in the year 664.*

While the conditions of peace were thus in course of discussion at Alcala de Aben Zayde, the generals of Aben Alahmar took a large convoy of provisions which was on its way to the camp of the Christians, and put the troops who were escorting the same to the rout. The want of food consequent on that loss, and the frequent sallies made night and day by the defenders, caused the Christians to be on the point of abandoning the siege of Medina Murcia; they were the more effectually reduced to that straight by the bad intelligence which had so long subsisted between the people of Arragon and those of Castille, who were continually falling on each other with the most deadly enmity, and continually rejoiced at the injuries inflicted on either, by the common foe.

It was at this critical moment that the King Aben Alahmar, with Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, King of Castille, proceeded in company towards Medina Murcia; the former writing to the Walies of the territory and the governors of

* A.D. 1264—1266.—*Conlé.*

its strongholds, exhorting them to render themselves to the mercy of King Alphonso, in conformity with the conditions which had been agreed to in the treaty of Alcala de Aben Zayde. He took pains to show that this was the only method left to them for escaping from the difficulties in which they were involved, reminding them that it was impossible for them to make head, or even to subsist, alone as they were, against two kings mighty as were those of Castille and Arragon. Aben Alahmar furthermore suggested to them that they should refuse their subjection to every Christian prince, the King of Castille alone excepted, demanding to have that monarch and no other for their sovereign.

To these counsels the people of Medina Murcia gave their assent with very good will, and the conditions being agreed on, the King Aben Alahmar entered Murcia with King Alphonso, and a large number of noble cavaliers. Muhamad Abdallah Aben Hud, a brother of the renowned King Abu Abdallah Ben Juzef Aben Hud, was then proposed by Alphonso Ben Ferdeland as the lord and ruler of Medina Murcia, whose inhabitants at once acknowledged him as their king, to the satisfaction of all parties; Muhamad Abdallah being more especially esteemed by the King of Castille, to whom the moderation and wisdom wherewith that prince was endowed were well known.

With this termination of the war the people of Murcia were perfectly content, rejoicing much to have a king of their own religion and of a royal race,—to say nothing of their new ruler's reputation for justice, wisdom, and virtue, which was nevertheless of still greater importance. The King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland secured the gratification of his generous desire to have kings for his vassals, and the Queen Iolant was not without her triumph, since she had prevented her sister from obtaining a crown. Muhamad Alahmar, King of Granada, was also content, because he had found means to remain on fair terms with all parties; and he returned to Granada with a large and brilliant company.

In the commencement of the year 665 the King of Granada sent letters to the King of Castille, making known his intention of proceeding against the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, those insurgent Xeques showing

clearly that they were not to be reduced to obedience by any means short of force.

The King of Castille then repeated his intercessions for the rebel chiefs; but Muhamad Aben Alahmar sent his generals against them; whereupon the Wallies had once more recourse to Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, to whom they reiterated their offers of service, entreating him not to abandon them to the mercy of their enemies. The troops of Aben Alahmar had already occupied many of the towns and fortresses which had been seized by the insurgents of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, when the King Alphonso sent letters to Granada, requiring Muhamad Alahmar to desist from further attack upon the rebel Xeques, or to understand that he would have to answer for his refusal to himself. The Castillian sovereign furthermore demanded that the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares should be received to favour and confirmed in the independent lordships they had appropriated, while he declared that the cities of Tarifa and Algeziras must be ceded to himself if Aben Alahmar desired to retain his friendship.

When the letters giving evidence of so much perfidy and presumption were placed in the hands of the Granadine king, he was roused to anger, and gave orders for the assemblage of his troops, determined to fall on the territories of Alphonso Ben Ferdeland without delay; but on second consideration, and when all were prepared for departure, he thought it better first to answer the letters of the Christian king, and wrote to him accordingly, reproaching him, as he was justly entitled to do, for thus departing from the compact which had been made at Alcala Aben de Zayde, and adding further to that injury the affront of demanding from the sovereign of Granada the cession of cities which were not mere frontier fortresses but the very keys of his kingdom. Aben Alahmar proceeded to exhort Alphonso to beware how he listened to the suggestions of evil counsellors, and rather to act according to the dictates of his own heart and conscience, since he could not but be sensible to the unreasonableness of his demand: he concluded by remarking that such treatment as he then experienced at the hands of Alphonso was very unlike what his good services had merited; and declaring his determination to

reduce the rebel Xeques to their duty, he affirmed that he had no wish to enter the territories of Alphonso, or to meet him in arms, unless the latter should compel him to do so by supporting and assisting the insurgent Walies.

Now Filipo,* the brother of Alphonso; the Zaim, Don Numio,† and other illustrious nobles of the kingdom, were disaffected towards their sovereign, whom they accused of injustice towards themselves, alleging that he permitted himself to be governed by his wife, and disregarded the advice of his best counsellors: these cavaliers therefore repaired at this time to Granada and took refuge with Aben Alahmar, whose high and noble character was intimately known to them.

They were received by the Granadine monarch with all the consideration due to cavaliers of so much importance, and were entertained in his own palaces, or in those of his principal Walies and Viziers. On their part they offered to assist Aben Alahmar in his war with the rebel Xeques, but requested him to spare them as far as might be possible in respect of his incursions on the territories of Alphonso, against whom alone they were reluctant to serve him. The king commended the nobleness of their scruples, and gave them commission to act against the rebels of Guadix in company with his declared successor the Ameer Muhamad. Here, then, these cavaliers performed most notable acts of prowess, competing in zeal and bravery with the most distinguished of the Moslemah; the king on his part showing them all favour, and doing them great honour, while he conferred on them a suitable and liberal share in the booty that was made during the war.

But the forces of Aben Alahmar were so much divided, that no undertaking of importance could be effected; the towns were plundered, the country was devastated, but nothing of moment was accomplished. Campaign after campaign and year after year came to an end, but the struggle seemed to be indefinitely prolonged, and Aben Alahmar, wearied at length by so protracted a contest, determined to require the aid of Abu Juzef Ben Abdelhâc of the Beni Merines, who was then King of Morocco. Muhamad Alahmar's letters to that sovereign were de-

* Philip. † Don Nunez de Lara.

spatched in the year 670;* in them he requested the African prince to send a force of cavalry wherewith to restrain the pride of the King of Castille, and compel the insurgent Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, to serve in defence of the Moslemah in Spain, rather than to use their arms, as they were then doing, for the abasement of Islam and to secure the perdition of their brethren of the Faith.

The Christian cavaliers in the service of Aben Alahmar were deeply grieved when they knew that he had invited the Beni Merines of Africa into Spain; nor was their displeasure without good cause; nay, the assurance that the King Abu Juzef Ben Abdelhac had consented to repair to that country had no sooner been divulged than all the Christians were filled with terror and dismay.

CHAP. IX.—DEATH OF THE KING, ABEN ALAHMAR. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON MUHAMAD II. HE CONQUERS THE REBELS. INTERVIEW OF MUHAMAD AND ALPHONSO IN SEVILLE.

THE year 670 departed amidst a succession of hopes and fears; but in the commencement of the year 671 the Alcaydes of the frontier sent letters to Aben Alahmar, informing him that the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, were about to enter the country with a large host, and entreating him to send them reinforcements both of foot and horse. The king became violently enraged on receiving that intelligence, and in the heat of his anger he commanded that all the force at his disposal should be mustered, determined to put an end to that prolonged and unhappy war. His attendants did their utmost to tranquillise his mind; but he knew no rest until he found himself in the saddle, and at the head of the cavaliers who were to accompany him in the campaign on which he was about to enter.

The Christians who were in the court of Aben Alahmar did not fail to proffer their services on the occasion, and they also went forth. But it chanced, as they were all departing from Granada, that the first cavalier of the vanguard, having neglected to lower his lance sufficiently, as he passed from

* A.D. 1272.—*Condé.*

the city gates, had it broken in his hands; this the people held to be an evil augury, and the infallible sign of misfortunes about to ensue, although in effect it was nothing more than a proof of carelessness on the part of him who had neglected to lower his lance so as to clear the arch of the gate.

A short time before the hour of noon in the first day's march, the King was attacked by an indisposition which shortly became so painful a malady that he could no longer retain his seat in the saddle, and being placed on a litter, he was taken back towards the city, whither he was accompanied by all the cavaliers, Christian as well as Moslemah, who followed his banners. The sufferings of the sick monarch became so great before he could be brought to the city, that it was found needful to erect his pavilion at some distance from the capital, where the physicians anxiously surrounded him, without knowing in what manner to give him relief. A few hours later the king was seized with a vomiting of blood; this was followed by convulsions: at the hour of Almagreb or the setting of the sun, the decree of Allah for his departure was sent forth, and on a Giuma,* which was the 29th of the moon Giumada Primera, in the year 671,† Mohamad Alahmar passed to the mercy of God.

The Prince Filibo, brother to Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, King of Castille, was at the side of the King of Granada until he had breathed his last sigh: intelligence of that event was immediately sent throughout the country, where all his people mourned the death of their king as do men who have lost a father. Aben Alahmar was interred with great pomp in his own mausoleum, the remains being first embalmed and placed in a coffin of silver, covered with precious marbles, on which the following epitaph was engraved in letters of gold by command of his son:—

"This is the sepulchre of the exalted Sultan, the Fortress of Islam, the Ornament of the human race, the Glory of the day and of the night, the Rain of Generosity, the Dew of Clemency for his people, the Pole-star of the *Sect*, the Splendour of the Law, the refuge of the *Traditions*, the

* Giuma: Friday † A.D. 1273.—*Condé.*

Sword of the *Truth*,* the Support of all created. A Lion in War, the Destruction of his Enemies, the Protector of the State, the Defender of the Frontiers, the Victor of Armies, the Repressor of Tyrants, the Terror of the Impious, the Prince of the Faithful, the Wise Leader of the chosen People of Allah, the Defence of the Faith, the Honour of Kings and Sultans, the Conqueror for God, the zealous Follower of the true path, Abu Abdallah Ben Juzuf Ben Anasir El Ansari, whom may God exalt to the place of the High and Justified, appointing his dwelling among the Prophets, the Martyrs, the Saints, and the Men of holiness. May God have pleasure in him, and be merciful to him. It was decreed that he should be brought into the world in the year 591, and that his departure should take place after the Azala of the Alazar on Giuma, the 29th day of the moon Giumada Primera, in the year 671. Praised be He whose Empire hath no end, whose Reign no commencement, whose Time shall never fail. There is no God but He, the Compassionate, the Merciful."

Immediately on the death of Aben Alahmar, his son Muhamad was proclaimed king, to the satisfaction of all his subjects. He passed on horseback through the principal streets of the city, accompanied by the flower of the cavalry, and was received with acclamations by the people. Having completed the funeral solemnities of his father, Aben Alahmar, King Muhamad did not forget him, but rather proposed to himself to consider him as ever present in all his undertakings, to imitate him in his excellent works, and to follow the examples of prudence and virtue which he had left him.

Muhamad II. was a liberal, brave, and judicious ruler; he made no changes in the great employments of his court; nor did he alter the distribution and order, which his father had effected and established, of the various charges and distinctions attached thereto, whether in the departments of peace or war.

The guard of African and Andalusian cavaliers which Muhamad Aben Alahmar had assembled about his person was retained in like manner by Muhamad II. his son. The commander in chief of the Africans was usually a prince

* These italics are in the original.—*Tr.*

of the house of the Beni Merines or Beni Zeyan, and the captains of those troops were noble cavaliers belonging to the tribes of Masamuda, Zeneta, or Zanhaga. The Andalusians were generally commanded by a prince of the royal house, or by some Xeque belonging to one of the most noble families of the kingdom, and who was always a man of great distinction for his valour and ability. At this time, the two brothers of the king having departed from life, that high office was held by Aben Muza, who had been general of the Andalusians in the lifetime of his father. Muhamad now increased the pay and added to the immunities which had ever been conferred on those guards, the Andalusians and Africans being treated with equal favour.

Now among the courtiers there were some who expected that their fortunes would be exalted on the accession of the new king; and as these men found themselves disappointed, they suffered no long time to elapse before they had assembled a band of disaffected persons; and pretending to believe that Muhamad was a hard and intractable master, who did not sufficiently appreciate their merits, they abandoned his party, and attached themselves to that of the rebel Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares.

Having arranged the affairs of his government and set all things in good order, the new king, Muhamad Ben Aben Alahmar, marched forth with his cavalry against the insurgents, who had seized the occasion for making incursions on the territory of Granada, whence they had carried off a large booty in flocks and captives, with treasures of various kinds, of which they had despoiled their brethren in the faith. Muhamad was accompanied by the cavaliers of Castille, and when arrived near Antekaria he overtook the rebel army: a sanguinary battle was then fought, in which the Christians, in emulation of the cavaliers of Granada, performed prodigies of valour: Muhamad broke and defeated the force of the insurgent Walies, from whom he took the rich prey they were bearing from the land. After having continued the pursuit for a considerable time, the army of the king returned to Granada, which the troops entered in triumph. King Muhamad then showed great honour to his Christian auxiliaries, to whom he distributed very mag-

nificent gifts of horses splendidly caparisoned, with costly arms and vestments.

At this time came the Prince Anric from Africa, he having returned from that country in some haste; and the cause of that occurrence was the suspicion which he entertained that Abu Juzef Ben Abdelhac, King of Tunis, had formed a design to take his life. The event which had given birth to Prince Anric's misgivings was on this wise:—

It chanced on a certain day that Anric was about to accompany the King of Tunis to the chase, and stood awaiting him in one of the courts of the Alcazar; the Spanish prince was alone for the moment, when he suddenly perceived two raging lions, which the king kept in cages, approaching him, without knowing whence they had proceeded. The brave cavalier drew his sword, and the lions did not dare to attack him; whereupon he left the court without giving any sign of trouble or fear, and did but recommend the keepers of the animals to guard them better for the future. The King Abu Juzef Ben Abdelhac excused himself, saying that the circumstance had happened by an accident; but Prince Anric would trust him no further, and having taken his leave of that monarch and his court, he returned into Spain.

The arrival of the prince filled the house of his brother, the King of Castille, with doubts and fears, nor could Anric conceal the displeasure with which he beheld that countenance and aid with which Alphonso did not cease to favour the rebel Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares; he laid before his brother all that there was to fear from the advent of the Beni Merines in Spain, and reproached him with having compelled the King of Granada to invite them to his aid.

Alarmed by the evils thus predicted to him by Prince Anric, who declared them to be of almost immediate approach, Alphonso Ben Ferdeland secretly despatched letters to his brother Filibo, and others of the principal among the Castillian cavaliers who had sought refuge in the court of Granada, desiring them to return to their country and forget the discords by which they had been estranged:

he further gave them intimation to the effect that they would do him an acceptable service if they could discover some means for bringing about an accommodation between himself and Muhamad, King of Granada.

And now, as these cavaliers were esteemed in the highest degree by King Mohamad, they had no difficulty in persuading that sovereign to give ear to their proposals; fully convinced of the nobility of their motives and the sincerity of their promises, he accorded to them his utmost confidence, and knew that, so far as in them lay, his just expectations would be secure of fulfilment. Desiring above all things to assure the peace of his kingdom, the King Muhamad agreed to an interview with Alphonso Ben Ferdeland, and accompanied by the principal cavaliers of his court, by the Prince Filibo, the Zaim Don Nunio, Don Lop,* and others of the Castillian nobles, he departed from Granada and proceeded to Medina Cordova. Having reposed himself in that city for some days, Muhamad then repaired to Seville, whence the King Alphonso Ben Ferdeland came forth on horseback and with great pomp to receive him. The Christian king lodged Muhamad in his own Alcazar, commanded that splendid festivals should be prepared in his honour, and made him a knight after the fashion of Castille: he embraced the Granadine monarch as his friend, and, by the mediation of the latter, the discords existing between himself and his brother were set at rest. The misunderstanding into which the king had fallen with the other cavaliers who had been dwelling in the court of Granada, were in like manner brought to a close by the intervention of Muhamad, to whom all expressed their gratitude, attributing to him the whole merit of the advantages which each considered himself to have obtained by that restoration to the favour of his sovereign.

Now King Mohamad was then in all the bloom of his youth: to his prudence and the excellence of his disposition he joined the most attractive manners, and was especially distinguished by the elegance with which he spoke the Castillian tongue: for these causes he was not unfrequently

* Lopez Diaz.

detained in conversation by Queen Iolant and her ladies, to whom he paid frequent visits. It chanced that as, on one of these occasions, Muhamad entered the apartments of the queen, she suddenly surprised him by a most indiscreet request, and one for which the King of Granada, who did not expect to hear a discussion of political interests in the chamber of the Queen, was totally unprepared. Iolant began by observing that she had a supplication to present to him, the prayer of which she hoped he would not refuse to grant, seeing that the matter lay wholly in his hands. Muhamad replied with infinite courtesy, assuring the queen that she had but to command him, and he was ready to obey. Then Iolant entreated with the most pressing earnestness that he would accord a year of truce to the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, adding that within the period thus fixed that affair might doubtless be brought to an amicable arrangement. Muhamad concealed the displeasure caused him by this indiscretion of the Queen, and did not refuse her request; but he now clearly perceived that the desire of the Christians was to embarrass and restrain him by the perpetual fomentation of that internal discord which they could always incite to a flame whenever they might find it convenient to do so.

A few days after this visit, conditions of peace were established between the King of Granada and King Alphonso, when it was determined that the subjects and vassals of either sovereign should hold unrestricted intercourse with those of the other, all having equal freedom and security. Muhamad next engaged to pay a certain sum yearly in mitcales of gold, as the redemption of that service of cavalry which had been wont to be furnished to the King of Castille by his father, Aben Alahmar. In these negociations there was furthermore introduced a clause to the effect that the rebel Walies should be granted a year of truce, as had been requested by Queen Iolant, and in conformity with the promise which King Muhamad had given to that princess. The Granadine monarch then took his leave of King Alphonso, his queen, and the Infantes his brothers, who all held him in the highest esteem. The infant Don Filibo, with Don Manuel and Don Anric, accom-

panied him even to Marchena. This meeting of the two kings took place in the moon of Ramazan, and in the year 671.*

CHAP. X.—THE KING OF GRANADA SENDS LETTERS TO ABU JUZEF, KING OF TUNIS, DESCRIBING THE STATE OF HIS AFFAIRS. ABU JUZEF CROSSES INTO SPAIN. HIS FIRST VICTORY. DEATH OF THE INFANT DON SANCHO, WHO IS SLAIN AFTER THE BATTLE.

KING Muhamad arrived in Granada not a little dissatisfied with the negociations concluded with the Christians; nor could he fail to be displeased, since he had suffered the opportunity for making a descent on Guadix and Comares to escape him: he was now compelled to wait an entire year before he could recommence the war against his rebel Xeques, while they had all that time for the reparation of their losses, and the assembling of new forces. Muhamad furthermore perceived that it was the intention of Alphonso Ben Ferdeland to give his aid to the insurgents when the truce had expired, the King of Castille having a manifest interest in the maintenance of the civil war. The sovereign of Granada could not but feel discontented as he considered that while he had composed and set at rest all the discords of the Christians, they had done their utmost to keep him involved in the disadvantages of his domestic troubles; nay, had even rendered it impossible for him to bring those disquietudes to an end, without coming to a violent resolution from which he well foresaw that many evils must result. This last was nevertheless the decision at which the king ultimately arrived. Resolving all these matters in his thoughts, he set aside every consideration but that of the wrong which he had suffered in the treaty just concluded, and despatched his messengers to Abu Juzef, King of Morocco, with letters wherein he described the state of things then afflicting his kingdom: he insisted more especially on the evils caused him by the rebellion of the Walies, who devastated his territories and debilitated the state to such an extent, that the forces of Andalusia

* A.D. 1273.—*Condé.*

were daily diminishing, while the very existence of Islam was maintained in the country solely by the care and ingenuity with which the machinations of the Christian powers had hitherto been withstood. He added that the divisions resulting from the factious obstinacy of the rebel Xeques rendered it impossible for him to assemble troops in sufficient numbers for the effectual opposition of the common enemy, and concluded by declaring that the hopes of all Andalusia now reposed on King Abu Juzef himself, from whom alone they could expect to receive the succours so much needed, but with whose aid he did not doubt that all Andalusia would speedily be restored to Islam. Muhamad furthermore announced his resolution to give up his ports of Tarifa and Algezira Alhadra, for the greater convenience of King Juzef's debarkation, permitting him to place a garrison of his own people in each of those fortresses, and offering them to serve as the magazines for his provisions and munitions of war.

The King of Morocco received these letters with extreme satisfaction, and he replied without delay, accepting the offers of King Muhamad, and instantly afterwards despatching a body of seventeen thousand men to receive possession of the proffered towns. Abu Juzef took measures at the same time for the preparation of an army with which he resolved to cross the strait in person.

All Spain was filled with terror at the intelligence, which was soon rumoured abroad, of the African sovereign's expected arrival; the insurgent Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, were especially alarmed, nothing doubting but that the first blow would fall on them: they made haste to offer terms of accommodation to King Muhamad, therefore, and he did not refuse to accede to their wishes; but the troops of Abu Juzef were meanwhile marching on the territory of Malaga as they had been commanded to do by the Ameer.

Some few days later, the King of Morocco himself disembarked with a large body of cavalry, and with infantry in such numbers that this latter part of his army required a considerable time to cross the strait. The Walies of King Muhamad went forth to receive the African monarch, and accompanied him till they had conducted the guest to the pre-

sence of their sovereign. Abu Juzef then set himself to effect an entire reconciliation between King Muhamad and the rebel Xeques, but he reproached the latter for the injuries they had inflicted on Islam, and admonished them to beware for the future of a division so prejudicial to the Moslemah interests: he advised them to remain thenceforward in due allegiance to their sovereign, the King of Granada, who could not maintain his states against the Christian powers without the union and obedience of all his provinces.

A council was then held, in which the most advisable means for entering on the territory of the Christian was in long discussion: it was at length decided that Abu Juzef should make an incursion on the Comarcas of Seville, commencing by the destruction of the growing crops in the district of Ecija. King Muhamad, with certain companies of Arabian horse, commanded by the Generals Yahye and Osman, brothers of considerable reputation for valour and ability, was then to fall upon the territory of Jaen, while the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, were directed to make an irruption on the Comarcas of Cordova.

Then the Christians, filled with terror, as hath been related above, by the arrival of Abu Juzef, sent the voice of appeal [illegible] their borders; they called the whole force of the land into action, and every part of Spain was soon in movement. The Infidel armies were not slow to assemble, and the brave Zaim, Don Nunio, who held command on the frontier, marched at once from Ecija, near which city he encountered the Moslemah force. Don Nunio's army consisted of the flower of the Christian cavalry, with a well-appointed body of foot-soldiers; the banners of the two forces were presently arrayed against each other, and whether impelled by a fatality which was not to be evaded, or excited by the rash confidence and vain presumption of a leader accustomed to prevail, Don Nunio, although he perceived that the numbers of Abu Juzef's army doubled that of his own, thought he could not refuse the battle, save at the cost of his honour: he therefore commanded that the Moslemah should be attacked without delay.

Abu Juzuf ordered his cavalry to advance in like manner; the earth trembling beneath the rush of the combatants,

while the air resounded with the fearful tumult of their battle cries, mingling with the deep thunder of the Atambores and the clangour of trumpets.

The Alarabians extended their line of battle as they joined the foe, and succeeded in surrounding the Christian troops; those infidels fought with extraordinary valour, but unable to break the ranks of the Moslemah, they were defeated, none escaping with life, some few only excepted who took their flight to the neighbouring city of Ecija. Don Nunio himself died fighting with the bravery of a lion, but not before his lance had inflicted death on many valiant Moslemah. Of the Christians more than eight thousand left their corpses on the field; that of the General Don Nunio being among the number, as we have said. This important victory was gained at the commencement of the year 672.*

Abu Juzef now sent the head of the Christian General Don Nunio to Mohamad King of Granada, with a letter wherein he related all the circumstances of the battle, and described the glorious vengeance which had been taken by Islam: the African monarch therewith added that he had sent Muhamad the head of the Infidel commander, but declared that he would rather have presented him that Christian alive and in chains.

Now Muhamad could not but rejoice greatly at the triumph thus obtained by the Moslemah army; yet he gave manifest evidence of the grief of soul which was caused to him by the death of Don Nunio: when the dissevered head was brought into his presence, he turned his eyes from that affecting spectacle, and covering his face with his hands, he exclaimed, "Guala! O my faithful friend! this hast thou not deserved at my hands!" And it was true that Don Nunio had indeed entertained a devoted friendship for the King of Granada, and had ever honoured him greatly. When Muhamad was in Cordova and Seville

* Or rather 675. This is one of the instances wherein the work of our author has suffered to a considerable extent by his premature death. The best authorities assign the year 675 as the date of Abu Juzef's arrival in Spain, and Condé himself has also given this date as the period of his first expedition to that country in the sort of summary which he has added to a previous part of the work before us. (See Part 3, Chap. 58, p. 99.—*Tr.*)

he was constantly accompanied by Don Nunio, who had been his guest at the court of Granada, and had never ceased to give him proofs of affection. Muhamad therefore commanded that the head should be embalmed and placed in a precious casket of silver, which being done, he sent it with an honourable escort to Cordova, there to receive a suitable interment.

On the day following the battle which hath been thus described, the King of Morocco, Abu Juzef, commenced operations for laying siege to Medina Ecija; but that city was so well defended by the Christian garrison, that his Alarabian troops dared not to approach the walls after their first assault, in which they had suffered heavily from the cross-bows of the Infidel. This compelled Abu Juzef to fix his camp at a greater distance from the city; but he despatched his light companies far and wide through the land, extending his incursions over all the Comarcas of Cordova. He crossed the Guadalquiver and drove off all the flocks, which the Christian, expecting the onslaught of the Almogavares, had pastured on the further bank of that river. The King of Morocco then removed his camp to a position between Eicja and Palma.

Muhamad, King of Granada, had meanwhile entered with a powerful army on the territory of Jaen; he ravaged the whole district of the Harf and of Martos, which he laid totally waste, after plundering every pasture of its flocks, and taking captive many women and children. The king was then joined by the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, with the generals commanding the districts of Andarax and Baza. These last, with the companies of African soldiery led by the brothers Yahye and Osman, remained in the vicinity of Martos to guard the vast spoils and riches which the Moslemah force had obtained.

Now the Christians assembled from Tolaytola, Calatrava, and other parts of Spain, were commanded by the Prince Don Sancho,* and the latter had no sooner been made acquainted with the immense force with which the African

* This Don Sancho is called by some of the Spanish chroniclers, as well as those of Arabia, the younger son of Alphonso X.; but he must in that case have been a natural son of that monarch, since the second son of Alphonso, Sancho the Valiant, it was, who succeeded him on the throne, and of whom there will be question hereafter.—*Tr.*

sovereign had entered Spain, than he hurried to the field with all the ardour of a youth but slightly experienced in matters of warfare. Eager for glory, Don Sancho forthwith advanced with his cavalry, and too impatient to wait for the arrival of his whole force, he attacked the Moslemah army with indescribable impetuosity; but the Alarabian horse succeeded in surrounding his cavaliers, whom they destroyed with their lances to the last man. The prince, being known by his vestments, was taken alive; when the Africans would have sent him to their King Abu Juzef, but the Arrayaces, or Captains of Andarax and Baza, demanded that he should be made over to their sovereign, Muhamad of Granada. A contention therefore arose as to which of these parties had the best right to the prisoner, and to whom he should be sent: the Africans ascribed the victory to themselves with great arrogance, and contemptuously declared that but for their arrival and assistance the Granadines would never have seen the waters of the Guadalquiver. Offended at these remarks, the Andalusians turned their horses, and a fierce combat was about to commence, when the Arraiz,* Aben Anasir, who was of the royal house of Granada, spurred his charger against the captive prince, Don Sancho, and piercing him through the heart with his lance, he exclaimed, "God will not permit that the lives of so many good cavaliers as are here should be lost for a dog such as this." The unfortunate Sancho fell dead to the earth; and his destroyers, having cut off the head and right hand of their victim, divided these terrible spoils between them, the Africans bearing off the head, and the Andalusians taking the hand, with its ring, for their part.

On the following day, the Christians appeared in view of the Moslemah force; they were led by Alphonso Ben Herando,† King of Castille, and burning to avenge the death of Don Sancho‡ those Infidels attacked the children of the Faith with infinite fury. The battle, which was fought near the fortress of Assahara, proved an obstinate and sanguinary engagement,

* Arraiz: chief, or captain ‡ Ferdinand.

§ Whom Alcoddai, Alchatib of Seville, calls the son of Alphonso.—*Condé.* (See note, p. 177.)

large numbers perishing on both sides; but the Moslemah maintained themselves and saved their camp: the Christians could not succeed in forcing it; nor were the latter able to prevent their adversaries from retiring with their prey, which all the efforts of the Infidel did not avail to recover.

CHAP. XI.—TREATY OF ABU JUZEF, KING OF MOROCCO, WITH ALPHONSO, KING OF CASTILLE. THE LATTER BESIEGES ALGEZIRAS RESULT OF THE SIEGE. NEW TREATY BETWEEN ALPHONSO AND ABU JUZEF. INTERVIEW OF THE KING OF GRANADA WITH THE PRINCE DON SANCHO. THE FATHER OF THE LATTER TAKES ARMS AGAINST HIM. ALPHONSO DIES.

THE King of Morocco, Abu Juzef, was meanwhile extending his incursions through the Comarcas of Seville; but having received intelligence to the effect that his Christian opponents were assembling a large army, which they had gathered from all their provinces, while they were preparing ships with the purpose of impeding his return to Africa, he retreated towards Algezira Alhadra, with a rich booty of captives and flocks. Now the barks of the Christians were cruising in the narrow strait which separated the Moslemah from their own country, and it was not possible for them to pass to the opposite shores; but the large force of Abu Juzef had begun to suffer from scarcity of provisions, and fearful of seeing them reduced to greater emergencies, the African monarch entered into negociation with King Alphonso, concluding a treaty with that sovereign, whereby he agreed to a truce of two years. That affair was arranged to the great satisfaction of Abu Juzef and Alphonso, but very much to the displeasure of Muhamad, King of Granada, to whom Abu Juzef had made no communication of his designs in that matter, neither had he taken counsel with King Muhamad; and this was a mode of proceeding which the latter had not expected from the nobility attributed to the character of the African monarch.

The Walies of Malaga and Guadix being made acquainted with the treaty thus concluded between Abu Juzef and

the Christians, retired to their cities, and he of Malaga once more attached himself to the party of Alphonso, excusing himself for his late obedience to his own sovereign by alleging that he had been compelled thereto by the power of the King Abu Juzef, and declaring the forces he commanded to be now ready for action as Alphonso should direct, while he was himself as fully disposed to pay obedience as heretofore to that monarch.

The King of Granada then turned his thoughts to the fortification of his frontiers; he put his people in the best state of defence that could be devised, clearly perceiving that he must not confide in Abu Juzef, who desired nothing more than the furtherance of his own interests, and, forgetting the friendship which existed between himself and Muhamad, had returned the generous liberality of the Granadine king by the coldest disregard to all that did not affect his own designs. At a word, Muhamad was convinced by every occurrence passing around him that man can safely confide in his Creator alone. He is indeed the true protector. More than all did the king grieve for the surrender which he had made of the two ports of Algezira Alhadra and Tarifa, seeing that they were indeed the keys of his kingdom

Two years now passed without open war, although there had been occasional irruptions on the Christian frontier by the troops of Alarabia and the Granadines, while the Infidel had not failed to make his appearance from time to time within the Moslemah frontier. King Muhamad had meanwhile occupied his thoughts with the preparation o all things needful for the re-commencement of the strife, and in these cares he was powerfully aided by his first Vizier, Aziz Ben Aly Ben Abdelmenam, of Denia, with whom he furthermore employed the moments of his leisure in conversations concerning poetry and eloquence, wherein Aziz Ben Aly was highly accomplished. There was, indeed, a remarkable resemblance between Muhamad, King of Granada, and his Vizier; they were of the same age, and were both endowed with the most noble qualities. Learning and genius were added to mildness of character and elevation of taste in each, and all the virtues seem to have concurred for the ornament of those distinguished friends. They were

men singularly alike in their personal appearance: very frequent were the conferences which they held together, but to these they not unfrequently admitted others of the eminent men of Andalusia. The Alcazar of the king was indeed open to all whose merit had won them distinction, whether as philosophers, physicians, astronomers, or sages in any other of the sciences.

About this time the King Alphonso of Castille besieged the port of Algezira Alhadra by land and sea; the blockade was maintained by his chiefs with extraordinary rigour, and his land forces assailed the place with engines and machines for casting missives, which allowed the defenders to take no repose day or night. The Moslemah made not a few sallies, in which they fought bravely with the troops of the Christian king, and there were sanguinary skirmishes which caused a vast effusion of blood on either side. The armed galleys of the Castillian sovereign permitting no provisions to approach the port, a scarcity of food soon made itself felt in Algezira Alhadra, but at the same time the galleys of the Infidel were also in want of provisions, which began to fail in the camp of the besiegers likewise: a diminution of their zeal was suffered to appear on the part of the latter as the siege became prolonged: the crews of the galleys in particular fell sick from the effects of their many hardships and privations, insomuch that they were compelled to leave their barks in great numbers, encamping on the island and leaving the galleys almost undefended.

The King Abu Juzef was then in Africa, but his spies having made him acquainted with the negligence beginning to prevail among the Christians, and with the abandoned condition of their barks, Abu Juzef caused fourteen large galleys, well armed and fitted with chosen crews of determined men, to sail from the port of Tangiers, commanding that force to fall on the Christian armada as speedily and suddenly as could be contrived: they were then to burn the ships with all that was in them; and this was effected accordingly, affording a joyful spectacle to the besieged in Algezira Alhadra, while it filled the hearts of the Christian assailants with rage and despair.

The African Moslemah next resolved on a debarcation, and found to their surprise so little opposition on the part of the

Christian host that all were enabled to make good their landing. They then slew every man on whom they could lay their hands, and burnt the huts which the Infidels had constructed on the shore for the reception of their sick. Thus was Algezira Alhadra delivered by the help of Allah when on the point of being lost: a very small band of the Moslemah army succeeded in destroying the enemies of the Faith, and did so greatly change the condition of the inhabitants of the place that they may be said to have passed from the oppressive anguish of night to the free breath of the day. That event took place on the 15th of the moon of Rebie Primera, in the year 678. The Christian fugitives from the camp soon afterwards arrived in Medina Seville with hearts full of terror and dismay.

Intelligence of this victory was speedily borne to the King of Morocco, and Abu Juzef, highly satisfied, repaired with all haste to Algezira Alhadra, which he caused to be amply supplied with provisions of every kind, and munitions of war in vast abundance. The African furthermore commanded that a new city should be founded on the spot which had served as the site of the Christian camp, remaining for a considerable time at Algezira, to the intent that he might superintend the commencement of the works in person. The King of Castille then perceiving that fortune was not favourable to his undertakings at that moment wrote letters to Abu Juzef King of Tunis, in which he proposed conditions of peace; and their treaty was concluded accordingly.

Muhamad, King of Granada, then marched on the frontier of the Christians, which he crossed near Martos, driving off the flocks of the Comarcas, and devastating the whole territory of Ecija, as well as that of Cordova. Nor did Alphonso delay the assemblage of his troops and being determined to lead the army in person, he left his capital for that purpose. Arrived at Alcala de Aben Zayde, the Christian king was attacked by a malady of the eyes, which prevented his further progress, and he resigned the command of the force he had assembled to his son, the Prince Don Sancho, who made irruptions on the neighbouring district, of which he destroyed the olive gardens and vine grounds.

King Muhamad now caused an ambush to be laid in the vicinity of Hisn Moclin, giving directions to his troops on the frontier to the effect that they should retire before the enemy until they had attracted the latter towards the fortress of Moclin, where his ambush lay. This was effected as he had desired: the Christians mistook that which was but stratagem for flight, and followed the supposed fugitives eagerly with all the confidence of security. When his enemy had reached the appointed spot, Muhamad fell upon the imaginary victors with irresistible impetuosity, and in that carnage the followers of the Cross perished almost to a man, many of their principal cavaliers being among the numbers of the slain. More than two thousand eight hundred corpses were left on the field of slaughter as a feast for the birds of prey and the beasts of the forest. The Moslemah then pursued the flying remnant with their lances in the necks of those who sought to save their lives by the swiftness of their steeds, and whom they followed even to the Infidel camp. The Prince Don Sancho gave many a proof of knightly valour on that day; he was constantly seen fighting in the van of his army and with the bravery of a lion; but the King of Granada compelled him to retire within the frontier of his father's territories. These events occurred in the commencement of the year 679.

In the following year, the Infidels, resolved to take vengeance, appeared in the Vega of Granada with a powerful army; but the King Muhamad was fully prepared to receive them. He marched with a well-appointed army of fifty thousand men, and advancing towards the enemy with the flower of that vast force, he gave them battle. In the sanguinary contest which then ensued, the Prince Don Sancho, although giving evidence of his usual bravery, and no less clearly exhibiting his mastery of the arts of war, was nevertheless compelled to yield the ground, and with a heavy loss he once more retreated within the Castillian frontiers.

Now Don Sancho had for some time been at variance with the King of Castille, his father, and the Prince now sent letters to Muhamad, King of Granada, offering his friendship to that sovereign, and proposing that they should form an alliance against all the world. He further-

more resigned to Mohamad the fortress o. Arenas, which had been taken from the Moslemah by King Alphonso. The Granadine sovereign and Don Sancho then met at Priego in consequence of the letters here referred to, and there they discoursed each with other as men who have long been friends. The proposed treaty of alliance was concerted between them, and confirmed by each party: all these things being well arranged, the two princes separated, both intent on preparing for the war on which they proposed to enter.

When King Alphonso was made acquainted with the interview demanded by his son from the King of Granada, and of the treaty which had been formed between them, he became greatly alarmed: but, to neutralise the effects of that alliance as far as in him lay, Alphonso then wrote to Abu Juzef, King of Morocco, entreating the aid of the African monarch against his rebellious son, Don Sancho. Abu Juzef, who was then occupied with the new city in course of progress at Algezira Alhadra, replied favourably to that demand; he despatched a strong body of cavalry to the assistance of King Alphonso, and followed himself immediately afterwards with an equal force of foot soldiers. The African and Castillian armies thus united, proceeded against Don Sancho, who fortified himself in Medina Cordova: the prince was then besieged for the space of a month by King Alphonso and Abu Juzef, who attacked the place with machines and engines of war, that were capable of launching thunders; but Don Sancho defended himself well, and they could not produce any effectual impression.

At the end of a month from the commencement of the siege, Abu Juzef and the King of Castille received intelligence to the effect that Muhamad, King of Granada, was advancing against them with all his power. They then raised the siege, and proceeded to make an irruption on the territories of Andujar and Jaen. Near Medina Ubeda the forces of the two kings encountered those of Muhamad, when a battle ensued, in which the cavalry of the King of Granada obtained the advantage, compelling Alphonso and Abu Juzef to retire before they had succeeded in either occupying the city or fortress, neither could they make any booty, whether of captives or flocks. Then the King of

Morocco determined to return to Algezira Alhadra, and he left Alphonso King of Castille, who was also compelled to retire to Seville. Abu Juzef soon afterwards left Algezira Alhadra, and departed for Africa, repairing to Medina Tangiers.

The desire of vengeance for his late defeats, with the repeated entreaties of the King Alphonso, sufficed nevertheless to prevail on the African sovereign once more to appear with his army in Andalusia. He assembled new troops of cavalry and infantry wherewith to make war on King Muhamad and the Prince Don Sancho, and in that expedition Abu Juzef was accompanied by his son, Abu Jakoub. They both repaired to Seville, where they were received and entertained with much honour by King Alphonso, with whom they then concerted measures for carrying on the war. The result of these deliberations was that Abu Juzef should fall on the territories of Muhamad, King of Granada, with a portion of his own forces, and one thousand Christian cavaliers from the army of King Alphonso. These troops marching forth accordingly, were met by those of the Prince Don Sancho at no great distance from Cordova, where the prince was defeated, and compelled to retire within the walls of the city. In the pursuit the Christian troops of King Alphonso took several prisoners, whom they sent to Seville, and with them the heads of many among the principal cavaliers of the party of Don Sancho, who had been slain in the battle: at sight of these trophies the King of Castille rejoiced greatly

King Muhamad of Granada now marched forth in his turn against Abu Juzef, to whom, and to the Christians sent by King Alphonso, there had now joined himself the rebel Wali of Malaga, Abu Muhamad Abdallah. Neither Juzef nor his auxiliaries could venture to join their enemies in battle, power against power; they contented themselves with skirmishes, which were frequently very obstinate conflicts, but avoided all occasions of coming to a pitched battle; nor were the main bodies of either host ever engaged.

Now the Christians who were with the army of Abu Juzef would fain have delivered all to fire and the sword, as they proceeded on their march, but the King of Morocco would

not permit them to do so, desiring to carry on the war with as little injury to the land as might be possible. It thus chanced that the Christian cavaliers, angry and impatient under the restrictions thus imposed on them, retired from the force and returned to Seville, where they succeeded in filling the mind of Alphonso with susp cions of Abu Juzef's sincerity, insomuch that the friendship which had appeared to subsist between the two monarchs became much diminished; Alphonso's previous confidence in the good will of Abu Juzef being exchanged for doubt and mistrust. His cavaliers informed him that the King of Morocco had refused to permit their light cavalry to devastate the fields; contenting himself with despoiling them of their products and driving off their flocks. They added, that he would in like manner not suffer them to burn the villages, or slay their inhabitants; his sole desire being to plunder them of all they possessed; whence it might plainly be perceived, as they averred, that Abu Juzef did not make war upon the King of Granada with a willing heart, or, in any case, was deeply intent on winning over the inhabitants of the towns to his own interests, by appearing to present himself as their protector, from which it might be fairly inferred that Abu Juzef hoped eventually to exalt himself to the sovereignty of Andalusia.

Permitting his judgment to be influenced by the relations thus given him by his cavaliers, King Alfonso wrote letters of infinite bitterness to Abu Juzef, declaring that he, Alphonso, was about to retire from Seville, as not considering his residence in that city to be any longer secure, and unwilling rashly to remain in the near neighbourhood of his enemies, the rather because he knew that even those who had boasted of being his friends had abandoned his cause, or, at the least, were neglecting to do for him what he had the right to expect that they would accomplish. He concluded by observing that his disappointment was the greater, inasmuch as that it had never entered his thoughts to fear ingratitude or perfidy at the hands of Abu Juzef.

The King of Morocco was much amazed at the distrust of his purposes exhibited by Alphonso; and being then on the point of repairing to Algezira Alhadra, he wrote letters entreating that monarch to have no doubt of the sincerity

of his designs, nor to entertain the suspicion that he proposed to abandon him, which Juzef declared that he never would do while he lived, but on the contrary, would perform whatever in him lay to secure the triumph of Alphonso over all his enemies, and enable him to live in peace and tranquillity. Abu Juzef then adjured the King of Castille to remember that he, the King of Morocco, was of the race of those Kings of the Beni Merines who prided themselves above all things on the generous protection which they were ever wont to accord to their friends, and which they carried so far as even to lavish their own lives in the defence of such as had taken shelter under the faith of their promise.

The King of Morocco then retired to Algezira Alhadra, and a short time later Alphonso of Castille fell sick, when his domestic sorrows having greatly aggravated his malady, the days of his life came to a close. This King was a man of good sense and clear understanding: he was a philosopher of some distinction, skilled in the mathematics, and an accomplished astrologer.* It was by him that those renowned astronomic tables were composed which bear his name, and are called the Alphonsine Tables. Humane, sincere, and of kindly disposition, Alphonso was the friend of all who approached him: he lived much in the society of learned men, and whether these were Christians, Moslemah, or Jews, he ever received them with distinguished favour. Yet his reign was not a happy one, having been constantly troubled either by his brothers or sons, who excited civil wars against him, and rarely permitted him to taste an hour of repose.

CHAP. XII.—CONGRESS OF THE MOSLEMAH KINGS AND WALIES. DEATH OF ABU JUZEF, KING OF TUNIS. DON SANCHO TAKES THE CITY OF TARIFA, AFTER HAVING BURNT THE SQUADRON OF ABU JAKOB.

ALPHONSO, King of Castille, was succeeded in his states by his son, the Prince Don Sancho, to whom Muhamad, King

* Astronomer.

of Granada, sent an embassy of congratulation immediately on his accession. All the cities of Castille acknowledged Don Sancho to be their king, and took the oath of allegiance to him, the new monarch furthermore strengthening his position by confirming the friendship which he had previously professed for Mohamad, King of Granada, and renewing his treaties with that sovereign.

The death of King Alphonso caused much regret to Abu Juzef, King of Tunis, who sent letters of condolence to Don Sancho by the hands of the Arraiz Abdelhac. He gave intimation at the same time of a desire to be at peace with Don Sancho, remarking that the friend of the king his father might also fittingly be the friend of the son, now that he had become king in his turn, and requesting to know on what terms Don Sancho desired that they should stand together. To this the new King of Castille replied as follows:—"Say to your lord, that up to the present time his light-horsemen have not ceased to devastate my territories: I am therefore equally disposed either to the sweet or the sour;* let him choose which of these he likes best."

With this reply Abu Juzef was much offended. He sent his generals an order to fall on Sidonia, Alcalà, and Xeres, when the Africans ravaged those Comarcas without mercy, and devastated the land as might a devouring tempest. The King Don Sancho then assembled a large force on his part, the cavalry being composed of Moslemah as well as Christians: with these troops he proceeded against Abu Juzef, who was then besieging Medina Xeres, and had already brought that city to great straights. But the King of Morocco being made acquainted with the approach of the Castilian monarch by the advanced posts of his son Abu Jakob, who commanded the vanguard of his host, would not venture on a battle with troops which he knew to be so resolute, led on as they were by a young and warlike sovereign, radiant with hope and acquainted with no species of fear. Abu Juzef therefore retired to Algezira Alhadra, whence he wrote letters to the King Muhamad of Granada,

* Our chroniclers (the Spanish, *id est*) declare the words of Don Sancho to have been as follows: "In one hand I hold bread, and in the other a sword—let thy master choose which he pleases."—*Conde.*

desiring an interview with that sovereign. He affirmed that his intervention in the affairs of Spain had never been intended to produce evil for the Moslemah his brethren, and added that he desired to compose all differences between them before his departure for Africa; reinforcing that request with the remark that discord between himself and King Muhamad could not fail to endanger the security of their respective empires. Abu Juzef concluded by observing that if Muhamad had any regard for his reputation as a good Mosleman, he would repair to Algezira Alhadra for the interview requested, or would assign some other place which might please him better, when the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, would join Abu Juzef in the conference to be held, and all things might be arranged in such sort as was becoming to the children of the Faith.

The proposal of Abu Juzef was highly acceptable to Muhamad, King of Granada, and he replied to that effect, declaring that he was prepared to take his way to Algezira Alhadra, as in fact he did immediately afterwards. The two kings having thus met, were immediately joined by the Walies, when Abu Jakob, the son of Abu Juzef, was also invited to their council. The King of Morocco then spoke at length on the necessity existing for concord among the Moslemah princes. He exhorted his hearers to remember, that, if firmly united, they were assured of the ability to maintain themselves against the Christians, who were their natural enemies; while if they continued to make war on each other, and lived in disunion, as they had hitherto done, it would not be possible for them effectually to resist the Infidel powers. To the King of Granada he remarked, in particular, that he, being the most powerful of the Moslemah princes, was more especially called on to promote the interests of the land and protect his brethren. He exhorted Muhamad not to confide too implicitly in the friendship of the King of Castille; seeing that as the swine would never cease to eat the acorn, nor the goat desist from springing among the rocks of the mountains, so the Christians would never depart from their desire to oppress the Moslemah, nor refrain from inflicting on them an injury while they had it in their power to do so. He declared that if the Infidel affected to make peace with the children of the Law,

it was only because he was not prepared at that moment to engage in war, and that in whatever treaty he might conclude, the Misbeliever thought of his own designs or necessities only, and never of the evils inflicted by war, and the atrocities committed as one of its inevitable consequences; since in no case was he actuated by considerations of humanity or benevolence. To the Walies of Malaga, Guadix, and Comares, Abu Juzef said that it was needful for them to replace themselves in their obedience to the King of Granada, or to acknowledge allegiance to himself, since they could not maintain themselves by their own power in the lordships they had occupied.

To this the Walies made answer, declaring that they had not presented themselves to take part in that interview with the intention of permitting any man to despoil them of their possessions, but to treat of peace and concord with their brethren of the Faith. They observed that King Juzef had commenced his discourse to their assembly by propositions of infinite discretion and prudence, but had concluded very badly. They declared their readiness to unite with whatever Moslemah prince should make war against the Christians, but could not consent to suffer an attack from any who should band themselves for their ruin, seeing that in such case they would immediately have recourse to any power whom they might consider sufficiently potent to protect them.

King Mohamad on his part remarked that he had no higher interest than the glory of Islam, but that all the arguments which had been advanced by the King Abu Juzef were founded in reason and prudence, all history and experience bearing testimony to the validity and truth of the principles he had laid down. And so finished the conference, without having produced any good result.

The Walies had meanwhile felt more dissatisfied with the pretended disinterestedness of King Muhamad than with the partially-expressed wishes of Abu Juzef. They consequently made a secret treaty with the last-named monarch, consenting to subject themselves to his authority, and pay him a certain amount of tribute. This rejoiced Abu Juzef greatly. He departed to Medina Malaga in company with Abu Muhamad Abdallah, the Wali of that city, and there

he used so many persuasions, made such flattering promises (or, as other authorities say, uttered such effectual threats), that Abu Muhamad Abdallah ceded to him the lordship of Malaga, of which the King of Morocco took immediate possession. This event occurred in the year 679. Abu Juzef then conferred the government of the place on his general, Omar Ben Mohly El Batuy; and to avoid all the occasions of discord or sedition that might thereafter arise, he sent Abu Muhamad Abdallah, the previous Wali of Malaga, to Africa, where he gave him the Alcazar of Ketama, in Morocco, with other valuable possessions, as indemnification for the territories which he had resigned in Spain.

When the King of Granada was informed of the secret treaties made with Abu Juzef by the Walies, he was filled with sorrow and indignation, more especially when it became known to him that the King of Morocco had taken possession of Malaga. It grieved Mohamad to the soul to see that precious jewel of his crown, long unjustly usurped, now given over to hands more powerful than his own; but he did his best to conceal the pain he suffered on account of these things, resolving to cultivate the friendship of the King Don Sancho of Castille, and hoping that time and circumstances might present him with a remedy for the wrongs he was then enduring.

From Malaga the King of Morocco, Abu Juzef, had departed to Algezira Alhadra, but had not long arrived in that fortress when he fell grievously sick. His malady increasing, it soon became manifest that the close of his life had arrived; and he departed to the mercy of Allah on the 5th day of the moon Safer, in the year 685. Abu Juzef was succeeded in the kingdom by his son, Abu Jakob, who was then at Algezira Alhadra, but immediately passed the sea and repaired to Morocco, when he was proclaimed king. He then received the oath of allegiance from all his provinces.

When the festivities consequent on the proclamation of Abu Jakob had come to an end, the new sovereign of Morocco returned to Spain, where he was received by the King Muhamad of Granada, who had gone forth to condole with him on his loss. The two monarchs met in

Myrtola, and there they confirmed their treaty of friendship. The King of Granada then requested that Abu Jakob would not extend protection or aid to the Walies of Guadix and Comares, who were labouring to foment dissensions and discords among the Moslemah of Andalusia; when Abu Jakob replied by advising Muhamad rather to attempt winning them by persuasion than reducing them by force of arms. He declared that the misfortunes and evils resulting from the discords of the great, almost always took their rise in the destruction of some one among them who was less powerful than the rest. King Muhamad admitted the justice of his remark; but the King of Granada followed up that concession by the observation that Abu Jakob would do well to commence negociations for a treaty of peace with the King of Castille. The King of Morocco, willing to gratify Muhamad, sent an embassy to Don Sancho accordingly, with letters designed for the furtherance of that purpose; and these missives were very favourably received by the King of Castille.

Abu Jakob then returned to Africa, to prosecute the wars in which he was then engaged, when God gave him many signal victories. After a long siege, he made himself master of Telencen. Here he remained for a considerable period, much occupied by the works undertaken at his command for the embellishment of that city, which was adorned by Abu Jakob with fountains, baths, and mosques.

After the departure of the King of Tunis from Andalusia, and his return to the African side of the Strait, Muhamad, King of Granada, found means to win over to his interests the Wali of Malaga, even Omar Ben Mohly El Batuy, to whom he made rich and numerous presents: nay, the Wali El Batuy, although he held Medina Malaga for the King of Morocco, Abu Jakob, now received from King Muhamad the gift of a fortress called Salubenia, in perpetual tenure, to the end that he might thus become the vassal of the King of Granada, as in fact he did. At the same time the King Mohamad despatched the Alcalde of Andarax to enter into negociations with Don Sancho, King of Castille, as fearing, or affecting to fear, that Abu Jakob designed to enter Andalusia with a great force.

These things were speedily made known to the King of

Morocco, since they were not matters of so little moment as to be long kept concealed. The faithless compliance of Omar Ben Mohly El Batuy was more particularly displeasing to Abu Jakob, who resolved that his punishment should not be delayed. He assembled troops, and proceeded to Algezira Alhadra with that intent; nay, he had no sooner arrived than he attacked the territory of Bejar, and laid siege to that city; but the assaults made on the walls by the Alarabian forces were bravely repelled by the garrison, and the place defended itself well. The African monarch now received intelligence to the effect that Mohamad, of Granada was coming against him with a powerful army, and that, being joined by the King of Castille, he was devising methods for impeding the return of Abu Jakob to his dominions in Africa. Taking alarm at the rumours thus brought him, the King of Morocco retired at once to Algezira Alhadra, whence he departed in secret to Medina Tangiers.

Abu Jakob had no sooner reached the African shores than he caused the forces of the land to be summoned, sending messengers among the most populous tribes, from whom he obtained a body of twelve thousand men. The ships were prepared for the reception of the army, and all were ready for immediate embarkation, when the Armada, composed of many great and powerful galleys of the Christians, appeared in sight; and attacking the vessels then awaiting the troops on the coast before Tangiers, they burnt them all in the sight of the men for whom they had been made ready, while not one of all that great army could offer impediment. Of a truth, a most afflicting sight for every son of the Faith who witnessed the same! This misfortune befel the sovereign of Morocco in the year 691.* Abu Jakob immediately departed from the scene of his affliction, repairing to Medina Fez, where his presence was demanded by urgent affairs of state.

Shortly after this event, Don Sancho, King of Castille, laid siege to Medina Tarifa, which he reduced to great straits, assaulting the city by sea as well as by land, and with machines of various kinds. He bore down the opposi-

A.D. 1293.—*Condé.*

.o would have barred his way, and although the ıed itself well, yet he entered it by force of arms, ıevous carnage of the inhabitants ensued. The . monarch then appointed a noble Alcalde, named uzman,* who was one of the most distinguished .rs in his host, to be the Governor of Tarifa.

AP. XIII.—DEFENCE OF TARIFA BY DON GUZMAN, AND DEATH OF IS SON. DON SANCHO TAKES QUESADA AND ALCABDAT. HIS DEATH. ONTINUED WARS. DEATH OF MOMAMAD II. KING OF GRANADA.

long time after these events, it chanced that the Prince ın of Castille, having cause of complaint against his other, the King Don Sancho, left the court and passed ver into Africa, where he sought a refuge with the sovereign of Morocco, Abu Jakob Ben Juzef, who received him very favourably. Prince Juan then assured the African monarch that if the latter would give him the command of a body of troops, he would find means to regain for him the port and fortress of Tarifa; whereupon Abu Jakob appointed certain of his generals to accompany the Spanish prince, with five thousand horse and a due proportion of foot soldiers.

With this army Prince Juan debarked on the shores of Spain; and receiving a reinforcement from the people of Algezira Alhadra, he sat down before the place, which was attacked with great energy, many engines and machines of war being employed against the walls; but they were so well defended by Don Guzman, that Prince Juan could do nothing effectual for the reduction of the city.

Angry and embarrassed by his inability to fulfil the promise which he had made to the King of Morocco, the Christian Prince determined to obtain by other methods the surrender which he could not compel by force of arms. In his service Prince Juan had a youth who was the son of the Alcalde Don Guyman; and him he now loaded with chains, commanding that he should be presented in that condition to the sight of his father, whom the prince had

* Alphonso Perez de Guzman.—*Tr.*

invited to speak with him from the walls. The general having appeared, Prince Juan exhorted him to surrender the fortress, if he would not see his son put to death before his face; but to that menace the Alcalde uttered no word in reply. He silently unbound the sword from his girdle, threw it down to the prince for the fulfilment of his threat, and retired from the wall. Then the Moslemah,* rendered furious by the contempt expressed in this reply, struck off the head of the youth, and placing it in one of their machines, they cast it over the walls, that the father might not be able to doubt of his loss. Eventually, their persistence being overcome by the constancy of the besieged, the African generals struck their camp, and retired to Algezira Alhadra.

The King Muhamad of Granada now solicited from King Sancho the restitution of the stronghold of Tarifa, which he affirmed to be his own, calling the occupation thereof by the King of Morocco a usurpation, although the place had in effect been voluntarily made over to the father of the African sovereign, Abu Juzef, by Mohamad Aben Alahmar, father of Muhamad II. To this request Don Sancho replied that Medina Tarifa was his own by right of conquest; but he added, that if it were permitted now to allege ancient rights to possessions lost and by the chances of war, he, Sancho, might justly lay claim to the whole kingdom of Granada.

This circumstance caused a rupture between the two monarchs; and in the year 694, the frontier guard of Granada fell upon the territory of the Christians, which they first pillaged and then laid desolate. Alhasan Aben Bucar Ben Zeyan, one of the Moslemah generals commanding on the frontier, made an incursion on the territory of Murcia, where he encountered the Christian army. These troops were led on by the infante Don Juan, son of Don Manuel, who was then but a youth twelve years old. They had many sharp skirmishes with the Moslemah cavaliers, but could not prevent them from destroying the seed-

* In the version given of this well-known story by the Spanish chroniclers, Don John is himself accused of the murder, and is said to have plunged his own poignard into the heart of the unoffending youth, as most of our readers will remember.—*Tr.*

corn which had just been sown, or from cutting up the vine and olive grounds, all which Alhassan Aben Bekar laid waste.

On the other hand, the King Sancho Ben Alphonso was filling the Moslemah borders with terror and dismay. Having assembled a large and well-appointed force, he attacked the Fortress of Quesada; and in the following year, which was 695, that stronghold surrendered to his arms. This event took place in the moon of Muharram in that year. The Castillian king then laid siege to Medina Alcabdat, against which he employed great machines and engines of war. Having reduced the fortress and entered it sword in hand, he caused the greater part of the inhabitants to be slaughtered, all who escaped that fate being sent into captivity.

This Sancho Ben Alphonso made himself master of all the towns and fortresses in that part of the Moslemah territory; but he did not long enjoy his triumph and the fruits of his cruelty, seeing that God the Omnipotent cast him into Gehanam* no long time thereafter.† Then the King Muhamad, eager to dissipate the clouds which had hung over the morning dawn of his empire, pressed forward, as was ever the wont of his race, and in a manner befitting that high nobility of heart which had ever distinguished the House of Anasir. He hastened to the protection of his fortresses with the flower of his cavalry, and passed three years in the difficult warfare of skirmishes and irruptions, wherein he inflicted a vast amount of injury on the Christian territories, carrying off all the flocks from those districts, and rendering vain the labours of the husbandman. In the middle of the year 677,‡ the King of Granada retook the city of Quesada, which he peopled once more with Moslemah, for the most part people of Alhama. He then laid siege to Alcabdat, which he also recovered, having

* Hell: the infernal regions.—*Tr.*

† The writer of these words, Alcobar Alchatib, of Seville, assigns the death of Don Sancho to the year 694: but this is a mistake of the copyist, since he has just told us that the King of Castille took the city of Quesada in Muharram in the year 695.—*Condé.*

‡ In my copy of Alchabib this is 699; but I have already remarked

entered the place by force of arms. Mohamad then caused the walls to be demolished; and as the troops who had occupied the Alcazar still held out, he attacked and drove them from their defences, seeing that God shook the ground beneath the soles of their feet. The city of Alcabdat was given fully to the power of Mohamad after the Azala of Adohar,* on a Sunday, which was the 8th day of the moon Xawal, in the year 697.† The site thereof is a very pleasing one, and is, besides, of great strength. The soil of the Comarcas is considered to be among the most fruitful of the land, and its gardens are abodes of delight, the fresh shades and abundance of excellent water wherewith that district is provided adding much to its beauty and value. The conquest of Alcabdat was a very glorious one; it was not made without great difficulty, and cost a vast effusion of blood. Being repeopled by King Mohamad with the Moslemah of the frontier and families from Alhama, the walls were subsequently repaired; ditches were then dug around it. The strength of the fortress was much increased, and Alcabdat became a watch-tower against the incursions of the foe.

The loss of Tarifa discouraged Abu Jakoub, King of Morocco, from attempting the enterprise which he had meditated in Andalusia; he therefore made a treaty with King Muhamad, to whom he proposed the restitution of Algezira Alhadra, in exchange for a certain sum in mitcales of gold, declaring that he no longer desired to retain dominions in Spain. The terms were easily agreed on, and the King of Granada regained possession of his city, while Abu Jakoub was left at leisure to give all his attention to his African affairs, and thought no more of meddling with those of Andalusia.

The Granadine sovereign now found means for reducing the Wahes of Guadix and Comares to his authority, and this he did with the greater ease, as those Xeques, per-

on the facility with which the 7 may be changed into 9, the more especially in the very old copies, which are, for the most part, more or less incomplete, and are more particularly liable to the loss of the upper r[illegible] of the MS.—*Condé.*

* The mid-day prayer.—*Tr.*

† A.D. 1298.—*Condé.*

ceiving themselves to be alone, had no other choice than to yield to the necessities of their position. Muhamad now determined to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the revolutions which the death of Don Sancho had occasioned in Castille: the son of the deceased monarch being of tender age, and the Christians at war among themselves, all things were in a state of disorder throughout their country. Hearing that a great want of money was felt among the leaders of the Christians, the King of Granada wrote to the Prince Don Anric, proposing to pay him twenty thousand doubloons of gold, and to yield certain fortresses on the frontier, in exchange for the stronghold of Tarifa, of which Muhamad earnestly desired the cession. Don Anric did not refuse his consent to the request thus made, and he repaired to Medina Tarifa, with intent to conclude that arrangement as Muhamad had proposed, but the Viziers of the Queen and the Alcayde who held the fortress would not agree to yield it up, and the negociations ceased. The King of Granada then devastated the Comarcas, and, meeting the troops of Don Guzman, there ensued an obstinate and sanguinary battle, in which the Christian general was defeated, his cavalry suffering a total rout with immense slaughter of their numbers. This event took place in the year 699.* The King of Granada then laid siege to Medina Tarifa, but although he brought many powerful engines to the attack of that place, the Christians defended the same with so much ability that he could not effect the reduction thereof.

Muhamad then proceeded with his army to Medina Jaen, which he also besieged; he burnt the suburbs of Baena moreover, and laid siege to that city likewise, attacking the walls with strong bodies of his host, and fighting many obstinate battles beneath them; but he ultimately perceived that the conquest of the place was not to be effected at that time, and striking his camp, he proceeded to make a devastating irruption on the Comarcas. It was at this period that Muhamad made himself master of the fortress of Bulmar.

And thus was that noble king rendering still more illus-

* Or, as other authorities have it, in 697, or A.D. 1299.—*Condé.*

trious his magnificent reign, when the fate that puts an end to all the delights of life, and renders vain the brightest hopes of man, cut short his steps, and he departed to the mercy of Allah. That event occurred during the night of Sunday, the 7th day of the moon Xaban, in the year 701. He had commenced his reign in the 7th of the moon Xaban, in the year 671.

King Muhamad II. was born in Granada in the year 633; * he was removed from the empire of this world to that of eternity while still in good health and without any apparent sickness, having died in the act of prayer and with infinite quietude and tranquillity; no mark of suffering or change was perceptible on his countenance, save only that on the eyelashes there was the trace of weeping, as when one hath shed abundant tears. He was interred in a tomb standing apart within the sepulchre of his fathers, which is that on the eastern side of the great Mosque, and in the gardens near to that spot wherein the palace of his grandson,† the descendant of the Sultan Abul Walid was erected, a building which was afterwards left to ruin by the most illustrious of his race, the Sultan and Ameer of the Moslemah, Abul Hegiaz, a descendant of his daughter. May God have taken them all to his mercy; may His favour have been richly imparted to them, with the highest felicity to all that shall come after them.

The King Muhamad II. left three sons, his successor and associate in the empire, of whom we shall speak hereafter, to the glory of God; Feraz, who conspired against the life of his brother, and Nasar,‡ who became Ameer of the Moslemah after his brother had been deposed by his hand. The principal vizier of Muhamad II. was Abu Sultan Aziz Ben Aly Ben Abdelmenam, of Denia, as hath been related; his Catibes, or secretaries, were firstly those of his father, Muhamad Aben Alahmar, and subsequently the sons of the same Abu Bekar Ben Muhamad Ben Juzef, of Loxa, El Yahsebi, with his two brothers, Abu Aly Alhassan, and Abu Aly Hussein, all sons of Muhamad Ben Juzef, of Loxa, and each successively the servant of King Muhamad

* A.D 1235.—*Condé.*

† His *Hafid*: grandson, or great-grandson, that is to say.—*Condé.*

‡ Or Anasir.

II. They were men of great learning, and endowed with many excellent qualities of various kinds. Their family was one of the principal houses of Loxa, and in olden times had been of kin to the royal house the of Nazars.

At a later period, Abul Casem Muhamad Ben Alcabed El Ansari was the Secretary of the King Mohamad II. He was one of the most learned Xeques of that day; but the king, becoming wearied of his somewhat overbearing character, not only dismissed Abul Casem from his office, when he was least thinking of such a catastrophe, but deprived him of the friendship which he had previously accorded to him, and degraded him from the honours of his rank. That erudite historiographer, Abu Abdallah Mohamad, son of Abderahman Ben Alhakem Arremedi, was subsequently secretary to the King Mohamad II., and this Abu Abdallah at a later period became Vizier to his son, Abdallah Mohamad III., whom he served all the remainder of his days.

The Cadies, or judges of Muhamad II. were first, Abu Bekar Muhamad Ben Fetah Ben Aly, of Seville, who was called Istbaron: this appellation is said to have been retained by him from the time when he had been prefect of police; it then chanced that he found a soldier intoxicated on one of the public squares, and this man not only insulted a large number of persons who were standing round him, but even disregarded the authority of Abu Bekar himself. Then the latter, seizing the inebriated ruffian with his own hand, cast him into a prison, there to remain until he had recovered the use of his senses, when the prefect made an example of him, which caused Abu Bekar to obtain a reputation for severity that was never afterwards forgotten. He subsequently united the charge of Prefect of Criminal Justice to that of Police.

That just judge, Abu Muhamad Abdallah, was ultimately Walilcoda, or Cadi of the Cadies to King Muhamad II.; he was renowned for his integrity, of which his master more than once received convincing proof; Abdallah continued to serve his sovereign until the latter had reached the close of his days.

The Ameer of the Moslemah at this time ruling in Almagreb, was the noble, illustrious, excellent, and victorious Sultan

Abu Juzuf Jakoub Ben Abdelhac; he who had prevailed against the Almohades, had driven them from his territories, and made himself master of all their states. This Ameer had passed more than once into Andalusia, as we have already related, and had gained frequent victories over his enemies; he had made wars and peace with the kings of Spain, and had finally died of fever at Algezira Alhadra, in the moon of Moharram, and the year 685. Abu Juzef Jakoub Ben Abdelhac was succeeded in the kingdom by his son, that great Sultan, the wise and excellent Abu Jakoub Juzef, who also passed into Spain in the lifetime of his father, being present at the interview which the latter had in Marbella with Muhamad Aben Alahmar of Granada, when those monarchs marched on Esbiha,* Cordova, the land of Murcia, and other territories, then in the hands of the Infidel. Abu Juzef was for a certain time in alliance with Alphonso Ben Ferando,† at the time when the son of the latter took up arms against him, for which cause the King Alphonso had sought assistance from Abu Juzef, who had granted him what he asked, and had received the Castillian monarch in his camp at Antekera, as is well known to all men. Soon after these things Alphonso Ben Ferdeland died, and was succeeded by his son Sancho, who reigned during the greater part of the time of our King Muhamad II., and had made peace and war with him up to the time when he died, which event took place in the year 694. To Sancho succeeded his son Hernando, or Ferdinand, a youth of seventeen years of age,‡ who, being but a child, had not the strength needful to govern a kingdom, and many disorders then prevailed throughout Spain.

In the kingdom of Aragon there was then reigning Alphonso Ben Gaymis,§ Ben Pedro Ben Gaymis; but that sovereign died early, and was succeeded by his son, Gaymis II. or III., by whom an inroad was made upon the territory of Almeria, in the time of Nasir, the son of Mohamad II.

It was at this time that the divisions of the Beni Escaliola took place. In Medina Guadix the Arraezes

* Seville. † Ferdinand.
‡ Or rather a child of from seven to ten years old.—*Condé.*
§ Alphonso, son of James I. King of Aragon.—*Tr.*

or Captains were Abul Muhamad and Abul Hassan, with the Arraez Abu Mohamad Abdallah, and in Comares the Arraez was Abu Ishac, who maintained his authority to the close of his life. When the Arraez Abu Mohamad died at Guadix, his state was seized by his son and the son of his sister, by whom it was made over by treaty to the King of Almagreb, who gave it to the Beni Mohdi. After Medina Malaga had been for a certain time in the hands of the Beni Escaliola, the last of the family made an exchange of the same with the King of Almagreb for the Alcazar of Ketamah, and finally it was recovered by the King Muhamad II., as hath been related.*

CHAP. XIV.—WARS IN SPAIN AND AFRICA. GEBAL TARIC IS TAKEN BY THE CHRISTIANS.

To the illustrious king, Muhamad II., succeeded his son, Abu Abdallah Muhamad, a man endowed with singular beauty of person, no less than with the higher qualities of the mind: he was a friend to the wise and learned, himself an excellent poet and of remarkable eloquence, affable in manner and easy of access; his application to the labours of government was unremitting, insomuch that he would not unfrequently remain occupied in his cabinet through the whole night, that he might not leave unfinished a work he had commenced in the day. No one of his ministers could endure the amount of labour imposed by Abdallah Muhamad on himself; they were compelled to abandon him in the hours of night, nor did he continue the practice of dispensing with needful rest himself, without inflicting serious injury on his health.

Abu Abdallah Muhamad had scarcely mounted the throne

* The recapitulation of events made in this passage is one of those which the author would without doubt have rendered more explicit, or perhaps partially expunged, had he been permitted to see his work through the press; as matters are, this portion of the work has been left as here given,—a circumstance the less to be regretted, since all the more important events to which it refers have been more simply and clearly related in other pages of the history.—*Tr.*

when his kinsman, Abul Hegiag Ben Nasar, the Wali of Medina Guadix, rebelled against him, nor would Abul Hegiag present himself to take the solemn oath of allegiance, as all the other Walies had done. The king had two Viziers, in whom he placed especial confidence,—the first was Abu Sultan Ben Aziz Ben Aly, of Denia, who had been Vizier to his father, and the second, Abu Abdallah Muhamad, son of Abderahman Ben Alhakem Arramedi: the favour shown by Abu Abdallah Muhamad to these two Viziers proved highly offensive to many others, and more especially to the princes of his own family. His secretaries, or Alcatibes, were all very learned men; but the most distinguished were Abu Bequer Ben Saberin, Abu Abdallah Ben Assam, Abu Ishac Ben Geber, and Abu Abdallah Aloschi, who was an illustrious poet. Abul Hegiag Dertusi was also one of the king's secretaries, and a man of much distinction. Abu Giafar Alcarsi, known as El Farcon, was one of the most learned of his judges, and Muhamad Ben Hisem, of Elche, was also an Alcadi, or judge, of much eminence in the time of Abu Abdallah Mohamad.

In the first month of his reign, the King of Granada made a treaty of peace with the King Gaymis of Arragon, and declared war against the King of Castille. These events occurred towards the close of the moon Xaban, in the year 701.*

The first campaign of Abdallah Muhamad III. was undertaken against the city of Almondhar, which he pressed closely for some time, and ultimately entered by force of arms. Among the precious treasures which fell into the hands of the victors was a singularly beautiful damsel, whom he brought into Granada in triumph, having placed her in a magnificent chariot, which was surrounded by many other female captives, also very beautiful,—a circumstance which much increased the glory of that splendid victory of the king.

The fame of that damsel's beauty having arrived in Africa, the sovereign of Almagreb sent messengers to the King Abdallah Muhamad, entreating that she might be given to him; and, though with much reluctance of heart,

* A.D. 1302.

the latter felt obliged to yield her to the African monarch: men affirm that he loved his captive tenderly; he preferred the duties of friendship to the gratification of his own wishes nevertheless, and resigned his prize to Abu Juzef Ben Jakoub, King of Morocco.

In the year 703, King Abdallah Muhamad assembled a well-appointed body of cavalry to march against his cousin, Abul Hegiag Ben Nasar, the Wali of Guadix. In this campaign, and in the subjugation of Abul Hegiag, the king was aided by another of his kinsmen; they met the rebel army at some distance from Guadix, when Abul Hegiag was defeated after an obstinate engagement, in which the greater part of his forces were slain; himself and the small remainder escaping with some difficulty to the city.

In the same year the King of Granada sent letters to the King of Castille,* requesting a truce for a certain number of years: this was agreed to by the Castillian sovereign; but to a second request, which Abdallah Mohamad preferred at the same time, that the Christian should sell him the city of Zarifa, or yield it in exchange for some other stronghold, the King of Granada received a refusal, nor could he find any means whereby to obtain possession of that important fortress.

At the commencement of the following year, Abdallah Muhamad sent his brother-in-law, Ferag, Wali of Malaga,† to the Court of Africa, with a powerful army which he had assembled at Algezira Alhadra: the city of Ceuta was then closely besieged, and being blockaded by sea, as well as closely pressed on the land side, it was ultimately reduced to such extremity, that the king, Abu Taleb Abdallah Ben Hafsi, could find no better resource than to depart in secrecy from the place: the latter was then surrendered to the General Ferag. This fortunate undertaking was brought to a conclusion in the moon of Xawal of the year 705. Other fortresses belonging to Abu Taleb Abdallah were in like

Ferdinand IV.

† This Ferag Ben Nasar had married a sister of Mohamad II., and two of his sons ultimately became kings of Granada: Ismail V., namely, and Muhamad VIII.—*Condé.*

manner taken at a subsequent period by the troops of the King of Granada, and in Ceuta was found a great treasure, which Abu Taleb had concealed therein. That discovery was made in the moon of Muharram in the year 706.

The advantages thus obtained enabled the King of Granada to embellish his capital with buildings of great magnificence; among these was a sumptuous mosque, which he designed to make the first in the city. He caused it to be covered with fine marbles and green jasper; it was decorated in all parts with the most exquisite workmanship, and painted with singular beauty of colouring. A spacious public bath, with all needful conveniences, was also erected by Mohamad III.: but this last work he is said to have constructed with the products of the tribute paid to him by Christians and Jews. With the income resulting from that bath, to which he added a large revenue in lands and gardens, he endowed the mosque.

In the same year of 706, and on the third day of the moon Dylcada, a sorrowful event took place in Africa. The King Juzef Ben Jakoub, of the Beni Merines, was laying siege to the city of Telemcen, which he had reduced to great straits, when he was assassinated in his Hareem by a treacherous eunuch, without any man being able to discover how the murderer had found means to enter the apartment, or to leave it unobserved. The king, though mortally wounded, was able to call his guards, who followed the assassin, and overtook him as he was about to escape into the city; they instantly pierced him through with their lances, and he fell dead beneath the gateway. Juzef Ben Jakoub survived the injuries he had received twelve hours; but the cares of his physicians could not avail to save him, and at the end of that time he died. He was succeeded on his throne by his grandson, Ameer Abdallah Ben Juzef, who was called Abu Thabet. The new sovereign raised the siege of Telemcen on that same day, and departed with his people against his uncle Abu Yahye, who had taken possession of Medina Fez, and whom he defeated after an obstinate engagement. Abu Thabet then returned to Medina Telemcen, where he made a treaty of peace with Muza Ben Zeyan, who was the ruler of that city. Great and unlooked-for rejoicing was the consequence of that event,

and coins were struck in Telemcen on the occasion of those festivities.

About this time the governor of Medina Almeria, Zuleyman Aben Rabie, determined to exalt himself to the sovereignty of that city, and assumed the title of king; he was also declared to have entered into correspondence with the Barcelonese Aben Gaymis,* who was lord of Denia. The King of Granada, giving no time to the rebel governor for the continuance of his treasons, proceeded against him in such haste, that Zuleyman Aben Rabie, surprised and dismayed, was on the point of falling into the hands of his justly indignant master. His good fortune came to his aid nevertheless, and having escaped, he took refuge with that most cruel enemy of the Moslemah, Aben Gaymis, with whom he united to make war on the King of Granada. This event took place in the year 705.†

But it was now found that the King of Castille, disregarding the truce with Muhamad of Granada, had entered into an alliance with the Barcelonese Aben Gaymis, and was entering the territories of Granada with a large army. To no purpose did Muhamad complain to the Castillian king of that unjust aggression. Herando‡ Ben Sancho replied with infinite haughtiness, assigning vain pretexts for lack of reasons, and proceeding to lay siege to the city of Algezira Alhadra. He fixed his camp before that place on the 21st of the moon Safer, in the year 708.§

The cruel Aben Gaymis had meanwhile despatched an army against Medina Almeria; his galleys blockading that city by sea also, and as the Moslemah made frequent sallies on his camp, he fortified it with stockades and a deep ditch.

King Muhamad of Granada, having assembled his cavalry, proceeded to the succour of Algezira Alhadra; but the violent rains which then fell, and the stormy character of the season, rendered his efforts of no avail, nor could he effect anything of moment for the relief of the place. Zuleyman Aben Rabie was meanwhile conducting an army against Medina Ceuta, which had been taken some time

* James II. King of Aragon.—*Tr.* † A.D. 1308.—*Condé.*—
‡ Ferdinand IV.—*Tr.* § According to Alchatib, 709.—*Condé.*

previously by Muhamad King of Granada; but with the aid of the Christians, Zuleyman now besieged that city by land and sea.*

The King of Castille moreover, having heard that Gebal Taric was but negligently guarded, sent a part of his forces against the fortress, which he invested closely, attacking the place with machines casting missives, until he compelled the besieged to surrender; all were then permitted to depart with security for their property as well as persons, and not less than fifteen hundred persons crossed the sea, taking refuge in the towns and cities of Almagreb. The Christians then repaired the walls and the tower of the mount, as they did the Adarasanas,† which were falling into ruin.

The King Muhamad now perceived that the difficulties of his situation were increasing, and thought it advisable to come to terms with the King of Castille; more especially as he found the latter to be still besieging Algezira Alhadra with undiminished constancy, while the besieged were reduced to grievous extremities.

The need in which Almeria stood of immediate succour was equally pressing, while seditious men were exciting disorders even in the court of Medina Granada. For all these reasons, Muhamad finding it impossible to make his forces suffice to these various demands, and unable to attend to them as their importance required, wrote letters to the King of Castille, and despatched them by one of his most trusted Xeques, the Arraez of Andarax. In these missives he proposed to the Christian King an immediate cession of the fortresses of Quadros, Changnin, Quesada, and Balmar, with the sum of five thousand doubloons in gold, on condition that he should raise the siege of Algezira-Alhadra, and cease to make war on the territories of Granada. These proposals were accepted by the King of Castille, and securities having been given on both sides, the

* The result of this siege does not appear in this part of the text, as our readers will perceive, but is related in a subsequent page. The Spanish chronicles also record the success of Suleyman, who not only took Ceuta, but many other places of the neighbouring territories.—*Tr.*

† Docks for ship-building.—*Tr.*

siege of Algezira was raised, when the Moslemah were at length permitted to breathe freely after their long oppression. That event occurred at the end of the moon Xaban, in the year 708.*

CHAP. XV.—REBELLION IN GRANADA, AND ABDICATION OF MUHAMAD III. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER NAZAR. DEATH OF THE CHRISTIAN KING HERANDO (FERDINAND) OF CASTILLE IN ALCABAT, AND THAT OF MUHAMAD IN ALMUNECAUB.

WHILE Muhamad was thus occupied without remission in the defence and government of his states, a party had been formed at Granada in favour of his brother, the Prince Nazar, called Abul Giux, a son of Mohamad Ben Juzef Ben Anasir. The pretext given for this rebellion was, that the king, having almost entirely lost the use of his eyes, was compelled to confide implicitly in his ministers at a time when the necessities of the empire demanded a sovereign whose sight was keen and penetrating: in this transparent veil it was that the envy with which the principal cavaliers and Xeques of Granada beheld the first Vizier of the king, was enveloped; an ambitious hope of elevation in some, the desire to ameliorate their fortunes, in others, with the love of change proper to that light people, in the rest, were the effective causes of this revolt.

The conspirators had concerted their measures with sufficient ability; no trace of their real designs was permitted to appear, until there was not a moment left for seeking a remedy, since no effectual restriction could well be applied to the mere babble of gossips or the murmurs of the populace; and these were all that had been suffered to transpire until the time for acting had come.

At the hour of dawn, on the day when the festival of Alfitra, or the departure of the Ramazan, is celebrated, crowds, composed chiefly of the lowest classes among the people, surrounded the Alcazar, but without making any attempt to force an entrance: nor did they commit any act of violence; they contented themselves with cries

* Alcalib says, 709.—*Condé.*

and exclamations of "Long life to our Muley Nazar: long life to our King Nazar." But another and still larger multitude of the people repaired to the dwelling of the Vizier Abu Abdallah El Lachmi, and having entered the house by force, they pillaged it of the gold, silver, arms, horses, and vestments, contained therein, burning the furniture and valuable collection of books possessed by the Vizier, and destroying whatever they could lay their hands on. These ravagers then repaired to the Alcazar, and under pretence of seeking the Vizier, Abdallah El Lachmi, who had taken refuge in the palace, they attacked the small body of guards who sought to oppose their violence, and entered the building in fury without respecting the majesty of the royal abode, nor even the presence of the sovereign himself: nay, it was after Muhamad had in vain come forth to entreat them to peace, that these miscreants cut the Vizier to pieces before his grieving master's eyes; and that done, they satiated their rage and covetousness by the spoliation and plunder of the Alcazar. So it is, that the populace throws off all the restraints of reason, once the barriers of a due submission have been overpassed, and with whatever pretext they emancipate themselves from the restrictions of order: it would seem, then, that the people seek to profit by those instances of their impunity, for the purpose of indemnifying themselves for that respect for law and enforced obedience to rule which they had previously been compelled to observe.

While the disorderly multitude was thus employed in destroying all within the reach of its hands, the leaders of the rebellion surrounded King Muhamad, and intimated to him the will of the sovereign people: this was expressed to the effect that he must resign the crown or lose his head, since the populace were even then proclaiming his brother Nazar their king. The good Muhamad, finding himself alone in the midst of so many foes, did not hesitate for a moment; before the close of night he abdicated the crown with much solemnity, and made over the kingdom to his brother. Nazar would not venture to appear at that moment in the presence of his despoiled sovereign,

* This should rather be 709.—*Condé.*

but commanded that the latter should be conducted to the palace of the princes at Almunecaub, which was assigned him as his future residence; and thither the despoiled monarch of Granada repaired accordingly.

The Christians of Castille had meanwhile made themselves masters of the fortress of Tempul; and with their aid, Zuleyman Aben Rabie, who had obtained possession of Ceuta, extended his conquests over all the Comarcas of that district. The conquest of Ceuta by Zuleyman Aben Rabie took place in the moon Safar, of the year 709.

The new king, Nazar, then attempted to enter into negociations with Herando of Castille, that he might the more effectually make head against Aben Gaymis, the Barcelonese, who was still besieging Almeria; but his endeavours in that quarter had no success, seeing that the Christians are very arrogant, and difficult to persuade, when peace is requested at their hands, although most humble and tractable when they come to demand it in their turn.

King Nazar thereupon assembled his forces and departed to the relief of Almeria. He was met on the way by the tyrant of Barcelona, Aben Gaymis, and a sanguinary engagement ensued: the carnage was so cruel, that the field remained hidden beneath the dead; night only availed to separate the combatants: but the Christians did not desire to venture another conflict of equal obstinacy, and on the following day they raised the siege of Almeria. The afflicted inhabitants of the place were thus relieved, but not until they had been on the very point of surrendering their city to the enemy of Allah. That victory was obtained at the close of the moon Xaban, in the year 709, when King Nazar returned in triumph to Granada, although he had lost a large number of his best troops in that campaign.

No long time after his return from Almeria, the new king received intelligence to the effect that his nephew, Abul Said, son of his sister and of Ferag Ben Nazar, Wali of Malaga, was seeking to form a party, and had gathered troops with the most ambitious purposes. King Nazar commanded that he should be taken prisoner; but the order was not kept so carefully secret as it should have been, and Aben Said found means to escape from Granada. Nazar then wrote letters to his brother-in-law, Ferag, exhorting him to

correct the youth, lest worse should come of it; but the father, instead of admonishing his son, added wings to the desires of his ambition, and replying to King Nazar with much asperity, he reproached him for his treachery towards his good brother Muhamad, and menaced him with the consequences of that act.

At the close of the moon of Giumada Postrera, in the year 710, King Nazar was seized with apoplexy, and the attack was so sudden and violent, that the physicians found all their efforts unavailing, although they hastened to administer whatever remedies they could devise. All believed the king to be dead, and the news to that effect was at once sent through the city, when the friends of Muhamad, but few of whom had accompanied him in his exile, they having remained for the most part to catch the breezes of fortune from whatever quarter they might blow,—these friends, I say, now rose with one accord, and hastening eagerly to draw the deposed monarch from his retirement, they placed him in a litter, disregarding his refusal to accompany them; and bearing him from Almunecaub, they entered Granada with their recovered sovereign on the first day of the moon Regeb in the same year.

But what was the surprise of these men when they found, on arriving in the capital, that King Nazar had been restored to health, and saw that the city was celebrating a festival for his unhoped-for restitution! The good Mohamad was compelled to descend to a pretext by which he might account for his arrival: he affirmed that he had come to visit his brother, on hearing the rumours of his failing health; and Nazar, affecting to believe him, expressed his gratitude for that attention. There were not wanting those who suggested to Nazar that he should subject his brother to a rigorous imprisonment; but the former, who knew the excellence of Muhamad's heart, would not permit him to be disturbed; he contented himself with dismissing the deposed monarch to the peace of his previous exile at Almunecaub, but commanded that all who had been accessory to his leaving that place should thenceforth share his banishment.

Malicious tongues then attributed to Muhamad the

irruption which King Herando of Castille was at that time making on the territories of Granada, into which he had marched with a great host, cutting up the fields, vineyards, and olive-grounds, as was his wont. He furthermore laid siege to Medina Alcabdat, which surrendered by capitulation. When Muhamad heard these rumours, he wrote letters to the King of Castille, entreating him by the friendship that had existed between them not to devastate the territories of his brother, but rather to turn his arms on Medina Malaga, the Wali of which city had become the enemy of Nazar; by which means he, Muhamad, should be freed from the suspicions which had risen against him, and might the more readily find means to disprove the assertions of those slanderers who sought to prove him culpable in respect to the surrender of Alcabdat.

To this request, the King of Castille, either because he was of a truth the friend of Muhamad, or more probably because his interests were equally promoted by a descent upon Malaga, turned his arms against that city, and was on the eve of commencing the siege thereof, when his enterprise was cut short by the hand of death. This event was kept secret during three days, and the remains of King Herando were transported to Jaen, where the intelligence of his decease was made public, and his son Alphonso was proclaimed king in his stead.

Of the death of King Herando, and of the circumstances attending it, many strange things are related* (of all which I have treated in my "Book of Extraordinary Events.")

* The most important of these rumours, as our readers will have anticipated, was the circumstance which caused many of the Spanish writers to call Ferdinand the "Summoned;" his having condemned the two brothers, Pedro and Alonzo Carvazal, to death, namely, on the mere suspicion that they had committed a murder, and without proof of their guilt. The dying men had affirmed their innocence to the last, and their expiring words had summoned Ferdinand to appear within a month before the Supreme Judge of all, there to give an account of his unjust decree. But Mariana declares Ferdinand's death to have been caused by obstinate indulgence in the pleasures of the table, at a time when the state of his health demanded the most rigorous abstinence.—*Tr.*

No long time after that event the good King Muhamad also died,* departing to the mercy of Allah in the commencement of the moon Xawal, in the year 713.† His brother Nazar commanded that he should be laid to rest in the sepulchre of their fathers, and caused the following epitaph to be engraved on his tomb:—

"This is the sepulchre of the virtuous Sultan, the just "Prince; wise in the fear of God; one of the excellent "Kings; the patient in afflictions; a zealous follower of the "path of God; the amicable, the austere, the God-fearing, "the humble, the resigned to God, no less in adversity than "in prosperity; a dweller in the two paradises by his medi- "tations and by his praises of God; he who led the creatures "of Allah in the true way; the maintaining hand of justice, "the open path of confidence and of duty; the support of "his people in their honour, by the victories which he gained "by his valour; the justice of the throne; the ornament and "resplendent light of the state; the portal of the law, and of "the faith; the perpetual adorer of God in his evils and in "his misfortunes, no less than in the hours of his triumph; "he who shall be luminous in the day of account, as one exact "in the tradition, in the works of the Law, and in the sublime "purifications; ever ready and disposed against the Infidels "with the step of firmness and merit; an observer of the "just medium; the unfailing friend of humanity; the de- "fender of the temples, the protector of religion, the selected, "the illustrious; the heir of the house of Nazar; the in- "heritor of their justice, as well as of their states, and of their "laborious zeal in the defence and government of their "people, as of their care to increase the advantages and "welfare of the same; the clement King; the Prince of the "Moslemah; the honour of the Faithful; the irresistible con- "queror of the unbelievers; the avenger, by the grace of "God; Abu Abdallah, son of the Prince of the Faithful, the "exalted Sultan; the president of direction; the cloud drop- "ping dew; the life of tradition; the support of the sect; "the zealous in the faith of God; the protector of the Law

* Muhamad was drowned in a small lake or pond; but whether he fell in by accident, or was treacherously cast into the water, has not been ascertained.—*Condé.*

† A.D. 1314.

"of God; Abu Abdallah, son of the Prince of the Faithful, "the conqueror for God—Abu Abdallah Ben Juzef Ben "Nazar. May God honour his mansion, and be gracious to "him of his goodness. He was born—may God have pleasure "in him—on Wednesday, the third day of the honoured Xaban, "in the year six hundred and fifty-five, and died—may God "sanctify his spirit, and refresh his sepulchre with the de- "licious cups of his benignity—on Wednesday, the third day "of Xawal, in the year seven hundred and thirteen. May "God exalt him to the highest mansions of the just, for the "truth of the Law, and may He bless those who remain of "his house. May God bless our lord and our master Mu- 'hamad, and grant His perfect benediction to all the people "of the prophet."*

On the other side of the stone was placed a second eulogy of the departed sovereign's virtues, praying that God would grant him the reward of the same, that He would refresh his sepulchre with benign airs, that He would send upon it a beneficent dew and liberal clouds of clemency, that He would clothe and adorn him with the precious vestments of His mercy, and that He would receive him into the blessed and eternal abodes of Paradise.

CHAP. XVI.—Reign of Nazar, and his almost immediate downfall. Irruptions of the King Pedro of Castille.

After the death of the good King Muhamad, it might have been fairly expected that party spirit would be laid at rest, since King Nazar then took legitimate possession of the throne, which he had previously occupied without the right to do so. But this was not the case: disquietudes and seditions prevailed from the first moment, and tranquillity was unknown to the court of Granada.

King Nazar was of lofty stature and elegant proportions;

* The Translator has given this epitaph *to the letter*, in the hope that such of our Author's readers as may have accused him of a somewhat prolix manner, and occasional redundancies of style, may be induced to excuse that defect, in consideration of his having given his days and nights, for our benefit, to the study of writers capable of the above.

he had fine eyes, exhibited a kindly disposition, and was friendly of manner towards all who approached his presence; he was moderate in his habits, desirous of learning, of remarkable ability, and much addicted to the study of the sciences, more especially to that of astronomy, in which he had for his master the learned Abu Abdallah Ben Arracam, a man of incomparable genius in the invention of instruments, and to whom the sciences are more especially indebted for very ingenious clocks, as well as for astronomical tables.

When King Nazar was first proclaimed king, he was just twenty-three years old; the graces of his presence gained him the good-will of all; he was besides exceedingly liberal, and a declared enemy of war. It was on this account that he sought to make peace with the Christians, even from the commencement of his reign, and on the death of Herando, King of Castille, he sent letters to his successor, Prince Pedro, requesting to be received into his friendship: that proposal the Christian King accepted very gladly: and the two monarchs concerted their alliance [illegible].

The Viziers of King Nazar were Abu Bekar Ben Atia, Abu Muhamad Ben Almul of Cordova, a man illustrious for his nobility, valour, and genius, and Muhamad Ben Aly El Hagi, a crafty and ambitious person, who was the promoter of many alterations in the state, and, at a word, became the cause of King Nazar's downfall. His sole secretary or Alcatib was Abul Hassan Ben Algiab, who served him through the whole of his reign; and his Alcadi, for he had in like manner but one, was Abu Giafar El Carsi, called Alfarcon.

The unmeasured ambition of the Vizier Muhamad Ben Aly caused extreme discontent to many of the principal nobles, whom he kept at a distance from the palace, and would not permit that any one of them should approach the person of the king, save only by his own intervention; nay, if he perceived that any one among the Xeques appeared to be obtaining favour with King Nazar, he gave himself no rest until he had ruined that person by his artifice and deceits. The numbers of the Xeques thus aggrieved by the haughtiness and envious character of the Vizier, increasing, they formed a party, determined to effect his disgrace, or,

if needful, the fall of the king himself, by whom Abu Muhamad was confided in and esteemed so much beyond his deserts. On this occasion, the dissatisfied nobles availed themselves of the resource offered to them by the brother-in-law of the king, Ferag Ben Nasar, Wali of Malaga, by whom the ambitious desires of his son Abul Said, called Abul Walid, were notoriously favoured, although the latter aspired to nothing less than the possession of the kingdom. The discontented Xeques wrote letters, therefore, to the Wali of Malaga, whose reply increased their hopes, and who stirred the fires of rebellion to the utmost of his power. Despatching his emissaries to Granada without loss of time, he directed these men to provoke an insurrection among the people, exciting them to demand the head of the hated Vizier. Then the populace of Granada, ever desirous of novelty, reinforced the cry of the seditious leaders, and dared to demand from their king the head of Muhamad Ben Aly, whose services Nazar considered to be so valuable, and whose eloquence was so persuasive, that his sovereign gave him assurance of safety for his life, and went forth in person to use all his efforts for appeasing the insurgents, addressing the assembled multitude, to whom he gave a promise that the Vizier, of whose oppressions they complained, should offend them no more. By these words the tempest was calmed for the time, but the king did but deprive Muhamad Ben Aly of his employment.*

This did not suffice to appease the disaffected Xeques, who still suffered persecutions from the influence of the same Vizier, and by whom it could not fail to be remarked that the king was gradually subjecting all who were suspected of having taken part in the sedition to various degrees of punishment. The certainty that he had resolved to seize each in his turn becoming obvious to those more immediately concerned, the most culpable fled to Malaga, where they encouraged the Wali and his son in their designs on the kingdom; assuring them of the support they would find in Granada, and of the desire felt by many among the inhabitants for the success of their

* Alcoday Alcatib, of Seville, tells us that this insurrection took place on the 29th day of Ramazan, in the year 712.—*Condé*.

enterprise. These declarations coming in aid of his own secret wishes, caused Abul Walid to make preparations for a new aggression on the authority of his uncle: he therefore assembled a large army, at the head of which he departed for Granada, with his hopes highly raised.

Abul Walid found little difficulty in reducing the fortresses which he found on his way, and arriving with his formidable host undiminished before the capital, he there fixed his camp on the 28th day of the Moon Xawal in the year 713. On that same day there came forth a large number of disaffected men from Granada, and joined themselves to his banners; while the seditious leaders remained within the walls, exciting the people to insurrection, distributing money among the lower classes, and offering larger sums, with other inducements, to those of a higher rank.

All the city was thus speedily divided into factions, some of whom plundered and slew the more peaceable inhabitants for the gratification of their covetousness, while others pursued the same path in search of vengeance for the offences, real or supposed, of which they found cause to complain. In the sufferings and disorders of that tumult was spent the greater part of the day after Abul Walid's arrival, with the whole of the following night and the dawn of the succeeding morning: those who were suffering the most severe injuries from the insurrection then threw open the gates of the suburb, before the Albayzin, when the troops of Abul Walid entered the city without having received impediment from any man. They then occupied the fortress which stands in front of the Alhambra, and soon afterwards made themselves masters of the Alcazar. This took place on the 29th day of the Moon Xawal.

The King Nazar and his followers had retired to the Alhambra, where they were immediately besieged by the forces of Abul Walid. Seeing themselves in great need, without succours of any kind, and not knowing to whom to have recourse, they determined to send messengers to Pedro of Castille, who was at that time in Medina Cordova. King Nazar then wrote letters to the Infidel Don Pedro, to the following effect; he declared himself to be greatly in need of assistance, and entreated the Christian to come without

delay for the purpose of delivering him from his nephew, Abul Walid, the son of Ferag Ben Nazar, Wali of Malaga, who was then besieging him in the Alhambra. Nazar added that there were nevertheless many of his party remaining faithful to him, who would act in aid of their king, if Don Pedro, as he hoped from his friendship, would appear to protect him.

The Castilian prince had no sooner received these letters than he assembled his forces; but his movements were not so rapid as the circumstances required; King Nazar being so closely pressed by Abul Walid that his people entreated him to surrender on the most favourable conditions that could be obtained, since they believed him to have no hope of succour save from heaven. Persuaded by their arguments Nazar entered into negociations with his nephew, to whom he yielded his kingdom, reserving to himself nothing more than the city of Guadix, with its Comarca, but requiring security for the lives and possessions of all who had remained faithful to him. These conditions were readily assented to by the victor, who was but too happy to find that he had attained the object of his wishes with so much facility.

The deposed Nazar then departed from Granada, leaving that city on Tuesday, the 3rd day of the Moon Dylcada, in the year 713. He had but few of his late followers then remaining in his company, and went with a full persuasion of the instability of human greatness, beholding in his own misforture a repetition of that which he had himself inflicted on his brother Muhamad. The people of Granada were meanwhile occupied with the proclamation of their new king, whose accession they solemnised with great festivities.

Don Pedro of Castille was on his part advancing with a large and well-appointed force of cavalry and foot-soldiers to the assistance of his friend King Nazar of Granada, but received intelligence on his road to the effect that Abul Walid had obtained possession of the Alhambra, and was acknowledged by all the people as their sovereign. Don Pedro was furthermore informed of the departure of the deposed monarch from the capital, and of his retirement to

Guadix; but notwithstanding these things, and although he did not then proceed to Granada, as had been his purpose, yet that enemy of Allah could not prevail on himself to lose the opportunity for working evil in the land of the Moslemah: he therefore laid siege to the stronghold of Rute, and although the place was almost impregnable by its position, and was moreover well defended by a brave garrison, he yet found means to prevail, and entering Rute sword in hand, he slew or took captive all the Faithful who had taken part in the defence. Having effected these things the Christians returned in triumph to Cordova.

The deposed King Nazar retired to his city of Guadix as above related; nor did he long continue discontented with his lot: having become wise and moderate in his adversity, he did not aspire to the recovery of his lost dominions, nor could he ever be persuaded to make any attempt for that purpose, although there were not wanting those who advised him to do so, and who promised him their aid, declaring the moment to be opportune, and his success well assured. Thus he passed his life in tranquillity, until Wednesday, the 6th day of the Moon Dylcada, in the year 722, when he departed to the mercy of Allah. The remains of Nazar Ben Muhamad were in the first instance deposited in the Alcazaba of Medina Guadix, but were removed thence to Granada in the Moon Dylhagia of the same year; he there received a very honourable interment, at which the king, his nephew, with a noble company of cavaliers, was present, and made the prayer of Alazar over the bier of the dead; the coffin was then placed, with much pomp and solemnity, in the sepulchre of the kings,—an event which occurred on Thursday, the 6th day of the above-named Moon. On the tomb was placed the following epitaph:—

"This is the sepulchre of the exalted, powerful, and "illustrious sultan, the descendant of most noble kings, of "a very potent house, and of the most honoured race of the "Alansaries; the high in lineage, the splendour of royalty, "and the inaccessible rock of defence to the people. The "fourth of the kings proceeding from the Beni Nazar, pro- "tectors of the Law and of the Direction, chosen and zealous "labourers in the path of God. The king, clement towards "all men, the most liberal among the liberal, noble in his

"goodness, generous, pure of heart,* holy and merciful. Abul "Giux Nazar, son of the exalted sultan, the defender, the "illustrious, the protector, the just king, the renowned, the "humane, the shield of the Law, the bulwark of Islam, the "annihilator of the idolators, the favoured, the conquering, "the merciful, the holy prince of the Faithful, Abu Abdallah, "son of the sultan, the noble king, the honour of men, the "leader of the Faithful, the sovereign of those who fear "God and of the pure in heart, the faithful depository† "of the traditions and works of Islam, the refuge of "religion and of the Faith, the conqueror for Allah, the "victorious by the grace of God, the holy, the merciful, "the Prince of the Moslemah, Abu Abdallah Ben Nazar. "May God bestow upon him the blessing of His approval, "and overshadow him with His mercy and His clemency. "May He gather him into the abodes of sanctity, and "inscribe him among those in whom He hath pleasure. "The day which saw the birth of Nazar was Monday, "the 24th of the Moon Ramazan the Great, in the year "686.‡ He was proclaimed king on Friday, the 2nd of "the Moon Xawal, in the year 708, and having departed "from the life of this world, was interred on the night "of Wednesday, the 6th of the Moon Dylcada, in the year "722.§ Praised be the God of truth, the illustrious in- "heritor of the earth and all that is upon it, for he is "the best of inheritors."

There followed in verse the words beneath: "Oh, sepul- "chre of the generous! over thy dust may celestial clouds "of mercy, of refreshment, of protection, and of peace, fall "richly. On thy steps may there continually resound the "blessing of a noble king, generous among the most gene- "rous, the delight of the human race, excellent in heart, "and abounding in goodness towards all created beings, "of inexhaustible charity, a perpetual spring of glory. Be "thou, Oh tomb, ever blessed for the sake of Nazar, the "fourth of the kings of the Beni Nazan, the defenders of "Islam. From his first rising the star of the Faith, from

* Literally, well-intentioned.—*Tr.*

† Hafit: he who is acquainted with the traditions.—*Condé.*

‡ A.D. 1287.

§ A.D. 1312.

"his earliest dawn the protector of the Law, the throne of "this king was the best refuge of all the creatures of Allah. "Oh, Lord of goodness and benignity, thy house was a rich "mine of judgment, of prudence, of virtue, and of beneficence. "In Thee, the man whose good fortune permitted him to "see or to approach Thee, found the fulfilment of his "desires. Oh, thou, who wert the nobility and excellence "of the earth, the splendour of goodness shining in thy "countenance was as the light of the day, compelling dark "shadows to depart. Never did the moon attain to her "fulness of radiance in higher perfection of beauty. The "sublime virtues of Abul Giux exhale a holy odour of "sweetness as doth the precious perfume, even though it "be hidden within the sealed casket. May Allah compass "him about with his mercy, and receive him to those eternal "dwellings which are the abodes of all delights."

CHAP. XVII.—Of the kings contemporary with Nazar.

In Almagreb,* the Sultan Abu Rabie Zuleyman Ben Abdallah Ben Abi Jakoub Juzef Ben Abi Juzef Jakoub Ben Abdelhac succeeded to the empire on the death of his brother, the Sultan Abu Thabet Amer, who died on the confines of Tangiers, in the Moon Safer of the year 708. His reign was a remarkable one, and in his time the city of Ceuta, with its Comarcas, was recovered to the sovereignty of the Beni Merines. But the Sultan Zuleyman did not long survive that glorious restoration, and on his death, which took place at Tezi, in the Moon Regeb, of the year 710, the empire was assumed by the uncle of his father, the great and noble Sultan Abu Said Othman Ben Abi Juzef Jakoub Ben Abdelhac, whose reign endured beyond that of the King of Granada last mentioned, and extended far into the time of his successor.

In Telencen the reins of government were held by Prince Hamu Muza Ben Othman Ben Yagomarsan, a wise and

* The west of Africa.

benevolent sovereign, who maintained the state until it was taken from his hands by his son Abderahman Abu Taxfin, which occurred in the year 718.

In Tunis the reigning monarch was Prince Alcalifa Abu Abdallah Muhamad, son of Yahye Ben Almostansir Abu Abdallah Muhamad Ben Amir Abu Zacaria Ben Abu Chafas Ben Abdel Wahid. Prince Alcalifa died in the Moon Rebie Postrera of the year 709, when the empire fell into the hands of his kinsman, Amir Abu Bekar Ben Abderahman, whereupon there followed great revolutions and civil wars, which continued until the year 713.

Of the Christian kings were the following: on the throne of Castille was seated Herando* Ben Sancho Ben Alfonso Ben Herando, who laid siege to Algezira Alhadra, but entered into a treaty with the Moslemah King of Granada for the abandonment of that enterprise. He then repaired to the stronghold of Alcabdat, which he also besieged, and where he died, his remains being removed thence to Jaen. He was succeeded by his son Alfonso, whose days were prolonged until the year 750.

In Aragon, Gaymis Ben Pedro was the ruler of the land: he it was who laid siege to Almeria, and reduced the place to the last extremity, but being attacked by the army of the Moslemah he was compelled to raise the siege, after a sanguinary battle. He survived the King of Granada, Nazar Ben Muhamad, of whom there hath been discourse above.

Ismail, the son of Ferag Ben Nazar Ben Ismail Ben Muhamad Ben Ahmed Ben Muhamad Ben Hasam Ben Ocail El Ansari El Chazregi, was called Abul Walid and Abul Said, as we have before related; he was the son of the Wali of Malaga and nephew of that Nazar whom he deposed, his mother being a sister of Nazar. He was a man of very noble aspect and beautiful person; possessed infinite constancy of mind; was frank and open of character, very liberal, [illegible] chaste, and a declared enemy to all irregularity of [illegible]. His exaltation to the kingdom of his uncle was attributable only to his temerity and the

* Ferdinand.

extraordinary favour of fortune; but how often do we not see a bold rashness produce advantages and secure success which would not have been obtained by prudence! nay, that which appears to be mere folly is not unfrequently found to have all the effect due to an enterprise meditated maturely, and sagaciously conducted to its close, while the carefully concerted plans and purposes of one who hath amply considered and duly weighed all probabilities, are frequently rendered ineffectual by unlooked-for difficulties, and brought to nought by unforeseen impediments!—a manifest proof that the actions of Man are controlled to His own ends by the Sovereign Arbiter of the universe, and that His Divine Hand leadeth all whom He hath created to that which His Supreme Will hath determined for them.

How, indeed, could the young Ismail Abul Walid conceive a hope that he should ever attain to the throne of Granada, when his rash and presumptuous pretensions had caused him to be driven from that city? Nay, he could not even gather a party which might have enabled him to declare himself for either side, at the time when his uncle Nazar conspired and rose in rebellion against the King Muhamad. It is even related, that after these occurrences, and in the commencement of the reign of Nazar, Ismail Abul Walid returned once more to Granada, and remained for some time concealed in that city; but his plots being denounced, he was a second time driven from the capital. The circumstances by which he was emboldened openly to declare himself the enemy of his uncle, his immediate assembling of troops, and the favour he received from the seditious leaders of the people in Granada, have already been related; but some few of the events occurring at that period still remain to be told.

When Ismail Ben Ferag, called Abul Walid, marched in aid of the rebellious Granadines, he had a large body of cavalry, with which he encamped in the suburb called Atocha, on the first day of Muharram, in the year 712, when his uncle Nazar went forth against him with his friends and certain cavaliers of his party. But then did Fortune begin to shower favours over Ismail with full hands; he defeated the followers of Nazar, who all fled whithersoever they could find a refuge—the King himself

escaping only by the speed and lightness of his horse, which bore him across a small lake or pond wherein it was the custom of his people to water the droves of their oxen. Nazar then took refuge in the city, where he defended himself until the 13th of the same moon of Muharram.

Yet the prudence of King Nazar sufficed to calm the tempest for that time; he made a treaty of convention with Ismail in the moon of Rebie Primera, when the latter returned with his forces to Malaga, well content with the prospect which he now saw of ultimately obtaining that which he so ardently desired.

Then it was that the principal cavaliers of Granada, unable to endure the arrogance of the principal Vizier Abu Muhamad Alhagi, conspired to effect his ruin. They declared him a traitor, the secret friend of the Christians, the usurper of sovereign authority, and the enemy of all Moslemah. When the minds of the populace were inflamed by reports of this kind, the seditious instigators of rebellion had nothing more to do than to scatter a few purses of gold among the needy, when they were certain to secure the attainment of their wishes. At the hour of dawn, on the 25th day of the moon Ramazan, therefore, in the year 713, the streets of the city were found to be filled with a disorderly multitude, demanding that the Vizier Alhagi should be delivered into their hands. The King Nazar, then going forth with his guards, appeased the people, to whom he promised satisfaction; and not believing that they could accomplish anything further at that time, the assembled Moslemah retired quietly to their homes.

But the seditious nobles, still fearing the influence of Muhamad Alhagi, although he was deprived of his office, and determined on vengeance for the wrongs which they attributed to his machinations, went to seek the Wali of Malaga, by whom they were favourably received, and who conferred rewards upon them, in anticipation of the benefits their services were to secure to his house. The son of Ferag Ben Nazar, Wali of Malaga, even Ismail, called Abul Walid, then set forth on his march to Granada; he occupied Loxa without opposition, and was there proclaimed King of Granada, against which city he proceeded without loss of time. Being met by the troops of King Nazar, he defeated

and pursued them to the walls of the city, before which he fixed his camp, while Nazar took refuge in the Alcazar, where he fortified his position as he best could.

But the principal inhabitants were with Ismail Ben Ferag in his camp, and having a strong party in the city, they caused the gates of the Albayzin to be opened to them, when Ismail made himself master of the ancient fortress of the capital without opposition. Then King Nazar, perceiving the strength of his nephew to increase, and being without hope of any improvement in his own fortune, sent letters to Ismail Ben Ferag, proposing a treaty; when the uncle and nephew made their conventions accordingly. Nazar then accepted the city and Comarca of Guadix as his future share of the kingdom; having first secured the safety of all who had adhered to his party, with protection for such of their number as desired to remain in Granada. Ismail Ben Ferag was meanwhile not disposed to refuse anything to the kinsman who was bestowing all on himself; and the conditions of his compact with his uncle were speedily arranged. The deposed King Nazar then departed with all his family and household; he bore with him a large amount of precious treasure, and leaving the capital on the 28th day of the moon Xawal, in the year 713, he then repaired to Medina Guadix, where he continued to live for the remainder of his days. The young Ismail thus obtained all that he had so eagerly desired, and became lord and master of the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.—REIGN OF ISMAIL BEN FERAZ. BATTLE OF FORTUNA. IRRUPTION OF PEDRO, KING OF CASTILLE. HE TAKES VARIOUS TOWNS AND FORTRESSES. DEATH OF THE TWO PRINCES OF CASTILLE. ASSASSINATION OF KING ISMAIL.

Now Ismail Ben Ferag was a zealous follower of the Law,—an ardent, nay, an impassioned defender of the same, and a man deeply imbued with the faith of his fathers. It chanced on a certain occasion that the Alfakis and Alimes were disputing in his presence, when the King, becoming weary of hearing all their subtleties, rose and said:—"I neither know nor understand any other doctrine than the firm and

cordial belief which I have ever entertained of the power of Allah; nor do I require any reasoning to convince me of His Omnipotence. As to my arguments, they are here;" and he laid his hand on his sword. King Ismail was a careful observer of the practices of the Law; he rigidly enforced the prohibition against wine, and corrected the abuses which had long prevailed in respect of that forbidden drink. He commanded that the Christians should wear marks on their clothing, whereby they might be distinguished from the Moslemah, and laid on them an impost for their dwellings and baths, which they had not previously paid.

In the commencement of the year 716, King Ismail received intelligence to the effect that a large convoy of provisions was on its way to Guadix, whither those stores had been despatched by the King of Castille at the request of Nazar Ben Muhamad, who lived in amity with the Christians; the escort, as King Ismail was furthermore informed, consisted in a well-appointed body of cavalry. Ismail then despatched a company of his own horsemen, with command to seize the beasts of burthen and slay those who were conducting them.

The Moslemah cavaliers went forth accordingly and met with the escort of Hisn* Aliay; but the Christians were the hardy borderers of Martos, and in great numbers. The conflict which ensued was therefore exceedingly obstinate and sanguinary, the Moslemah being ultimately compelled to yield the ground and retire: this they did in good order, still fighting, and restraining the impetuosity of their enemies, but there fell no less than fifteen hundred of the Moslemah horse on that occasion. Large numbers of most valiant warriors of those Cross-bearing Infidels were also left dead on the field, in the carnage which marked the struggle; a most unhappy one for the Faithful;—this was called the battle of Fortuna.

Their success on the day here in question having increased the boldness of the Christians, they made frequent attacks on the Moslemah territory. In the same year† they laid siege to the fortified towns of Cambil, Matamenos, Begigia,

* The fortress of Aliay. † A.D. 1316.

Tiscar, and Rute, assailing the first of those strongholds with furious impetuosity, cutting up the vinegrounds, and destroying the gardens of the whole district. The King of Granada then prepared his people to sally forth against them, resolved to restrain the pride of those Christians; but they, receiving intelligence of the force advancing against them, contented themselves with the prey they had taken, and retired within their frontiers.

Ismail Ben Feraz now determined to use the troops, since they were thus called together, for another purpose, and directing their march on Gebaltaric, he endeavoured to recover that key of his kingdom from the hands of the Christians. He was furthermore resolved to do his utmost towards wrenching from King Zuleyman of the Bem Merines of Africa, those facilities with which the possession of Medina Ceuta supplied him for passing into Spain at his pleasure. He accordingly despatched a well-appointed force to besiege Gebaltaric, and they invested the place for some time; but the frontier forces of Seville came to the succour of the besieged, and the Christians sending assistance to them by sea at the same moment, the Moslemah saw themselves compelled to break up the camp, not being then disposed to hazard the chances of a battle

Don Pedro, King of Castille, now poured his troops over the territories of Granada; he devastated the Comarcas of Jaen even to the mountains, and arriving within three leagues of Medina Granada itself, he passed to Hasnalhas,* which he attacked with great impetuosity, and finally burnt the suburb, with a large quantity of provisions stored therein: proceeding to Pina, the Christian King also occupied, and subsequently burnt the suburb of that place, while at Montexicar he cut up and utterly destroyed a singularly beautiful garden. He had arrived thus far, when Ismail Ben Ferag, King of Granada, went forth to his encounter; but not venturing to await his attack, the Christian King retired, leaving a great part of his prey and captives. Don Pedro then took his way by Cambil to Jaen, whence he proceeded to Ubeda.

Yet no long time had elapsed before that unwearied

* Or as others have it, Hasnaloz.—*Conde.*

enemy of the Faith returned once more; he crossed the frontier and laid siege to Velmez, a town which, though not fortified by art, was strong by the nature of its position: having assaulted the place during an entire day, he succeeded in taking it, and entered sword in hand. The inhabitants then retired to their citadel, where they were again besieged by Don Pedro with various machines and engines of war. The frontier guard of King Ismail now advanced to the succour of their brethren; but they could not make head against the greater numbers of the besiegers, and when these auxiliaries were seen to retire, the defenders of the citadel, losing hope, surrendered to the enemy.

Inflated by that conquest, the Christians next besieged the fortified town of Tiscar, which was bravely defended by Muhamad Hamdun, the Alcalde of the place. But on a very dark night the Christian troops escaladed the Peña Negra,* which is a bold height, dominating the citadel: those who had the guard of that point, confiding too implicitly in the natural strength of their position, had neglected to keep good watch, and were now all put to death by the foe,—a just reward for the fault they had committed in not guarding their post as they should have done. On the following day the Christians occupied the city by force, and the brave Alcalde, Muhamad Hamdun, with the inhabitants who defended it, were compelled to retreat to the citadel, nor could they maintain an effectual resistance even there; the Peña Negra, which commanded their position, was in the hands of the enemy. Yet with all these disadvantages, Muhamad Hamdun retained his hold until the want of provisions, and the exhaustion of his people, compelled him to accept terms of surrender. Those offered were, however, extremely good ones: all marched forth with their arms, and the inhabitants, for whom the safety of their lives had been secured by Muhamad Hamdun, were permitted to take with them their vestments and valuables of all kinds, nay, whatever they could carry. Fifteen hundred men, with large numbers of women and children, then passed through the gates of Tiscar, the greater part of them taking their way to Baga.

* Black rock.

The intelligence of the loss thus sustained by their brethren filled the people of Granada with grief and anxiety: King Ismail beheld therein the natural versatility of Fortune's favours, and a proof of her accustomed inconstancy. These misfortunes were to his courageous heart but as the presage of returning prosperity, and a promise of speedy vengeance over his enemies, since he knew that in human affairs there is nothing certain but this perpetual uncertainty; nothing constant, save only the incessant alternation of good and evil—misfortunes succeeding to the hour of triumph, enjoyments coming to replace misery and suffering following close on the steps of felicity.

From the fortified town of Tuscar, Don Pedro of Castille, and Don Juan, his brother,* now marched upon the neighbourbouring Comarcas, devastating the Vega from Alcabdat even to Alcala de Aben Zayde. They laid siege to the fortress of Illora, and having burnt the suburbs, they repaired to Pinosar the following day. The next morning succeeding, which was that of the Festival of St. John, the Christian force appeared in sight of Granada.

King Ismail then called his generals to his presence: he represented to them the disgrace which all were incurring from the ravages which the Christians were suffered to commit through all their borders, exhorted them to recall the well-approved valour of old time in defence of their country, and reprimanded them for the want of zeal and energy which they had hitherto exhibited. All the youth of Granada now took arms, and united themselves to the guards of the king, who gave them the brave Parthian, Mahragian, to be their general. Ismail himself took the command of the reserve, and all went forth to meet the foe. Mahragian set his forces in battle array and led the Moslemah to victory; the Christians were unable to resist the impetuosity of his charge, and the valour displayed by the Faithful on that day; they soon began to retire, and their camp was left in the hands of the victors. The order of the Infidel army having been once broken, all were soon put to the rout;

* This Don Juan was not the brother of Don Pedro, but his uncle; and the brother of his father, Don Sancho. Don Juan was Lord of Biscay.—*Condé.*

encompassed and hemmed in on all sides by the Moslemah, the two valiant Princes of Castille there died fighting with the bravery of lions, both falling in the hottest and most stubbornly contested period of the battle. The conquerors continued the pursuit of the flying foe until nightfall, when the unhappy Christians, favoured by the obscurity, first began to conceive hope of escape from their victorious lances.

On the following day the Moslemah soldiers found that the field was covered with the bodies of the slain; but the vast riches which they obtained from the royal camp of the Christians well repaid them for the labours of their burial; Ismail having commanded that all should be interred, lest the air should become infected by the emanations arising from them. The Moslemah Cavaliers who died on that day were buried with their vestments and arms as they were found—the most honourable shroud and mortuary ornaments which the true Mosleman can bear from the world.* That victory was celebrated in Granada with great festivities and rejoicings; it was obtained at the close of the year 718.†

The forces of King Ismail, pursuing their advantage, then passed through the neighbouring Comarcas, recovering their fortified towns and other places which had been lost. The body of the Infant Prince John, having been identified by the Christian captives, was sent to Cordova, and the Infidels, grateful for that mark of consideration, then requested a truce; but this King Ismail granted for certain portions of the frontier only; thus reserving to the Moslemah the wide path of glory which had once more been laid open to their steps. They crossed the frontier of Murcia accordingly, and without loss of time occupied the strong cities of Huescar and Ores, taking Galera also by force of arms. These places were all in the government of Cazorla.

The term of truce accorded by Ismail, which was three years, having come to an end, the King of Granada, who knew that the people of Castille were much disturbed by dissension among themselves, resolved to prepare for an invasion, from which he promised himself important advantages. In the Moon of Regib, therefore, in the year 724,‡

* This De Marles gives, as a note, in the following words: It was an honour among the Arabs to be buried with the clothing and arms.

† A.D. 1319.—*Conde.* ‡ A.D. 1325.

Ismail Ben Ferag proceeded to besiege Baza, which had been taken by the Christians. He fixed his camp before the city, and entrenched his position with great care; that done he commenced the attack, assaulting the place day and night, with various engines of war; among these machines were some that cast globes of fire, with resounding thunders and lightnings, resembling those of the resistless tempest; all these missives causing the most fearful injuries to the walls and towers of the city. Those assaults, with the privations endured by the Defenders, compelled the latter to submission, and they made their conventions with King Ismail to that effect, Medina Baza being surrendered on the 24th of the same Moon.

In the commencement of the following year, the King of Granada marched with a powerful host, well supplied with machines and engines of war, to the siege of Medina Martos, before which place he remained until the 10th day of the Moon Regib, assailing it with the unceasing fire of his thundering machines. On that day he made himself master of the city, and the Moslemah conquerors having effected their entrance by force of arms, scarcely permitted a single man to escape with life; the streets flowed with blood, and were filled with the corpses of the slain. That afternoon, the king made his Azala of Almagreb or the setting of the sun, on the sanguinary relics left by the car of victory, and on the following morning the prayer of Azohbi, or the dawning day, was performed on the same empurpled carpet. On that occasion there died a youth who was much regretted by the whole army, Aben Ozmin, namely, a son of one of the first families in Granada. Ismail then departed on his return to Granada, which he entered in triumph on the 24th day of the Moon Regeb.

Now many female captives of infinite loveliness, with numerous children, also very beautiful, were among the rich spoils brought from Martos; and among these captives was a damsel, the aspect of whom enchanted all who beheld her. She had been rescued from the ensanguined hands of the soldiery by Muhamad Aben Ismail, son of the Wali of Algezira Alhadra, and cousin-germain to the king; but he had not been able to liberate her from the cruel and covetous captors by whom the possession of that beautiful prize was disputed,

save at the imminent risk of his own life, and after he had endured much labour as well as peril. But when Ismail Ben Ferag beheld her, he could not exercise that power over himself which would have enabled him to act in the manner most worthy of a just king, and having taken her from Muhamad he despotically commanded that she should be borne to his harem.

Greatly offended by that tyranny, Muhamad complained to his sovereign, with whom he used the most powerful arguments, yet without avail: resolved to endure no opposition, Ismail commanded Mohamad to be silent, or leave his presence, adding that if it did not please him to remain in Granada, he was at liberty to depart, and might betake himself to the enemies or rebels of his king, making common cause with them, if he should find that course to suit his purposes.

The day of King Ismail's entrance into his capital was held as one of high festival; he was received by all the city with acclamations of triumph; the streets through which he rode were hung with costly stuffs of silk and gold, which covered all the house; the rarest perfumes were burnt on his passage, and these filled the air with their soft and sweet aroma. Every face was radiant with gladness, that of Mohamad Aben Ismail excepted; but he, filled with rage and despair, went about as one maddened, thinking only of the wrong he had endured, and proposing in his heart to take a signal vengeance on the offender. Confiding his resolves to the most trusted of his friends, who were very numerous, and all of the highest rank, Mohamad intimated to these nobles his determination to avenge himself; when all took an oath to assist him in whatsoever he might undertake for that purpose.

The unquiet spirit of Muhamad, agitated alike by the affront offered to his honour, and by the most cruel jealousy, could meanwhile obtain no rest. The furious indignation, not unjustly awakened, which he felt against the king, kept the heart of Muhamad in perpetual tumult, and his mind was like the storm-vexed sea; he could endure no delay, not being able to suffer that his rival should bask in the presence of her whom he considered to be his own.

On the third day after the entrance of the king into his capital, the latter was in his Alcazar of the Alhambra, when

his offended cousin, Muhamad Ben Ismail, with his brother and some of his most devoted friends, presented themselves at the gates of the palace. Each man was armed with a poignard, which he concealed within the sleeve of his robe, and all had beside strong daggers beneath their girdles; they told the eunuchs and guards at the gate that they desired to speak with the king as he passed forth, and would therefore await him there; nor did a long time elapse before Ismail, accompanied by his principal Vizier, approached the portal. Muhamad and his brother then stepped forward, as if to salute their sovereign, whom they met at the passage of the gate: at the same instant Muhamad struck his rival, on whom he inflicted three deep wounds in the head and breast; the king falling instantly, and uttering the word "Traitors!" as he sank to the ground.

The Vizier drew his sword to defend his sovereign and himself, but he was immediately put to death with their daggers by the remaining conspirators, all this being accomplished with so much rapidity, that before the guards and eunuchs could reach the scene of murder, all the assassins had left the palace, and the greater part of them were already in a place of safety.

His servants then raised the wounded monarch, whom they bore to the apartments of the Sultana-Mother: the physicians and surgeons instantly arriving, did everything suggested to them by their art; but the wounds of the king were mortal, and their efforts proved vain.

The second Vizier, made acquainted with the rank of the assassins, did his best to render himself master of their persons, but the greater part of them had already disappeared from the city. Those whom he could get into his hands he caused to be instantly decapitated, and commanded that their heads should be placed on the hooks of the city-wall. When the Vizier returned to the palace, after the performance of that duty, he found all the guard in a state of insurrection; and enquiring of their general Othman Abu Said Ben Abulola Edris Ben Abdelhac, who was a partizan of the conspirators, how the king then was, as did many of the people who had assembled around the gates; Othman replied, that the king was not in danger, since his wounds were but slight, and

he would doubtless soon recover: hearing these words, and reassured by that account, the people began quietly to disperse.

But when the Vizier arrived in the chamber where the wounded monarch lay, he found that Ismail was at the point of death: yet, concealing that circumstance he again descended to the courts of the palace, telling the guards and their general Othman, that the king was going on well; he then went forth, and assembling his friends, he bade them repair to the palace, there to authorise by their presence, and assist with their counsels, in whatever might be needful to do for the public welfare and their own particular interest. Returning with these his partizans to the Alcazar, the Vizier left them in the court with the guards while he ascended to the chamber of Ismail, and found that he had already expired. He then sent to summon the general Othman Abu Said with the Alcaides and Xeques, whom he had left at the gate, saying that the king desired to speak with them. This caused not a little anxiety to Othman, who feared lest Ismail should suspect his relations with the conspirators, and was all the more alarmed because he perceived that there were so few of his own friends in that assembly. He dissembled his fears in the best manner he was able nevertheless, and entered the palace with the rest of the Cavaliers. When all the nobles had gathered in the saloon, the second Vizier came forth accompanied by the eldest son of Ismail named Mohamad, a youth of very tender age. The Vizier then said that the king desired them to acknowledge his eldest son as his successor, and required all present to offer him the oath of allegiance, he being indisposed himself from the effect of his wounds, and not able to speak to them at that moment.

All who were in the saloon then took the oath of allegiance, and at the conclusion of the ceremony the death of the king was announced to the assembled nobles. Othman, who had feared something worse for himself than had yet occurred, and who did not take the death of his sovereign to heart, rejoiced greatly in that proposition of the oath of allegiance, and was the first to say to the guards, "May God exalt our King Muley Muhamad Ben Ismail."

These words were then repeated by all the nobles as well

as the guard, and going forth into the streets they proclaimed the young Muhamad with much gladness. So doth the Omnipotent Allah change his hours! In the commencement of that day all was terror and dismay, at the hour of noon came gladness, and the evening closed with festival and the voice of jubilee. Thus perished the great King Ismail Ben Ferag Ben Nazar, called Abul Walid, and Abul Said: on the day following that of his death he was buried with much pomp in the sepulchre of his family, and on his tomb was placed the inscription found below.

"This is the sepulchre of the martyr king, the conqueror of the frontier, the defender of religion, the exalted, the select, the restorer of the house of the Nazars, the just prince, the protector, the resolute, the hero of war and battles, the noble, the generous, the most fortunate of the kings of his race, the most richly endowed in piety and zeal for the honour of God, the sword of the sacred war, the bulwark of the people, the stronghold of the generals, the refuge of the nobles, the consolation of the poor. Compassionate towards the faithful, he was the redoubted victor of the Infidel, a mild sovereign to the humble, the lord of abasement to the proud, a zealous follower of the path of God, the conqueror by the grace of God, the prince of the Moslemah, Abul Walid Ismail son of the exhalted protector, the chosen conqueror, the noble avenger, the source of aggrandisement to the family of the Nazars, the column of Algalibia dynasty, the clement, the compassionate, Abu Said Ferag, son of the noble and enlightened defender of the defenders of Islam, the ornament of the Algalibe princes, the pride of his race, the holy, the merciful Abul Walid Ismail Ben Nazar. May his spirit be sanctified in heavenly blessedness, may it be refreshed by the dew of mercy, may the most ample of rewards be conferred on him as the reward of his meritorious deeds and of his martyrdom, since he was exalted by Allah to be a conqueror of the nations, and humiliator of the proud kings his enemies. He continued to increase the sum of his merits, until the day appointed by God to bring his life to its close, by affixing on them the seal of good works. May the Omnipotent Allah receive and establish him in the place of retribution and honour. On the seat of exaltation which He kept reserved for his

holy zeal, he died—may God be merciful to him—by treason, but full of glory, and in the firm and pure confession of faith, which was the belief of the kings his predecessors; wherefore he has been elevated to the dwellings of eternal felicity. He was born—may God have pleasure in him—at the fortunate hour which is in the hands of the Dawn on a Giuma, the 17th day of the moon Xawal, in the year 677; he received the oath of allegiance on the 27th of Xawal in the year 713, and died on Monday the 26th of the illustrious moon Regeb, in the year 725. Praised be the true King. He who alone remains eternal and immutable until all his creatures succeed and come to an end."

CHAP. XIX.—Reign of Muhamad ben Ismail. His wars with the Christians and Africans. He takes Gebaltaric.

The King Ismail Ben Ferag Ben Nazar left four sons: Muhamad the elder, who succeeded him, was twelve years old when his father died; Ferag, the second, who died in prison at Almeria, as we shall see hereafter; Abul Hegiag, the third, who ultimately succeeded to the throne; and Ismail, the youngest, who was banished to Africa.

The Viziers of King Ismail Ben Ferag were,—the General Abu Abdallah Muhamad, son of Abul Feth Nazar Ben Ibrahim; El Fehri, who belonged to one of the most noble houses of Andalusia; and his companion, Abul Hassan Aly Ben Mesaud Almoharabi, also of a noble race, and a rich cavalier of Granada: but Abul Hassan was a man of unbounded ambition, insomuch that he did his utmost to ruin his companion or colleague, Abu Abdallah, in the estimation of King Ismail, hoping thereby to remain alone in the enjoyment of his sovereign's grace and favour: nay, he did not fail eventually to attain the object he had thus proposed. The Cadi of Ismail was the Xeque and Alfaki, Abu Bekar Yahye Ben Aly Ben Mesaud Almoharabi, brother to the Vizier Abul Hassan, and he retained his office during the life of King Ismail. The Alcatibes, or secretaries of that monarch, were, first, Abu Giaffar Ben Sefuan, of Malaga, who had previously been in his service at

Malaga, where he was Cadi, and having accompanied him to Granada, continued to retain employment as we have said; and secondly, the learned Alfaki Abul Hafsan Ben Algam, a granadine allied to the principal Xeques of the country, whom the king afterwards took for his secretary. The captain of his guard of Algarbies, a body of life-guards introduced by this king, was Othman Abu Said, son of Abulola Edris, Ben Abdelhac,—a general of great valour, and equally remarkable for prudence and ability. He was of the blood royal of the house of Fez.

This virtuous king, in the leisure permitted to him by his wars, erected many beautiful edifices in Granada, more than one fine mosque being among the number; he constructed fountains, and planted gardens; the police of the city was ameliorated by his cares; he established guilds, divided the people into classes, and made numerous regulations of a similar kind. In the moments which he found means to abstract from his serious occupations, King Ismail amused himself with falconry, the exercises of chivalry, and other recreations of equally suitable character.

King Muhamad, the son of Ismail, who was called Abu Abdallah, although he had been proclaimed on the day of his father's unhappy death, as we have said, was as yet too young to assume the reins of government, he not having completed his twelfth year. His Vizier, Abul Hassan Ben Mesaud, who had been in the service of his father, and Othman Abu Said Ben Abulola Edris, general of the cavalry of the Algarbies, therefore governed in his name. No long time after the accession of Muhamad Abu Abdallah, the Vizier Abul Hassan departed from life, when he was succeeded in his office by Muhamad Almahruc of Granada, a crafty and very ambitious man, who entered upon his charge on the 3rd day of the Moon Ramazan, in the year 725.

Now the circumstances were highly favourable to the wishes of this Vizier, and he found ample occasion for the gratification of his vanity and love of domination. Thus it came to pass that during all the time when the King Muhamad Ben Ismail governed the state by his counsels, the Vizier succeeded in rendering himself the master of his equals, whom he grievously oppressed, keeping the noblest Xeques in a condition of abasement, casting merit into

obscurity, and refusing all opportunities for distinction even to the most able men of the kingdom. Nay, this Almahruc found means to keep even the brothers of the king at a distance from the throne. He procured the banishment of Prince Ferag Ben Ismail to Almeria, and there he placed the youth in a prison, where he ultimately died. The youngest of the princes, who was called Ismail, Almahruc contrived by vain pretexts to send into Africa, where he remained in a state of expatriation during all the lifetime of the King Muhamad his brother: at a word, the Vizier filled the court with strife and discontent. Among those who considered themselves offended by his presumption was the General Othman Abu Said, who retired from Granada with intention to pass over into Africa, resolved to abandon the service of a monarch who was guided solely by the counsels of the ambitious Almahruc, while he permitted his own well-founded representations and just complaints to pass unheeded.

King Muhamad Ben Ismail was endowed with admirable qualities both of body and mind; he possessed remarkable beauty of person and a subtle understanding; was of singularly kind disposition, but very grave in his demeanour, even from early childhood; he was eloquent of speech, magnificent in his habits, and liberal in the extreme. Being strong and of a robust frame the king exhibited unusual dexterity in feats of arms, in the management of his horse, and in all the exercises suitable to his station. He delighted greatly in trials of skill with the lance and tournaments, having no equal in the boldness with which he governed his charger when performing the acts of prowess displayed therein. King Muhamad Ben Ismail was also a lover of the chase; he gave unwearied attention to the breeding of horses, and was deeply skilled in the races and genealogies of those noble animals. No gift was more acceptable to him than that of a horse, and he had always many in his possession wherewith to reward those among his cavaliers who distinguished themselves in equestrian exercises, or the toils of war.

But no less keenly did this accomplished sovereign appreciate the merits of learned men and the followers of science. He was constantly surrounded by men of genius

and cultivated taste, enjoying the recital or reading of eloquent poetry, as well as the narration of chivalrous histories or tales of love.

In the year 726, the General Othman Abu Said Ben Abulola Edris made an inroad on the territory of the Christians; he devastated their lands, and laid siege to the fortress of Rute, which defended itself but for one day; at the close of night the place was surrendered by capitulation.

When the King Muhamad Ben Ismail was of age to govern his states for himself, and had acquired discretion whereby to understand the ambitious views of his Vizier Muhamad Almahruc, he deprived that minister of his employment, and condemned him to a rigorous imprisonment. By this resolution, adopted entirely of his own accord, seeing that no one would have ventured to utter a word to the ear of the king in disparagement of the powerful Vizier, Muhamad inspired his courtiers with a salutary fear, and by the same act gave high hopes to his people, who conceived a favourable impression of his love of justice, firmness, and resolution, from that circumstance. In the place of Muhamad Almahruc, the king then appointed Muhamad Ben Yahye Alkigiati,—a man esteemed by all.

At the commencement of the year 727, Muhamad Ben Ismael had the displeasure of receiving intelligence to the effect that his General, Othman Abu Said, who had departed from Granada with his son Ibrahim, had roused the inhabitants of the towns in the territory of the Andarax to revolt, having proclaimed Muhamad Ben Ferag Ben Ismail, the uncle of King Muhamad, to be the sovereign of the realm: it was furthermore announced by those messengers of evil who brought Muhamad Ben Ismael these news, that his uncle, who was at that time in Telencen, was about to cross the sea with a large force, wherewith he proposed to land in Spain.

Resolving to lose not a moment of that time which is ever so precious on occasions of difficulty, Muhamad the king went forth to castigate his rebels, whom he encountered more than once with varying fortunes. But they were for the most part favoured by the asperities of their position, which they had chosen with much judgment; the abilities of

their general also availed to secure them many advantages; yet they were constantly in flight before the banners of their king; for so it was that the able leader of these insurgents hoped to exhaust and dishearten the royal forces.

Ibrahim, the son of Othman Abu Said, now repaired by order of his father to Seville, where he prevailed on the Christians to make war upon his country. Strange extreme of blind fury! for how should such counsels be at any time required by those enemies of Allah who are ever ready to use their weapons for our injury, and cease not from thinking of the means by which they may best effect our ruin. This was indeed a favourable occasion, which the devil had presented to them, nor did they fail to make immediate use thereof. They crossed the frontiers, and having overrun the Comarca of Medina Vera, they laid siege to that city, which was speedily compelled to surrender. The cities of Olbera, Pruna, and Ayamonte were in like manner subjected to their sway, and on the shores of the Guadalorza, at no great distance from Cordova, they encountered the troops of King Muhamad Ben Ismail, commanded by that monarch in person. The Christians were led by Don Manuel, Lord of Alhojra, in the land of Murcia, and a very obstinate conflict ensued, in which the Moslemah lost the flower of their cavalry. King Muhamad then retired to Granada; when, considering that the Vizier Almahruc had been the cause of that unhappy civil war, he commanded that he should be decapitated in his prison: that order being fulfilled on the very day when the king returned to his capital, and before he had slept. The death of the Vizier Muhamad Almahruc was accomplished on the 2nd day of Muharran, in the year 729.

Reports were then brought to Granada concerning auxiliary troops that were on the point of arriving from Africa to reinforce the insurgents, whereupon the King Muhamad Ben Ismail sent his Vizier Muhamad Ben Yahye Alkigiati to Algezira Alhadra, with letters containing entreaties to the Wali of that city, who was the uncle of the king, to the effect that he should defend the straits with care, and not permit the forces from Africa to land, giving the Wali to know that the rebels had sought aid from that quarter, and might be expected on his borders. A few days

after the arrival of Muhamad Ben Yahye in Algezira, the place was attacked by the Africans, and although the Andalusian soldiery fought with infinite bravery, yet they were compelled to yield to the force of numbers, when the African invaders made themselves masters of the city. The brave Vizier Muhamad Ben Yahye Alkigiati himself died fighting in the camp before Algezira Alhadra. That deplorable event occurred on the 17th of the Moon Regeb, in the year 729, the King Muhamad being thereby deprived of a wise counsellor and most faithful servant.

The news of this misfortune threw the inhabitants of Granada into the extreme of terror and dismay, wherefore Muhamad Ben Ismail made instant preparation for entering upon a new campaign. He appointed Abul Naim Reduan, who had been brought up in the house of his father Ismail Ben Ferag, to be the first Vizier and the Hagib of his household; that general was a good politician as well as a brave soldier, and was held in high esteem by the Granadines; his popularity in the capital was indeed unbounded, and the king's choice gave universal satisfaction.

Taking Muhamad set forth from Granada with a very But tnt force of cavalry and a well-appointed body of foottarieers. He entered the territories of the Christians, and ook the city of Cabra by force of arms, as he did also the fortress of Priega. Now it chanced on this occasion, and when his cavaliers were congratulating their sovereign on his success, that many doctors and men of learning were found in their company, and those sages likewise paid their compliments to the king, whom they praised for his accomplishments as a military leader and the ability he had displayed in that war. Then Muhamad Ben Ismail replied in these words: "For what great merit do you utter this applause? One might imagine that you had discovered in me that King of Wisdom whom it was formerly the custom to select in the academies of Cordova and Seville." Thereby making manifest his respect for learning and the sciences, with the consideration which he entertained for the laudable habits of the youth in the public schools.

The troops with whom King Mohamad commenced his campaign against the Christians were few, but well-selected,

and with these he resolved to attempt the conquest of Medina Baena. His generals admired that resolution, but many of the nobles and the older men among his cavaliers considered the enterprise a rash one; nay, some of the Xeques excused themselves under various pretexts, and would not march in his company. Yet the king was not to be deterred from his purpose by these defections, and took an oath to accomplish the undertaking he had entered upon: he advanced with his troops on Baena accordingly; and as the Christians perceived the numbers attacking them to be so small, while the force appeared at the same time to be but light cavalry, rather than troops prepared to besiege a town, they came forth with great confidence to accept the offer of battle: they were nevertheless driven back to their city by King Muhamad and his brave companions, who pursued them with their lances in the necks of the Infidel even to the gates of Baena.

In this conflict, the king, who fought in the foremost ranks, had driven his lance, which was richly adorned with gold and precious stones, into the back of a Christian, who fled with the weapon still in his body, and was carried by the speed of his horse to within a short distance of the gates, whither certain of the Mosleman cavaliers were going him with intent to recover the lance of the king; Muhamad restrained them with these words,—"Leave the lance to the poor creature, and if he should not die of his wound, he will have something that may help him to cure it withal." Having thus recalled them to his side, the king returned to his camp.

Some few days later the city of Baena surrendered, when Muhamad, making a further inroad into the country, appeared before the walls of Casares, which he battered in various parts, and might have taken possession of the city, had he not delayed the assault to the following morning; but he was then compelled to raise the siege, by notices received through his light cavalry to the effect that a Christian force was advancing for the relief of the place. The king thereupon marched to meet the enemy, to whom he gave battle, and defeated in the sanguinary conflict that ensued, routing his cavalry and throwing the whole force into irremediable disorder. The Infidel then took flight, and

was pursued by the troops of Muhamad for several leagues; but the king did not return to the siege of Casares, having resolved to undertake that of Gebaltaric instead.

The cause of this determination was the assurance which Muhamad Ben Ismail had received that Gebaltaric was but poorly garrisoned; wherefore he directed his flying camp on that point, and so closely pressed the siege, that, in despite of the machines and engines which the Christians used in their defence, he took possession of the place by force of arms, and occupied it with his troops. In like manner the king made himself master of Ronda and Marhalia; nor did any long time elapse before he had recovered Algezira Alhadra also; the last named city having been taken from him shortly before, as hath been related, by the Africans of the Beni Merines, who had come to the aid of Othman Abu Said, and others of his vassals, then in rebellion. Algezira Alhadra had been occupied by Othman El Rada by convention with the African general, who had taken the place on the 13th day of the moon Dylhagia, in the year 729. Yet the invincible Muhamad Ben Ismail now regained all that he had lost by the late civil discords, as well as the cities taken or estranged by rebellion in the course of his minority. But the Christians, meanwhile, were advancing on Gebaltaric, which they invested both by land and sea.

It was about this time that a son of Othman Abu Said, called Omar, rose in rebellion against his father, having found means to persuade many to conspire with him, and being at the head of a large force of his partizans. With these troops he met his father in several encounters, wherein the rebellious Omar was for the most part victorious, and he finally compelled his father to fly from Medina Fez, of which the disobedient son gained immediate possession. The cities of Telencen and Sigilmesa were in like manner given into the hands of Omar by intrigues and the intelligence which he maintained with his brother, Abul Hassan Aly, who had been his assistant throughout that enterprise, and had enabled him to render himself master of all his father's possessions.

The poor old man, even Othman Abu Said, could not resist the influence of so many disasters: towards the end of the

moon Dylcada, in the year 730,* he fell sick, and before the close of that moon he had departed to the mercy of Allah. Then his son, Abul Hassan Aly, who had assisted his brother Omar to despoil their father of his states, rose in his turn against the rebel Omar, and commenced a war against him, in which Abul Hassan was so fortunate, that he defeated his brother, even Omar, and slew him in battle.

CHAP. XX.—KING MUHAMAD BEN ISMAIL CONTINUES HIS CAMPAIGNS. COMPULSORY CESSION OF GEBALTARIC TO ABUL HASSAN, KING OF FEZ. MUHAMAD MARCHES HIS TROOPS TO THE RELIEF OF GEBALTARIC. THE AFRICANS CAUSE HIM TO BE ASSASSINATED. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY JUZEF, CALLED ABUL HAGIAG.

MUHAMAD Ben Ismail, King of Granada, now marched to the aid of his Andalusians, whom the Christian generals of Alphonso, King of Castille, were besieging in Gebaltaric, when the report of his advance compelled those misbelievers to raise the siege: but taking their way by Ossuna, they proceeded to lay siege to Medina Teba de Ardalis. King Muhamad then set forth against them with his cavalry, detaching his light horsemen to the shores of the Guaditeba,† his purpose being to prevent the Christians from watering their animals in that stream. The Peña de Pruna, with its fortress, was nevertheless compelled to surrender to the Christians; and the Alcalde who had commanded the place having made conditions whereby he was permitted to march out with all the honours of war, now arrived in the camp of Muhamad Ben Ismail. The king then despatched generals in whom he could confide with three thousand of his cavaliers to the river above mentioned, even the Guaditeba, where they were commanded to attack the camp of the Christians, while Muhamad repaired in person, with another body of three thousand men, to a valley situate about a league from the camp, where he placed his forces in ambush, and awaited the result.

* Other authorities say 731.—*Condé.*
† The River of Teba.

The three thousand men directed to attack the Infidel camp fell on the same when least expected, and threw the enemy into much disorder, making a great carnage among their numbers. The Moslemah then began to retire, in conformity with the orders they had received from the king, and with the hope of drawing their adversaries to the ambush laid in the valley; but the Christians, advised of the latter by their scouts, did not advance more than half a league in pursuit; when, having been reinforced at that point by a large body of men whom their King Don Alphonso had sent to their aid, they marched forward in close order of battle, and proceeded in their turn to attack the camp of Muhamad Ben Ismail: a sanguinary combat between both hosts was then commenced, and large numbers were slain on either side.

After having plundered some of the tents and taken captive some few Moslemah who were carelessly loitering in the vicinity of the camp, the Christians returned to the siege of Medina Teba, which was soon compelled to surrender by capitulation; but the terms obtained were not unfavourable, the garrison marching out with arms and baggage. Priega, Ca etc, and the Torre de las Cuevas, were likewise occupied by the Christian foe, who made themselves masters of Ortexicar no long time after.

The new king of Fez, Abul Hassan, the son of Othman Abu Said, had meanwhile crossed the strait and made himself master of Gebaltaric, which he saved from the Christians, it is true, but then seized as a possession belonging of right to himself. The King of Granada heard of that loss with a bitter grief, but he did not wish to break with a prince so powerful and warlike as was Abul Hassan, who had obtained the reputation of great valour in Andalusia, no less than in Africa. Muhamad Ben Ismail therefore wrote letters to the African sovereign, yielding to him as of free will the fortress which he had taken by force, and the two kings thus remained allies and friends. Muhamad then repaired to the Comarcas of Cordova, proposing to lay siege to Castro del Rio; and he did in effect assault the place with infinite bravery, giving the besieged no repose by day or night; but they defended themselves well,

and he was compelled to strike his camp, whereupon he passed through the district, which he ravaged and laid desolate. All these things being accomplished, the king took his way by Cabra and returned to Granada.

But Abul Hassan, King of Fez, was not long suffered to remain in peaceable possession of Gebaltaric: the Christians, well knowing the importance of the place, and considering that it was the key of Andalusia, marched against it with a large force. The generals of Abul Hassan defended the fortress with much ability, but the persistence of the Christians was rapidly exhausting their resources; the Infidel galleys, cruizing the strait with minute watchfulness, suffered no succours from Africa to approach the besieged, who saw their provisions fast coming to an end: closely pressed by land as well as by sea, they had in effect lost all hope of aid from their master, King Abul Hassan; but, having found means to despatch messengers to the King of Granada, they made known to him the straits to which they had been reduced by the Christians, and called on him, as the ally of their sovereign, Abul Hassan, to give them assistance in that conjuncture.

Muhamad Ben Ismail then assembled his troops with all speed, and marched at once to the succour of the Africans shut up in Gebaltaric. He arrived at Algezira Alhadra, and proceeding thence to Gebaltaric attacked the Christians before that fortress, defeating them with terrible slaughter, after an obstinately contested engagement, and forcing them to raise the siege.

Thus the Granadine king delivered the Africans from their enemy; but somewhat inflated with his triumph, and in the lightness of his youth, he jested with the African general in a tone that was not a little vain-glorious. Among other things the young monarch declared that the Christians were very good cavaliers, who had not chosen to match themselves with the African soldiery, because they and all who were born in Andalusia held it shame for them to contend with such, but that when the Granadines, who were their compatriots, had appeared, the Christians had proved themselves to be perfectly courteous and accommodating. The cavaliers of Castille, he added, had broken their lances

well and fairly with those of Granada, and having yielded them the victory, had left them the further merit of giving bread to the wretched and hungry Africans.

By jesting in this manner Muhamad Ben Ismail embittered the generals of Abul Hassan against him, and when they heard him speak of a resolution which he had taken to dismiss his troops, and cross the strait to pay a visit to his friend the King of Fez, they conceived the treacherous design of avenging themselves for those light words by taking the life of him who had uttered them. And so was it determined: having dismissed the cavalry of Granada, as he had determined, the King Muhamad, with the few troops he had retained to accompany him into the kingdom of Fez, remained alone with the generals of Abul Hassan; the vengeful Africans then paid certain assassins to watch his steps for their evil purpose. It happened, therefore, on the day following that which saw the subjects of Muhamad Ben Ismail depart for Granada, that their sovereign was seen by these hirelings to ascend the mountains with but a small company of his guard. Taking certain steep and narrow paths through which they knew he must proceed, they then met him in the most difficult part of the road, and where he could not turn his horse, nor be defended by his guards, since there was not space to permit them to pass him. The way was such, indeed, as to compel each cavalier to follow the other in single file, and was besides a stony dangerous path, over which the traveller could not easily make his way. Here it was that the assassins attacked their victim, and it is even said that the first who struck the king was a servant of his father, called Zeyan. The rest then pierced him with their lances, and he fell lifeless to the earth. Thus died that noble monarch, the unhappy event taking place on Wednesday, the 13th day of the Moon Dylhagia, in the year 733.

The few guards and soldiers remaining in the camp were soon made acquainted with the misfortune of their lord by the small company that had attended him, and which now came flying down the mountain, with the fatal intelligence of his assassination. Although but few in number they at once prepared to avenge the death of their noble king; but the Africans, dreading the effect of their rage, closed the

gates of the fortress, which the Andalusian cavaliers had no means for attacking. The body of Muhamad lay meanwhile abandoned and despoiled on the mountains, having become the mockery of those very soldiers of Fez whose lives he had but just saved from the lance of the Christians, and the sharper pangs of hunger. So ungrateful and regardless is a people in a state of barbarism!

The Granadines bore the fatal [illegible] to their country, where it was deeply mourned by all, and the death of their king was to each of his subjects a cause of such grief as a man feels who has lost a father. The Viziers and nobles then proclaimed the brother of Muhamad, Juzef Abul Hagiag, to be their king; the first command of that sovereign being to the effect that messengers should proceed to reclaim his brother's corpse. The remains of Muhamad were then borne to Malaga, where they were buried in a chapel which was erected for the purpose, and which served as the decoration of his tomb. Here there was then inscribed the epitaph which follows:—

"This is the sepulchre of the noble, powerful, and magnanimous king, the illustrious Abu Abdallah Muhamad, of happy memory. Born of the royal race, he was a virtuous, prudent, and generous prince, victorious in war, a distinguished general, the exalted commander of conquering hosts, of the ancient and illustrious family of the Nazars, the prince of the Faithful, a son of the Sultan, Abul Walid Ben Ferag Aben Nazar. May God pardon him and receive him to eternal repose. He was born—may Allah have pleasure in him—on the 8th day of the Moon Muharram, in the year 715, and was proclaimed king on the death of his father on the 26th of the Moon Regeb, in the year 725.* He died—may God receive him to pardon—on the 13th of the Moon Dylhagia in the year 733. Praise and glory be now and ever to God the most high, whose kingdom hath no end."

When the unhappy intelligence of their king's death was made known to the Granadine army, then on its way back from Gebaltaric, the grief felt for that loss was very

* Which makes him ten years old at his proclamation, instead of twelve, as asserted in a previous page. See page 237.

deep, and loud were the demands for vengeance which were made in their desperation by the soldiers whom he had led to victory; but all hope of remedy for so grievous a misfortune was vain, and for a loss so irreparable there was no consolation. The brother of the departed monarch, the brave and noble Abul Hagiag, was then with the host, and he was instantly proclaimed by the troops. All the generals of the army took the oath of allegiance to him in his pavilion, on the shores of the Guadalsefain, which passes by the fields of Algezira Alhadra. This took place on the evening of Wednesday, the 13th day of Dylhagia, and the host was then led by Abul Hagiag to Granada, where he was again publicly proclaimed.

The new king, even Juzef Ben Ismail Ben Ferag, known as Abul Hagiag, was a youth endowed with great beauty of person and extraordinary strength of body; very grave in manner, but easy of access; friendly towards all who approached him, and of very amiable dispositions. He was a good poet, possessed considerable erudition, had made himself acquainted with various arts, and was much attached to the study of the sciences, having his pleasure rather in the occupations of peace than the exercises of war. When the festivities consequent on his proclamation had come to an end, Juzef Ben Ismail commenced negociations for treaties of peace with the princes, his neighbours, Christian as well as Moslemah: he sent ambassadors and letters to Seville, where his envoys negociated a truce for the term of four years, with very favourable conditions. The king then set himself to reform the laws and civil regulations of his kingdom, which were daily liable to alteration by the subtleties of the Alcatibes and dishonest Cadies. Juzef Ben Ismail commanded that the formularies of public acts, and the phrases used for legal documents, should be rendered more brief and simple, whereupon the Alimes and doctors prepared good treatises, and explications of such formulas as were now proposed by the king.

New distinctions for the reward of all who had become eminent in the civil employments of the state were likewise established by King Juzef, who caused directions to be written moreover for the instruction of those who exercised various arts and professions, with books

on strategy and the art-military, as well as many others of different kinds.

CHAP. XXI.—Reign of Juzef ben Ismail. Battle of Guadacelito gained by the Christians.

In the commencement of King Juzef's reign the Vizier who had been the minister of his father, even the illustrious Abul Naim Reduan, departed to the mercy of Allah, and the young monarch then conferred the dignity on Abu Ishac Ben Abdelhac, a cavalier of high birth and great possessions, who entered on the duties of his charge on the third day of the moon Muharran, in the year 734. But the nomination of the Vizier Abu Ishac had scarcely been made known before all the nobles and generals then in the capital presented themselves before the king, accusing the new dignitary of haughtiness, vanity, and a love of vengeance, which could not fail to give serious cause for discords and factious disorders. They, therefore, entreated King Juzef very earnestly to depose him from his employment, assuring the young sovereign that he must do so if he desired the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

To these representations King Juzef replied by thanking his counsellors for their advice, and the zeal they had manifested in the service of the state. He declared that his most earnest desire was to do whatever should be found best for the common welfare, and a few days later the Vizier in question was removed. The Hagib Abul Naim, son of Reduan, was then appointed in his place. Now Abul Naim was of a truth a very upright and virtuous cavalier, but hard of condition, much given to anger, and often giving proof of a severity that was at least equal to his justice. During the time of his rule every man trembled at the thought of appearing before his judgment seat. From consideration for the nobles, the Vizier was charged with the general police of the capital, and in this tribunal there was no class, whether civil or military, considered to possess any privilege of exemption. All were held bound to present themselves when cited before it, whether summoned as witnesses or called to answer for themselves. In the

exercise of this part of his functions Abul Naim was remarked for his sternness, his angry irritability, the stringent severity of his judgments, and the brevity of the sentence. Many were condemned to heavy punishment for very slight causes by his decrees; nay, he is declared to have caused not a few innocent heads to be struck off.

The King Juzef Ben Ismail, whose attention was constantly directed towards the public weal, and whose ear was opened to the complaints of the poor and defenceless even more readily than to those of the powerful, had been already made acquainted with certain hasty acts of Abul Naim, and perceiving that the violent proceedings and hurried judgments ascribed to him were the result of his irascibility and the asperity of his character, rather than of the rigidity of his justice or the equity and rectitude of his heart, commanded him to suspend his functions, and shortly afterwards cast the Vizier himself into prison: that event occurred in the 22nd of the moon Regib, in the year 740.

And now, as the King of Granada, even Juzef Ben Ismail, was at peace with all the Moslemah princes, and had a truce with the Christians, he found leisure for the embellishment of his capital, by the construction of noble and splendid edifices; he rebuilt the great Aljama with extraordinary [illegible] adorning the work with all that art could suggest for its decoration: and furthermore, he encouraged the same with a large annual income. The king likewise established regulations for the government of the Imaums, Alfakies, Almocries, Almuedanas, Hafizes, and others connected with the due service of the Aljama; thus providing for the fulfilment of their duties and obligations, as well as for the fitting maintenance of those ministers, and the punctuality of their payment.

In the vicinity of Medina Malaga, Juzef Ben Ismail erected a sumptuous Alcazar, and on that edifice, which is of great height and admirable beauty, the king expended vast sums; but he much increased his renown by the noble fabric in question, seeing that he not only originated the idea and determined the splendid character of this and many other gorgeous buildings, but even gave the plans for them, and made all needful dispositions for their construction.

Now the time of truce agreed on by the Christians having

expired, the general commanding the Granadine troops on the frontiers of Murcia, even Abdallah Abu Reduan, made an irruption upon the Comarcas of that territory, being accompanied by the Arraiz of Algarve, Abu Thabet Omar Ben Othman Ben Edris Ben Abdelhac, who was of the royal blood of the Beni Merines. These generals devastated the Comarcas, burnt the fortified town of Guadalhimar, drove off vast flocks of cattle, and took a large number of captives, insomuch that they returned to Granada with more than one thousand Christian prisoners,—men, women, and children, entering the capital in triumph. That campaign was then celebrated in the city with great rejoicings, and there was high festivity, with public dances, and other expressions of gladness.

The Arraiz of Algarve was distinguished greatly by the favour of his sovereign, who admitted that general to his closest intimacy, not only on account of his noble race and the important office which he held in his armies, but also, and chiefly, in consideration of his ability and agreeable manners. Abu Thabet Omar Ben Othman was the arbiter and dispenser of all the king's favours; no one could speak to Juzef Ben Ismail without his permission, nor was anything done in the palace, whether great or small, but by his order: yet it chanced not many days after the return of the Generals Reduan and Abu Thabet from the frontier of Murcia, that Juzef commanded the apprehension of the Arraiz of Algarve, even Omar, his most intimate friend, whom he cast into prison, together with his two brothers. That circumstance took place on the 29th day of the moon Rebie Primera, in the year 741; it caused infinite amazement among the people, and the rather when it became known that the office previously held by Abu Thabet Omar had been given to his cousin, Omar Yahye Ben Omar Ben Rehu. The cause of Omar's disgrace was not generally known, but among the courtiers there was a whisper to the effect that Juzef Ben Ismail had made Omar his confidant in certain love affairs, and unhappily the latter was found to be the rival of his sovereign; nay, that this was not all,—he was more favoured by the lady in question than the king could flatter himself with being, and that mortifying circumstance had been made known to Juzef by Yahye, the cousin of

Abu Thabet Omar. So went the story, and this—if the whole were not the mere idle talk of the courtiers—was the cause of the general's disgrace.

About the same time complaints of maladministration were made by the people against the Vizier Abul Hassan Aly Ben Moul, for which cause the king deprived him of his employment, which he conferred on Abul Hassan Ben Algiab, who had been secretary to the King Muhamad, his brother, and who was a man of approved integrity, very prudent, and distinguished for his great learning.

Towards the close of the year 741, King Juzef received intelligence to the effect that the King of Fez, even Aly Abul Hassan Ben Othman Ben Jakoub Ben Abdelhac, of the Beni Mermes, had crossed the sea, and had obtained a naval victory over the Christians, to the great and signal loss of those misbelievers, who had been attacked by the Moslemah on the 29th day of the moon Safer in that year. The African fleet was reported to consist of not less than one hundred and forty galleys, and with these the Moslemah had surrounded the Christian barks, many of which they had sunk, while many more had been taken, with all their crews, stores, provisions of food, and munitions of war. That fortunate occurrence was celebrated in Granada with illuminations, fireworks, great festivities, and public dances, which continued throughout the night. The King of Granada furthermore commanded that a certain company of his cavaliers should make ready to proceed in his train for the purpose of receiving and congratulating the King of Fez.

The Alcaldes of the frontiers, and many others of the principal Xeques, assembled accordingly, when the king departed to make his visit with a very brilliant company; he arrived at Algezira Alhadra on the 20th day of the same moon.

Abul Hassan Ben Othman, King of Fez, rejoiced greatly in the arrival of Juzef Ben Ismail, and the two monarchs banqueted together, in company with the principal cavaliers of their respective courts.* The King of Fez had with

* El Salamani and other authorities say that the meeting of Juzef with Abul Hassan took place on Saturday the 6th of the moon Xawal. —*Cond.*

him a mighty force of cavalry and infantry; wherefore, and that the time might not be lost, he agreed with King Juzef of Granada to lay siege to Medina Tarifa, whereupon they marched their troops in that direction: they arrived before the place accordingly, and fixed their camp there on the 3rd day of the following moon.

The Moslemah then commenced the attack with various machines; among others, those engines of thunder which cast great balls of iron with *Nafta**, and whereby a fearful destruction was made in the well-towered walls of the city.

The siege being prolonged, Abul Hassan, King of Fez, despatched his generals, Aly Atar and Abdelmelic, with a carefully chosen force of Zeneta, Masamuda, and Gomara cavalry, to make an irruption on the territories of Xeres and Sidonia, Lebrija, and Arcos. The troops departed accordingly, and first driving off all the flocks, they laid waste the fields, burnt the dwellings of the inhabitants, and desolated the whole country, leaving those Comarcas a desert, as might the devastating tempest of thunders and lightnings.

But the Christians to whom the guard of the frontier had been committed then marched forth upon that flying camp of Almagaraves, and fell upon the Africans when the latter least expected their appearance. Thrown into a panic by the impetuous attack of their unforeseen adversaries, and embarrassed by their immense booty, the troops could not be brought into order of defence without great difficulty, and after a short struggle they turned their bridles in confusion and terror, abandoning their valiant leaders to the lances of the foe, and fled from the Christian conqueror with all the speed of their horses. The illustrious generals, Abdelmelic and Aly Atar (who was his cousin) were among the first who fell; both died in the endeavour to animate their people to resistance against the enemies of Allah; but they sold their lives dearly, and many were the Infidels that sank beneath their nervous arms. Fifteen hundred of the Moslemah, chiefly belonging to the Zenete and Gomara tribes, also did what they could to maintain the ground; but their efforts were unavailing, and those brave men

* The word *Nafta* (Naphtha) is in italics in the original.

were left extended on the field, as an acceptable offering to the wild beasts and birds of prey.

The intelligence of that disaster filled the hearts of the two kings, Juzef Ben Ismail and Abul Hassan, with despair, and the souls of all the Moslemah with the bitterest grief; more especially did they mourn the loss of those two noble generals, Aly Atar and Abdelmelic. The King of Fez despatched letters to his Alcaldes of Africa, commanding them to send him new troops, the sovereign of Granada also calling out his people, and both determined to take vengeance for the injuries they had sustained.

The Christians who were besieged in Tarifa, seeing the force of the Moslemah to be daily increased, and perceiving that the number of their assailants was such as to cover the mountains and valleys, sent repeated supplications to their kings for aid, to the King of Portugal, as well as to him of Castille. The Castillian monarch was at that time in Medina Seville, and assembling his troops with as much speed as he might, he marched to the aid of his people with a powerful host. The King of Portugal also led a chosen body of cavalry to the succour of Tarifa, and these two tyrants now advanced upon the Faithful with a countless multitude. When they arrived at Hijarayel,* they gained sight of the Moslemah force, which lost no time in moving to their encounter, seeing that the Faithful had already been made aware of the enemy's approach by the bands of their light cavalry. The two kings, Juzef Ben Ismail and Abul Hassan, led forward their valiant warriors, the two tyrants also making ready their legions for the battle; but as it was near the setting of the sun, it did not appear to either of the hosts that they had light enough remaining for their purpose, and no man had any desire to see the now fast approaching night interpose an impediment to their hostile intentions. Thus the battle was not commenced, the skirmishing parties were not permitted to leave the main body of either host; all retained their ranks, and the two armies remained in mutual fear and respect.

They passed that night in awaiting the dawn with mingled incertitude, impatience, and dread; the generals carefully issued their orders to the captains and others in

* The Rock of the Hart.—*Tr.*

command; while these in their turn endeavoured to animate their troops to the fight, assuring them of victory if they would comport themselves bravely and with firmness in the sanguinary contest about to ensue. When the morning dawned and the day began to appear, the trumpets of the enemy were heard to mingle with the sound of the Moslemah Atambores, the earth trembling beneath that alarm, as the piercing voice of the lelilies and clarions rose in fearful tumult with the peal of the Atakebiras, the wild cries of the warriors, and the resounding clangour of the Moslemah Atambores.

Between the two camps ran the Guadacelito, and the light cavalry of the Christians, advancing to the ford, were met by the brave Zenetes and Gomaras, with the cavalry of Granada, who charged them at the speed of their horses. The battle now became general, both armies fighting with equal steadiness and valour; but in the most important part of that sanguinary conflict, certain of the Alarabian Cabilas, shaken by the impetuous attack of the Christian cavalry, armed in proof, and covered with iron, horse and man, began to give way in such sort that they were broken and cut off by the enemy. Becoming aware of that circumstance, the besieged poured forth from Medina Tarifa and fell upon the camp of Abul Hassan, King of Fez, making themselves masters of his Hareem and all his treasures.

At that moment the African troops abandoned the field, and the battle was then maintained by the Andalusians alone, led by their king, Juzef Ben Ismail; but when the latter perceived that the flower of the Christian army was bearing down upon his people, and saw that the Africans were flying in all directions, he commanded his banners to retire in good order, and still fighting, before they were surrounded by the whole force of the Christians: the king directed them to take their way towards Algezira Alhadra, and this was effected accordingly, yet not without the trace of many a bleeding corpse, which marked the line of the retreating Moslemah, until they reached the city of their refuge.

The King of Fez had meanwhile sought shelter in Gebalt ric, where he embarked, even on the unhappy day of the

battle, and set sail for Ceuta. This deplorable engagement of the Guadacelito was fought on Monday the 7th day of the moon Giumada Primera, in the year 741. The field remained hidden beneath the arms and corpses of the slain; it was indeed a dismal slaughter, and that day was long commemorated by the enemy, in whose mouths the triumph then obtained became proverbial.

Now the light cavalry of Juzef Ben Ismail sent him notice to the effect that all the passes of his homeward path were cut off by a countless multitude of his enemies. The king therefore embarked at Algezira Alhadra, returning to Granada in one of his galleys, and disembarking at Almunecaub. There was great mourning in the capital, seeing that vast numbers of the noble Granadines had died in the battle of Guadacelito; and among them was the principal Cadi of Andalusia, Abu Abdallah Mohamad Alascari.

After this victory, the King of Castille advanced upon Medina Calayaseb, attacking that city with his machines of war, and reducing the defenders thereof to great extremity. Intimidated by the event of Guadacelito, the people of Calayaseb made terms with King Alphonso, to whom they surrendered the place, after receiving assurance of safety for their lives; when all went forth and abandoned their city to the conquerors. Priega and Ben Anexir were in like manner surrendered by capitulation to the Christian conquerors; seeing that all then gave way to the fortune of those Infidels, which removed every obstacle from the path of their triumph.

Nor were the Moslemah arms less unfortunate in the following year. An obstinate engagement was fought with the Christians at the mouths of the Guada Menzil by the united fleets of Granada and Africa, when many of the latter were burnt by the enemy of Allah; and the Ameers by whom they were commanded, died fighting, as brave men should do.

CHAP. XXII.—THE CHRISTIANS TAKE ALGEZIRA ALHADRA. A TRUCE IS MADE WITH THE ENEMY. POLICY OF KING JUZEF. RELIGIOUS ORDINANCES.

AT this time fortune had declared herself against the Moslemah, while the King Alphonso of Castille, inflated by success, was marching from victory to victory. He now resolved to make himself master of Algezira Alhadra, which was the gate of Spain on that border,—a strong and beautiful city, moreover, surrounded on three sides by fertile fields. Alphonso therefore despatched a portion of his army against the place, while he sent other bands to devastate the territories of the King of Granada in various parts: and these ravagers inflicted much evil on the land, whose cultivated fields they laid desolate, and the pleasant gardens of whose people they utterly destroyed.

It was in the midst of winter when the Christians appeared before Algezira Alhadra; they fixed their camp on the Vega, surrounding their tents with deep ditches and strong defences of various kinds: the besieged, on their part, went bravely forth to destroy their works, and impeded their progress by many a sally and surprise, in which there daily fell no small number of the cross-bearers, as well as many good cavaliers among the Moslemah. Nay, more than once there were pitched battles in the open field, when the whole force of the besiegers was engaged: but these combats terminated, for the most part, with various fortunes, victory declaring now for one side and now for the other.

Determined to bring all their strength to bear on the city, the Christians reared great towers of wood, and used machines of every kind for the assault of the place: these the Moslemah did their utmost to destroy, by casting large masses of stone upon them from their walls, or by launching red-hot balls of iron from their engines, with thundering *Nafta*, which overturned the machines of the Infidel, and caused heavy losses among the besieging troops.

King Juzef Ben Ismail now marched out of Granada with his cavalry, and hastening to the succour of Algezira Alhadra, he fixed his camp on the shores of the Guadijaro. It was, indeed, the desire of the king to attack the enemy

without loss of time; but his generals dared not come to battle with the Christians, nor would they venture to attack them in their well-entrenched camp, advising the King to wait until they had sallied forth to skirmish with the Moslemah troops; seeing that the infantry had been greatly intimidated by the unfortunate battle of Tarifa.

Yet the sovereign of Granada, dreading lest Algezira should be so far exhausted as to be compelled to surrender before succours had arrived, and so that pearl of the Moslemah crown would be lost, encouraged his people to the combat; and one morning at the hour of dawn he appeared on the river Palmones, which was between the two camps. On this occasion King Juzef believed that his best hope was in surprise; thus he commanded that the attack should be commenced before day had well broken, and when the Christians were least likely to expect it: then the onslaught, being a very impetuous and resolute one, did in effect produce great confusion in the Christian camp; but the deep ditches by which it was defended, with the stockades which further added to its strength, proved an almost insurmountable obstacle to the Moslemah cavaliers, who were far from being able to produce the effect which they had hoped for from their attack. It is true that they broke and routed all who presented themselves before them, but many of their own cavaliers found their death in that impenetrable wood of lances whereby they were finally opposed; nay the multitude of Christians who hurried at length to the defence of the camp was such, that the generals considered it prudent to retire, nor further engage themselves within those strongly fortified trenches.

The inhabitants of Algezira Alhadra, who suffered greatly from want of provisions, and who saw that King Juzef could not compel the Christians to raise the siege, sent messengers by the few small boats which still found means to approach the city during the duskiness of the night, informing their sovereign that it was not possible for them to maintain themselves any longer; they therefore entreated him to enter into negociations with the enemy. Juzef Ben Ismail then despatched envoys to Abul Hassan, King of Fez; but that sovereign excused himself, asserting

the urgency of his domestic embarrassments, and advising the King of Granada to make peace with Alphonso of Castille.

This, then, King Juzef attempted to accomplish, since better might not be; but the Christian monarch would listen to no proposal short of the absolute and unconditional surrender of the city. The King of Granada would then very fain have tried the fortune of arms once more, and was eager to attack the enemies of Allah; but his generals assured him that it was not possible to force their camp. They declared that to attack the Christian army at that moment was to endanger the whole kingdom for the sake of a single city.

Overruled by these representations, Juzef Ben Ismail was then persuaded to open a negociation with Alphonso, and he ultimately agreed to surrender Algezira Alhadra to the King of Castille, but on condition that the Moslemah, after having retired from the new city to the old one, with all they possessed, which they were to do without delay, should then be allowed a sufficient time during which they might depart thence to any other place that they might select, bearing with them their whole property, and being secured in person as well as goods by the protection and faith of Alfonso, King of Castille. A truce of ten years was at the same time agreed on, that both parties might have time to recover from the effects of so prolonged and arduous a war.

The enemy then took possession of Algezira Alhadra,—an event which occurred after a siege of about twenty months, in the moon of Muharram,* and the year 744.† King Alphonso of Castille treated the generals of Juzef Ben Ismail, who had been entrusted with the arrangement of the terms of surrender, with infinite honour, and he also evinced great consideration for the inhabitants of the city, insomuch that all were well contented with his generosity.

During the long period of that truce with the King of Castille, Juzef Ben Ismail employed himself with much zeal for the benefit of his people. He established schools

* Other authorities say the moon Safer.—*Condé.*

† A.D. 1243.

in all parts of his dominions, and compelled the adoption in each of a simple and uniform method of instruction, easily comprehended by all who were to benefit therefrom. The king furthermore commanded that in every town wherein there was a chief Aljama, discourses should be made, and readings held every Giuma* of the year, while the chotba was to be offered in all the mosques, so soon as twelve members of the congregation should have assembled therein, the Alfakies and Almas being held bound to present themselves when the given number had appeared. He gave orders to the effect that there should be no mosque wherein prayer should not be made in winter as well as in summer, and prescribed the five prayers to be offered at their respective hours,—the Asohbi and Adohar, namely, with the Azalar, the Almagreb, and the Alatema.† The king furthermore required that the pious practice of praising God during the chotba should be restored; he would have the Azalar made over the blessed Mohamad, and enjoined the Almocri‡ to repeat those Aleas§ of the Koran by which the people are admonished and instructed to their benefit, with the addition of such explanations and examples as all may understand, and with entreaties for pardon and mercy in behalf of all the creatures of Allah.

In the second prayer, and after the praises of God, due and honourable mention was to be made of those of the Sihaba family who had been the first generals of the Moslemah: prayer was likewise to be offered for the exaltation of the Law, when pardon was to be implored for all men, with prosperity and every blessing for the king, with his whole family, and the state. All buying and selling was prohibited, with every other profane occupation, during the hour of the Azala on each Giuma in the year. The Alchotba was not to be made in two mosques at the same time, if the Muezzin‖ of one could be heard from the other, as the edict then put forth declared; but "shall be made in one of these only, which shall be the nobler or

* Friday.
† Daybreak, midday, afternoon, sunset, and nightfall.
‡ Almocri: reader.
§ Verses of the Koran.
‖ The officer who summons to prayer.—*Tr.*

more ancient of the two." Every man was held bound to be present at the Alchotba of Giuma, and was to proceed to a mosque sufficiently near to his dwelling, so that, leaving his house with sun-light, he should regain it also by sun-light, in such sort as to incur no danger by the way; and all were forbidden to make their abode in any desert or solitary place so far from a mosque, that, by departing from his home in the early morning, he could yet not reach the mosque in time for the Azala of the Adohar, and return to the place whence he had proceeded before the setting of the sun. To this end it was decreed by King Juzef that none should fix his abode at a greater distance from the next town or village wherein there was a mosque than two leagues; while in every village containing more than twelve houses he commanded that a mosque should be constructed.

The place of the youth in each mosque was fixed, as in old times, behind that of the elder men; that of the women behind the place assigned to the boys, and separated entirely from the seats of the men. At the close of the services, the men and boys were to remain until they knew that all the women had gone forth; while the young maidens were not permitted to appear in the mosques, unless there was a place set apart to receive them, and therein all were to be carefully veiled; moreover, they were exhorted to comport themselves with suitable gravity and perfect quietude.

The king furthermore commanded that every Moslemah should clothe himself in the best of his raiment on the Giuma, showing forth in his exterior the purity which he ought to preserve in his heart. The believers were enjoined to employ the leisure of that day in visiting and relieving the poor, in profitable intercourse with the wise, or in conversing among themselves of such matters as tended to the promotion of peace and virtue.

Juzef Ben Ismail caused the pious custom of the Sonna* for the celebration of the two Easters to be likewise restored; that of the Alfitra, or the close of the Ramazan, namely, and that of the Victims, or Festival of the Lambs; since it was said that during both these solemnities profane

* The Tradition, as distinguished from the written Law or Koran. —*Tr.*

and worldly follies had been permitted to creep in,—the people going about the streets like madmen, casting oranges and other fruits at each other, and every one besprinkling his neighbour with odorous waters. Troops of young men with dancing girls were in like manner wont to pass through the streets, with noisy and frivolous games, unbecoming dances, and songs that resounded through all the city. These disorders were now prohibited, and all were enjoined to replace them by more becoming proofs of gladness; each man exhibiting a decent cheerfulness, and clothing himself in precious vestments according to his means, with flowers and aromatic perfumes, which were not forbidden to be used, in honour of the Paschal days. The Moslemah were furthermore exhorted to occupy themselves at these times by proceeding to the mosques, by visiting the poor, attending the sick, and listening to the wise; also in the distribution of alms, as each one should have ability. And for the greater advantage as regarded the last-named precept, the king commanded the asadaka, or alms, of each town or village to be gathered into one mass, whether these were offered in money, bread, corn, or fruits of whatever kind; when the aggregate thus obtained, being confided to the care of two or more persons worthy of confidence, should be distributed by them to the persons most in need thereof. If the alms were found to be very abundant, the corn and other gifts should be deposited for the benefit of poor widows and orphans, for the ransom of prisoners, the repair of mosques, the restoration of fountains, the due care of roads and bridges, or whatever other difficult and costly work might be in most urgent need of performance.

The king forbade the circulation through the streets and markets of those who put up prayers for rain, since the public squares and places are not befitting sites for entreating the mercy of Allah, or offering adoration to His name. He commanded that when excess of drought or want of rain should appear to necessitate prayer, those who made that offering should go forth to the fields with much devotion and humility, entreating pardon many times for their sins, and uttering the following words with sincerity and cordial devotion:—

"O Lord Allah! Thou the ever merciful, who hast created us out of nothing, and knowest our faults—

"By thy clemency, O Lord, Thou who dost not desire to destroy us, regard not our short-comings, O Lord, but rather consider thy mercy and long-suffering, Thou who hast no need of us or our services.

"O Lord, have pity upon thy innocent creatures, the unconscious animals and birds of the air, who find not wherewith to sustain their lives! Look upon the earth which thou hast created, and upon the plants thereof, which perish and are wasted for lack of the waters that should be their nourishment.

"O Lord Allah, open to us thy heavens, turn upon us the blessing of thy waters, let us again be refreshed with thy life-giving airs, and send upon us that mercy which shall revive and refresh the dying earth, giving succour and support to thy creatures, that the Infidel may no longer say Thou hast ceased to hear the prayer of thy True Believers. O Lord, we implore thee, by thy mercy and thy great pitifulness, for Thou art clement in all things, above all measure.

"Oh Lord Allah, in Thee it is that we believe, Thee we adore; from thee we hope for pardon for our errors, and at thy hands we seek for succour in our need."

The custom of divers families assembling to hold nocturnal vigils in the mosques was also prohibited by King Juzef Ben Ismail: he forbade women to perform Novenas* without their husbands, or unless accompanied by other women, or by men within such degrees of relationship as did not permit of their marrying the same,—as, for example, their father, brother, or nephew; but no other must be permitted to act as their companions on such occasions. This rule extended to the oldest women. Young girls were not suffered to perform Novenas, nor were they allowed to accompany the dead to their burial.

The shrouds and other clothing for the grave were not to

* A series of prayers extending over nine days, and known under the same name in the Catholic Church even in these our days, as most of our readers are well aware.—*Tr.*

be of silk, cloth of gold, or tissues of silver; the remains of the dead were to be of white linen bandages, placed over the camiscia, or inner garment, after the body had been carefully washed and perfumed with aromatic odours. For the performance of this office, the presence of every woman who was not the wife, mother, or aunt of the deceased was strictly forbidden. No cries nor exclamations were to be uttered in the course of these ceremonies, neither were the hired mourners, who are paid to shed tears and exhibit sorrow which they do not feel, to be any longer tolerated. The king also prohibited the making of eulogies on the dead, for whomsoever it might be; but commanded that the Alfaki, or person of highest account in the funeral procession, should lift his hands to Heaven, and turning his face to the Alquibla,* in the direction of the Alchaneza, should say, "Allah hu Akbar! Praise be to God, who resigns to death and who awakens to resurrection! From God is the greatness and the might: he is powerful above all things. O Lord Allah, bless Mohamad and the people of Mohamad. Have mercy, O Lord Allah, on Mohamad and the people of Mohamad. O Lord, this is thy servant: Thou hast created and supported him; Thou wilt awaken him from the dead. To Thee his most secret actions and thoughts are known, as are those that he has performed most publicly. We are come to thy footstool, proposing to pray to thee for this our brother. O Lord Allah, to thee we have recourse, for thou art full of mercy. O Lord, defend him from the trial of the tomb;† protect him from the pains of Gihanum. O Lord, forgive him and honour his dwelling, enlarge the abode of his corpse, cleanse him from his spots and sins, bestow on him an abode that shall be better than this abode of his grave, admit him to a better company than that he hath here. O Lord Allah, if he hath been just, exalt him to the place of his repose; or if he hath failed in thy service, forgive him his errors and his faults, for thou art merciful beyond all expression, and of

* Alquibla: the South.

† The examination to which, according to the Moslemah creed, the dead are subjected in their graves by the angels appointed for that purpose.—*Tr.*

infinite power. O Lord Allah, give strength to his tongue, and courage for reply in the hour when he must answer all the questions that shall be addressed to his corpse. Do not be extreme to mark what he hath done amiss, O Lord, and reprove him not for the sin which he hath not had strength to avoid. Pardon him, O Lord; pardon him, and refuse him not thy mercy, neither do thou deprive him of all part in thy rewards."

Immediately after these words, and when the exclamation "Allah hu Akbar!" hath been thrice repeated, that which follows shall also be said:—

"O Lord Allah, forgive us the living, as well as this the dead; extend thy mercy to the absent as to the present, to the great as to the small, men and women alike; for thou knowest our destinies, and in thy mercy we hope for the remission of our sins. O Lord Allah, forgive us all! For him who hath done well, increase his merits; for him who hath done evil, do thou grant pardon and remission. O Lord Allah, defend and give us force in the trial of the grave, deliver us from the pains of Gihanam, and permit us to see the end of our days in peace."

When the dead hath been deposited in the tomb, the following words shall be added:—"Our brother returneth to thee, O Lord. Our brother hath left the world, and returneth to thee. Receive him, O Lord, to thy mercy, and let thy compassion be his shield!"

The king also prohibited the writing of the questions and answers of trial for the dead, nor would he suffer any such things to be thenceforward buried in the grave with the corpse as had previously been done; he likewise forbade the placing of the aloe, alisma, or other plants and herbs, on the head or the breast of the body.

As regarded the solemnity of the "good Fates," wherein the new-born child was wont to receive its name, and for which it was the custom that kinsmen should meet, the king permitted the cheerful and decorous dance,—as he did for weddings and other occasions of family assemblage: the Walima or feast might be costly, moreover, and the guests numerous, but all things were to be done with measure and discretion. No abuse of any kind, no intemperance, and no disorder was to be permitted; and whereas there had been many

evil practices tolerated on such occasions, all these, with every sort of pernicious vanities, were thenceforward to be prohibited, as vicious customs, and tending to evil. At a word, the license which had gradually crept into these festivities was to be thenceforth abolished.

The police of the city was much improved by King Juzef Ben Ismail, who appointed a Vizier to each quarter of the capital, with one for the markets, whose duty it was to superintend the course of traffic in those places, and keep good order among the merchants. He commanded that each quarter should be closed during the night, that every one might remain separate from the others; a nocturnal police being established to keep watch in all. Fixed hours were appointed for closing and opening the gates of each quarter, as well as for the closing and opening of the gates which gave entrance into the city from the neighbouring Comarcas.

Directions for the maintenance of the frontiers, and for the better arrangement of various matters respecting warfare, were written by this monarch, with others as to the manner in which irruptions and incursions on the territory of the foe should be conducted. The penalty of death was decreed against every cavalier who should fly before the enemy, when the number of the latter did not more than double that of the Moslemah, unless he did so by order of the commanders, to whom alone the secrets of the war and the stratagems to be employed are known, and who are acquainted with the time when it is advisable to retire from the struggle, as well as that for commencing the attack. The king forbade all foraging parties, skirmishers, or other outlying portions of his armies, foot or horse, to take the lives of children, women, or helpless old men. Neither was any man permitted to injure the sick, or to attack monks of solitary life, save only in cases where these last might be found armed, and assisting the enemy with the weapon in their hands.

Juzef Ben Ismail commanded further that the booty taken in war should be divided with impartial justice, having due respect to the rights of each grade. The king was entitled to his fifth of all that was taken: of things eatable each person might appropriate so much as he

required, but all beside was to be divided with due care. To the horsemen two parts, and to the foot-soldiers one; for those who exercised any labour, or performed any kind of service in the host, the king would himself apportion rewards, according to the representation of the generals and his own discretion. To every inhabitant of a conquered town or fortress who should become a Mosleman, all that had belonged to him should be restored; and if the distribution of the booty had been already made, the value of his property, justly estimated, should be paid to him.

In setting forth for a campaign, no son who, having parents, had been unable to obtain their consent for his departure, should be permitted to join the army, unless in a case of necessity, which demanded the services of all for the defence of the country. The king forbade in like manner that any man should accomplish the pilgrimage to the Holy House of Mecca or of Alaksa* without the express permission of both father and mother; or failing these, of grandfathers, uncles, or guardians.

In respect to the crime of adultery, homicide, and others which are punished by death, King Juzef commanded that in cases where the accused and their accomplices affirmed their innocence, the penalty was not to be inflicted until they had made confession, unless the crime could be proved by the testimony of four witnesses, who could depose to having seen the commission of the same, and at the same time. The adulterer, when convicted, he condemned to suffer death by stoning; and on those who, being unmarried, had violated the laws of chastity, he caused to be inflicted one hundred stripes; men to receive the same on the naked body, and to be furthermore banished for the space of a year; the stripes of women were to be inflicted while they still wore their under clothing, and not on the naked person. In these cases it was nevertheless provided by the king that the judge might exercise a discretionary power, after hearing the circumstances, and might compel the criminals to marry, when they had suffered a certain period of imprisonment, always provided in the latter

* Alaksa, the Temple of Jerusalem, much honoured by the Moslemah.—*Cordé.*

case that the parties were of equal condition: the Azidaka* to be paid to the wife whose husband had offended her.

Such Moslemah as had suffered death at the hands of justice were not to be deprived of the rites of burial: they were to be washed and purified, on the contrary, in the manner prescribed for others, and were to be interred in the burial-grounds used for the ordinary purposes of inhumation, with all the Azalas made for those who had died a natural death.

In cases of theft, moreover, Juzef Ben Ismail decreed that the judge should be invested with a discretionary power. The law was, that whoever had committed a theft in a house, garden, or other place within the actual tenure and lordship of another, and not in the open field, or a solitary and desert place, where the property was left unguarded, should lose his right hand, whether man or woman, free or vassal, always providing that, if a male, the thief should have attained the age of fifteen years, and if a female, thirteen, while the value of the thing stolen must in each case be four times the value of a gold doubloon, or weigh three adirhams of silver. This was the penalty for the first offence; at the second, the thief was condemned to lose the right foot; for a third crime, his left hand was to be hewed off in like manner; and for a fourth, the left foot: but if he were convicted a fifth time of the same offence, he was then to be subjected to torture, and ultimately condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The king now commanded that for a first offence the thief should be beaten with rods, or incarcerated; and for the second, should be deprived of the left hand or foot. Many other decrees were put forth by this monarch for the better government of his people.

The works which had been undertaken by Juzef Ben Ismail in Granada before the commencement of the war were now completed: he commanded that the mosques should be richly painted and adorned with other beautiful decorations, as was also the Alcazar; and, following the example of their sovereign, the nobles of Granada likewise adorned their dwellings with suitable magnificence. Thus the city became gradually embellished, and was at length

* Azidaka: fine.

filled with lofty and well-built houses, not a few erecting fine towers of cedar-wood, carved and worked in the most admirable manner; others built similar fabrics of stone, with glittering domes of metal. Within their houses, also, the nobles constructed cool and spacious halls, the wood-work delicately carved, the walls and roofs richly adorned with gold and azure, while the floors were appropriately decorated with small pieces of beautiful stones in the manner of Mosaic. In the houses of the great nobles, elegant fountains of crystal water, adding much to the pleasures of the halls, were added to the embellishments before described: at a word, such was the taste prevailing in architecture at that time, and in all the days of Juzef Ben Ismail, that Granada might be then compared to a vase or basin of silver filled with jacinths and emeralds.

During the life of that monarch there was no war between the kingdoms of Granada and Fez, the sovereigns of those countries ever maintaining an uninterrupted friendship, seeing that Juzef was not only the ally of Abul Hassan during the whole of that monarch's reign, but he maintained similar relations with Faris, the son of Abul Hassan, who, having dethroned his father, when the latter had returned defeated from Algezira and Tarifa, had then made himself master of the kingdom of Fez. This Faris is known by the appellation of Almotuakil.

CHAP. XXIII.—DEATH OF KING ALPHONSO OF CASTILLE. MOURNING OF THE MOSLEMAH. A MADMAN ASSASSINATES THE KING OF GRANADA. JUSEF BEN ISMAIL IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON MUHAMAD.

THE years of the truce between the Moslemah and Christians were now come to an end: it had been carefully observed by Juzef Ben Ismail, King of Granada, who would very gladly have prolonged the period to fifteen years, but the King of Castile, Alphonso Ben Ferdinand, the grandson of Sancho, still inflated by the victory he had obtained over the Moslemah at the great battle of Tarifa, and with the conquest of Algezira Alhadra, would not consent to that extension; nay, rather, being resolved to continue his pros-

perous campaigns against the children of the Faith, he came with a great power to lay siege to Gebaltaric so soon as the truce had expired; the loss of that stronghold, which he had once occupied, weighing heavily on his heart, and he entertaining an eager desire to recover the same.

Having assembled his people, therefore, Alphonso encamped on the sea-shore between Gebaltaric and Algezira, and commencing the siege in the spring of the year 750, he brought many great engines and machines of war to bear on the place; but Gebaltaric is so strong by the nature of its site, and the brave garrison defended their hold so well, that he could do nothing effectual against it. Alphonso therefore ceased his assaults, and made his dispositions for reducing the fortress by hunger; but it pleased God that this valiant king and unrelenting enemy of Islam, who had hoped to make himself master of all the Moslemah territories in Spain, should himself depart from life, and he died of the plague on a certain Giuma, which was the 10th day of the moon Muharram, in the year 751.*

King Alphonso was of the middle height, but of well-proportioned figure, and of dignified appearance; his complexion was red and white, his eyes had a tinge of green, with a grave and serious expression; he was robust of person, strong, and of a healthy constitution, very elegant and graceful in manner, highly resolute and brave, noble, sincere, and, for the misfortune of the Moslemah, very prosperous in war.†

The King of Granada was at this time leading his forces against Ronda: he had made an irruption on the Comarcas of Zahara, Estepona, and Marbella also, and had a well-appointed army opposed to that Christian host which, as hath been related, was then besieging Gebaltaric. When he received intelligence of King Alphonso's death, he was of a truth rejoiced in his heart, because of the relief and security which he hoped to see result therefrom to his states; but he nevertheless exhibited certain marks of regret, and declared that one of the most excellent princes of the world

* A.D. 1350.—*Condé.*

† In this year died Prince Ferag, the brother of King Muhamad, his death taking place in Almeria, where he had passed a large portion of his days in imprisonment, as before related.—*Condé.*

had been lost in the person of Alphonso. King Juzef, moreover, caused it to be seen that he knew how to honour the great and good, whether enemies or friends, and not a few of the Moslemah cavaliers assumed mourning habits for the King of Castille. The Granadine army, which had marched to the succour of Gebaltaric, refrained from all acts of hostility at the moment of the king's death, nor did they throw any obstacle in the way of the Christians when the convoy departed thence, to convey the body of Alphonso from Gebaltaric to Seville.

Some few years later, the King of Granada was in the mosque on the day of Id Alfitra, when a man of vile condition, being in a state of madness, suddenly fell upon him with a dagger, as he was repeating his prayers and was in the act of completing the last Arraka.* Wounded mortally, the king yet had strength to cry aloud, and the prayers being interrupted, all who were in the mosque rushed eagerly to the defence of their sovereign with naked swords when once the cause of that interruption was understood: but it was too late,—Juzef Ben Ismail was found to be even then expiring; we raised and bore him in our arms to the Alcazar, and he died as we entered the gates.

The murderer had meanwhile been seized by the infuriated people, who tore the unhappy creature to pieces, and his remains were then burnt before the face of the assembled multitude. On that same day, and a few hours after the deplorable event here recorded, Prince Muhamad, the eldest son of Juzef Ben Ismail, was proclaimed king in his stead.

The body of their excellent monarch was buried by the Granadines in the twilight of the fatal day which saw the close of his life; he was laid in the magnificent sepulchre of the Alcazar, and on his tomb was placed an epitaph, in prose and verse, composed by Sadir Ben Ama: it was engraved on marble in letters of azure and gold, the words being as follow:—

"Here lies the Martyr King, of noble lineage, virtuous, learned, and humane: his prudence, clemency, and other admirable qualities, are known to the whole kingdom of

* Arraka: prostration.

Granada; and the felicity secured to the people by his reign will make an epoch in the history of the state. An exalted sovereign, an illustrious general, he was the avenging sword of the Moslemah people; a valiant leader among the most valiant of their kings, and one who, by the grace and favour of Allah, surpassed them all in the wisdom of his government, whether for peace or war. By his valour and prudence he defended the kingdom, and with the help of Allah attained to the object of his desires. The prince of the Faithful, Juzef Abul Hagiag, son of the great king Abul Walid, and grandson of the excellent monarch Abu Said Ferag Ben Ismail, of the Nazari family;—one of these princes was a lion of God, the invincible conqueror of His enemies, and a subjugator of the people; he maintained his subjects in justice and equity by the wisdom of his laws, and was the defender of religion with the lance and sword, proving himself worthy to be had in eternal remembrance among men for his great deeds. The other—whom may God of His mercy have received into the abodes of the blessed—was the column and ornament of his family; he governed his kingdom in a laudable peace, having regard to the prosperity of his people, in public and in private. In all that he did, the Prince Juzef Abul Hagiag gave evidence of his wisdom, justice, and benevolence, even to the day when Allah the All-powerful, beholding him to have arrived at the summit of his excellence, recalled him from the world, first bestowing upon him the crown of martyrdom: for he, having fulfilled the obligation of fasting,* was humbly offering his Azala, prostrate in the mosque, and entreating pardon of God for his infirmities and defects, when the sacrilegious hand of a miscreant—God the just and omnipotent permitting that act for the punishment of the impious evil-doer—deprived him of life when he had most nearly approached to the grace and favour of Allah. This happened on the first day of the moon Xawal, in the year 755. God grant that this his death, and the occasion thereof, which hath made the place where it occurred illustrious, may have been followed by a great reward, and that he may have been

* His death took place at the close of the moon Ramazan, a month which, as our readers will remember, is held as a rigid fast; and Juzef's exact fulfilment of its requirements is here alluded to.—*Tr.*

the delicious abodes of Paradise among his ancestors and predecessors. He was born on the of the moon Rebie Postrera, in the year 718: he o reign on Wednesday, the 14th of the moon Dylhagia, e year 733. Praised be God the supreme, who is one eternal, who gives death to His creatures, and rewards em with never-ending felicity."

Muhamad Ben Juzef Ben Ismail Ben Ferag succeeded his father, and was proclaimed king in the afternoon of the day of Alfitra, in the year 755, being then in the twentieth year of his age. He was endowed with much beauty of person, and an immutable constancy of mind, was courteous and friendly to all who approached him, liberal, sincere, and humane;—Muhamad was indeed so compassionate of heart, that his tears were often seen to manifest the sympathy he felt for those afflictions and calamities of others that were brought to his knowledge. His beneficence and generosity were such that he gained the heart of every man who had the good fortune to hold intercourse with his sovereign. All flatterers, and such ministers of luxury and folly as do but contribute to the gratification of vanity and the support of useless ostentation, the King Muhamad Aben Juzef Ben Ismail forbade to approach his Alcazar. He established a convenient and well-regulated number of servants in his palace, arranging all things in a manner suitable to the due magnificence of a great king, and holding the medium carefully between a vicious extravagance and an unbecoming meanness. But even on account of these virtues the new king was detested by the ambitious and corrupt among his courtiers; the truly noble were nevertheless his friends, and all the chief men of his kingdom esteemed their sovereign as was befitting, while the people regarded him with love, confidence, and respect that knew no bounds. The principal delight of King Muhamad Ben Juzef was in books; his chief recreations were the exercises of chivalry, tournaments, and other displays of dexterity in arms on horseback.

With the King, Don Pedro* of Castille, and with Abu

* Pedro the Cruel, or, as his subjects sometimes call him, the Just.—*Tr.*

Salem, King of Fez, Muhamad Ben Ismail concluded treaties of peace, and the kingdom enjoyed a beneficent calm. He had no sooner ascended the throne than he made over to his brother Ismail, to the rest of his brothers, and to his brother-in-law, the Alcazar which is near to the principal palace of his father, and in which he had previously made his own abode,—a magnificent habitation, well provided with every convenience required for the commodious residence of so illustrious a family.

Now the Sultana, the mother of Prince Ismail, had taken possession of immense treasures on the day of King Juzef's assassination, and these she soon devoted to the purposes of an evil work, proposing to open a way by their means to the accession of her own son Ismail, whom she resolved to seat on his brother's throne. One of her daughters, who had been married by Juzef Ben Ismail to a prince of the blood royal, called Abu Abdallah, was admitted to her confidence, and that princess found means to win over her husband, by whom she was inexpressibly beloved, to the wishes of the Sultana. His influence, and the treasures which the mother of Ismail distributed with an unsparing hand, were found sufficient to secure them followers, who soon formed a powerful party in favour of their conspiracy.

CHAP. XXIV.—OF THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST MUHAMAD. THE THRONE IS USURPED BY ISMAIL. HIS UNHAPPY DEATH. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY ABU SAID.

ON the 6th day of the moon Dylcada, in the year 756, the Wali of Gebaltaric, Iza Ben Alhassan Ben Abi Mandil Alascari, took possession of that fortress in his own name, and assumed the title of king. He had power to keep down the faithful inhabitants who would have opposed themselves to his rebellion, but his avarice and cruelty soon rendered him so abhorrent to all the people, that an insurrection ensued, wherein every one declared against him, and he was compelled to shut himself up in the citadel with his son; that event taking place on the 36th day of the same moon, and but three weeks after Iza Ben Alhassan's usurpa-

tion of the sovereign authority. Being then besieged by the people, he was, in a short time, reduced to surrender, when his victors sent him bound to Cebta, and gave him up, together with his son, to the King Abu Anan: that monarch then caused them both to be put to death with the most cruel and unparalleled tortures, as the reward of their disloyalty and rebellion.

About the same time, Abu Anan despatched an embassy and letters to the Christian King of Seville,* and having formed a treaty of alliance with that monarch, the African shortly afterwards sent his son, Abul Hassan Ibrahim, to take up his residence at the court of Seville: the nephews and other kinsmen of the King Abu Anan accompanied his son, and the King of Castille commanded that one of his galleys should proceed to Gomara, there to receive the prince and his company, whom Pedro entertained with all the honours due to their rank.

The ambitious plots of Ismail and his mother were meanwhile continued, they being aided by Abu Abdallah Aben Said, the brother-in-law of Ismail, as before related. They now believed themselves in a condition which permitted them to act on their resolves, and hastening to deal the meditated blow, they selected a band composed of a hundred men, taken from those they considered the bravest of their numbers, with directions to enter the palace of the king Muhamad, by scaling the highest part of the building at night: thus evading the guards, whose fidelity they had not ventured to attempt. Favoured by the darkness, this escalade was accomplished, and the men entrusted with the execution thereof remained concealed until midnight; but before the cock crew, having received the signal agreed on, they burst into the apartments with their arms and burning torches, uttering loud cries and cutting down all that fell into their hands. This happened on the 28th day of the moon Ramazan, in the year 760. Others of the conspirators at the same moment forced their way into the house of the Vizier, whom they murdered, with his son and many other persons of his family and household, plundering their dwellings as they might have done those of enemies in time

* Pedro of Castille.

of war. Similar excesses were committed by the assassins who had entered the king's palace: the orders which they had received from the chiefs of the conspiracy had been partially neglected, and eager to satisfy their rapacious covetousness, an essential part of that which they had been commanded to effect had not been done.

Thus when the Prince Ismail, with Abu Abdallah and others of the conspirators, arrived at the palace, proclaiming the brother of Muhamad their king, they expected to find their lawful monarch already put to death; but those who had been charged with the office of his murder, rather covetous than cruel, had been more eagerly intent on plunder, as we have seen, than zealous for the interests of their employers, insomuch that their destined victim had been permitted to escape.

Retiring from the royal apartments therefore, King Muhamad had repaired to a remote chamber of the Alcazar, with a beautiful damsel of his hareem, who clothed him in the vestments of a slave-girl, and disguising herself at the same time, they fled together, being favoured by the noise and confusion then prevailing throughout the palace. The fugitives then descended to the gardens, where they found another son of the late King Juzef Ben Ismail, who, alarmed by the outcries and clash of arms, had also sought refuge there: departing in his company, and having the good fortune to procure swift horses, they then rode through the night, and taking their way to Medina Guadix, they reached that city without accident. There King Muhamad was received by the inhabitants as their sovereign lord, and conducting him to their palace, he remained concealed in Guadix for some time.

The usurper Ismail had meanwhile been proclaimed in the capital, through the streets of which he was led on horseback by his brother-in-law, Abu Abdallah, and their partizans. Ismail then sent letters without loss of time to the King of Castille, whom he besought to favour the accession which he announced to him, representing himself as a submissive neighbour of the Christian king, and a willing assistant in his wars. Don Pedro was then at war with the King of Arragon and the people of Barcelona, wherefore he received the embassy of Ismail with the

greater favour, and the usurper felt assured that he had nothing to fear from the court of Seville.

Now the King Muhamad, although by no means distrustful of the inhabitants of Guadix, whom he perceived to be truly his friends, was nevertheless desirous of aid from the power and authority of the King of Fez, to whom he despatched messengers on the 1st day of the Moon Xawal, as he did also to the King of the Christians. But perceiving that neither of those sovereigns sent him the succours he expected, Muhamad departed for Africa, and, accompanied by a numerous body of cavalry and foot-soldiers, he repaired, on the 10th day of the Moon Dylhagia, to Marbella, whence he departed from Spain and crossed the strait to the kingdom of Fez. He arrived at that capital with a brilliant train of Andalusian nobles, on Wednesday, the 6th day of the Moon Muharram, in the 761, and was received with much honour by the King Abu Salem, who went forth to meet him riding a beautiful horse, and attended by a large number of his noblest cavaliers, with a guard of cavalry, all clothed in rich vestments. Abu Salem then lodged the King of Granada in the royal palace with a courtesy of observance and a pomp of preparation such as had rarely been witnessed. He furthermore promised Muhamad his immediate assistance, and the assurance thus given was redeemed with infinite generosity, the African sovereign at once assembling two armies for that purpose. Muhamad then remained in Fez until the 18th day of the Moon Xawal, in the year 762, when he embarked with the forces thus collected by Abu Salem, and landed in Spain.

He then wrote letters to Don Pedro, King of the Christians, informing that sovereign of the causes which had compelled him to seek the aid of Africa; but all Spain trembled at the report of their debarkation, and the party of the usurper Ismail Ben Juzef more than any other, since it was but too well known to them that the tempest thus let loose would pour its most destructive fury upon themselves. The followers of Ismail assembled nevertheless with the desire to oppose that torrent, yet they did not dare to make any demonstration; when the fate of Muhamad, against whom Fortune had for that moment declared her enmity, would so have it, that these African auxiliaries received intelligence of

their king's unhappy death. Abu Salem, as the messengers who brought these evil news made known, had repaired to the ancient city of Fez, when his brother, Abu Omar Taxfin, called El Loco,* excited by the enemies of the king, had risen in revolt against him. Abu Salem was then abandoned by all his followers, and falling into the hands of his adversaries was put to death by them on the subsequent day. That massacre took place before the new city of Fez, on the 20th of the Moon Dylcada, in the year 762. The generals commanding the auxiliary forces who had been despatched into Spain as we have seen by Abu Salem, to uphold the rightful cause of the King of Granada, were thereupon enjoined to return to Africa, from whatever place the messengers might find them occupying.

With that recal of the African troops the hopes of King Muhamad fell; the armies embarked for their own shores, as they had been commanded to do, and the deposed sovereign of Granada retired to Medina Ronda, that city having declared in his favour. He thence repeated his letters and supplications to the king of the Christians, whom he called on to protect and aid him, but perceiving that the Christian monarch did not come to his assistance, he then despatched his envoys to the new King of Fez, Muhamad Abu Zeyan, grandson of Abul Hassan, earnestly entreating his aid for the recovery of his kingdom, and assuring the African ruler that whatever troops he might send him would be permitted to pass without interruption through the dominions of the Christian king. The Vizier of Muhamad Abu Zeyan then advised his master to receive that application favourably, and did his best to facilitate the assembling of the auxiliaries demanded.

Meanwhile the usurping King of Granada, even Ismail Ben Juzef, retained his seat on his brother's throne. He had a fine person, and so beautiful a countenance that his aspect was better suited to a handsome woman than a dignified man. He was besides very effeminate of character, weak, irresolute, and immoderately addicted to pleasure. He was thus ill calculated to support the gravity of sovereign power, or endure the cares inseparable from the government

* El Loco: the madman.—*Tr.*

of a great empire. And now, as he owed his crown to the infamous plots of Abu Abdallah Aben Said his kinsman, and to the favour of other evil-doers, so had these men become his masters; Abu Said in particular held predominance over him, treating him with infinite contempt, and as he might have done had Ismail been his slave, rather than his sovereign. At a word, this man compelled the weak usurper of the crown to proceed in all things contrary to his desires, without regard to the dignity of the royal seat, and having no respect to the rights of those he ruled. For which cause his government endured but for a short time, as we shall presently make known.

On the day that Ismail was proclaimed he chose for his Vizier Muhamad Ben Ibrahim Alfat Alfahri, who survived his appointment to that honour but for a short time, and whom his lord did not long outlive. It is said that Abu Said, who ruled despotically whatever was the matter in hand, at first confirmed the new Vizier in his employ, but shortly afterwards accused him falsely of having written treasonable letters to the King of Fez; and however earnestly the unhappy Muhamad Ben Ibrahim laboured to free himself from the unjust accusation thus made against him, his enemy was too powerful for him. He was condemned to death, together with his cousin, Abdallah Ben Ahmed, and being carried to Almenkel by order of Abu Said, they were both drowned in the sea.

The Alcatib or secretary of Ismail Ben Juzef was Ismail Abdelhak Ben Atia Almaharabi, who served him till his death, and his Cadies were first, Abu Bekar Ben Giasi, who belonged to a noble house of Granada, and subsequently Abul Casem Salmun Ben Aly. The general in command of his troops was the same Xeque who had served his brother Muhamad in that capacity, and who had consented to retain his command under the usurped rule of Ismail.

Now the ambitious Abu Said could not long remain content with the despotic influence which he exercised in every department of the state, and the authority which he held in the government: there wanted to him nothing but the name of king, yet this he could not be content to dispense with, and resolved to possess. Thus he did his best to render King Ismail odious, but above all did Abu

Said endeavour to win the hearts of the military commanders for himself, and this last was the more easy to him, since he had become the uncontrolled dispenser of all rewards and promotions; disposing of every advantage most desired, not only by the officers of war but by every class in the state, at his absolute will and pleasure. He therefore soon made known his purposes to the boldest and most unscrupulous among his partizans, by whom the criminal designs he entertained were loudly applauded. Abu Said was more especially assisted by the dark and crafty machinations of the Vizier Mauro, to whom he communicated his intentions, and by whose deceits and falsehoods all that might have opposed his progress was removed from his path.

These conspirators then agreed that the people should be incited to insurrection, and that in the midst of the tumult a cry should be raised demanding the deposition of Ismail Ben Juzef, with the proclamation of himself, Abu Said, in his stead. In pursuance of this design, a band of soldiers, horse and foot, was then selected, and on a certain Saturday, which was the 26th of the Moon Xaban, in the year 761, these men surrounded the Alcazar, and commenced the insurrection. They demanded not only the deposition but the head of King Ismail; and that unhappy man, flying as he best could, sought a refuge in the citadel, which is in the highest part of the city, and where he found shelter with a small body of his guards and a few citizens

From this place he issued proclamations to the people, whom he exhorted to arm for his defence; but the superior diligence of his enemies, with the recollection of his own but recently committed crime against his brother, rendered all his efforts unavailing. Yet the inexperience of Ismail, inducing him to disregard the dangers besetting him, of whose extent he had beside but a vague idea, and his confidence in the idle youth by whom he was surrounded, contributing further to mislead him, he marched forth against the insurgents, to whom he gave battle, but his adversaries were too strong for him: the troops of Abu Abdallah gained the day, Ismail Ben Juzef's followers were defeated, and he fell himself into the hands of those who sought his life.

The cruel and perfidious Abu Said was then the first to

attack him: treating the man whom he had declared to be the sovereign of the land with the extremity of contempt he accused him of those very crimes which he had himself incited the unhappy Ismail to commit; commanding his satellites to despoil the fallen prince of his costly vestments, and to cast him into a dungeon, with other factious and rebellious men; but the soldiers by whom he was led off received secret orders to dispatch him before they had reached the prison, and he was accordingly assassinated by those mercenaries without delay. The head of Ismail, their late sovereign, was then hewn from his body by his remorseless murderers, and being presented to the conspirators was exhibited at their command to the rude and astonished populace by whom they were surrounded. The younger brother of Ismail, Cays Ben Juzef, was then brought forward, and being massacred in like manner, his body was frightfully mutilated; nay, cut to pieces by that ferocious multitude. The soldiers next seized the heads of the two mutilated brothers by the long locks of their hair, and bore them through the streets. No man was then to be found who had courage to gather the deplorable remains of those dismembered bodies, and they were left, a horrid and inhuman spectacle, to taint and putrefy the air.

On the day when all these crimes were perpetrated, the traitor, Abu Said, was proclaimed king by the army, the populace, and those dregs of the people which ever rise into momentary importance on occasions of great disorder. The new king then began to shower his favours and rewards on all those evil-doers by whom he had been aided to lift himself to a throne.

CHAP. XXV.—OF THE TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN MUHAMAD, KING OF GRANADA, AND THE KING OF CASTILLE. HEROIC DETERMINATION OF THE FORMER. ABU SAID IS ASSASSINATED BY DON PEDRO, KING OF CASTILLE.

Now the King Muhamad sent so many representations to the King of Castille, and his instances to that sovereign, for assistance in the recovery of his kingdom, before the people of Granada could have had time to become accustomed to

the despotism of the usurper, were so frequently repeated, that Don Pedro at length determined to arm in defence of the monarch so unjustly opposed, and assembled his troops for that purpose.

The force thus collected was a large body of cavalry and infantry, with fifteen hundred chariots, bearing machines of war such as the Christians use in their campaigns. This army arrived at Ronda, where King Muhamad still continued to reside, on the 1st day of the Moon of Giumada Primera in the 763. When the Christian troops arrived at Hisn Casxara, the King of Granada marched forth to meet them, and joined his host to that brought him by the King of Castille.

Now the traitor Abu Said, hoping to impede the progress of those auxiliaries, had made an irruption on the frontier of Castille, sending letters at the same time to the Conde of Barcelona, to whom he offered his alliance against their common enemy Don Pedro, and who did not refuse his proffer.

The armies of Muhamad Ben Ismail and the King of Castille having united as we have said, then continued their march, as if one people only, the soldiers of the Christian with those of the Moslemah, and the generals of either force being equally mingled the one with the other. Thus they entered Hisn Atara, which they occupied, as they did whatever other towns or fortresses are to be found in that Comarca, all of which surrendered to King Muhamad without delay, no place now remaining to be reduced but the old Alcazaba.

But the King Muhamad, perceiving the inevitable vexations and injuries that could not but be inflicted on his Moslemah by the presence of that victorious army of the Christians, was unable to continue the enterprise he had undertaken. His paternal heart could not endure to behold the wrongs of his people, and he entreated the King of Castille to remain in the land no longer, but instantly to return with his forces, declaring that he could not suffer the calamities caused to his poor subjects by the war, and would not inflict further injury on them for all the power and greatness that the world could offer.

The King of Castille, approving the motives of King

Muhamad, then offered him so much of his assistance as he might be willing at any time to accept: this Don Pedro did with sincere good will and a most friendly mind: he then returned to his own dominions, as the King of Granada had desired, and as was indeed rendered necessary by the disorders which then began to prevail there.

Thus did the virtuous King Muhamad prove himself willing to remain unjustly deprived of his kingdom rather than recover the crown by inflicting misery on his subjects, in the hearts of whom such wrongs could not fail to awaken abhorrence to his government and hatred to his person. He therefore retired to Medina Ronda on the 8th day of the same moon, and in that city he passed his days in tranquil happiness, rendering all who lived within the limits of his jurisdiction content and prosperous. He visited the towns submitted to his rule with paternal care, making all possible efforts to increase the strength and maintain the security of the fortresses and frontier.

The arrogance and tyranny of Abu Said Abdallah were meanwhile rendering that traitor abominable in the eyes of his vassals, notwithstanding certain advantages which the armies of the Moslemah, under his guidance, then obtained over the Christians. In one of the devastating irruptions which he made on the frontiers of Castille, the troops of the Christian King were totally defeated, and a large number of Castillian nobles fell into the hands of Abu Said, with not a few of Don Pedro's generals. Among these captives was the grand master of the Order of Calatrava, who was taken to Granada in triumph, with the rest of their prisoners, by the victorious troops of Abu Said. But that usurper, understanding the grand master to be brother to the Queen* of Castille, and thinking that he had found a good opportunity for detaching Don Pedro from the alliance of Muhamad Ben Juzef, while he gained the good will of that powerful monarch for himself, sent back his distinguished captive without ransom. This he did by the advice of his Vizier Mauro, and restoring others of the noble

* He was the brother of Maria Padilla, whose position in the Court of Castille would with difficulty be comprehended by a Mahometan writer, by whom she is therefore called "Queen."—*Tr.*

Christians to freedom at the same time, he joined to the gift of their liberty that of many rich presents, hoping by that liberality to secure the good offices of those nobles with Don Pedro; and the Christian cavaliers did in effect give Abu Said their promise to dispose the King of Castilie in his favour.

About this time the usurping ruler of Granada received intelligence to the effect that his injured sovereign, Muhamad Ben Ismail, had been proclaimed king in Malaga; a circumstance which he had not looked for, and which did not fail to cause him much alarm. He now became anxious and distrustful, beginning to lose confidence in that fortune which had hitherto appeared to treat him with so much favour, but which as he now feared was on the point of abandoning his party. His cares and anxieties were much increased by the continual defections and acts of treachery which he discovered among his most trusted partizans, those whom he had distinguished by the greatest favours being the first to abandon him, hastening, as they were, to follow the banners of those to whom a prosperous gale seemed now to be accorded by the changeful hand of fortune. The state of his finances was also a cause of disturbance to Abu Said, whose revenues had been reduced to a deplorable condition by the faithless hands through which they had passed; and those defalcations occasioned him perpetual embarrassments. Thus oppressed and exhausted on all sides, while seeming to be on the summit of prosperity, the treacherous Abu Said formed a resolution which proved to be the most pernicious to his interests; nay, was eventually fatal to him: but so it pleased God that his affairs should turn; and the matter was on this wise.

Abu Said entertained the conviction that he should promote his interests by repairing to Castille, and there, placing himself in the hands of Don Pedro, the sovereign of that country, confiding in the protection of the Christian, and hoping from his generosity that aid which might enable him to repair the reverses which he feared lest his evil destiny might be preparing for him. In this manner did the usurper hope to secure himself on his insecure and tottering throne; but he who looks for his protectors and auxiliaries to man alone, and does not seek what he requires

from God, shall never prosper; he is like the spider, constructing to herself a dwelling, but how frail is the dwelling of the spider!

Thus resolving, the ill-advised Abu Said departed from Granada, with a train of regal splendour, being attended by a great company of noble cavaliers: he took with him the most precious jewels and the richest ornaments that he possessed: emeralds, rubies, and sapphires, with cloth of gold and silver, costly stuffs of other kinds, and embroidery of pearls, formed a portion of these treasures, which were augmented by no small quantity of doubloons in gold. Horses, and rich caparisons for those animals, with precious weapons elaborately decorated, were also among the valuables which Abu Said took with him to Castille, hoping thereby to gain the good will of King Pedro, and procure friends to himself among the counsellors of that sovereign, seeing that it was to them he looked for assistance in the alliance he desired to form with the King of the Christians, at whose hands he now proposed to seek the means for maintaining himself against his enemies.

Arrived at Seville, Abu Said was received with much honour by Don Pedro, who commanded his ministers to treat him with all the observance due to a king. But in the council which the Christian then held with the principal men of his court, it was determined that for the tranquillity of the state it would be advisable to put Abu Said to death, as the usurper of the throne of Granada, and the enemy of Mohamad, the good friend and ally of Don Pedro. Thus, forgetting the nobility of his ancestors, the King of Castille consented to suffer the commission of that evil: disregarding the assurance of safety that had been given, and violating the sacred laws of hospitality, he allowed himself to be dazzled by the splendour of rubies, jacinths, and emeralds, displayed by his guest, and resolved to make himself master of those riches. Don Pedro acccordingly commanded that the noble cavaliers whom he then entertained in his palace should be despoiled of life before the close of that night: and so was it done by the ministers of his tyranny.

When the dawn appeared, a report began to be published through the town that the cavaliers of Granada, who were

the guests of their king, had been put to death in the night; when all the inhabitants were filled with horror, and trembled as they listened to the details of that cruel and perfidious deed. But that same day Don Pedro offered a still more inhuman spectacle to the eyes of his people,—he caused the unhappy Abu Said to be conducted to a field without the city, where he pierced him through with his lance, thus depriving him of life, as is confidently affirmed, with his own hand.

We find it related that when the unfortunate guest perceived himself to be wounded, he turned his eyes towards the King of Castille, and said, "Oh Pedro! what shameful triumph is this that thou art now obtaining over a man who hath trusted thee! how deplorable an attack art thou making on him who placed his life in thy hands!" The bodies of the dead were then all placed together —a frightful spectacle!—and their heads were piled on a high tower, whence they could be seen by the entire city.

And so perished the unhappy Abu Said;—a terrible example given to men, from which all may learn the truth that there is no security for the wicked, and no power which can avail to deliver the wrong-doer from the punishment awarded to him in the eternal decrees of divine justice.

CHAP. XXVI.—MOHAMAD BEN ISMAIL RETURNS TO THE THRONE OF GRANADA. HE CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH THE KING OF CASTILLE. DEATH OF DON PEDRO AND OF MOHAMAD OF GRANADA.

THE intelligence of Abu Said's death was speedily bruited abroad, and soon arrived at Malaga, where the King Muhamad Ben Ismail then was; but although the latter did not refrain from rejoicing in the death of Abu Said, as being that of an enemy to himself, yet the perfidy and treason of the Christians revolted him greatly. He did not remain at Medina Malaga after the intelligence of his usurping kinsman's death had reached him, but departed thence for Granada, whither he was accompanied by a brilliant assemblage of the Andalusian nobility. The king made his entrance into the capital amidst the acclamations

of the people, and all classes of the inhabitants hastened to give him welcome; even the kinsmen of the unfortunate men who had accompanied Abu Said to the court of Castille, came to make prompt submission to their sovereign, fearing still heavier disasters, and anxious to dispose the mind of Muhamad to a favourable reception of their assumed repentance. All presented themselves to kiss his hand, congratulating him on the recovery of his capital and kingdom. His entrance was made at the hour of the Adohar,* on Saturday the 20th day of the moon Giumada Postrera, in the year 763; for such was the will of God, by whose power he was aided and favoured.

Some affirm that the King of Castille sent the head of Abu Said to Muhamad King of Granada, in a precious casket filled with rich aromatics, such as are needful to the embalming of the dead; these writers furthermore declaring that the envoy by whom it was brought to the presence of the king, had no sooner entered the presence of Muhamad than he cast it at his feet with these words:—"In this state, Oh illustrious Soldan of Granada, mayst thou behold the heads of all thine enemies!"

King Muhamad is said to have rejoiced much in the present thus made him, and it is added that he sent to the King of Castille, in return, twenty-five beautiful horses from the royal stud,† animals of the noblest race, bred on the shores of the Xenil. Ten of these horses were clothed in the richest caparisons, having saddle-cloths bordered with gold and precious stones: the King Muhamad likewise bestowed costly presents on the messengers of the Christian monarch.

A few months later certain discontented Xeques excited a rebellion against the King of Granada, and with the assistance of the insolent soldiery, who had been corrupted by the recent disorders, they proclaimed the Wali of Baena, even Aly Ben Aly Ben Nazir, a prince of the blood royal, to be their king: but the valour and good fortune of

* Adohar: the noon-day prayer.

† Our readers will perceive that the word stud does not fully represent the "Yeguada" of the text; but the writer is not aware of any that more nearly describes the establishment so called, of which we have not the exact equivalent in our country.—*Tr.*

Muhamad Ben Ismail's generals, with the favour of God, sufficed to defeat that usurper, whose bands they scattered in various encounters, and whom they forced to become a fugitive without asylum. Having thus happily subjugated all his enemies, the rightful King of Granada was reigning tranquilly in the year 745,* which was the period when the author of these records, even his Alcatib, or secretary, and faithful minister, Abdallah Alchatib Assalami, known as the Vizier Lizan-Eddin, wrote the lines which the reader has now before him.

Grateful for the benefit conferred on him by the King of Castille, although revolted by the cruelty of the deed, which he condemned in his heart, Muhamad Ben Ismail restored to liberty all the Christian captives who were at that time in Granada; he wrote letters of friendship also to the Castillian monarch, and a treaty of perpetual alliance was formed between the sovereigns, which was signed by the hands of both.

But although the King of Granada had no wars to wage on his own account, yet the revolutions and disorders which prevailed at that time in Castille compelled the Christian king to beg the aid of Muhamad against the King of Arragon, as well as against his own brother,† who was labouring to dethrone Don Pedro, while his people were falling off on all sides, seeing that this monarch was profoundly abhorred for his tyranny and the cruelty of his character. The King of Granada accordingly despatched six hundred horse to the assistance of his Christian ally, and that body, though small, was a highly efficient one; being chosen from the flower of the Granadine cavalry, and led by the brave and illustrious Arraiz Ferag Ben Reduan, whom the king had given to those troops as their general, and who served Don Pedro with admirable valour. The King of Castille subsequently requested new auxiliaries to aid him in the reduction of the rebel cities, which had declared for his opponent; whereupon Muhamad sent him a force of seven thousand cavalry, with a strong body of foot soldiers. That army then laid siege to Medina Cordova, which they brought to great extremities, insomuch

* A.D. 1365.

† Henry of Trastamara, son of Alphonso XII., (father of Pedro) and of Eleanora di Guzman.—*Tr.*

that the city was on the point of falling into the power of the Moslemah, who scaled the walls and took the old Alcazar, but were then repulsed by the Cordovese, and forced to retire from the place. On their homeward march, the Granadine army took the cities of Ubeda and Jaen, which they plundered; they made incursions on the Comarcas likewise, utterly devastating those of Maltrara, and carrying off a large number of captives.

Now the war carried on by Don Pedro, King of Castille, in his own dominions did not take a turn favourable to the wishes of that monarch, and he once more wrote letters to the King of Granada entreating the latter to arm in his behalf with all the power he could make. Muhamad Ben Ismail then assembled a formidable army to march in aid of Don Pedro, but God did not permit that his forces should arrive in time to succour the Christian king who died by the hands of his own brother in the camp at Montiel, when all the kingdom declared for his victorious opponent; an event which took place in the year 771.*

The intelligence of Don Pedro's death suspended the march of the Granadine army, but to the end that the occasion presented by those civil wars in which the Christians were engaged might not be lost, Muhamad Ben Ismail determined to make war on them for his own purposes, adopting as his pretext for that aggression the ties of friendship and alliance which had bound him to the unfortunate King of Castille. The new sovereign, Enrique,† sent him proposals for a peace to be established between them, on condition that Muhamad should at once desist from attacking his states. But the King of Granada maintained the determination he had formed; he crossed the frontier with a powerful army, passed through the whole of the land, and took many captives, plundering all the open towns, and carrying off whatever he found within the walls of the fortified places, but not occupying any stronghold.

In the following year King Muhamad marched with all his power against Algezira Alhadra, which he took by force of arms; but fearing that he was unable to maintain the

* A.D. 1369. † Henry.

place, and resolved to prevent the Christians from using the strength thereof for their purposes at any future time, he burnt the city, demolished the works, and razed the walls to the foundations. That campaign occurred in the year 772.

The new King of Castille now despatched the Grand Master of Calatrava with letters to Muhamad Ben Ismail, offering the latter his friendship and alliance; a step to which he was induced by the pressure of the wars wherein he was engaged, and the need which he then had of all his power and thoughts, freely to attend to the demands thus made upon him: nor was King Muhamad less willing to be at peace with the Christian monarch, seeing that he too had many cares of state which required his attention, and was anxious to provide for the better government of his people, and the administration of justice in the realm. Thus the treaty of peace and alliance was concerted, and received the sanction of each party.

It was during the period of tranquillity then accorded to him that Muhamad commanded the construction of the house of Azake, for the reception of the sick poor, and for the cure of their diseases. He commenced that work on the 20th day of the moon Moharram, in the year 777, and completed the edifice on the 20th of the moon Xawal in the year 778: it was a magnificent building, constructed with all the advantages that could be derived from the riches of a great prince, employed by masters well skilled in architecture, and was furnished with every convenience appropriate to such an institution. Fountains, and spacious ponds formed of polished marbles, were added for the refreshment and recreation of the suffering inhabitants of the building. The city of Guadix was also extensively embellished by the King Muhamad Ben Ismail, who caused many handsome edifices to be erected there, and spent a large portion of each year within the walls of that city.

During the long peace that Muhamad now maintained with all the neighbouring princes, he gave the greater part of his time and attention to the furtherance of whatever might best promote the happiness of his people: he encouraged the arts and manufactures, protected trade and agriculture, and left no department of the administration

without careful superintendence. At that time there came merchants to Granada from all parts: Syria, Egypt, Africa, Italy, and Armenia, all sent their traffickers to this city, which became the most renowned market in the world. People of every land might then be seen in the streets of the capital: Christians and Jews, no less than the Moslemah, resorted thither, insomuch that Granada seemed then to be the common country of all nations.

King Muhamad now proposed that the oath of allegiance should be taken to his son Abu Abdallah Juzef; and the ceremony took place accordingly, being celebrated with magnificent festivities. The marriage of the prince with the daughter of the King of Fez was then negociated, and a short time after the bride was conducted to Medina Granada by the Prince of Fez, who did himself take to wife the beautiful Zahira, a daughter of Abu Ayan, one of the most distinguished nobles of Andalusia, and a cavalier of great wealth: the espousals of the African Prince with that lady were solemnised in Granada. On the occasions of these nuptials many jousts and tournaments, with the other light games of chivalry, were splendidly celebrated, and to these festivities came numerous cavaliers, not only from Spain and Africa, but from Egypt and France likewise, all receiving assurances of safety from King Muhamad, and being treated with much honour in his court: some of these guests were entertained in the Fonda* of the Genoese, while others found lodgment in the private houses of the Granadine nobles.

Now Muhamad Ben Ismail, desiring to prolong the truce existing between himself and the King of Castille, and which was then on the point of coming to an end, sent rich jewels and other presents to Don Enrique, with his letters to that effect; but the Castillian sovereign dying some short time after, there were malicious and ill-intentioned persons who attributed his death to the treachery of the King of Granada; and they described the method of that treason as in this wise. Among the gifts despatched to King Henry by Muhamad Ben Ismail were certain buskins and slippers which had been steeped in a mortal venom, as those evil

* Fonda—Caravanserai: palace of the caravan, or hostelry.

speakers affirmed: but never was the noble King of Granada a traitor or assassin: the death of the King of Castille was a natural death, and took place then, because the days accorded to him by the Divine will having been accomplished, his life came to its close.

Not many were the years that elapsed after these events before Muhamad Ben Ismail left the palaces of this world and departed to dwell eternally in the Alcazars of Paradise: he died, to the grief of all good men, in the year 794.* His remains having received the customary ablutions, were then deposited in the Gene Alarife,† at the dawn of day; and a short time after the Azala of daybreak the prayer was made for him, his bier being accompanied to the tomb by all classes of the people.

The son of Muhamad Ben Ismail, even Abu Abdallah Juzef, succeeded his father, and was proclaimed with much solemnity, all the nobles of Granada presenting themselves to kiss his hand, as did all the principal Walies and Alcaydes from all the Taas‡ of the kingdom.

Abu Abdallah Ben Muhamad was a zealous imitator of his father's virtues: like that noble monarch, he was a lover of peace, and when the ceremonies of his proclamation and the festivities consequent on that solemnity had come to an end, he wrote letters to the Christian kings, expressing his readiness to maintain the treaties of friendship and alliance concerted with them by his father, and which he had inherited from that sovereign.

The more effectually to conciliate the King of Castille, Abu Abdallah restored to their liberty certain captives of the Christians whom his light horsemen had taken in their guard of the frontier, but whom he now dismissed to their homes without ransom. These cavaliers he sent in company with the Wali of Malaga to the court of Seville, and with them he presented six beautiful horses richly caparisoned, and costly arms for the Christian king, the latter wrapped in precious textures woven of silk and gold.

The King of Castille received these gifts with much satisfaction; he entertained the Wali of Malaga with all the

* A.D. 1391.—*Condé.*

† Gene-Alarife: still known as the Generalife.

‡ Taa: judicial district.—*Condé.*

honours befitting the envoy of so great a prince as was Abu Abdallah Ben Juzef Muhamad, King of Granada; and when that Xeque returned to the court of his master, he was accompanied by the ambassadors of the Christian king, who were commissioned to arrange the terms of the treaty to be then concerted between the two sovereigns.

CHAP. XXVII.—OF THE REIGN OF ABU ABDALLAH MUHAMAD JUZEF. HIS DEATH. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SECOND SON, MUHAMAD. THE LATTER PROCEEDS TO SEVILLE INCOGNITO. HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF CASTILLE.

Now to the King of Granada, even Juzef Ben Muhamad, there were born four sons: the eldest received his own name, Juzef; the second was called Muhamad, the third Aly, and the fourth Ahmed. The second son of the king, Muhamad, was a man of violent character, bold, enterprising, and ambitious beyond measure. Perceiving that his elder brother Juzef was preferred to himself, and was destined, not only by birth, but by the affection of his father, to be the future king—seeing that he was heir presumptive to the throne—Muhamad conceived against him the most unjust and implacable hatred. Disregarding the respect due to the father of them both, in his abhorrence of his brother, the prince resolved to attempt dethroning King Juzef, with the hope, if fortune should prove favourable to his pretensions, of thus securing for himself the seat designed for his elder brother.

To this end Prince Muhamad availed himself of the false pretext of religious zeal and the defence of Islam, knowing well that there was a disposition in the people to murmur against their sovereign for his friendship and alliance with the Christian powers. There were certain Christian cavaliers moreever, at the court of Granada, who having sought a refuge with King Juzef Ben Muhamad, were treated by him with much favour and familiarity. It was thus not difficult for the prince to give weight and importance to the impression previously received by the industry of his partizans: the popular opinion, accusing his father of being a bad Mosleman, became prevalent among those who had not before taken any part therein; nay, the seditious agents of

the prince even ventured to add, that having begun publicly to favour the Infidels, the King Juzef Ben Muhamad was himself in heart a Christian.

These dangerous calumnies were soon bruited abroad; when the disaffected, with that mass of evil-doers ever ready to appear in periods of tumult, began to throw off all restraint, and dared to censure the actions of their sovereign with the most reckless insolence: nay, some of the boldest among them, still further incited by the concealed partizans of the prince, proceeded to demand his deposition, and on a certain day, when a crowd of these insurgents had assembled in the vicinity of the Alcazar, they commenced the insurrection. King Juzef was even on the point of renouncing his sovereign power and placing himself in the hands of his rebellious son, when the ambassador of Fez, a man of high authority for his wisdom and eloquence, who chanced to be at that time in the palace, went forth on horseback, and making an oration to the people, who were assembled on the public place, he addressed those insurgents with so much energy and grace, that even the men of Prince Muhamad's faction were persuaded by him to return to their obedience and the respect they owed their sovereign. He laid before them the many causes by which they were bound to refrain from disturbing the tranquillity of the state, made manifest the horrors of civil war, and the advantage which must result to their enemies from their discords, reminding his hearers of that injury and impoverishment of the Moslemah which had ever been the consequence of their internal dissensions. He furthermore spoke of the decadence into which the empire of the Omeyas, the Almoravides, the Almohades, and the Aben Hudes, had successively been led by no other cause, each owing its downfall to the prevalence of civil discords. The ambassador declared that as good Moslemah they ought all to unite their forces against the Christians, who were their natural enemies, rather than turn their arms against each other; availing themselves of the occasion then offered by the revolutions and disorders then prevailing among the Infidels, who were restrained from making war upon them only because their hands were filled by their internal dissensions, and they were thus deprived of the power to do so: he concluded by declaring that an irruption was about

to be made on the Christian territory without loss of time; that their excellent sovereign King Juzef Ben Muhamad would be their leader in the war, and that they would then see how faithful a Mosleman, and how brave as well as good a monarch, they had offended.

The popular acclamations here brought the words of the ambassador to a close, and he returned within the palace; preparations were in fact then commenced immediately for an Algazia or inroad on the territory of the Christians. The troops for that purpose having been made ready, then poured over the frontier, when the fields of Murcia and Lorca were made their battle ground. They drove off the flocks and herds, burnt the villages, and slaughtered the unhappy occupants of the soil, or if it pleased these ravagers to spare the lives of the inhabitants, it was only that they might be condemned to the pains of captivity: vineyards, olive grounds, and gardens, were destroyed, and the land but lately a fertile and smiling abode, was laid utterly desolate. Then the frontier guard of the Christians went forth against the invaders, and fighting with varying fortunes, they recovered a portion of the spoil, insomuch that the Moslemah returned to Granada with a part only of the booty they had seized.

And now, as King Juzef had entered on this warfare against his will, he was all the more ready to accept the terms of truce proposed to him by the King of Castille; nay, there are those who say that he demanded the truce himself, having become alarmed by the vast armaments assembling against him, not in Castille only, but in Arragon also: wherefore, and to avoid greater evils, he concerted a treaty with the Christians, by the advice of his ministers and with the consent of his generals.

Now it chanced during the period of the truce thus agreed on, that the Grand Master of Alcantara, a bold ambitious man, having collected a formidable number of loose and homeless marauders, entered the Vega of Granada, and laid siege to the tower called Hisn Egea. When this was made known to King Juzef he despatched the cavalry then in Granada to meet those depredators, with as large a force of infantry as he could gather at the moment. The Grand Master then raised the siege and ventured to march to the

encounter of the Moslemah; but in the battle which ensued he was defeated and lost his life, all his cavalry being in like manner left on the field; but they fought as do men in desperation, and sold their lives dearly: wherefore the conflict proved a sanguinary one, even for the Moslemah, who were the victors, while of the Christians who entered into that battle there remained not a man to relate the history of the day.

A short time afterwards, there came letters from the King of Castille and the commanders on his frontier, excusing themselves for that rash breaking of the truce by the Grand Master of Alcantara, on whom they laid all the blame of the treachery, declaring that he had crossed the border and fallen on the Moslemah territory without permission asked or obtained from his master the King of Castille. If that were so, he paid well and justly for his rash and presumptous daring. This victory over the Infidels was gained in the year 798. Letters subsequently received, as above related, and the satisfaction thus obtained for the wrong committed, then went far to tranquillise the minds of the Moslemah; although the populace, excited by the good fortune of the battle, still demanded war against the Christian kings.

No long time after these events King Juzef Ben Mohamad departed to the mercy of Allah; reports then went abroad to the effect that his death had been brought about by the treachery and wickedness of Ahmed Ben Amer Zelm, King of Fez, who called himself the friend of Juzef. And the mode in which that murder was effected is described by those who affirm the truth thereof on this wise.

Among other costly presents sent to King Juzef by the King of Fez, the latter is declared to have included a richly decorated garment which had been previously steeped in a poisonous mixture of extraordinary efficacy: this robe the king put on after returning from a hurried ride and when in a state of perspiration: he was instantly seized with violent pains, from which he suffered grievous torments during thirty days, and at the end of that period he died. Others affirm, nevertheless, that the death of King Juzef was caused by a malady with which he had been long afflicted.

The intrigues and crafty arts of Prince Muhamad, second

son of King Juzef, now prevailed to such an extent with the Xeques and Nobles of Granada, that they passed over the right of Prince Juzef, and disregarding the will of their late sovereign, which had destined the throne for his first-born son, they declared for Muhamad, proclaiming him with solemnity, even before they had conferred the rites of burial on the remains of his father, On the following day the funeral ceremonies were performed by order of the new king, when Juzef Ben Muhamad was laid in the Gene Alarife, near the tombs of his father and grandfather.

The first care of Muhamad, after his accession to the throne, was to secure the person of his brother Juzef, and although the latter, content with the security and quietude of a private life, had not left his house, and gave no encouragement to the instigators of change, or the promoters of insurrection, yet the new king resolved to deprive him of his liberty, and sent him to the Fortress of Xalubania, with orders that he should be closely guarded, but that nothing should be denied to him which might in any way contribute to his convenience or comfort Prince Juzef was conducted to his prison accordingly, under a strong escort, having received permission to take with him his hareem and all the attendants required for his household.

The King Muhamad Ben Juzef was a man of fine presence, and a most lively genius; he was brave and energetic, possessed an attractive manner, and exhibited much affability when his object was to gain the hearts of the people. Apprehensive of a rupture with the King of Castille,* the new sovereign of Granada formed a resolution of extraordinary boldness: proceeding without any of the distinctions of royalty, and taking no company befitting his true rank, he departed from Granada to visit that sovereign, under the pretext of an irruption which he had determined to make upon the Christian frontier. Arrived at the border, he described himself as a messenger sent by the Court of Granada, and passing on to Medina Toledo, with twenty-five bold cavaliers, he there presented himself to the King of Castille, by whom he was received with much honour; being treated by the Christian king with all the evidences of an intimate

* Henry III.

friendship. The two monarchs feasted together, and having arranged the terms of a treaty of peace and alliance, renewing the compact made by the father of King Muhamad, the latter, highly satisfied with the King of Castille and with the result of his journey, returned to his court, where the adventurous voyage he had undertaken was not suspected; nor was the circumstance known until a long time after.

Before his departure from Granada, for the visit above related, King Muhamad Ben Juzef had written letters to the King of Fez, excusing himself for the determination he had taken in respect to the imprisonment of his brother, which he declared to be requisite for the prevention of discord and to secure the repose of the kingdom.

Some time after the return of the king from Seville, a body of the Christian cavalry serving on the frontier made an inroad upon the territories of Granada, in violation of the treaties existing between their sovereign and the monarch of that country. But Muhamad Ben Juzef, being no less crafty than he was proud and ambitious, would not permit any remonstrance on the subject to be addressed to the Christian king, until he had first exacted vengeance with his own hand: assembling a formidable army, therefore, he crossed the frontier in his turn. Falling on the land of Algarve, and committing fearful ravages in the Comarcas of that province, his troops drove off all the flocks with their shepherds, burnt the villages and farms, of which they captured all the inhabitants, and laying waste the entire district, they left the whole country a desert. They furthermore took possession of the stronghold of Ayamonte, in which they placed a Moslemah garrison, and that done, the invading force returned in triumph to Granada, bearing with them a rich booty in flocks and herds, many Christian captives, and treasures of various kinds.

Immediately after the incursion thus hastily commanded by the astute King of Granada, there came envoys to the capital of that monarch from the King of Castille, requiring the restitution of Ayamonte, and calling on Muhamad Ben Juzef to fulfil the conditions of the truce entered into between himself and the Christian king; but although the reply of King Muhamad was cautiously framed, and of much seeming courtesy, yet he would hear nothing of

restoring the fortress. He caused it to be intimated to the King of Castille that the irruption he had just made was undertaken solely for the purpose of restraining the insolence of the frontier guard, and declared that the devastations committed on his own territories by the Christian soldiery were first to be taken into consideration, they having been the first to violate the truce.

Much dissatisfied with that reply, the King of Castille then commanded his generals on the frontier to make incursions on various parts of the kingdom of Granada, thereby hoping to compel Muhamad Ben Juzef into a more careful observance of the compact made between the two princes. King Muhamad instantly marched against the Christians with all his power, maintaining the strife with varying fortunes, but finding that even his victories cost him a vast expenditure of blood as well as treasure, large numbers of his bravest cavaliers being ever left on the field of battle. The setting in of the winter season, which was accompanied by heavy rains, suspended the operations of the war, commenced as above related; and at that time the King of Castille departed from life. This event occurred when Muhamad was daily expecting to see the Christian king arrive in person to invade his territories with an overwhelming force: but death cut short his steps. King Enrique of Castille was succeeded by his son Yahye,* who, being but a child,† was incapable of holding the reins of government; and his uncle, Don Fernando,‡ a wise prince and valiant general, ruled the state in his name. The war commenced by his brother Don Enrique was continued by Don Fernando with much vigour. He marched with a powerful army on Zahara, which he besieged, and the place surrendered by capitulation after a short defence. He then attacked the fortified town of Azeddin, which he took by force of arms; and proceeding thence to Setenil, he laid siege to that fortress also. Here the Moslemah who formed the garrison defended the place well; and Don Fernando, perceiving that the struggle was likely to prove

* John.

† He was not a year old.

‡ Afterwards Ferdinand IV. consort of Isabella, and destroyer of the Moslemah empire in Spain.

a protracted one, despatched a portion of his army to make an irruption on the surrounding Comarcas. The Christian troops assailed the fortresses of Priego and Lacobin accordingly, making themselves masters of both; and during the siege of Setenil they retook Ayamonte, with the stronghold of Ortegicar, in which they then placed a garrison of their soldiery.

King Muhamad Ben Juzef did not consider it advisable to attempt the opposition of this conquering army by open fights; but hoping to exhaust the Christian forces by dividing them, he made an inroad on the territory of Jaen, where his troops committed fearful ravages. Don Fernando was then compelled to hasten to the relief of that district, and he therefore raised the siege of Setenil, where the Infidels had lost a large number of their bravest cavaliers.

CHAP. XXVIII.—DEATH OF MUHAMAD, KING OF GRANADA. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER JUZEF. TREATIES CONCERTED BETWEEN THE CHRISTIANS AND JUZEF BEN JUZEF. DEATH OF THE LATTER.

IN the following year the King Muhamad Ben Juzef marched against Alcabdat with a force of seven thousand cavalry and twelve thousand foot-soldiers. This powerful army encountered the Christians in numerous engagements, wherein both sides fought with great bravery, the fortune of the day continually varying, and victory declaring now for one army and anon for the other. But as Moslemah and Christian alike beheld their best generals and most valiant soldiers fall in that struggle, they began to treat of peace by common accord, and a truce of eight months was agreed on, King Muhamad despatching his envoys to the King of Castille, with power to answer the conditions and sign the compact in his name.

Before the period of truce, thus gladly assented to on both sides, had elapsed, Muhamad Ben Juzef fell sick, and his malady soon became so grave a one that the physicians despaired of his safety; nay, they ultimately perceived that the termination of the king's sickness would be no other than death. Muhamad was himself compelled to be of that opinion also, but he saw with great reluctance that

the end of his days was fast approaching; and with intent to secure the possession of the throne to his son, he determined that his brother Juzef, who was still a prisoner in the fortress of Xalubania, should be put to death. Thus it came to pass that Muhamad, convinced of his own approaching dissolution—for God alone is eternal—wrote a letter to the Alcayde of Xalubania, in which were the following words:—

"Alcayde of Xalubania, my Servant,—

"So soon as thou shalt receive these my words from the hands of my Arraiz, Ahmed Ben Xarac, thou shalt deprive my brother, Cid Juzef, of life, and shalt send me his head by the bearer. See that thou fail not in my service."

When the Arraiz Ahmed Ben Xarac arrived at the fortress of Xalubania with the letter containing this order, Prince Juzef Ben Juzef was playing chess with the commandant of the place: they were seated on costly carpets of gold stuffs, bordered richly with gorgeous fringes, and their repose was on cushions covered with tissues of silk and gold, Prince Juzef being supplied with every convenience suited to his rank, and treated in all respects as his station demanded. When the Alcayde had read the letter of his sovereign it caused him the deepest grief, and the consternation he felt became manifest on his countenance. The goodness and exalted qualities of the Prince Juzef had in effect won the affection of all who approached him, and the Alcayde's heart sank within him when the order of Muhamad met his eyes.

The Arraiz Ahmed Ben Xarac was meanwhile intent on the execution of the mandate he had brought, and exhorted the Alcayde to lose no time in the fulfilment thereof; but the latter, unable to impart that cruel and inhuman decree to Prince Juzef, stood silent and undetermined. Perceiving the importance of the order, and the sorrow of the dismayed Alcayde by the perturbation of his countenance, Juzef inquired, "What, then, does the king require? Does the order concern my death? Is it my head that he demands?" The Alcayde then gave the Prince his brother's letter, and when he had read the contents thereof, Cid Juzef said,

"Give me a few hours to take leave of my family, and

to distribute some parting gifts among the remnants of my household!"

But Ahmed Ben Xarac replied that he would not delay the execution of the king's command, seeing that his hours had been numbered to him, and the time of his return fixed to the minute.

"Let us at least finish our game," returned the prince; "and I shall end by losing that also, without doubt."

But the grief and confusion of the Alcayde were such that he could not move a piece without committing an error, the prince calling his attention more than once to his inadvertence.

While they were still thus engaged, two cavaliers arrived from Granada, proclaiming Juzef king, and making known to the latter the death of his brother Muhamad: but still doubting of his fortune, the new sovereign could scarcely believe in the reality of what was passing around him, until the arrival of other nobles, who were among the principal men of the kingdom, brought confirmation of that which the first two had declared. The whole company then departed from Xalubania, and repaired in all haste to the capital.

The public entry of King Juzef into Granada was a magnificent one. All the nobles of the kingdom went forth to receive him; the streets were adorned with precious textures of silk and gold, extended on all the houses; arches of triumph were erected at various distances, the public places and squares through which he passed were strewed with flowers, and the people surrounded him with joyful acclamations. Thus did he ride through the city, and as he passed he gave evidence to his subjects of the gratification and affection with which their cordial welcome had filled his heart. The excellence and virtuous qualities of Juzef Ben Juzef were in effect well known, and all hoped that they had found in him a king who should revive the remembrance of Nazar, of Abu Abdallah, and of other sovereigns his exalted and illustrious forefathers.

King Juzef then despatched an embassy with letters to the King of Castille, communicating his proclamation, by the unanimous acclaim of the people, to that monarch. The ambassador chosen for the purpose was Abdallah Alahmin,

the much-trusted servant and friend of Juzef, by whom he was charged to make manifest the pacific disposition of the new King of Granada, and to express his desire to live in peace and amity with the King of the Christians.

Abdallah Alahmin was favourably received at the court of Seville, and the conditions of a treaty were arranged. The principal clauses of that compact were such as had been accepted by Muhamad the brother of Juzef; and the Castillian monarch sent his ambassadors to Granada, submitting them to the approval of King Juzef, and receiving his signature in confirmation thereof. Rich presents were sent by the King of Granada to the King of Castille on that occasion,—beautiful horses, with magnificent caparisons, costly swords, and gorgeous tissues, the least valuable of the latter being textures of silk and gold.

Now the truce concluded between the two sovereigns was for two years; and when that period had come to a close, the King Juzef Ben Juzef, who was a cordial lover of peace, despatched his brother, Prince Aly, to open negociations for the extension thereof; but the nobles of Castille now proposed that King Juzef should declare himself the vassal of their sovereign, as had been done by certain of the kings his predecessors, and that he should pay a fixed amount in gold each year, as the sign of his vassalage and in acknowledgment thereof. To this humiliating proposal the infant Cid Aly refused submission, affirming that he had received no instructions from the king his brother, having regard to so extraordinary a demand on the part of the Christians. He declared his powers to extend to no more than he had already offered; and retired from the court of Seville without bringing the matter of the peace, so much desired, to conclusion.

Thus it happened that when the period agreed on had been accomplished, the infant Don Fernando entered the kingdom of Granada with a great power, and laid siege to the city of Antequera. The Moslemah garrison made frequent sallies on the besiegers; they attacked them by night and gave them surprises, wherein the most sanguinary combats occurred, and thereby much loss was inflicted on the Christian army. To diminish this evil, therefore, and also to impede the action of the succours which, as he foresaw,

would be sent by King Juzef, the infant Don Fernando caused a strong and high wall to be raised around the city; and this effectually prevented all entrance to as well as all egress from the same.

The siege was then greatly protracted, and although the brothers of the King of Granada, Cid Aly and Cid Ahmed, performed astonishing deeds of prowess, and made unheard-of efforts to succour Medina Antequera, they could effect nothing of moment; for which cause, the inhabitants, exhausted by hunger and harassed by the Christian assailants, were at length compelled to resolve on capitulating. They then commenced the negociations for surrender; and after fixing the conditions, by which all were permitted to depart, with safety for their lives and retaining their possessions, the city was abandoned to the enemy. Hasna Hijar and other fortresses of the Comarca surrendered to the Christians in like manner at that time.

About the same period the Moslemah of Gebaltaric, oppressed by their governor, became weary of their subjection to the Kings of Granada, and wrote letters to Abu Said, King of Fez, offering to acknowledge themselves his vassals if he would aid them in their need, and receive them to his faith and protection. The King of Fez was much rejoiced by that embassy, and instantly despatched his brother, also called Abu Said, with two thousand men, to occupy that important fortress, which is the key to all Spain.

Yet the King of Fez was not moved wholly by his wish to obtain possession of Gebaltaric, fortunate as he justly considered that opportunity to be: he was partly induced to the promptitude with which he replied to the application of the inhabitants for his assistance, by the wish he felt to see his brother leave the kingdom; that prince being so much beloved by the people for his many excellent qualities as to give the king cause for apprehension, and he feared lest his subjects should deprive him of the throne to exalt his brother in his place. But the Infant Abu Said was in truth so upright a man that the ambitious desires attributed to him by the king were far from his heart: such a purpose as that of dethroning his brother had not even entered his thoughts. He passed the strait with his troops

as commanded, and the inhabitants of the city having opened their gates, the African prince took possession of it without difficulty.

The Alcayde then retired to the citadel; but perceiving that the succours which he had hoped to receive from Granada did not arrive, he was compelled to enter into negociations for surrender to the Infant of Fez, Cid Abu Said.

At this conjuncture a large force of cavalry and infantry arrived to the succour of Gebaltaric, under the command of Cid Ahmed, brother to the King of Granada; and these forces commencing the siege of the city, the Alcayde, who was on the point of surrender, was thus encouraged to hold out.

The Infant of Fez then required a reinforcement from his brother, Abu Said; but the king, who desired his ruin, sent him nothing better than an insignificant quantity of provisions in a few small barks, with a poor addition of troops, supplies entirely inadequate to meet his necessities. The Infant of Granada was meanwhile closely pressing the siege, and Cid Abu Said, perceiving further resistance to be impossible, made terms of surrender with the besiegers, into whose hands he gave the city without further delay, stipulating only for the pardon of the rebellious inhabitants, which was accorded by Cid Ahmed at his intercession.

The Infant of Granada then placed a garrison, on whose fidelity he could depend, in Gebaltaric, and departed for the capital, whither he was accompanied by the infante Cid Abu Said; but the latter, although a prisoner, was entertained as a valued guest. He was received at the court of Granada with much honour, and King Juzef treated him with the most courteous distinction.

There now came ambassadors from the King of Fez, bearing letters, in which that sovereign, after the proffer of his friendship to the King of Granada, requested the latter to cause poison to be administered to his brother, Cid Abu Said, declaring that measure to be needful to the peace and tranquillity of his state. But Juzef Ben Juzef had suffered much in his own person from the injustice and tyranny of a brother; he knew how entirely worthy of compassion are, not unfrequently, those who find themselves thus persecuted; and far from consenting to perform the

treacherous office required at his hands by the King of Fez, he showed the letters written by his brother to the Infant Cid Abu Said, to whom he offered his assistance, whether of treasure and forces to carry on a war—if he desired to avenge himself—or of a secure asylum, if he felt disposed to refrain from the resentment of his wrongs, in which case the friendship of the King of Granada was assured to him, a palace and beautiful gardens being instantly assigned to the African Prince for his habitation and pleasure.

The Infant of Fez thereupon conceived so profound an abhorrence of his brother's treachery, that he determined to pass into Africa, and take vengeance for that wicked attempt on his life. He therefore accepted the auxiliaries offered, in that event, by King Juzef; and having received a large amount of treasure, with a well-appointed force of cavalry and infantry, he set sail from Almeria, and crossed the strait.

While his brother was counting him with the dead, therefore, and believed him to be already sacrificed to his distrust and cruelty, his speedy arrival with a powerful host was the intelligence that the treacherous monarch received. The bravest men of all the Cabilas were furthermore declared to have taken part with the Infant, who was said to be fast approaching Medina Fez. The king then marched forth to battle; but in the combat which ensued he was defeated, and fled, taking refuge within the walls of his capital, where he was besieged by his injured brother: but when it was found that the greater part of the royal army had been left extended on the field of battle, as an offering to the beasts and birds of prey, the populace, disgusted with their king, proclaimed the Infant Cid Abu Said to be their sovereign, to whom they consequently threw open the city gates. He thus became master of the kingdom, as well as of his brother's person, when the latter was shut up by his order: no long time after that event the deposed King, Abu Said, died of sorrow and despite. Grateful to the sovereign of Granada, the African prince had meanwhile sent costly presents to King Juzef Ben Juzef, with assurances of perpetual friendship.

At the commencement of the year 820,* the King of

* 1417.—*Conde.*

Granada, doubtful of his success in the war then raging with the Christians, made a treaty of peace with the King of Castille, to whom on that occasion he offered the restitution of one hundred Christian captives; and these men were restored to liberty without ransom accordingly. To the ambassadors and ministers who had negociated the treaty, which was to continue in force for the space of two years, Juzef Ben Juzef presented costly jewels, as was the custom of the Kings of Granada on such occasions. From that time King Juzef had peace with the Christians to the day of his death, and his court became the refuge of all those cavaliers who considered themselves to have received wrong in the kingdoms of Arragon or Castille: to his court they repaired for the accommodation of their differences, of which they made the King of Granada the judge. In questions concerning the honour of the disputants, Juzef Ben Juzef gave them suitable lists for their combats; yet, so sincere was his love of peace, that he ever did his utmost to reconcile the differences of such as felt mutually aggrieved, causing many who had arrived enemies to become friends; and these cavaliers not unfrequently departed with much honour from his court, taking their journey homeward in company. Or when this might not be, the lists for combat had not well been opened, and the fierceness of deadly conflict had scarcely time to commence, before the king declared each disputant to have proved himself a good cavalier, and interposed his friendly offices for the satisfaction of both.

For these qualities of peace and good will to all men, Juzef Ben Juzef was beloved and esteemed by strangers as well as by his own people. He was more especially the friend of the Queen Mother of Castille, with whom he maintained an intimate correspondence by letter. They sent presents to each other every year; and when the King of Castille had reached the age which permitted him to assume the government of his states, he prolonged the truce which his ministers had made with the King Juzef, to whom he sent assurance of his friendship. Thus the land was maintained by that excellent monarch content and flourishing, his people prospering, amidst all the advantages of peace, by his means. Nay, the Granadines may truly be

said to have enjoyed an anticipation of paradise, amidst their pleasant gardens and delicious country palaces

But now as King Juzef had himself arrived at that point of his life which his destiny had decreed to be the close thereof, and at the hour which fate had so marked on the unchangeable tablet of days, he departed from this world almost suddenly, without having previously given evidence of any indisposition.

CHAP. XXIX.—MULEY MOHAMAD IS PROCLAIMED KING OF GRANADA. HE IS DEPOSED. MOHAMAD EL ZAGUIR IS ENTHRONED IN HIS PLACE. DEPOSITION AND DEATH OF THE LATTER.

ON the day of Juzef Ben Juzef's death, his son Muley Muhamad Nazar Aben Juzef was proclaimed king. This monarch is known as El Hayzari, or the left-handed, because he was indeed accustomed to use the left hand; although certain authorities affirm that he received that appellation, not because he had any natural defect of the hands, but on account of his wayward and adverse fortune.

When Muhamad had performed the funeral obsequies of his father with all due ceremony, and had laid his remains with those of their forefathers in the Gene Alarife, he despatched his letters into all the cities and principal towns of every jurisdiction, with commands that his own inauguration should be celebrated with the accustomed solemnities, and requiring the Walies and Alcaydes to send their acknowledgments of allegiance and submission.

Now it is certain that Muhamad El Hayzari should have carefully followed the example of his father, whose reign was the model of good government, but he did this in part only: he maintained a good understanding with the princes of Africa and Spain, despatching his ambassadors for that purpose, and renewing the treaties of friendship and alliance which had been formed by his father Aben Juzef, for the safety and well-being of the state; but he neglected to cultivate the love and esteem of his people, although the best and firmest support of the sovereign will ever be found to consist in the affection of his subjects. He was a vain as

well as a proud man; the ministers of state and most distinguished generals of his kingdom were treated by Mohamad but as slaves. His haughtiness became daily more insufferable to such as were compelled to approach his person, and in his arrogant assumption of a superiority over his fellow-men, which no high quality had secured to him, he would not unfrequently permit several days, and sometimes even weeks, to elapse, during which he would not deign to give audience even to the most distinguished of his nobles. Nay, the Walies and Viziers who came to present themselves to their sovereign for the purpose of taking his directions or consulting him respecting the most important affairs of the state, were frequently refused admission, without any better cause than the capricious perversity of his will. The only matter to which Muhamad truly gave his attention was the preservation of amity and relations of peace with foreign princes; he was careful to infringe no article of the treaties agreed on, and to give no pretext for the breaking of the truce existing between himself and the Christian powers. Nor did he neglect those of Africa; the friendship of Muley Aben Fariz, King of Tunis, was cultivated by Muhamad as carefully as was that of his neighbour the King of Castille.

But all intercourse with his subjects, Muhamad El Hayzari disdained; he took no part in the chivalrous exercises of his nobles and cavaliers, would join in none of the recreations suited to their station and his own, forbade all jousts and tournaments, and gave no evidence of sympathy with his people on any occasion. By all these things the son of King Juzef early began to excite the displeasure of his nobles; and no long time had elapsed from the period of his accession, before he had become an object of abhorrence to all classes of his subjects, to the nobles and people alike. After a time, the only person who held intercourse with their sovereign was his Vizier and the Cadi of Granada, Juzef Aben Zeragh, an illustrious cavalier belonging to the most noble and most powerful family of the kingdom; and his authority sufficed for a considerable time to restrain the infinite multitude of malcontents who meditated the deposition of their detested king.

But neither the influence nor the prudence of Juzef Aben

Zeragh could at length suffice, and a popular insurrection broke forth, in the midst of which Muhamad El Zaquir, the cousin of the king, was proclaimed sovereign in his stead. The people burst with violence into the Alcazar, and Muhamad El Hayzari escaped from the hands of his revolted subjects only by the efforts of a few guards who had remained faithful to him; these men led him through the gardens of the palace, they secured his departure thence to the sea-shore, and the deposed king passed forth in the disguise of a fisherman.

Muhamad El Hayzari then crossed in a small bark to the African side of the strait, where he sought a refuge with his friend and ally Abu Fariz, King of Tunis, who received him to his palace, entertained him with all the honour due to his station, and assured him of his aid in the event of fortune offering him an opportunity at some future day for obtaining the restoration of his rights.

Muhamad El Zaquir* was meanwhile proclaimed solemnly in the streets of Granada and all the principal cities of the kingdom; he gave festivals to the people, with jousts and tournaments for the nobles, wherein the king himself, who was not unskilled in the exercises of chivalry, took a conspicuous part; he would not unfrequently enter the lists with the most active of the cavaliers, when he gave proof of extraordinary address in casting the javelin, and in other feats of dexterity, avoiding the weapon of his opponent with infinite agility, and wheeling his horse in all directions with considerable skill. He frequently gave banquets to his nobles, and found many ingenious modes of distinguishing his cavaliers and doing them honour.

Yet the new king was not deterred by these amusements from the care with which he thought it needful to destroy the party of his predecessor Muhamad El Hayzari: thus the Vizier, Juzef Aben Zeragh, was compelled to depart from the city with many of the cavaliers who were of his race and kindred, seeing that these men could not accommodate themselves to the habits of the new king's court. But not content with their departure, Muhamad El Zaquir, dreading the influence of that powerful family in the various parts of

* El Zaquir: the drunkard.

the kingdom wherein their possessions were situated, and fearing their action on the parties which they might easily arouse against him, resolved to compass their ruin: these important nobles were nevertheless so closely connected with nearly all the great families of Granada, that they received timely notice of his intentions, and secretly retired to the kingdom of Murcia. Some of the more confiding among them there were, however, who remained in the capital, and these men were not long suffered to dwell there in peace; they were indeed soon made to experience the rigour of the tyrant, who had no sooner thrown off all fear, and begun to believe himself firmly seated on the throne, than he suffered his hard and cruel character to become apparent.

Now there had gone forth with the Vizier Juzef Ben Zeragh, some forty of the noblest cavaliers of the kingdom, and these men, as well as himself, were all well received and hospitably entertained in Medina Lorca, by the Waly of that city, as they subsequently were in the kingdom of Mercia. In the last-mentioned place of their refuge they procured a safe conduct from the King of Castille, to whose court they then repaired, there to kiss the hands of that sovereign, and to offer him their respects. By King John, the Granadine exiles were received with much honour, and he expressed infinite regret for the misfortune of his ally, Muhamad El Hayzari; having subsequently been made acquainted with all the facts of the case by Juzef Aben Zeragh, who related to him furthermore that his master was then at Tunis, in the court of the King Abu Feriz. The Vizier of Muhamad Ben Juzef likewise declared to King John, that no less than one thousand five hundred noble cavaliers, many of them belonging to the best families of the kingdom, had been compelled like himself to fly from Granada, and had gone some to Africa, and some to other parts of the East, while another portion of that exiled band had found refuge in his own states.

Hearing this, the King of Castille, who was young, generous, and compassionate, made proffer to the Vizier, out of his accomplished nobleness, to restore the deposed Muhamad Aben Juzef to his throne, and castigate the tyrant usurper thereof.

To assure the success of the proposed undertaking, it was

then decided that Juzef Aben Zeragh should proceed to the court of Tunis in company with the Alcayde of Murcia, bearing letters from the Sovereign of Castille to the King of that country, even Muley Abu Fariz, inviting the latter to assist in recovering the kingdom of Granada from the hands of its usurper, and replacing the rightful monarch of that realm on his throne. The Castillian sovereign furthermore requested the King of Tunis to send Muhamad Aben Juzef into Spain, where King John would then take counsel with him on the means to be adopted for reinstating him on the throne.

These ambassadors were favourably received by Abu Fariz, King of Tunis, who instantly gave directions for making ready the train that was to accompany Muhamad Aben Juzef to Spain: five hundred cavaliers and a large amount of treasure, with many costly presents, were thereupon prepared for the deposed King of Granada, previous to his return across the strait; the Alcayde of Murcia being charged with rich gifts for his master the King of Castille. Textures of silk and gold, fine perfumes, very delicate linens, and many precious things, composed those presents, and among other rarities were young lions tamed, with much beside of rich and beautiful, such as one great king hath been ever wont to offer to another. All preparations being at length made, the two sovereigns took leave of each other with much affection.

Proceeding to Oran, the company of Muhamad El Hayzari there embarked, and happily passed the sea, landing from their ships on the territory of Granada, and repairing instantly to Medina Vera, which city received Muhamad as lawful king of the realm. The Vizier then departed to Almeria, whence the people, won over by his representations and entreaties, despatched an invitation to his master, hailing him as their king and lord: thereupon Muhamed Ben Juzef took his way to that city, where he was received with great pomp and many intimations of love and reverence.

When the King Muhamad El Zaquir received intelligence of these events, he was much alarmed and grieved thereby; he did not lose an hour in useless delays, but rather, acting with infinite promptitude, he despatched his brother with a carefully chosen body of seven hundred horse, to meet the

African cavaliers who had crossed the Strait with Muhamad El Hayzari, and if possible to get the latter into his hands. But more than half these troops deserted the banners of the Infant, and passed over to the party of their legitimate sovereign; whereupon the brother of Muhamad El Zaquir returned to Granada, not venturing to attack the enemy with his diminished force.

Now by this circumstance the path to his throne was much facilitated for Muhamad El Hayzari; he proceeded from Almeria to Guadix, when that city likewise opened its gates, receiving him as sovereign, and the people offering him the oath of allegiance that same day. To Guadix there then repaired many cavaliers from Granada, and by these nobles King Muhamad was encouraged to make no longer delay, but march at once on the capital, where they assured him that he would be received as well as he had been in Guadix and Almeria. Wherefore, confiding in his fortune, although not without some fear, the king departed from Guadix and approached Granada, whither he was now followed by an innumerable multitude. His numbers had indeed increased perpetually since the moment of his arrival from Africa; and this circumstance giving weight and authority to his pretensions, he was proclaimed by the populace from respect to that multitude which appeared to be in his favour; but from no other motive, nor had they any better cause for their acclamations.

Muhamad El Zaquir now saw himself abandoned by all the nobles, and left, with only a few soldiers, to encounter his rival as he best might; wherefore, departing from the Alcazar by night, he passed into the fortress of the Alhambra, where he made good the defences of the place, and fortified himself to the utmost of his ability. On the following day the King Muhamad El Hayzari entered the capital, where he was received amidst the joyful outcries of the people: the Alhambra was then besieged with so much resolution and ardour by the soldiers of the king, that those of his cousin, Muhamad El Zaquir, lost heart and dared not expose themselves to the fury of the assault. They delivered their hapless chief to the hands of his enemies, when the unfortunate Muhamad El Zaquir was beheaded without loss of time; while his children were placed in rigorous imprisonment:

and so did Muhamad, the son of Juzef, recover the peaceful possession of his capital and kingdom.

Such was the end of Muhamad El Zaquir, whose bravery had rendered him worthy of a better fate: he sat on the throne of Granada two years and a few months.

CHAP. XXX. — WARS OF GRANADA, AND DEATH OF JUZEF ABEN ALAHMAR.

WHEN the King Muhamad Alhayzari had restored a certain amount of order to the affairs of his kingdom, and perceived that the fears entertained by his subjects respecting the mode in which he might govern them were to some extent allayed, he reinstated his friend, the Vizier Juzef Ben Zeragh, who had ever served him with unchanging loyalty and fidelity, in the employments he had previously held: he then sent his ambassadors to the King of Castille, giving that monarch thanks for his good offices, describing to him the state of his kingdom, and proposing a prolongation of the truce formerly existing between them, or rather desiring a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship. Furthermore, and as Muhamad Alhayzari was informed that King Yahye* was at war with his kindred and the rebellious nobles of his realm, he offered him the aid of troops, proposing to march a body of Moslemah cavaliers against his enemies. These letters the King of Granada sent by one of his most trusted friends, Abdelmenam, a noble cavalier of Granada.

The Ambassador arrived at Burgos, where the King of Castille then was, and received a courteous welcome from the Christian monarch, but the latter did not accept the offer of aid sent him by Muhamad Alhayzari: the matters in question were therefore confined to the arrangement of conditions for a truce, the repayment of the treasure supplied to Muhamad at the time when he was seeking the restitution of his throne, and the settlement of the sums to be paid annually by the King of Granada to the King of Castille, as an acknowledgment of vassalage, that sum to be

* John.

given in doubloons of gold. But on the subject of the treasure, Muhamad Alhayzari refused to comply with the demands of the Christian king, believing that the latter, having his hands filled with the wars and dissensions then prevailing in Castille, would be compelled to content himself with whatever he might be satisfied to pay: at a word, the King of Granada resolved to be ruled by his own pleasure only in that matter.

Thus it happened that Abdelmenam returned to Granada without having found means to make any determined arrangement; nay, the King of Castille wrote letters to the King of Tunis complaining of the ingratitude of Muhamad Alhayzari, requesting at the same time that Abu Fariz would not give his aid to the Granadine sovereign in the war which he, the Christian king, was about to declare against him, for the purpose of compelling him to fulfil his obligations and repay the amount of treasure which the King of Castille had expended in reinstating Muhamad on his throne.

To this the King of Tunis replied by an assurance that he would withhold the galleys and troops which he had prepared for the service of Muhamad Alhayzari, and he sent letters to the King of Granada, advising him to pay the just demands of the Christian King, to whom he owed his crown, adding an assurance to the effect that if Muhamad Alhayzari refused to fulfil that duty he must expect no futher aid from himself, Abu Fariz. The King of Tunis then wrote to the King of Castille other letters, wherein he entreated that monarch to avenge himself with moderation, and not carry to the extreme of rigour the castigation which he was about to inflict on his kinsman, Muhamad Alhayzari.

But the King of Granada was not to be moved either by the counsels or menaces thus addressed to him; and when the King of Castille had concluded a peace with the Infant his kinsman, he ordered the troops on his frontier to make an inroad on the territory of Muhamad: one body of the Christian troops thereupon commenced an irruption on the district of Ronda, while another fell upon the Government of Cazorla. Against this last, which consisted principally of cavalry, King Muhamad Alhayzari advanced with his Moslemah, and his good fortune enabled him to defeat his

enemies on that occasion, although a well-appointed force; nay, so completely were the Christians routed, that almost all their number remained dead on the field of battle. But the prosperity of the Granadine arms was not equally conspicuous in other parts of the kingdom: while Muhamad Alhayzari was obtaining a triumph over the valiant bands annihilated at Cazorla, the Christians on their part were making themselves masters of his strongholds in various districts of the country. Among other fortresses then taken, was the town of Ximena, and together with the intelligence of that loss came information to Mohamad to the effect that the King of Castille was advancing against him with a great power; wherefore, in much dread lest the terrors already prevailing in consequence of that report should cause an insurrection to be excited in Granada, Muhamad left the command of his army to his generals and repaired to the capital with a train of five hundred horse. He then raised a body of twenty thousand men, taken from the inhabitants of Granada, to whom he gave arms, appointing them to serve as the garrison of the place, and to defend it in the event of a siege. The Christians were meanwhile devastating the Comarcas of Illora, Taxaxar, Alora, Archidona, and some other districts; and that being done, the King of Castille returned into his own territories with a rich booty, proceeding first to Eçija, and thence repairing to Cordova.

And now, as Muhamad Alhayzari had feared, there rose against him a powerful party: at this conjuncture an extensive conspiracy was formed to dethrone him, and the repose which he was promising himself from the departure to his own land of the Christian King, was again to be interrupted by new cares. A cavalier of the blood royal, named Juzef Aben Alahmar, possessing great wealth, and being a man of much ambition, conceived a hope of attaining to the crown, and depriving Muhamad Alhayrazi of his kingdom, by means of help to be obtained from the Christian monarch. He communicated those desires and expectations to his friends and partisans, who were in large numbers, and by common accord this faction despatched a messenger to Cordova, where the Christian king then was. The envoy chosen by Juzef Aben Alahmar was a cavalier of the Benegas, called Gelil Ben Geleil Aben Luka, the husband of the

Infanta, Ceti Merier, whom he had married for the great love that existed between them. This Gelil Ben Gelcil was of a noble race, and very brave, although of the lineage of the Christians: he had been exiled from the court by the King Mohamad Alhayzari, and lived in banishment at Alhama; to him, then, as being well acquainted with the Christian tongue, the conspirators committed their embassy, charging him to confer with the King of Castille on such matters as concerned their rebellion. On the part of Juzef Aben Alahmar he was empowered to offer a force of more than eight thousand men, a large part of that number being nobles of the best familes among the Moslemah, with whom Juzef declared himself ready to join the Christian king, so soon as the latter should appear on the Vega, adding that if, as he hoped, he became master of the kingdom by the aid of the Christian sovereign, he would be content to remain the true and faithful vassal of that monarch.

The proposal made by the messenger of Juzef Aben Alahmar was favourably received by the Christians, and the rather as their king had long had it in contemplation to make an inroad on the Vega. Aben Luka therefore returned with the satisfaction of a successful envoy, bringing the verbal reply of the King of Castille, with the promises desired by Aben Alahmar, and assurance of safety for all who would join themselves to his banners.

Encouraged by the hopes thus infused into them, the partizans of Juzef drew off gradually from the capital, under the pretext of proceeding to take part in the war on the frontier; but when the King of Castille entered the Vega, as he did without long delay, Juzef Aben Alahmar instantly presented himself to kiss the hand of the Christian King, being followed almost immediately by the generals and force of his partizans, which did not comprise less than the eight thousand men he had promised; a very large portion of that army being, moreover, an exceedingly brilliant body of cavalry.

The King of Castille then encamped his host on a declivity of the Sierra Elvira, whence he delighted his eyes with the view to be enjoyed thence of the beautiful towns of Granada, Aben Alahmar recounting to him the names of the principal edifices, and pointing out the different forts; he more

especially distinguished the Alhambra, the Bermegan*Towers, and the Albayzin.

The generals and cavalry of Granada, a valiant body, well experienced in war, did not fail to present themselves to the Christians, and numerous were the conflicts which then took place between the skirmishing parties of either host, until on a certain day both parties came to a pitched battle on the open field—power against power. That engagement was an obstinately contested one, and the Moslemah of Granada, as well as the Christian cavaliers, fought with admirable valour; the cavalry more especially distinguishing themselves, and bearing the heaviest part of that sanguinary combat. The carnage was horrible on both sides, and the strife was maintained throughout the day, until late in the evening, when the Moslemah began to lose ground. Favoured by the approach of night, therefore, the children of Islam abandoned the field, which they left covered with mangled corpses and saturated with the blood of the slain. Never hath the kingdom of Granada suffered a more notable loss than that inflicted by the battle here in question, seeing that the flower of the cavalry was utterly annihilated on the side of the vanquished: nor was the loss of the conquerors, in that part of their force, much less complete. If, then, those Moslemah lances, there unhappily directed against each other, had been turned against the breasts of the Infidel, as they ought to have been, they might have prepared for the enemy of Allah a day no less fearful than that of Alarcos, the memory of which is held in detestation by all who bear the Christian name.

The unhappy result of that encounter filled the hearts of the people in Granada with grief and dismay; yet the presence of their King Muhamad Alhayzari, who did not lose courage, notwithstanding his defeat, prevented them from taking any other part than that of defending themselves, although the earth itself seemed to have taken its portion in the terror of the Granadines. Yea, trembling and quivering, with great shocks, were felt, while subterraneous cries were heard resounding through the entrails of the earth, in such sort as to fill the souls of the most coura-

* Red.

geous with horror and despair,—these things causing every man to hope or fear some great thing, according to the side on which he stood.

When the King of Castille had laid desolate the whole of the Vega, he broke up his camp, to the disappointment of Juzef Aben Alahmar, and returned to Cordova. Nor were the mistrust and dissatisfaction of the Granadine insurgents and their chief without cause, as they beheld that the Christian King, content with that which he had accomplished for himself, now proposed to abandon them, with no better prospects before their eyes than that of the loss of their country, with all they possessed therein. But arrived in Cordova, and as if to console them for his desertion, the King of Castille caused Juzef Aben Alahmar to be proclaimed King of Granada, solemnizing his accession before all his court, and in the presence of the army, with renewed offers of aid for the assurance of his success in making himelf master of the kingdom. The frontier forces of Castille were furthermore commanded to give their assistance to Juzef Aben Alahmar for that purpose until he should be securely seated on the throne.

This declaration on the part of the Christian King produced a great effect on the prospects of Aben Alahmar, since it caused many towns of Granada to pronounce in his favour. Montefrio was the first to raise his banners; but he was subsequently enabled, by the aid of his Christian auxiliaries and the efforts of his own force, to make himself master of Illora, Cambil, Alhabar, Ortexicar, and Taxarxa, after which there followed Hisu-Alloz, Ronda, and Medina Loxa, from which city four hundred cavaliers presented themselves to join his army.

From Ardales Juzef Aben Alahmar sent a letter to the King of Castille, acknowledging the sovereignty of the latter, and engaging to pay a certain sum yearly, in doubloons of gold. He furthermore pledged himself to serve the Christian monarch, in his wars with five hundred cavaliers, and to appear in the great assembly of his nobles, whenever those Cortes should be held on the hither side of the mountains of Toledo, or failing his own presence, to send one of the most considerable of his nobles as his representative before the Christian King. Other conditions

of alliance and mutual amity were added, but those above mentioned were the principal clauses of the compact.

Juzef Aben Alahmar then marched towards Granada with a powerful army, and was met on the part of the Granadine King by the Vizier Juzef Aben Zeragh, whom his master, even Mohamad Alhayzari, had despatched to the encounter of the rebels. A sanguinary engagement was then commenced, in which the brave Aben Zeragh died, fighting like a lion; his army was then thrown into disorder, and a total rout ensuing, the troops fled in great terror. They took their way towards the capital, where those panic-stricken bands, exaggerating the multitude of the host by which they had been defeated, declared that the greater part of the combatants had remained dead on the field, where they had not consented to give quarter, either on the one side or the other.

These representations, with the fact of his victory, which was not to be questioned, increased the fame of Juzef Aben Alahmar as they did the fea s of the people: almost all the Taas, or juridical districts, the kingdom, declared themselves his followers, and to avoid the losses and evils which could not but result from opposing him, the greater part of the towns threw open their gates, the inhabitants pouring out in emulation of each other to proffer him the oath of allegiance. Juzef Aben Alahmar then marched for Illora, and with an innumerable host took his way to the capital of the kingdom.

The announcement of his near approach, with the overwhelming force which he was declared to command, caused a fearful commotion in Granada; the lower classes of the people were seized with panic, and a popular insurrection compelled the nobles to abandon all thought of opposition Together with the principal citizens, they then represented to Mohamad Alhayzari the impossibility of making any defence, and entreated him not to expose the city to the horrors of an assault. but at once to place himself in safety with the members of his household. Then the king resolved to do as he was advised; he took the treasures amassed in his Alcazar, with his Hareem, the two sons of Muhamad El Zaquir, whom he kept prisoners, the most trusted of his intimates, and such of his partizans as desired to follow

him, with whom he fled to Malaga, where his cause was still maintained by a large party.

Juzef Aben Alahmar then made his entrance into Granada; but he did so with a force of no more than six hundred cavaliers, to the end that all fear of violence to be inflicted on them should be removed from the hearts of the inhabitants. He was received by the nobles, who accompanied him to the Alcazar of the Alhambra, where Aben Alahmar then assembled the Xeques, Walies, Alcaydes and Judges of the kingdom, from whom he received a solemn oath of allegiance as their king, and then passed through the city with great pomp. Thus did Juzef become possessor of the throne, after Mohamad Alhayzari had occupied it three years from the day of his restoration.

The new sovereign now despatched an embassy to the King of Castille, assuring that monarch of his gratitude, declaring himself his obedient vassal, and offering to pay to the Christian a yearly amount of gold equal to that which had been transmitted to Castille in times past by his predecessors. The letter written by Aben Alahmar on that occasion was in the following words:

"Juzef Muhamad Aben Alahmar, King of Granada, your subject, kisses your hands. Commending myself to your favour, I beg you to know that I departed from Illora and marched towards the city of Granada, whence there came forth to receive me all the nobles of the same, who, kissing my hands as their sovereign and lord, resigned to me the fortress of the Alhambra. All this, my lord, hath been accomplished by the favour of God and the good fortune of your aid. The King Alhayzari hath fled to Malaga, taking with him the brother of the Alcayde Ahnaf, his nephew, with the two sons of Muhamad El Zaquir, whom, as it is said, he hath commanded his servants to put to death: before his departure he plundered the Alcazars of all that they contained, and these treasures he hath borne with him to his place of refuge. Now, my lord, with the help and favour of God, and by the aid of your potent succours,—which may God prosper!—there hath marched against him Don Gomez Ribera, your Commandant of the Frontiers, with certain of my own cavaliers. When these forces have arrived at Malaga, they will attack the

place of his abode, when by the favour of God, and the aid of your Highness, I may hope soon to have him in my hands."

This letter was sent by Juzef Aben Alahmar to the court of Seville by the hands of a noble cavalier, who was well received by the King of Castille, the good news he brought being a cause of much rejoicing to that monarch. At the same time there came an envoy from the King of Tunis, bringing letters, in which Abu Fariz entreated the King of Castille to keep measures with Muhamad Alhayzari, his kinsman, nor suffer him to be ruined and despoiled of his kingdom. These complaints of the King of Tunis reached the Sovereign of Castille through the hands of a Genoese merchant, and the Christian King replied by transmitting his excuses to the African Monarch, Abu Fariz, for the part he had taken in that matter.

Six months had Aben Alahmar reigned happily in Granada, when he was interrupted by death, whose hand is ever occupied in disturbing the projects and destroying the delights of men. He had become old, and being moreover infirm, could not support the cares of government, which he had undertaken with an immoderate fervour of zeal His death brought the dissensions which had previously divided the Granadine people to a close, and all parties now uniting, agreed to proclaim the exiled and fugitive King Muhamad Alhayzari, who returned to occupy his throne for the third time. The news of Juzef Aben Alahmar's death had reached him in Malaga, and he did not fail to rejoice therein as at the departure of an enemy. He took certain precautions by way of ascertaining the sincerity of those who, having proclaimed him King, now invited him to return to Granada; and it was not until he had received assurance of their fidelity that he set forth on his way to the capital; but his mind being set at rest on that point, he repaired thither with much content.

A cavalier of high degree and much esteemed in Granada, named Abdelhac, was now appointed to be his Vizier by the restored king, who was advised by that minister to send his ambassadors without delay to the King of Castille, and to Aben Fariz, King of Tunis, to the end that all cause of discord between those monarchs then existing on his

account might cease: this Mohamad Alhayzari did with very good will, when a truce for the space of one year was agreed to by the Christian king, that truce being afterwards prolonged by twelve months more.

But the time of that prolonged truce had but just elapsed before the Christians fell upon the territories of Granada, and took the fortified town of Beni Maurel, after a stubborn resistance on the part of the inhabitants, and many a fierce assault made on its walls. On the side of Murcia, the cavalry forming the frontier guard of the Christians, led on by the brave Fayard, also poured into the kingdom of Granada, where they were met by Abdelbar, the Vizier of Granada, with a well-appointed force of horsemen from that capital and from the Algarve. The two armies having arrived in presence, a well-contested battle was fought, in which the Christians were defeated, their valiant general, who laboured to maintain the field, even after the greater part of his people were in flight, remaining dead on the scene of carnage.

At the same time, a strong body of the Christian troops made themselves masters of the city of Huesca, by force of arms. The place was vigorously defended by the Moslemah garrison, but after a grievous mortality, the city was taken by the Infidel, when the brave defenders retired to the citadel, where they were closely besieged by their enemies. The Arraiz of Baza El Cawmi now hastened to their assistance, and cutting his way through the Christian force, he succeeded in throwing succours into the castle; but the provisions of the garrison being totally exhausted, and their munitions of war likewise entirely expended, they were compelled to resort to negociations, and surrendered their stronghold, from which the Moslemah were permitted to march forth in security.

CHAP. XXXI.—WARS BETWEEN THE MOSLEMAH AND CHRISTIANS. MUHAMAD EL HAYZARI IS DETHRONED BY MUHAMAD ABEN OZMIN. ANOTHER PARTY PROCLAIMS ABEN ISMAIL.

IN the year 840* the general of Muhamad and Vizier of Granada, Adelbar, defeated the Christians in the narrow

* A.D. 1436.—*Condé.*

defiles in the Comarca near Medina Archidona, to the vicinity of which city he pursued their flying bands, among whose numbers the Moslemah lance made a cruel carnage. The enemy of Allah had proposed to himself the surprise of that city, towards which they had marched with infinite caution, by unaccustomed ways; but the Vizier Abdelbar was awaiting them in a difficult pass, when he attacked and threw them into disorder, as hath been related. In the frightful slaughter which then followed, the Moslemah took the banners of the Grand Master of Alcantara, by whom the Infidel force was conducted: all his people were either captured or put to death, and the Grand Master himself escaped only by the fleetness of his horse, with a very few cavaliers of his train.

The Vizier then passed on to attack the Christians before Huelma, to which city they were laying siege; but they did not dare to venture a battle with the brave and victorious Abdelbar, and being compelled to strike their camp, those Infidels then retired towards Jaen.

In the following year of 841 the same general fought various battles with the enemy of Allah, in which he contended with prosperous fortunes, more particularly in the Comarcas of Guadix and the Vega of Granada: in these conflicts many of the bravest and most distinguished generals of Castille met their death. In the year following, the frontier guard of Murcia, led by the governor Aben Fayard, entered the territory of the Moslemah, attacking the fortified towns of Velad Blanco and Velad Rubio, which surrendered by capitulation, the inhabitants consenting to remain therein as Mudexares or tributaries, subject to the King of Castille: by that resolve they delivered themselves from the perpetual vexations and oppressions caused to them by the frontier guard in their never-ceasing irruptions.

With the same intent the cities of Guadix and Baza desired to make terms of surrender with the King of Castille; but they wished at the same time to remain free, nor be subjected to the rule of his governors, and to take no part in the wars that might be thenceforward declared. The King of Castille on his part would have had them give up their fortresses, to the end that he might place Christian garrisons therein, and make war on the Granadines from

those strongholds, and as the inhabitants would not consent to that arrangement, they could come to no conditions: wherefore, for that year, Guadix and Baza did not escape the inroads and devastations of the Christian army, which were fearfully cruel. Medina Galera, and other fortified towns, were at the same time occupied by the Infidel, with the above-mentioned stipulation, that the inhabitants namely were to remain as the Mudexares of Castille.

The Christians now laid siege to Gebaltaric also, and were led to that expedition by the Lord of Niebla; but the people of the city marched forth against them, and falling on their camp by night, when they were least expected, the besiegers were thrown into the utmost confusion. In that panic, and flying without order, large numbers were drowned in the river Palmones, which had been swollen by the rains. Here the Lord of Niebla himself, with many of the people who had escaped the swords of the brave Moslemah who defended Gebaltaric, perished in their flight. But not so fortunate were the people of Huelma, they being compelled to surrender their city to the Christians led by the Lord of Buytrago: that general was a distinguished poet as well as great soldier, and he permitted the inhabitants of Medina Huelma to depart in safety.

At the same time, the brave general Aben Zeragh, son of the Vizier of Muhamad Alhayrazi, even Juzef Ben Zeragh, marched against the Christians, who were devastating the Comarcas under the command of Don Fulari Perea, the governor of Cazorla. The two armies encountered each other in a spacious plain, either attacking its opponent with a chivalrous determination:* they fought all that day with so much steadiness and animosity that the combatants seemed rather to be wild beasts in deadly conflict than men who had gone forth to battle. Yet did the brave Aben Zeragh perform acts of such extraordinary prowess, and so closely pressed the Christian force, that he finally defeated his redoubtable foe: but he paid for that advantage

* The exquisite naïveté of the original, "Con gentil denuedo," is here unhappily lost, being but poorly rendered by the phrase in the text.—*Tr.*

with his life: heated by the carnage, and neglecting, in the midst of the horrors around him, to give any attention to the many wounds he had received in the course of that long day's fight, the valiant soldier bled to death on the field of his triumph. The governor of Cazorla, Don Fulari Perea, who was a very brave cavalier, died in like manner on that field, as did nearly all his people, seeing that very few of them found means to escape.

The result of this battle caused the people of Castille to lose heart for that time, and they no longer ventured to appear in the territories of Granada. On the Moslemah side the death of their illustrious leader Aben Zeragh was very deeply deplored in all the kingdom, but more especially by the noble youth and ladies of Granada, by whom he was much beloved for the graces of his person and the nobility of his character.

And now, as the kingdom of Castille had become the scene of new revolutions and disorders, so it would appear that the contagion had extended to Granada; many cavaliers of that city, offended by their King Muhamad Alhayzari, having departed from his capital and repaired to the court of Seville, where they entered the service of the Castillian king. The principal person among these malcontents was Muhamad Aben Ismail, nephew of the king, who considered himself aggrieved by his uncle, because the latter, refusing his consent to a marriage which Muhamad Ben Ismail desired to contract, had preferred another cavalier, who was much in his intimacy, and to whom he had given the lady in dispute.

Nor was this the sole disquietude which then menaced the tranquillity of the kingdom: another nephew of the king, called Aben Ozmin, who was then in Almeria, being made acquainted with the dissensions which had arisen between those cavaliers of Granada and his uncle, Muhamad Alhayzari, repaired in secret to the capital with a large number of his partizans. Here, by distributing vast sums of money among the populace, while he brought fuel to the fire of those passions which were raging among the disaffected nobles, Aben Ozmin contrived in a short time to excite the minds of the people to revolt. The culpable endeavours of his partizans having brought about an insurrection, Aben

Ozmin obtained possession of the Alhambra; this was followed by his occupation of all the other fortresses of the capital, when the rebellious nephew, having taken his sovereign and kinsman prisoner, did not hesitate to place him in rigorous confinement. Thus was this unlucky prince deposed for the third time, after he had sat on the throne thirteen years.

Muhamad Aben Ozmin was then proclaimed king, yet not with the unanimous consent of the people, many of those who had at first appeared among his partizans now deserting him, and others attaching themselves to a powerful party formed by the illustrious Vizier Abdelbar, who had retired to Montefrio with all his kindred and friends. This sudden and unlooked-for revolution took place in the year 849.*

The Vizier Abdelbar now perceiving that it would not be possible to reinstate the deposed king, Mohamad Alhayzari, on his throne, and convinced that even to raise a voice in his favour would but serve to hasten the royal captive's death, despatched letters to the Infant Aben Ismail, who was then in Castille, and to whom he offered the kingdom of Granada.

Now the Vizier, believing it probable that Aben Ismail might be impeded in his wish to leave Castille by the King of the Christians, sent these letters with much caution, having written them in a certain secret manner, known only to himself and the Infant Aben Ismail,—nor was this all: the messengers whom he chose were two nobles of his own house; but he caused those cavaliers to proceed to the court of Castille in disguise, and thus it was that they presented themselves to Aben Ismail, with whom they found means to speak in private, and to whom they proposed a secret departure from Castille.

But the Infant, confiding in the generosity of the Christian king, would not consent to leave the country without his knowledge; he therefore consulted him openly on that affair, making known the business on which the Granadine cavaliers had been sent, and the proposals made to him. Then the Christian king not only threw no

* A.D. 1445.—*Condé.*

obstacle in the way of his departure, but offered him his assistance, and gave him letters to the generals on his frontiers, commanding them to aid the Moslemah prince for the fulfilment of his purpose.

The Infant Aben Ismail then commenced his return to Granada, having in his company certain cavaliers who belonged to the service of the King of Castille. When he reached the frontier, Aben Ismail was joined by the generals and governors of the border, who followed him with a brilliant force of cavalry, and they proceeded to Medina Montefrio. Arrived within a certain distance of that city, the Infant was received by Abdelbar, who had come forth to meet him, and he was there proclaimed King of Granada.

Meanwhile, Aben Ozmin, who was reigning as king in Granada, receiving information to the effect that the Christians were favouring his cousin, determined to avenge himself on those Infidels: he attacked their fortress accordingly with a powerful host, being the more effectually encouraged to that step by the wars and revolutions then dividing the kingdom of Castille. With a marvellous diligence, Aben Ozmin led his troops against the fortified town of Benamaurel,* which he besieged and assaulted with great violence. The resistance offered by the garrison was overcome, and he entered the place by force of arms, putting to death or taking captive all the Christians who had aided in the defence of the place: among the latter was Herrera, the Alcayde of Benamaurel.

The frontier-guard of Andalusia, intimidated by that successful commencement, now no longer desired to await the onslaught or impede the progress of the victorious king, Muhamad Aben Ozman, the fury of whose attack at Benamaurel appears to have inspired terror into their hearts; he therefore marched, without meeting resistance, to the stronghold of Aben Zulema, which was defended by a brave garrison of the Christians. By means of the Alcayde Herrera, who was his prisoner, the conqueror Aben Ozman then proposed to those troops to surrender, and not expose themselves to the miserable fate which had befallen their

* Beni Maurel.

brethren of Benamaurel; but the Christians, despising these menaces, refused to resign their trust; whereupon the Moslemah cavaliers attacked them with such ardour that no force could resist the impetuosity of their charge; the fortress was ultimately taken by escalade, and not a man of all who were in it was suffered to escape with life. The King Aben Ozmin then returned in triumph to Granada, his troops laden with the rich spoils they had gathered in treasures, captives, and flocks.

CHAP. XXXII.—ABEN OZMIN IS COMPELLED TO FLY FROM GRANADA. PROCLAMATION OF THE KING ABEN ISMAIL.

IN the following year, the King of Granada, Aben Ozmin, divided his forces into several bodies; some of these he directed on different points of the frontiers, while he detached another against his cousin Aben Ismail. The principal division of these troops was commanded by the king in person, and entering with that force on the territory of Andalusia, he took the cities of Huesca, Velad Abiad, and Velad Alahmar. Having placed garrisons in those fortresses, he plundered and laid waste the [illegible] Comarcas, taking captive large numbers of men and women, with flocks and herds in vast abundance: that done, and laden with an inestimable booty, Aben Ozmin returned rich and well satisfied to Medina Granada.

And now, as the King Aben Ozmin was made acquainted with the dissensions which had once more arisen between the King of Castille on the one side, and the Kings of Arragon and Navarre on the other, he resolved to attempt the turning of those discords to his own account, and sent envoys bearing letters to the two last mentioned sovereigns, wherein he proposed to form an alliance with them against the King of Castille. With these messengers Aben Ozmin sent many costly presents also; as, for example, fine horses with splendid caparisons, tissues of silk and gold, magnificently jewelled arms, and many other precious gifts. The treaties then concerted between the Moslemah King of Granada and those Christians went to the effect that Aben Ozmin should enter the territories of the King of Castille

with a powerful army, while the Kings of Navarre and Arragon should fall on them in like manner, each from his own borders.

At the commencement of the year following Aben Ozmin assembled his forces accordingly, and made irruptions on the kingdom of Murcia, which belonged to the King of Castille; he then pillaged and burnt the villages and farms, leaving desolation wherever he appeared. The Christian general, Don Tellez Giron, went forth against him with his troops, and a battle was fought in the vicinity of Medina Chinchilla; when the brave Aben Ozmin defeated the Infidels, killing and taking captive large numbers of them, whom he bore in triumph to Granada. In the next year, and still continuing in alliance with the Kings of Arragon and Navarre, the Moslemah sovereign once more fell upon the territories of the Christians, cutting up the fields of Andalusia and causing infinite terror to all the dwellers in that land. They were indeed in much fear lest the victorious Aben Ozmin should march on Cordova and lay siege to that city, but he contented himself with devastating the district of Arcos, and having driven off all the flocks, and slain or taken captive the unfortunate inhabitants, he returned for that time to his capital.

The next year Aben Ozmin sent his general, Muhamad, son of Abdelbar, to lay waste the territory of his foes, directing him to march on the kingdom of Murcia. This young man, having been detained in the capital by a love affair in which he was engaged, had refused to join the expedition of his father, when the latter departed to offer his services to Aben Ismail, and had attached himself to the King Aben Ozmin, in the hope that his faithful service might induce that monarch to favour his marriage with the object of his affection;—and the king did in fact esteem and value Muhamad Abdelbar very much for his bravery and ability, conferring on him many honourable charges, and employing him in the most difficult enterprises. Thus in the spring of the year now in question he had sent him to make an inroad on the kingdom of Murcia, as hath been related. Nor was the enterprise a less successful one than usual in the earlier part of its progress; Abdelbar collected a large amount of booty, and was happily returning with flocks

and captives in great abundance, when certain of the Alcaydes whom he had in his company rashly proposed an attack on the territory of Lorca. To this Abdelbar imprudently consented: he drove his prisoners and booty before him, gathering up and adding to their numbers all that fell into his hands as he passed through the district, in which he committed fearful ravages. But having crossed the Vega of Lorca and approached the city, a large body of the Christian cavalry was seen to leave the gates, and the valiant Moslemah awaiting their attack, an obstinate engagement ensued, in which Muhamad Abdelbar was defeated and lost the greater part of his best cavaliers, with all his captives. After fighting like a lion, he at last determined on retiring, but his retreat was a disastrous one, and he arrived in Granada with only a small number of his men; whereupon Aben Ozmin, perceiving that he had betrayed a want of foresight, and forgetting all his past services, addressed him in these words:—

"Since thou hast not thought it good to die in the conflict as a brave man ought to do, I will have thee die the coward's death in a prison:" having said which, he commanded that the unhappy youth should be put to death, which was instantly done.

The King Aben Ismail had meanwhile remained at Medina Montefrio, protecting his subjects and defending his towns with much care, while he awaited the moment when the King of Castille, disembarrassed of his wars with Arragon and Navarre, should be able to give him aid against his cousin, the King Aben Ozmin. His alliance with the Christians had in the meantime enabled him to secure his people from the incursions which had so cruelly devastated the kingdom of Murcia, and he did his best to keep up their hopes and animate his partizans by assurances of a brighter future in store for them.

Now the enemies of Aben Ozmin were largely increased in their numbers by the cruelty of that sovereign, which caused a feeling of discontent soon to become manifest among his subjects. Inflated by the triumphs he had obtained over the Christians, Aben Ozmin daily displayed new pride, and his haughtiness estranged the hearts of his nobles, while his thirst for blood caused every man to tremble in

his presence, seeing that he would often command the death of the most distinguished men for the lightest cause; nay, not unfrequently without any cause whatever. He furthermore despoiled of their possessions and dismissed from their employment the old and faithful Xeques of his kingdom, to reward the Arrayaces or military leaders who were the companions of his expeditions. He would in like manner arrange the marriages of his courtiers without consulting any other will than his own, compelling fathers to bestow the hands of their daughters on such persons as it pleased him to designate, in total disregard of their disinclination to do so, and still less considering the inclinations of the brides of whom he disposed in that arbitrary manner.

These things gave just cause of complaint, nor could there fail to result much dissatisfaction from a mode of conduct on the part of the king so tyrannical and offensive. He became an object of detestation to the nobles for these causes, while his cruelty destroyed the affection of the people, who ultimately feared him as they did death and the grave. A way was thus opened to his enemies, and their success was facilitated by his misconduct. The King of Castille, moreover, had now made peace with his neighbours of Arragon and Navarre, when he determined to avenge himself on the King of Granada for the long series of insult and injury that he had suffered at his hands. He therefore assembled a large army of well-appointed troops destined to serve as auxiliaries of the King Aben Ismail, and with that force added to his own people, the latter marched against his cousin.

The host of Aben Ozmin having also advanced to the encounter of his enemies, the two armies soon gained sight of each other, and an obstinate engagement ensued, wherein both sides fought with heroic valour; but Aben Ozman was finally defeated by the Moslemah and Christian forces under the command of his cousin Aben Ismail: he fled with the ruins of his cavalry, and it was not without difficulty that he regained his capital. He then attempted a second muster of troops, but his people, estranged by the cruelty he had betrayed, presented themselves in small numbers only, and the king, perceiving that his fortune had changed, resolved to take a signal vengeance on all whom he suspected of

feeling but a lukewarm zeal in his service. Having retired to the Alhambra, he summoned a large number of those among the principal cavaliers of Granada, against whom he had taken umbrage, to his presence, and then caused them all to be put to death. But now, finding that the people of the city had risen in revolt, and were proclaiming his cousin Ismail their king, even before he had presented himself, Aben Ozmin no longer believed his life secure in the fortress, and determined to fly before he was besieged therein. He was accompanied in his flight by certain of the cavaliers whom he had admitted to his closest intimacy; but knowing that few had any cause to love him, he distrusted them all, and disappearing from among the followers still left to him, he took refuge in the mountains. These things occurred in the year 859.*

Aben Ismail now made his entrance into Granada, where he was received by the Xeques and nobles: he was then immediately proclaimed king with great pomp, that ceremony being subsequently performed in all the principal cities of the kingdom, as well as in Medina Granada,

The new king then sent his ambassadors to the King of Castille with letters, in which he acknowledged himself the vassal of that monarch: he furthermore expressed his gratitude by the many rich presents which accompanied those letters,—cloth of gold and silk, beautiful horses, and rich caparisons, forming part of that princely gift; but as the King Don Juan† of Castille, who had assisted him to ascend his throne, died some short time after, Aben Ismail made no proposal to resume his treaties of amity and alliance with Don Enrique,‡ his son, desiring to avoid giving a subject of discontent to the Granadines, and knowing well that his subjects did not view the friendship existing between himself and the Christians with favourable eyes.

For that reason Aben Ismail gave his generals permission to make an inroad on the frontiers of Castille, and to lay the country under contribution: this they effected accordingly, and the flocks and captives taken on that occasion were very

* A.D. 1454.—*Condé.*
† John II.
‡ Henry IV.

numerous, the careless security and confidence, in which the Christians were then living, having much facilitated the success of the Moslemah generals.

Now as no cause had been given for that aggression, the King Don Enrique was much astonished, as well as displeased, by the acts of violence committed, and commanded that his troops should be assembled to make reprisals. He then marched on Granada with fourteen thousand cavalry, and foot-soldiers innumerable, subjecting all the country to fire and sword; the harvests were burnt, the trees were rooted up, and whatever was found beyond the walls of the capital was utterly destroyed.

Yet the King Aben Ismail would not venture on a battle of power against power; he contented himself with sending out strong companies of his light cavalry, and these presented themselves boldly to skirmish with the Christians, causing them heavy losses, and for the most part retiring victorious from these encounters. Within the city, meanwhile, all was carefully prepared for whatever demands might arise; on every public place the troops remained constantly under arms, while the walls and towers were powerfully manned and guarded. The King of Castille, therefore, seeing that the Moslemah could not be brought to battle, and would only come forth to those skirmishes, wherein, though apparently but of slight importance, large numbers of his people were slain, bethought himself of returning to his states: he knew the address of the Granadine cavaliers, and their fitness for the species of combat in which alone they would then engage, but wherein the bravest soldiers of Castille were daily slain or wounded, to the infinite discouragement of his people; nay, there were not a few who expressed their discontent with that destructive mode of warfare, and some even deserted their colours and departed to their homes. Wherefore, resolving to content himself with the vengeance he had taken on the Comarcas of Granada for the injuries done to his territories, the King Don Enrique returned for that time to his own dominions.

But when the spring had opened in the following year, the Christian army again appeared in the land: the light cavalry of Granada poured forth in their turn to impede his operations, compelling King Enrique to employ

his whole force in the encounter of their numerous bands, which divided the Christian power: then the contending parties fought with varying fortunes, but to the manifest disadvantage of the invaders, who could rarely bring their numbers to bear effectually on the flying squadrons of their foe.

In one of these encounters died Garcilaso de la Vega, the Christian King's most valued servant and intimate friend: to avenge that death, which caused Don Enrique extreme regret, he then made a cruel devastation on the Vega, and having taken the fortified town of Ximena, he put all its inhabitants to the edge of the sword.

CHAP XXXIII.—TREATY FOR A SHORT TRUCE BETWEEN ABEN ISMAIL, KING OF GRANADA, AND THE KING OF CASTILLE. CAMPAIGNS OF THE PRINCE MULEY ABUL HASSAN. HE SUCCEEDS TO HIS FATHER, ABEN ISMAIL.

BUT now desiring to put an end to the sufferings occasioned by the Christian inroads, the King Aben Ismail sent his messengers to the King of Castille, proposing conditions of agreement, and, although with much reluctance, they then made a truce for a certain time and on certain conditions; but these did not include the frontier of Jaen, and the war was there left open to both nations. Of this circumstance the brave generals of Granada were not slow to avail themselves; they made frequent incursions on the Comarcas of Jaen, and caused much evil to the Christian dwellers in that land. In one of those irruptions they defeated the enemy with a notable slaughter, and taking the Christian governor, Castañeda, prisoner, they carried him in triumph to Granada.

Aben Ismail, the new King of Granada, ruled his dominions with great prudence and justice; he was therefore much beloved by all classes of his subjects. The houses built without the city, and which had been destroyed or injured during the war, he caused to be restored to their previous condition, ameliorating the police of the capital, restoring the public edifices, planting trees, and giving his careful attention to all that could contribute to the well

being of his people. Aben Ismail was a lover of jousts and tournaments, and would sometimes bear a part in the exercises exhibited, being endowed with much address and singularly accomplished in the management of his horse. He had two sons, the elder of whom was now rising beyond the years of childhood and was entering man's estate; the young prince was called Muley Abul Hassan: he too exhibited much address in the exercises proper to his birth, was a lively, animated youth, a courageous soldier, and accomplished cavalier: the younger son of the king was called Cid Abdailah.

Now the Prince Muley Abul Hassan, eagerly desirous of an opportunity for displaying his valour in a campaign against the Christians, took a chosen band of cavalry, and without respect to the truce which his father had at that time formed with the King of Castille, he entered the territory of Andalusia, swept off the flocks from the Comarcas of Estepra, and taking captive such of the inhabitants as he did not slay in all the villages and farms of the district. The frontier-guard of Osuna marched against him, and Abul Hassan fought a hardly-contested battle with those troops; but after a heavy loss on both sides, the Moslemah prince was compelled to retire, abandoning the booty he had taken as the only means of securing his own retreat.

In the year 865, Prince Abul Hassan made another and more terrible irruption on the Christian frontiers, and on that occasion his onslaught was not so perilous, and was more successful.

The Christians, led by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, then laid siege to Gebaltaric, of which they made themselves masters after an obstinate resistance on the part of the garrison, the place being finally compelled to surrender by capitulation;—a great and serious injury to the Moslemah. In another part of the kingdom losses were also incurred at this time: among others, that of the fortified town of Archidona, which was besieged by Don Pedro Giron, and being reduced to extremity, surrendered by capitulation, as Gebaltaric had done.

By these disasters the King Aben Ismail was compelled to make supplication for a truce to the King of Castille;

nor did the latter refuse his request. It is even said that Don Enrique left Gebaltaric and repaired to the Vega of Granada, there to hold conference with the King of Granada. He was received by Aben Ismail, as these writers add, with much pomp, and they banquetted in company within the shade of a magnificent pavilion, where they subsequently arranged the terms of their treaty. The King of Granada then presented a rich gift to the Castilian monarch, who gave him a jewel of inestimable price in return. When Don Enrique took his leave, he was accompanied to the frontier by many of the principal cavaliers of Seville, seeing that the treaty of peace just concluded enabled those of Granada to resort freely and in security to the Christian court, whence they departed, as it pleased them, with equal freedom:—the same privilege was accorded to the Castilian nobles as regarded the court of Granada, the cavaliers of either country being received with as much favour in the foreign capital, as in that of his own sovereign.

From this time Aben Ismail, King of Granada, passed his days in peace, until he was assailed by the hand of death. That event occurred at a time when he was in his palace of Almeria, with his father-in-law, Cidi Yahye Almnayar, and in the spring of the year 870.

After the death of the King Aben Ismail, his elder son, Muley Abul Hassan, succeeded to the throne: that prince called himself Aly Abul Hassan. He was a brave and magnanimous sovereign, delighting in war, and finding his best pleasure in the perils and horrors thereof; but for that reason he became the cause of the ruin which subsequently befel the kingdom and brought about the extinction of Islam in Andalusia.

In his Hareem, Abul Hassan had two wives whom he loved more than the others; the principal of these was his cousin, and the mother of the infant Mohamad Abnabillah,* and the second was Zoraya,† a daughter of the Alcayde of Martos, who was of the lineage of the Christians: she was the mother of two sons, born in an evil hour, and at a moment of shame and misfortune, seeing that they lent

* The Boabdil of English writers.

† See page 342 (*note*).

their aid to the downfall of their native country, as we shall see hereafter.

The first two years of Abul Hassan's reign were passed in quietude and tranquillity; but he had been seeking an occasion for putting an end to his truce with the Infidel, and was on the point of attacking the Christian territories in the third year of his accession, when a rebellion was excited against him in Medina Malaga by his younger brother. This was Cid Abu Abdallah, the Alcayde of that city, a man of high authority, distinguished valour, and great reputation in the kingdom of Granada. Intelligence of that insurrection having reached the king, Abul Hassan immediately took measures for the subjugation of the rebel, whom he deprived of his Alcaydia, naming a general of much experience and valour as his successor: the new Alcayde of Malaga, who was also a kinsman of King Abul Hassan, then set forth without delay, and commanding a well-appointed body of troops, directed his march against the insurgent.

But not for this did the rebel governor lose heart; he sent letters to the King of Castille, in which he solicited the aid of that monarch against Abul Hassan, whom he declared to be an embittered enemy of the Christians, citing in proof of that assertion the fact of his having broken the truce he had formed with them, although no reason could be assigned for his doing so. Now the Castillian king, Don Enrique, was at Archidona in the year 874,* and at that place the rebel Alcayde presented himself to offer his respects to the Christian monarch, bringing rich gifts, moreover, of beautiful horses, splendid caparisons, and costly arms. He was hospitably entertained by Don Enrique, who received him to the protection of his faith and shelter, promising him assistance of troops, moreover, for the war he was about to undertake against the King of Granada, his brother.

No long time elapsed before that promise was made known to Abul Hassan, and he being greatly offended thereby, resolved to take a signal vengeance. He marched

* According to Mariana, 1469.—*Condé.*

on the Christian monarch's territories in person accordingly, and after making fearful devastations, his light skirmishers, harassing all the Comarcas of Cordova, penetrated even as far as those of Seville, carrying terror into the whole land. The towns of Castille were seized with a general panic, nor could the frontier guard restrain those invaders, who passed at their pleasure throughout Andalusia.

Ravages of equal extent and cruelty were committed by the Moslemah troops on the Christian territories in the year 876,* and these things caused the extreme of dismay to the inhabitants, seeing that the Christians of those days had never before been so closely pressed by the Moslemah arms: but the King Abul Hassan contented himself with the plunder and devastation of the country, nor did he make an attack on any of the fortified towns.

In this year of 876, the Christian noble, Don Diego of Cordova, requested from the King of Granada an open field and free lists for his quarrel with Don Alonzo of Aguilar, by whom he had been mortally offended; having first required the same at the hands of his lord, the King of Castille, by whom that demand had been refused. Don Diego was favourably received by Abul Hassan, who assigned him the field he requested, and fixing the Vega of Granada as the place where the dispute between the Christian cavaliers should be decided, he caused the lists to be prepared for that purpose; but as Don Alonzo Aguilar, being forbidden to appear by the king his master, did not present himself on the appointed day, the King of Granada declared him to be vanquished.

Now it chanced that there was then at the court of Granada a certain cavalier who was the friend of Don Diego D'Aguilar, and he, being in the lists, affirmed that Don Alonzo was not absent of his own will, being too good a cavalier to refuse the battle; wherefore he offered to maintain that challenge in his own person, and fight in Don Alonzo's place. To this proposal the king would not consent; but neither would the Granadine cavalier, who was the kinsman of Abul Hassan, allow that Don Alonzo should be declared either craven or conquered. In vain did the sovereign of

* According to Mariana, 1471.—*Condé.*

Granada explain to the angry noble that Don Diego de Cordova having his safe conduct, he could not permit that cavalier to accept the challenge of any man then present, save only Don Alonzo D'Aguilar, who did not appear. The Granadine cavalier still persisted, whereupon Abul Hassan commanded his guards to take him prisoner; the resistance he then made to those who would have captured him, further irritating the king, his kinsman and lord, the latter condemned him to death for that failure in respect to his person, and gave orders for his immediate execution: nor would obedience to that mandate have been delayed, but for the intercession of Don Diego de Cordova, whom Abul Hassan esteemed very highly, and at whose entreaty he consented to pardon the offender.

Towards the close of the same year of 876, the King of Granada sent his generals again to make an inroad on the territory of the Christians, when they crossed the frontier at several points, and at the same moment of time; then they inflicted grievous wrongs and injuries on the inhabitants, and returned to Granada with rich spoils of flocks and captives. But the Christian general commanding on the frontier of Andalusia, Don Ruy Ponce de Leon, was meanwhile devastating the Comarcas of Medina Montejicar, and took that city by surprise. The brave generals and light cavalry of Granada hurried to the relief of the place, when finding the enemy already in possession, they attacked the Christian bands with so much ardour as to effect their expulsion, and the city was re-occupied by the Moslemah.

During the three following years King Abul Hassan was fully occupied by the war into which he had been compelled by his brother Abdallah, the rebel Wali of Malaga, and wherein both sides fought bravely, with constantly varying fortunes. But from that strife much evil ensued to the Moslemah, who thereby lost an opportunity for inflicting injury on their natural enemies the Christians. No longer could the perpetual and victorious irruptions previously made against them by Abul Hassan be now continued; but neither were they on their part in a condition to attack the kingdom of Granada, or work evil therein, seeing that their hands were occupied with their internal dissensions

and the continued revolutions then taking place in their own affairs, which kept them in perpetual tumult, and demanded all their attention.

Thus it came to pass that the commanders on the frontier had four years of repose.

CHAP. XXXIV.—DEATH OF DON ENRIQUE, KING OF CASTILLE. A TRUCE IS MADE. DISCORD IN GRANADA. CATHOLIC KINGS IN SEVILLE. INCURSIONS.

IN the year 789 Don Enrique of Castille* departed from life, when Don Diego de Cordova, who spent much of his time in the court of Granada, where he was much esteemed in the house of the King Abul Hassan, prevailed on the latter by his repeated counsels to make a truce with the Christians, the conditions being arranged by the cares of Don Diego, and strictly adhered to by both parties. A peaceable agreement was likewise made with Cid Abdallah, Wali of Malaga, but in that affair neither party was of that sincerity and good faith which are ever to be desired in all compacts.

At this time Abul Hassan was much occupied in the completion of certain works which he had undertaken in his Alcazar; he built towers and pavilions in his gardens, all which he constructed with infinite beauty. His son Abdallah was meanwhile amusing himself with feats of horsemanship and other chivalrous pursuits. In his Hareem there was no want of dissension among the occupants. The love of King Abul Hassan for the daughter of the Alcayde of Martos, who was the mother of his two sons, Cidi Yahye and Cidi Almayar, was inexpressibly devoted and passionate; but the Sultana Zoraya, mother of Prince Abdallah†, not only mortally detested the mother of those two princes,—she

* Henry IV.

† The reader will observe that in a previous passage it is the mother of Yahye and Almayar who is called Zoraya. This is one of those inadvertencies which our author would have corrected had he been permitted to see his work through the press.

did more, leaving no means unattempted to effect the ruin of them all—mother and children alike.

Nor was this enmity and its effects confined within the limits of the Alcazar; on the contrary, they were diffused throughout the city, and divided the principal nobles of the state into opposing factions. Another source of evil existed in the fact that by so much as the hard and cruel nature of the King Abul Hassan estranged the hearts of his nobles, by so much did the peaceful and cordial affability of his son, the Prince Abu Abdallah, attract and win them.

And now, as the time for which the truce had been made by the King of Granada with the Christians was on the point of expiring, Abul Hassan despatched his ambassadors to Medina Seville, for the purpose of obtaining a prolongation of the same. These envoys arrived at the court of the Christian monarchs in the year 883,* when the Queen Isabella, and her consort the King Ferdinand, were making their residence in that city. They received the ambassadors well, and accorded the prolongation required, but only on condition that the King of Granada should pay a certain amount of tribute each year to the sovereigns of Castille.

Now the latter had sent their envoys with those of Granada to the King Abul Hassan, proposing that by these nobles the conditions of the truce should be settled, and the due signatures affixed; but when these men, having been presented to the King of Granada, had made known to him the condition above mentioned, he replied in these words:—

"Go, and say to your masters, that the Kings of Granada who paid tribute to the Christians are now dead: bid them know, moreover, that in Granada we are occupied not in the gaining of gold for the hands of our enemies, but in the making of sword-blades, and the heads of lances for their hearts."

With these words, Abul Hassan dismissed the ambassadors, and instantly commanded that preparations should be made for renewing the war, although the truce had been accorded by the Christians without any further mention of the obnoxious condition.

* A.D. 1476.—*Condé.*

In the commencement of the year 886, the King of Granada received intelligence to the effect that the Christian frontier was but negligently guarded on the side of Ronda and Sidonia; whereupon he issued orders for the immediate assemblage of his cavalry, and with the flower of that force, Abul Hassan proceeded by rapid marches to Zahara, a fortress between Ronda and Sidonia, which the Christians had placed in an excellent state of defence. The king arrived before Zahara in the midst of a dark tempestuous night, the wind blowing hurricanes, and the rain falling in torrents. All nature opposed itself to a rupture of that peaceful agreement, and protested against the violation of the truce; but the obstinate and hard character of Abul Hassan was proof against admonition; the salutary representations and counsels of his Walies were disregarded equally with the menacing and portentous aspect of the heavens. With a furious daring he assaulted the gates of the fortress, while the amply turreted walls were at the same moment escaladed in many parts and with one movement. The Christians, panic-struck, and not knowing on what side their efforts might best be directed, could but faintly resist the impetuous attack of the Moslemah; the larger part of them were put to the edge of the sword, and those whose lives were spared Abul Hassan led in triumph to Granada. The king then commanded that additional defences should be constructed, and leaving a strong garrison in the place, he returned to Granada, rejoicing in the success of his enterprise.

The Xeques and nobles of the capital, with all the Alfakies, went forth to meet their king, whom they received with congratulations on his conquest, when, as is related, the Xeque Macer, an ancient Alfaki, exclaimed with much fervour, as he passed forth from the Alcazar, "The ruins of this conquered town will recoil upon our own heads! would to God that I might be speaking falsely, but there is a voice within me which crieth aloud that the end of our lordship in Spain hath arrived."

Yet the King Abul Hassan regarded none of these things; the signs of heaven, the superstitious menaces of Alimes, and the vain observances of the Alfakies, were to him as one—he despised them all equally, and under pretext

of observing his foraging parties, and of an irruption to be made on the Christian frontier, he departed in the commencement of the following year to the assault of Castellar and Olbera. It is true that he could not succeed in wrenching those places from the grasp of the Christians, seeing that the frontier guard, rendered cautious by the surprise of Zahara, was now maintained with zeal and diligence. The king was nevertheless repaid for his labours by a large amount of booty, with which he returned to Granada.

About this time, the Christian general commanding on the frontier of Andalusia, even Ruy Ponce, leading troops which he had gathered for the most part from the Comarcas of Seville, marched on the Moslemah city of Alhama, with a powerful body of cavalry and foot-soldiers; the enemy lay concealed within a short distance of the city during the day, in certain deep valleys, surrounded by steep declivities and high rocks, which are at the distance of half a league from Alhama; but when night had come they approached the walls amidst a silence resembling that of death, and unperceived by any one of the garrison. Finding that all within the fortress remained in perfect stillness, the Christians placed their scaling-ladders against the walls and mounted them with determined resolution; they slew the sentinels, whom they found sleeping, and massacred all that came in their way; but the first care of the foremost bands was to open the gates of that side of the fortress which looked to the fields, for the entrance of their brethren.

The Moslemah, though startled by the unexpected suddenness of the attack, yet rushed bravely to their arms, some of their number hastening to close the gates on the side of the city. They threw up defences, which they crowned with pallisades, and at break of day the assault of the town commenced. The scaling-ladders of the Christians were raised at all points at the same time, but wherever they appeared a valiant band of the Moslemah was ready to oppose them, and every inch of ground was contested manfully. Yet the bravery of that defence could not avail, and after a grievous carnage, the Christians made good their entrance into the city, as well as the fortress. But the Moslemah now made a fortress of every street,

barricading themselves as best they might, and fighting with admirable steadiness. All day the conflict was maintained without an instant of repose, but when they hoped to obtain a truce to that atrocious slaughter with the darkness of night, the battle was renewed by the arrival of new troops reinforcing the Christian commander. The Moslemah then saw that no hope remained; but they fought on to the last, and were only conquered when all were slain.

The women and children, feeble and harmless creatures, who had sought a refuge in the mosque, were inhumanly put to death: and so was lost Alhama; its walls, its streets, and the temple of its worship remaining covered with corpses, and bathed in blood.

When the news of that misfortune arrived in Granada, all the city was seized with affright; but Abul Hassan girt on his sword without the loss of a moment: with three thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry he directed his steps towards Alhama, where he quickly arrived. But the haste of his march had prevented him from taking artillery, and he could not succeed in recovering the lost fortress. He then divided his army, and despatched the various bodies to occupy the passes and cut off the succours which the Christians were sending to their people; there were then many conflicts, in which the Moslemah fought with great obstinacy, but with frequently changing fortunes; and at length Abul Hassan, finding that despite his precautions the Christians had united a large force, was compelled to strike his camp and return to Granada.

A few months later the king again marched on Alhama, but this he now did rather for the purpose of appeasing the people, who attributed to himself the ill-success of his previous attempt, and reproached him for having caused that exterminating war, than because he had conceived hopes of a better result. He laid close siege to the place nevertheless, announcing a resolution to the effect that his camp should not be struck until he had reduced it: bands of cavalry were in the meantime despatched to cross the Christian frontier and devastate the Comarcas of Andalusia.

But when Abul Hassan was occupied most eagerly with the siege and held the town most closely pressed, he was compelled to repair to the capital, having been summoned

thither by the intelligence he then received that a formidable conspiracy had been discovered to exist among certain of the nobles. The king departed therefore, and having arrived in Granada he found that the chief mover of these tumults was his son Abu Abdallah. Using much dissimulation, Abul Hassan contrived to secure the person of the rebellious prince before the latter had been made aware of his father's acquaintance with the criminal purposes he entertained, and he was confined in one of the towers of the palace, with his mother, the Sultana Zoraya, who had encouraged him in his evil designs.

The Christians were then enabled to throw new forces into Alhama, and they moreover proceeded with a powerful army to besiege Medina Loxa. This city, which was one of the strongest and most important of the kingdom, was defended by the brave Alcayde of the place, Aly Atar, whose force consisted principally of three thousand cavalry; but they were excellent troops and well experienced in war. Constant sallies were made by that valiant general, who gave many a shrewd surprise to the enemies of Allah, his repeated night attacks permitting them to take but little rest, and Aly Atar himself not unfrequently pressing forward, sword in hand, even to their tents.

In the last of these encounters, the Alcayde, after defeating and throwing into disorder a strong body of the Christians, made himself master of their camp, slew a vast number of the defenders, and filled them all with terror and dismay. Among the Christians who died there fighting was the Grand Master of Calatrava, Don Ruy Tellis Giron, who being wounded by a poisoned arrow, there fell in the flower of his days. Many other of their principal cavaliers were also lost to the Infidel by that engagement, which took place on the 13th of July, 1482.

CHAP. XXXV.—INSURRECTION IN GRANADA. ABUL HASSAN MARCHES TO THE RELIEF OF LOXA. THE THRONE IS OCCUPIED BY ABU ABDALLAH. ABUL HASSAN RETIRES TO MALAGA. VICTORY OVER THE CHRISTIANS.

THE King Abul Hassan was making extensive preparations

for a renewed attempt to recover Alhama, and had sent to request auxiliaries from the African princes for that purpose, when a rebellion broke out in Granada, by which the minds of the inhabitants were openly shown to be divided into two parties, that of the Prince Abdallah being equal, or even superior, to that of the faithful subjects who remained true to their sovereign.

Now the Sultana Zoraya, fearing that the cruelty of the King Abul Hassan should lead him to put his son to death, —since Abu Abdallah, remaining shut up in the Tower of Comares, was still in his hands,—availed herself of the fidelity and industry of her female slaves, whom she caused to prepare cords, by which the prince could be let down from the walls. Having warned those of her faction, who were very numerous, of the time when she proposed to effect her son's escape, some of the principal cavaliers repaired to the tower, and having received the young prince, whose evasion was successfully effected by his mother's contrivance, they proclaimed him king, inciting the city to insurrection, and engaging a large portion thereof to take arms in support of his pretensions. Nor was this so difficult as it might and should have been, seeing that the offences of all kinds by which Abul Hassan had estranged many of his nobles had now extended their influence to the people, in consequence of his recent misfortunes in war: thus all were ready to take part against him, and the faction of Abu Abdallah increased its strength from that circumstance.

The Wali of the city and the king's Vizier lost no time in calling out the guard for the suppression of the tumult, and a furious conflict raged in the city; but the rebels obtained possession of the Albaycin, and entrenched themselves in that quarter of the capital. The populace, ever eager for novelty, attached themselves to the party of the Prince Abu Abdallah, and on the morning after the rebellious son's escape, large masses of their number increased the force of the insurgents, when the combat of the preceding day was renewed with redoubled violence. Those who endeavoured to maintain the rights of their king were then defeated, being driven from all the squares and public places of the city. Many noble cavaliers of both

sides lost their lives that day, and Abul Hassan, perceiving his party to be the weaker, departed from the capital; seeking refuge with his brother* Zelim, the Wali of Almeria. By his aid and that of his cavaliers the king then obtained possession of the Alhambra, one tower of the fortress excepted: this was commanded by the Alcayde Aben Omixa, who held it for the Prince Abu Abdallah Zaquir,† as the Prince Abu Abdallah was now called, to distinguish him from his father, who was called "El Xeque," by his revolted subjects, either as a proof of the contempt they felt for him, or perhaps by way of distinction only. Emboldened by that advantage, the followers of Abul Hassan then ventured to descend into the lower part of the city and attack those of Abdallah El Zaquir; but the superiority of numbers in the latter party prevailed, and the King's partizans were not only defeated but dispersed.

In the midst of this deplorable confusion, there were still some noble Granadines who desired nothing so much as peace, and these men did their best to reconcile the factions, whom they would have agree at least so far as to disarm the populace; but their labour was vain: such was the hatred prevailing on both sides, which was now, moreover, constantly increased by losses hourly occurring to each, and by the vengeance which every new death caused the one to demand from the other, that none would listen to reason, nor give thought to any other question save that of how they might best attack and destroy their opponents. It is true that when the two chiefs had entrenched themselves each in his separate fortress, El Zaquir in the Albaycin, and El Xeque in the Alhambra, the horrors of civil war did receive a momentary suspension, and the raging bands of either side appeared to be weary of slaughtering each other; but this was not the result of a better feeling among themselves, nor did it proceed from the persuasions of the Nobles, Almes, and Alfakies.

The perilous position of Medina Loxa, then in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Christians, compelled

* Brother-in-law: the husband of his sister.

† This word may be rendered, "the drunkard," from Zaque, "a wine skin," and "wine-bibber."

the attention of the King Abul Hassan at this juncture, and with such forces as he could assemble, added to his cavalry, he departed from Granada, marching to the relief of that place. He was no sooner gone than the Alcayde Aben Omixa, sallying forth from the tower he had continued to hold in the Alhambra, succeeded in making himself master of the whole fortress: this he then delivered to Abdallah El Zaquir, who, having obtained the Alhambra, believed he had become lord of all his father's kingdom.

Abul Hassan had meanwhile arrived in the vicinity of Medina Loxa with his people, whom he animated to the combat, as was to be expected from so brave and experienced a warrior as he had often proved himself to be. The approach of his skirmishing parties, and the signals made to the besieged by their Moslemah brethren, did not fail to make known to the Christians that a desolating tempest was awaiting them; whereupon they raised the siege, and prepared to give battle. Abul Hassan then attacked them with his cavalry, and being thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of his charge, the Infidels were still further dismayed by a sally from Medina Loxa, commanded at that instant by the valiant Alcayde of the city, even Aly Atar, who fell upon them with a strong body of cavalry in the very hottest of their battle with Abul Hassan, causing infinite increase to the dismay and perturbation which had already began to prevail in their ranks.

Thus the Christians before Loxa were defeated and dispersed by the skill and energy of the valiant King Abul Hassan, aided by his noble Alcayde Aly Atar, who pursued the flying foe through the olive-grounds, slaughtering all the remains of his infantry, with large numbers of the cavalry, who still endeavoured to protect the foot-soldiers in their flight.

Encouraged by the good fortune of the battle, Abul Hassan then turned his thoughts to Medina Alhama, and marched to the relief of that city; but he found it too well defended to offer him a hope of success, and he then proceeded to Cañete, which he entered by force of arms. The King then slew or took captive all who dwelt therein, and that done, he burnt their habitations, and razed the public edifices of the city to the ground.

But when Abul Hassan was about to return triumphantly to Granada from that expedition, he received intelligence to the effect that all the capital had now declared for his son; the king therefore retired to Medina Malaga, by the advice of his brother the Infant Abdallah, who was the Wali of that Alcaydia which still remained faithful to Abul Hassan and to the prince, his brother, as did the cities of Guadix and Baza.

In the year 888 three divisions of the Christian host entered the Axarquia of Malaga: each was composed of well appointed foot-soldiers, with a brilliant force of cavalry, and they were commanded by the Grand Master of Santiago, the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Conde of Cifuentes—all valiant and experienced captains. These generals proceeded through the country, plundering the pastures of their flocks and herds, destroying the cultivated fields, burning the harvests, laying waste the vine grounds, and cutting up every other species of fruit-tree, the people of Malaga beholding the fires of those devastations from their walls, and marking the columns of smoke arising from each successive conflagration, even until the mass of it darkened the air.

The King Abul Hassan could not suffer that spectacle, and would fain have marched forth against the ravagers; but the fatigues he had endured in his various wars coming in aid of his now advancing years, had deprived the harassed monarch of his once redoubted strength; insomuch that his brother, the Wali Abdallah, would not consent to that attempt; and with the assistance of the noble Reduan Ben Egas, their cousin, he prevailed on Abul Hassan to abandon his purpose. Those two valiant generals, with the troops under their command divided into two bodies, then sallied forth to seek the Christian assailant, the greater part of the cavalry being led by Abdallah, brother of the king, who took the road of the plains, while Reduan Ben Egas, also leading some cavalry, but with a larger force of cross-bowmen, proceeded covertly by the mountains.

The Infidels, receiving notice, from their scouts and outposts, of the Moslemah advance, would fain have been permitted to decline the battle for that moment, and thought to avoid the encounter of Prince Abdallah, to the end that they might secure the booty of flocks and captives which

they had taken; but the diligence with which the Infant on his part endeavoured to bring them to battle prevailed: he came upon them in the open valley, and fell upon their squadrons with his whole power.

The impetuous charge of that carefully chosen cavalry, threw the Christians, who were led by the Grand Master, into irremediable confusion; a pitiable rout ensued, and they fled to the mountains in dismay; but they were there received by the Moslemah troops under Reduan Ben Egas, when the combat was renewed, and soon became an atrocious carnage. The victorious cavaliers of Prince Abdallah then attacked the second division of the Christian force, which was already half conquered by the dread and terror inspired into their hearts by the fugitives from the first division; insomuch that the Moslemah found but little difficulty in breaking and defeating them also, making a terrible slaughter in their ranks. Reduan Ben Egas then descended from the mountains to complete the victory, when that division of the Christian army was likewise destroyed, the Infidel being compelled to resign all the prey that had been taken; and their banners also fell into the Moslemah power.

Towards the close of that combat, the brave General Reduan Ben Egas delivered a Christian leader, the Conde de Cifuentes, from death; and the matter was on this wise: he perceived the Infidel captain fighting in the midst of six Moslemah soldiers, and spurring his horse into the midst of them he exclaimed, "This is a mode of combat unworthy of good cavaliers:" whereupon the assailants of Cifuentes left him to Reduan Ben Egas alone, at the first thrust of whose lance the Conde rendered himself the prisoner of the noble Moslemah.

CHAP. XXXVI.—THE FACTIONS IN GRANADA CONTINUE THEIR DISCORDS. UNSUCCESSFUL INCURSION OF ABDALLAH EL ZAQUIR. HE IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE CHRISTIANS. COMPACT BY WHICH HE OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY.

THE fortunate enterprise of Prince Abdallah and Reduan Ben Egas caused infinite regret and dismay among the

Christians, while it equally rejoiced and encouraged the Moslemah; but the latter then returned to their internal disputes, and the factions renewing their intrigues with redoubled eagerness, a large party was found who proclaimed Abdallah, the brother of Abul Hassan, their king, declaring that prince, whom they called Abdallah El Zagal,* to be the only man capable of conducting that unhappy war and making head against the exigencies of the times. Their choice was applauded by a large body of the people, who had already begun to murmur against Abdallah El Zaquir, and even declared him to be less useful to the state than his old father,† who, although now bending under the weight of years, did not shrink before the horrors and perils of war.

These strictures wounded the self-love of Abdallah El Zaquir, and he desired much to perform some exploit which might avail to increase his reputation among those of his party. Hearing that Medina Lucena was but negligently guarded, he determined therefore to make an irruption on the Christian territories so far as the Comarcas of Lucena, and to attempt the conquest of that city. Having assembled his cavalry, which was composed of the flower of the Granadine youth, he departed from the capital at that instant; and it is said, that as Abdallah El Zaquir was passing forth by the gate of Elvira, he broke his lance in the archway of the portal, a thing which the superstitious held to be of evil augury; nay, it was considered to betoken an unhappy result to the enterprise commenced that day.‡ Nor were there wanting those who warned Abdallah to that effect; but he did not believe in vain observances, nor fear the evil auguries which alarmed his followers, and felt confident that he was proceeding to certain victory.

Now the general commanding Medina Lucena was Don Diego de Cordova, and he, while he carefully strengthened the defences of his city, gave notice to other generals of the frontiers, Don Alonzo de Aguilar, and the Alcayde of the

* El **Zagal**: the vigorous, the efficient.

† Such is the phrase of the text to the letter; yet Abul Hassan, whose age is so frequently alluded to as much advanced, was not then more than forty-eight years old.

‡ The reader will remember that a circumstance exactly similar is related of Mohamad Abdallah II.

Royal Pages, exhorting them to hasten to his assistance with their cavalry; the spies whom he retained at the court of Granada having given him timely notice of the irruption meditated by their King Abdallah El Zaquir: the latter soon appeared accordingly in the district of Aguilar, committing great devastations on the Comarcas of Lucena, whence he gathered a considerable number of captives, with great store of flocks and herds.

Arrived before Lucena, Abdallah despatched a menacing summons to the Alcayde, assuring Don Diego that if he did not surrender the place without delay, he, Abdallah, would take it by force of arms, and then the entire garrison should be put to the edge of the sword.

The Alcayde, whether because he really feared the result of a conflict, or whether, as is more probable, he did but temporise with a view to his opponent's ruin, proposed that the matter should be decided by negotiation, and for that purpose he requested that the Arrayaz, Ahmed Aben Zeragh, who was his friend, and who rode in the company of King Abdallah, should be appointed to hold a conference with him on the subject. In the proposals then made by Don Diego, and the discussion of the difficulties raised by his care, a large portion of the day was consumed, yet nothing had been concluded, when there suddenly appeared the advanced bodies of the frontier guard, approaching for the relief of Lucena. Then the infantry of Abdallah El Zaquir were seized with affright, and began to retire without order, crossing the river before they arrested their steps: but the Granadine cavalry prepared for battle, disregarding the retreating movement of the foot-soldiers, who did not constitute the most important part of their force, and for whom the horsemen made a clear space, that they might retire with the flocks and captives to a place of security, while they addressed themselves to their preparations for battle.

The attack and defence were alike impetuous and well supported, and the conflict which ensued was among the most obstinate and sanguinary of those sanguinary times: nor could it well be otherwise, since the boldest and most accomplished cavaliers of Andulusia were fighting on that field; but the numbers of the Christians were continually augmenting by the auxiliaries which arrived to their succour,

and the inhabitants of Lucena also poured out in great masses, throwing themselves into the midst of the battle at the moment when the ground was most furiously contested. The Moslemah were therefore compelled to retire, and began to follow the direction previously taken by the fugitives on the opposite bank of the river, but still fighting.

A new troop of combatants from the city, reinforced by a body of horse from Don Alonzo D'Aguilar, at length put the Granadine cavalry also to flight; but even while flying they yet wheeled their horses often to the face of the foe, and fought with astonishing steadiness. The able and experienced general Aly Athaur, Alcayde of Loxa, who was at the side of the King Abdallah El Zaquir, fell pierced by many a thrust of the Infidel lance, he having performed acts of prowess that day which were beyond what could be hoped for at his advanced age; and on that sanguinary field of battle he obtained the crown of martyrdom which his heroic deeds had merited. By the death of the valiant Alcayde, with the fall of fifty more brave cavaliers who had surrounded the king, and fought like lions to protect his person, Abdallah El Zaquir was left alone, and finding himself in the midst of his enemies, he thought only of escaping from the perils of the strife. But his horse was exhausted by weariness, and he knew well that the animal could not bear him to a place of security; wherefore, having attained the banks of the river, he suffered himself to sink from its back, and endeavoured to conceal himself amidst the willows and other trees that hung over the water. Seeing that he was closely followed by three Christians, who were advancing to attack him, and fearing that he should there lose his life, the unhappy Zaquir declared that he was the king; whereupon his captors took him alive, and having conducted him to their camp, they led him before their generals, to whom his person was well known. He was then treated by those Infidel chiefs with that respect and consideration which are always due to a king however deeply degraded.

The news of that unhappy event was swiftly borne to Granada, when it filled the city with affliction, for the flower of the Granadine cavalry had perished on the field, and the voice of mourning was heard in every house; in

some they wept for a father, in others for a brother, here the son was lost, and there had fallen a husband or a lover. The party previously attached to the ill-starred King Abdallah El Zaquir lost courage, and many of his supporters passed over to the King Abul Hassan, seeing that men ever abandon the losing side to increase the train of him whom Fortune appears to favour.

And now, whether King Abul Hassan rejoiced in the disaster which had befallen his rebel son, no man will inquire of me. He departed for Malaga without delay, in pursuance of his brother Abdallah's counsels, and having arrived in Granada he took possession of the Alhambra, none of those still adhering to the party of his son making any attempt to impede him.

The Sultana Zoraya, mother of the King Abdallah El Zaquir, now despatched ambassadors to the King of Castille to treat for the ransom of her son, and with them she sent a vast amount of treasure for the payment of the same. To Abdallah she wrote letters consoling and encouraging him under the misfortune he had suffered; but she furthermore advised him to promise the King of Castille whatever that sovereign might desire, and to offer him without reserve whatsoever concessions might best promote the recovery of his freedom. To the security of that object she exhorted Abdallah to give his sole attention, leaving all beside in the hands of his fortune. In conclusion, the Sultana declared that an event which appeared to be a misfortune, not unfrequently proved to be the most secure path to the attainment of the object desired: she bade her son remember how his grandfather, Aben Ismail, had ascended the throne of Granada by aid of the King of Castille, and reminded him of the still greater facilities for accomplishing that end which were possessed by himself, who had so powerful a party in all the provinces of the kingdom.

The King Zaquir accordingly agreed to all the requirements of the King of Castille; not only did he subject himself to perpetual vassalage, but he furthermore engaged to pay twelve thousand doubloons of gold annually in acknowledgment of the lordship of the Christian King. Abdallah likewise promised to send a large amount of rich presents, with three hundred Christian captives, who

were to be selected, at the choice of the King of Castille himself, from those then in Granada, and whom Abdallah engaged to restore to their liberty. A further stipulation of that treaty went to the effect that El Zaquir was bound to present himself whenever summoned for the service of the King of Castille, and whether in time of peace or of war. Nay, to make proof of the sincerity of these offers, Abdallah did not scruple to propose his only son as an hostage to be retained by the Christian king; but the latter was on his part to give El Zaquir aid for the reduction of all the cities in Granada still retaining their allegiance to the king his father.

On all these matters the King of Castille held counsel with his advisers, when the opinions were much divided: some would not consent to restore Abdallah to liberty, while others on the contrary advised that the offers he made should be accepted without delay, himself being sent back free to continue the series of discords, revolutions, and disorders, wherewith the factions, dividing the kingdom of Granada, were assuring the ruin of their country, while they should themselves profit by those dissensions to appropriate the fortresses of the Moslemah, and render themselves masters of the land.

And this was the counsel which, as being the most crafty and most fatal to Islam, was adopted by the King of Castille. It was therefore agreed, that in consideration of the proffers made by Abdallah, the Christian king should restore him to liberty and assist him in the recovery of his kingdom; or, to speak with more exactitude, and express the truth as it was, in the fomentation of those ruinous civil wars which were to desolate the Vegas of Granada, and water the pleasant fields of the country with the blood of his people.

King Abdallah El Zaquir was then conducted to Cordova by the Alcayde of Porcuna; he was presented to Don Fernando, the King of Castille, who entertained him with much honour, and the semblance of infinite amity. Don Fernando would not permit Abdallah to kiss his hand, but embraced him and called him his friend. They signed those treaties which had been concerted, in a spirit so favourable to the Christians but so fatal to the Moslemah; then did the star which is most inimical to Islam pour its

malignant influence over Spain, and that decree went forth which determined the conclusion of the Moslemah empire in Andalusia.

CHAP. XXVII.—INCREASED BITTERNESS OF PARTY SPIRIT IN GRANADA. REMARKABLE DISCOURSE OF THE AYME* MACER. ABDALLAH EL ZAGAL IS PROCLAIMED KING.

THE unhappy King Zaquir was instantly sent to Granada, attended by a brilliant company of Christian cavaliers, when the Sultana mother, being apprised of his near approach, despatched the principal persons of the court to receive him and join themselves to his attendants; but his party had then much diminished, and each day took more or less from the number of his followers, as the knowledge of the treaties he had made with the Christians became disseminated among the Faithful. The cavaliers of his train brought him into the capital, and some who were of his kindred succeeded in obtaining possession of the Albaycin; they made themselves masters of a postern thereof in the middle of the night, and with extraordinary courage forced their way into the building: other nobles then conducted the king to the towers of the Alcazaba, and on the following morning there were rumours sent throughout the capital to the effect that the King Zaquir was in the Alcazaba.

And now, as the people are ever ready to accept novelties, some of them, attracted by the hope of promoting their private interest, assembled in the squares and public places; others, led simply by the voice of the multitude, began to follow the lead of such as were sent among them by the party of King Zaquir, and to cry aloud, "Long live our King Muhamad Abdallah: Granada shall be happy under the rule of our King Zaquir!" with other phrases of similar value. The treasures of the Sultana Walide† were not spared on that occasion, but being opportunely distributed among the

* Ayme, Alme: a member of the legal and clerical bodies, which, in Moslemah countries, are united and make but one, as our readers will remember.—*Tr.*

† Sultana Walida or Walide: the queen mother.

people, added many voices to the party of her son: nor did the latter fail to second her endeavours,—he decreed rewards to his followers on the day of his arrival, promising Alcaydias moreover, and other employments, to many persons, whom he won over by that bait thrown out to their covetousness: for these causes not a few of the Granadines were induced to join in the cry for his exaltation, and took arms in his behalf.

The King Abul Hassan, father of Abdallah El Zaquir, was in the Alhambra when informed that his son had reached the capital; that announcement being followed by the further intelligence of his having made himself master of the Alcazaba, and of the large party fast gathering round Abdallah: the aid his son had obtained from the Christians, was also made known to the king. Abul Hassan then assembled his counsellors, and it was resolved without a dissentient voice that Abdallah must be driven by force from the city, while all who held their Alcaydias at his hands were to be deprived of their employments. Much was said of the abasement and humiliation to which the majesty of kings was reduced in his person; much also of the vassalage and subjection to the Christian king in which he consented to be held, but most of all did the speakers insist on his want of good fortune and the weakness of his character.

The King Abul Hassan, however deeply impressed by the horrors in which a civil war must needs involve the country, could not tamely see himself contemned and despoiled of the throne by his son; there were, moreover, then occurring to his mind certain auguries of evil, prognosticated to him by the astrologers on the unfortunate day which saw the prince enter the world: thus he resolved that the Albaycin should be attacked on the morrow, and a battle delivered against the adherents of the opposite faction.

As the dawn appeared on that mournful and horrible day, all the city trembled with the clamours of the trumpets, atambours, and other instruments of war. The inhabitants dared not open their doors, armed men were hurrying through the streets in all directions, some proclaiming the King Zaquir, others the King Xeque, and the followers of each assembled on the public squares to decide that

unnatural dispute. The people of Abul Hassan were the first to attack the rebels; but these last, although by much the greater number, were for the most part loose bands formed from the dregs of the people, and these instantly fled the combat, taking their way to the streets which they had barricaded and fortified: there the resistance was renewed, and the struggle was a sanguinary as well as an obstinate one,—all day did the carnage continue with obstinate animosity, and the fall of night alone put an end to that cruel slaughter.

Both parties were then preparing to pass the hours of darkness in renewing their dispositions for the mortal encounter of the following day; but it then chanced that the King Abul Hassan, having assembled the council of his Alimes and Xeques, began to lament over the fate of the many brave cavaliers, the defence and only hope of the kingdom, who had found their death in that deplorable conflict; and as the grief of heart with which he mourned those portentous evils was made manifest, an Alime, named Macer, stood forward to propose an arrangement by which both parties might be conciliated, and peace restored to the suffering land.

This was no other than the exaltation of Abdallah El Zagal, brother of Abul Hassan, to the throne of Granada, and to that measure the king gave his assent in council before the night was spent. Abul Hassan was the more readily induced to take this step by the persuasions of his son, the Infant Cidi Almayar, who reminded him that the perturbations and disquietudes of a changing and perilous world were no longer suited to his age,—that the throne of Granada was floating in the midst of a stormy and tumultuous sea, that his years demanded repose, and that he would do wisely to abandon the difficulties of public life and to place the cares of government on the more robust shoulders of one better able to endure them, retiring himself to live in peace and tranquillity wherever it might please him to choose his abode, with the assurance that nothing would ever be permitted to disturb the repose of that asylum which he should select for the refuge of his remaining life.

When the day once more appeared, the harsh tones of

the drums and trumpets announced to the unhappy dwellers in Granada the recommencement of that frightful conflict which was tearing them to pieces. Embittered by increasing hatred, the struggling bands breathed only the most deadly vengeance: each man stood ready to stain his weapon in the blood of his neighbour, for the defence of the party whose cause he had adopted: the number of lives prepared for sacrifice amidst the horrors of that second day's strife were eagerly computed by their [illegible] leaders, and all were on the point of mingling in deadly combat, when the Alime Macer, a man of high authority in the popular assemblies, addressed the multitude, bursting forth in a loud voice, and uttering the words that follow:—

"What fury is this, Oh ye citizens! To what further point do ye propose to carry this frenzy of rage, which is causing you to disregard your own lives, to forget your wives, your children, and your country, and all to gratify the mad ambition, the unworthy passions of others. What unspeakable folly is yours! What fatal blindness! Are you then content to become victims, some to the unwarranted desire for empire of one who is a bad and disobedient son, and all to the ill-governed passions of two men, both of whom are destitute of virtue, excellence, good fortune, or any other of those royal qualities that best adorn a throne? both are disputing a kingdom which neither of them merits, nor is capable of defending. Is it not a disgrace for you to expose your live sin favour of such men? Or, if the shame do not affect you, Oh citizens, suffer yourselves to be moved by the danger in which you all stand. Think of what might be your condition were the rivers of noble blood here shed in this bad cause offered up in worthy battle with our enemies, and in the defence of our dear country. Our conquering banners would then be floating over the Guadalquiver and the distant shores of the Tagus. Can you hope that the name of El Zaquir, or the vain shadow called El Xeque, will prove able to protect or defend you? Kings without value as without power! Abandon this ruinous folly; for if that be not done, rest assured that your downfall is at hand. Nor is there wanting in this kingdom a brave man, an illustrious hero, the descendant of our exalted and glorious kings, who might govern you by his prudence, and whose greatness

would suffice to lead you to victory over our enemies You all know that I speak to you of the Wali of Malaga, the Infant, Abdallah El Zagal, the terror of the Christian frontiers."

As these last words were uttered, all the party of the King Abul Hassan raised their voices, and cried, "Long live the Infant Abdallah El Zagal; long live the Wali of Malaga! Let him be our leader and sovereign."

That cry was then rapidly carried through the ranks of both parties, and the chief leaders of the two factions soon became of one accord in that matter, resolving to despatch an embassy to Malaga with entreaties that Abdallah El Zagal would repair to the capital, there to assume the government of the kingdom, seeing that his brother Abul Hassan had now become old, and could effect but little. They added the assurance that Abul Hassan was prepared to yield the command of his own free will, and affirmed in conclusion that his son Abdallah El Zaquir had rendered himself an object of abhorrence to all, by his treaties of alliance with the Christians, of whom he had made himself the vassal and tributary.

The ambassadors departed for Malaga accordingly, where they were received by Abdallah El Zagal, who had been prepared for their arrival by letters which he had received a few hours previously from his brother Abul Hassan, and wherein he was informed of the decision which had been taken by the council.

When the envoys declared their mission, the Infant Abdallah expressed his gratitude to those who had done him so much honour, and replied to the effect that he accepted the crown they offered him He then made preparations for his departure, and left Malaga with a brilliant company. Among the most distinguished of those whom Abdallah selected to be of his train was the noble Reduan Ben Egas, to whom he offered the government of Granada.

And now it came to pass, that when the company of Abdallah had attained the foot of the Sierra Nevada, his people perceived a band of ninety Christian cavaliers, who had come forth from Alhama to plunder the Comarca: the Moslemah then fell upon those Infidels, and slew all, not leaving a man alive. Rejoicing in that good fortune, they

proceeded on their road to Granada, where they entered joyfully, and were received as in triumph.

The Infant Abdallah El Zagal repairing at once to the Alhambra, was there welcomed and embraced by his brother, the King Abul Hassan, who was content to fulfil every condition proposed by Abdallah. Immediately after the arrival of the Infant, Abul Hassan left Granada, departing with his Hareem and his treasures to Illora, whither he was accompanied by his sons, Cidi Yahye and Cidi Alnahar.

Thus did Abul Hassan Ben Ismail abdicate the empire of his own free will, in the year of the Hegira 889.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—Conquests of the Christians. The War against the Moslemah is continued.

The compromise thus made, and the agreement entered into by the two parties, could not but displease many, and Abdallah El Zaquir was more especially aggrieved thereby; he was not to be pacified by any concession, nor could he agree to any condition the effect of which was to diminish his authority, still less to such as tended to deprive him of the kingdom. His uncle, Abdallah El Zagal, proposed that they should both reign in Granada, himself retaining the occupation of the Alhambra, and El Zaquir remaining master of the Albaycin, while the Taas of the kingdom might be divided between them. He added, that what they should both consider principally at that time was the necessity that existed for putting an end to the encroachments of the Christians, and securing the happiness of the kingdom, or at least impeding the approach of its downfall, which could not fail speedily to arrive, should the civil war be continued.

But these reasonings had little effect on Abdallah El Zaquir: it is true that he pretended to accede to the proposals of his uncle, and made loud professions of zeal for the public good, but he did not yield on any essential point, and his affected submission produced no useful result.

Abdallah El Zagal then felt himself compelled to call on the Infant Zelim, his brother-in-law, who was Wali of

Almeria, for aid against his nephew Abdallah El Zaquir, and for auxiliaries that might enable him to defend the land from its enemies: he did the same in respect to his nephew, the Infant Yahye, son of Zelim, who was Wali of Guadix, when both those princes assured him of their assistance, and promised to espouse his interest against the King Zaquir.

That unhappy king then sent messengers to the Christian generals on the frontier, giving them to know that he was in pressing need of their succour, since he was himself abandoned by many of his principal nobles, and was on the point of being expelled from Granada: wherefore, those Infidels, desiring much to maintain that civil war which was so advantageous to themselves, and whereby they were enabled so largely to extend their conquests, lost no time in supplying him with a force of cavalry and crossbowmen. But in proportion as his power for war was increased by that alliance with the enemies of Allah, and the arrival of those Infidel troops, by so much was his influence diminished with the Moslemah nobles; and the principal cavaliers continued to fall off from his party.

At the same time that the Christians sent troops to the King Zaquir, whereby they assisted him to maintain those dissensions in the interior of the kingdom which were completing the ruin of the Moslemah, they assembled a powerful army to attack the Faithful from without. That force they marched to Alora, a city very advantageously seated on bold and rocky heights overlooking the shores of the Zaduca. Laying close siege to this place, the Christians assailed it with artillery, which battered down the strong walls, when the inhabitants, dismayed by the sight of those terrific engines, and by the fearful thunders of the same, had recourse to the method of negociation, and the conditions being arranged, they surrenderd their city by capitulation, being themselves free to depart with safety for their lives and in possession of all their property. The Alcayde of this town of Alora was the much-honoured cavalier Cid Aly El Bazi.

Cazara-Bonela and other towns of the Comarca threw open their gates in like manner to the Christian invader; but the light horsemen of Antequera, which is near

Cazara-Boncla, came forth to do battle with the Infidel, and the encounter that ensued was a very obstinate one, costing the lives of many brave and noble cavaliers; but the Moslemah were at length compelled to yield to the multitude of their assailants, and they then retired into the mountains.

In the summer of that year the Christians filled the Vega of Granada with their troops, committing cruel devastations; the harvests were burnt in the fields, and the fruit-trees were torn up by the roots. The autumn was passed in like manner; Infidel bands overran the entire country, and as the winter approached, a strong body of Christians appeared before the fortified town of Setenil, which they assailed with the whole force of their terrible artillery. Nor did any long time elapse before that fortress also, perceiving that no succours were sent to its relief, made terms of capitulation with the enemy, and the inhabitants, receiving assurances of safety for their lives and possessions, surrendered Setenil to the enemy of Allah.

The two kings claiming rule in Granada had meanwhile not relaxed in their efforts to destroy each other; but while thus seeking what each believed to be his own interest, they suffered the whole empire to be lost. Those who formed the party of the King Zaquir believed themselves very fortunate because they had not to contend with the armies of the Christians, whom they believed to be their allies; but they daily beheld their fields laid waste, and their fruit-bearing trees rooted up, by those allies whose sole intent was to impoverish and ruin the kingdom, and who cared little under what pretext that object was effected.

The King Abdallah El Zagal now despatched an embassy with letters to the princes of Africa and the Soldan of Egypt, requesting them to send him auxiliaries against the Christians, whose occupation of the country, with the ravages they were committing, he did not fail to describe, adding that they were then proposing nothing less than the extinction of the Mosleman empire in Spain. He concluded by exhorting his brethren in the Faith to take arms for the defence of Islam. But the immutable decree, inscribed on the tablet of the Destinies, had now attained the period of its fulfilment, and from no part did

there come succours for the sinking kingdom of Granada. The Christians were now making an irruption on the territory of Loxa, and laying close siege to the city, notwithstanding the rigours of the winter season, and the heavy rains which were then falling: they would without doubt have made themselves masters thereof, as they had done of Cazara-Bonela and other towns, seeing that they had reduced the place to grievous extremities; but the defenders received timely succour from King Abdallah El Zagal, who sent the cavalry of Granada to their aid.

After that campaign, El Zaquir set himself to compass the expulsion of his uncle, Abdallah El Zagal, from the capital; many battles were then fought between the two parties in the streets and public squares of the city, to the scandal of all good and honourable men. In Almeria, meanwhile, the inhabitants, influenced by the Infant Zelim, declared for Abdallah El Zagal; they denounced the King Zaquir as a renegade, and false to the Moslemah. The same thing occurred in Medina Guadix, by the intervention of the Infant Yahye, the son of Zelim.

About this time the Christians took possession of the fortified town of Cohin, when they put the inhabitants to the edge of the sword, in revenge for the obstinate defence they had made: the walls of Cohin were then razed to the foundations. That done, the victorious Infidels passed on to Cartama, which surrendered to their arms, and they next proceeded to Medina Ronda, a city and fortress inaccessible to an enemy, since the seat thereof is on high rocks, and the strength of the defences is increased by a river with bold and rocky shores, by which the site is surrounded. Ronda was defended, moreover, by the most valiant Moslemah in the kingdom; its inhabitants were bold and hardy men, well experienced in the arts of war, of infinite address in the use of their weapons, and renowned for their endurance of toil.

The Christians blockaded the place with the utmost care, closing every approach, and permitting no succours to be brought in by the people of the Comarcas. But the city was amply supplied with every kind of provisions, and had good store of arms: thus the besiegers could make but little progress, and the siege was greatly protracted.

The Kings of Granada were meanwhile continuing their ruinous discords; they suffered the precious moments to pass unheeded, and did not give a thought to the preservation even of that most important fortress, Medina Ronda, although it was acknowledged to be the very bulwark of the kingdom. During the siege the valiant defenders made numerous sallies on the Christians, for whom they also prepared night attacks, and surprises of every sort that could be devised: the besiegers on their part, and that they might be the better prepared to meet those frequent sallies, established five separate camps, and thus surrounded the whole place with their five divisions, among which the powerful host of the Infidels assembled before Ronda was then distributed.

And now the combats did not cease either by night or by day, insomuch that the unfortunate inhabitants had not a moment of repose. Wherefore, seeing that no succours were sent to divert the attention of their enemy, and finding that they were in imminent danger of being overcome by force of arms, they began to think of making terms with the enemy, and were the more disposed thereto because the tears of their women and the wailing of their little ones still was unceasing, and could not but move them to compassion. They opened the negociation therefore,* and having made good conditions, they surrendered Medina Ronda to the Christians. That event took place on the 23rd day of May, in the year 1485.† The victors then placed a garrison of their own troops in the fortress, and set themselves to repair the ramparts, covered ways, towers,

* But not until the public buildings and large numbers of the private dwellings had been destroyed by a species of bomb or grenade, which authors allude to as believed to have been used for the first time at the siege of Ronda, although there is little positively asserted on that head. That some missive carrying fire among the dwellings of the people was used against them is, however, tolerably well authenticated, and that unwonted spectacle reduced even the bravest of the defenders to despair,—Heaven itself being declared by the terrified inhabitants to be sending those flames among them. This, to a certain extent, accounts for the surrender, the mention of which seems to come somewhat hastily after the eulogies bestowed but a moment before on the bravery and persistence of the defenders.—*Tr.*

† According to Mariana.—*Condé.*

and other defences, which they had destroyed or injured in the course of the siege. It was at this time also that the city of Marbalia, which is on the sea coast, was taken by the enemies of Allah.

The King Zaquir still maintained himself in the Albaycin of Granada by means of his Christian auxiliaries: he had also a large number of the lower and labouring classes of the people in his interest, these men not being capable of looking beyond the advantages of the present hour, and thinking only of the momentary convenience to be derived from the crafty alliance into which the King of Castille had entered with their lord: but the Alamis, Alfakies, Alcaris, and Alcadies of the kingdom, held Abdallah El Zaquir in abhorrence, since they considered him as the instrument employed for completing the ruin and destruction of their country. The principal Walies and Alcaydes, with the most distinguished Arraezes or military leaders of Granada, were for the most part in the interest of Abdallah El Zagal; but these nobles added perpetual food to the flames of that civil discord by which the heart of the empire was consumed, and contributed by their private animosities and continual dissensions to prolong the devastating war which was devouring the strength of the land.

Then there came intelligence to the effect that the Christians were marching on the city of Velez Malaga, and those Arraezes, with the Alfakies of Granada, knowing the vast importance attached to the preservation of that place, besought King Abdallah El Zagal with earnest prayers to march at once to its relief. They implored Abdallah to forget the interests of the civil war, if only for a moment, and represented to him that by proceeding to the succour of the menaced city he would not only perform his duty as a monarch, but would add much authority and weight to his pretensions and party: these reasonings prevailed with the king, and he prepared for the campaign. Before leaving Granada, Abdallah El Zagal desired to conclude some kind of agreement with his nephew, the King Zaquir He was willing to make many concessions; yet El Zaquir, full of distrust, would not listen to any of the proposals of El Zagal, and they could come to no terms of accommodation. Abdallah El Zagal was nevertheless

compelled to go forth by the scandal which he perceived to be given to the city by his neglect of the suffering Moslemah, who were contending against the foe in Velad Malaga; he therefore placed himself at the head of a well-appointed force of cavalry, and marched in person to their aid.

The army then led to the field was a large one, and King Abdallah El Zagal divided it into equal portions: one of these, which was the advanced, he committed to the conduct of Reduan Ben Egas, his cousin, and the second was led by himself. The first division then proceeded towards the camp which the Christians had fixed before Moclin, a fortified town closely besieged by their troops, but defending itself well, being encouraged thereto by the native strength of its position and the height of its walls, as well as by the valour of its inhabitants. Reduan Ben Egas attacked the enemy's encampment on a certain day at the hour of dawn, and his onslaught was so impetuous that the Infidels were unable to resist the fury thereof. The Christian infantry then fell a sacrifice to the Moslemah rage, and the few who found means to save their lives fled in terror.

And now King Zaquir also resolved to display his zeal for the defence of his people, and the desire he felt to protect them: in pursuance of that intent he therefore assembled forces, and made preparation for proceeding to the relief of the Moslemah who were engaged in the defence of Loxa. Meanwhile, the Christians, who had lost no time, made themselves masters of Albahar and Cambil, two fortresses which are separated by the river Frio, but which the Mosleman captains, to whom the guardianship of the same had been confided, did not defend as they ought to have done. King Zaquir at length departed from Granada with his people; they entered Loxa by making their way through the camp which surrounded the city, but where there was not a large force.

When the Christians were informed that King Zaquir was in Loxa, they resolved to reduce the place without loss of time, and sent reinforcements to their generals already before the city. El Zaquir then marched at the head of fifteen thousand carefully chosen horsemen to impede the advance of the enemy, whom he awaited in a rocky pass of great asperity and difficulty; but the enterprise he had

undertaken was a service of infantry rather than cavalry, and he effected nothing of moment. He returned to the city as the Christians were entering the suburbs, and had a sharp skirmish with them, but was defeated and compelled to seek refuge within the walls. The enemy then destroyed the bridge, thereby compelling the cavalry of Loxa, which was a brave and distinguished body of troops, to desist from making those sallies wherein they had previously given proofs of their valour. The Infidels also attacked the walls, of which they battered down a considerable portion.

Then the King Zaquir, fearing lest he should fall into the hands of his enemies or pretended allies for the second time, commanded that proposals for a capitulation should be made, which was done as he had ordered: by the conditions obtained, the Moslemah were then permitted to depart in safety; bearing with them so much of his possessions as each man could carry. Thus was that invaluable city of Loxa surrendered to the Christians.

King Zaquir then excused himself to his Infidel allies, who complained of the treacherous manner in which he had broken the compact between them and himself, by protesting that he had done so only by force, and because he had been compelled by his subjects to those acts of violence. He assured them that in his heart he was ever the same, and added that what had happened by compulsion did not deserve to be called disloyalty. The Christians, whose interest it was to retain the wretched Zaquir in the position which he held for their benefit, affected to believe these exculpations; they dissembled their anger, and took care to throw no impediment in the way of those discords which it was certain he would again proceed to ferment, and in which they justly believed themselves to behold the assured destruction of the Moslemah power. Masters of Loxa, as hath been related, the Christians then continued their advance, and occupied other towns of the Comarca.

Now the King Abul Hassan, who had retired at so opportune a moment for his repose to Illora, was at the same time compelled to fly from the near approach of the enemy; he therefore took refuge in Almunecaub, and in that palace he died, before witnessing the downfall of his country. There are some who affirm that his death was brought

about by his brother, Abdallah El Zagal; but God only knows the truth. He alone is eternal and immutable.

The advantages obtained by the Christians in the course of this year were very great. Having taken the city of Loxa, they made themselves masters of Illora—the two eyes of Granada; nor did any long time elapse after these events before Zagra, Baños, and other places also, fell into their hands.

Abdallah El Zaquir, set free, as hath been said, by the Christians, returned to Granada, and availing himself of the opportunity presented by the absence of his uncle in the war—Abdallah El Zagal being still engaged in restraining the Christians, who were seeking to advance on Velez Malaga,—he occupied all the forts in the city, and took up his residence in the Alhambra.

CHAP. XXXIX.—The Christians take many cities and towns from the Moslemah.

After the victory which had been obtained over the Christians near Moclin by Reduan Ben Egas, that general, obeying the orders of Abdallah El Zagal, proceeded to succour the people of Velez Malaga, who were brought to very grievous straits, seeing that the enemy had entered their suburbs, and were attacking the defences of the place with the fearful thunders of their artillery. Abdallah El Zagal followed in person with his troops to aid the efforts of his general, justly considering that the peril of Velez Malaga placed the whole kingdom in danger. The army of Abdallah was composed of twenty thousand horsemen, while the people of the villages, whom he had assembled on his way, made a body of infantry of about as many more. Reduan Ben Egas attacked the camp of the Christians with his cavalry, and cut down all that presented themselves before him; but the distance at which the king's army still remained, and the slowness of his march, prevented the valiant Reduan from completing the glory of that day by a general engagement, which could not have been less than a triumph. But so was it not the will of God that the battle should

end. When the cavalry of Abdallah appeared on the field, the Christians, who had a very numerous army, distributed in various parts of the Comarca, had found time to assemble those forces into one body: thus united and restored to good order, they attacked him on his arrival with a promptitude and resolution by which he was defeated and vanquished; since the multitude of people by which he was accompanied, being little inured to war, fled whithersoever they could find a place of safety, nor dared to turn their faces to the enemy.

The brave Reduan Ben Egas, who had fought like a lion throughout the day, seeing at length that the Moslemah were thrown into irremediable disorder, gathered together such relics of his force as he could draw around him, and threw himself with them into the city; thus redeeming from that wreck a band of valiant cavaliers whose presence gave some encouragement to the disheartened garrison of Velez Malaga.

After that disaster, the King Abdallah El Zagal returned to Granada with some few horsemen, the remnants of his defeated army; but as many fugitives from that unhappy field had arrived before him with the fatal intelligence of his rout, the people, rising in revolt, anathematised the conquered king; nay, even those who had before adhered most closely to his party, now abandoned him for his nephew, the King Zaquir. As he approached the gates of the city, therefore, they closed them against the unfortunate Abdallah, and all with one accord made proffer of their obedience to El Zaquir. So do men ever turn their backs on those who are persecuted by fortune. King Abdallah El Zagal, and such of his people as remained with him, then retired to Medina Guadix, which still acknowledged his rule, as did Almeria and Baza, where he was well received by the Infant Zelim and his son Yahye, who held those cities as Walies by inheritance.

Velez Malaga was meanwhile maintaining the defence against the Christians with much constancy, the brave Reduan Ben Egas making numerous attacks upon the Christian camp, which he assailed by night and when he was least expected, giving the besiegers frequent surprises, and causing them a vast amount of damage in various ways.

But, his hope of retaining the place being at length lost, the noble and valiant general himself advised the inhabitants to seek their safety in capitulation, offering his own mediation with the Conde de Cifuentes, he having entertained a friendship for that Christian from the time when the latter was his prisoner in Granada: the people of Velez Malaga were therefore allowed to depart in safety whithersoever they pleased, receiving permission, furthermore, to bear all their property with them. The city was then surrendered to the Christians. That event took place on the 27th of October, in the year 1487.

No long time after the surrender of Velez Malaga, the fortified town of Bentome, following the example of the first-named city, also resigned her destinies into the hands of the Christians; and these losses compelled even Medina Malaga to admit the conviction that the fearful tempest by which they were overwhelmed was now fast approaching herself.

The beautiful and ancient city of Malaga is seated on the edge of the sea, whose waters bathe her walls. A commodious haven, and spacious docks for the construction of galleys, are among the riches of the place. The city is for the most part erected on the plain, but on one side there is an acclivity, on which there are two fortresses; the uppermost called Gebalfaro, the lowermost the Alcazaba. On the land side there are, moreover, beautiful hills and gentle slopes, covered with vine-grounds, fair gardens, and houses of recreation, built thereon by the citizens.

Now the fear of the Infidel enemy in those unhappy times, had caused the Alcayde, Aben Muza, to attempt the extension of his defences, and to seek an increase of strength for the garrison also; he had therefore assembled a body of troops from Africa: the men whom he then took into his pay were of a brave and hardy, but very fierce, nay, ferocious race. The Alcayde, Aben Muza, an illustrious cavalier, who was kinsman to the King Abdallah El Zagal, and a man of much prudence as well as bravery, considering the evils that must result from an assault, had no sooner found himself besieged by the Christians, than he had turned his thoughts to an accommodation by treaty. But those Albarbares of Africa, suspecting from the secrecy with which the

negociations were carried on that a plot was formed for their own destruction, and thinking the mystery in which those matters were involved could concern nothing less than a purpose of selling them and delivering them to the Christians, rose in fearful revolt, and suddenly making themselves masters of the Alcazaba, they massacred the whole garrison of that fortress. Aben Conixa, who was the leader of that force, and whose brother had fallen a sacrifice in the early part of the affray, did with great difficulty succeed in recalling the Africans to order, and in tranquillising their minds; but they obtained possession of the city walls and gates, whence they would not suffer any man to issue, nor was an inhabitant of Malaga allowed to speak with one of the Christians on any pretext: he who should attempt to do so, they announced their determination to put instantly to death.

The Christians had meanwhile advanced their camp, and began to surround the city with a circumvallation and deep ditch, extending from sea to sea, and enclosing all within the two horns of the crescent thus formed. Every day did the Moslemah sally forth to impede these works and destroy whatever they could approach; not unfrequently did they press forward with admirable valour, even to the tents of the Infidel, whom they killed and wounded in great numbers, causing them to remain in continual anxiety and terror: these efforts were renewed almost daily through the entire duration of the siege.

But after a time, as the city was a thickly-peopled one, it was not possible to obtain a sufficient supply of provisions, and a want of food began to make itself felt; the citizens, rich, and accustomed to a life of plentiful enjoyment, could not suffer hunger, and secretly resolved to make an attempt for relieving themselves from the fear of that calamity, by promoting the surrender of the city. The principal among those so determined was a very rich citizen, called Aly Dordux, and this man succeeded in getting to the camp of the Christians, with proposals to that effect.

But the King of Castille replied by refusing all conditions, and demanded that the people of Malaga should surrender themselves to his mercy; he publicly ordered the

envoy to bear that answer, and thereupon dismissed him from his presence; yet in secret, and before the departure of the messenger from his camp, the King made proffer of a large sum to Aly Dordux, on condition that the latter should facilitate the conquest of Malaga This man, therefore, considering his private interest rather than the safety and well-being of his fellow citizens, delivered to those who had sent him the reply of the Christian, as given to him in public, but he secretly contrived to procure the enemy admission into the fortress. The whole city then became a scene of confusion and dismay, no man being certain whether the presence of the Christian soldiers was to be considered as the result of a convention, or attributed to perfidy and treason. But their doubts were soon at an end: the enemy proceeding to plunder them of all they possessed, while they captured many of the defenders, who had not been able to save themselves by sea: yet a large number found means to redeem their lives in that manner.

The unhappy dwellers in Malaga now beheld their riches carried away before their eyes, while they were left to poverty and despair: none escaped that spoliation, save Aly Dordux, who was appointed Wali of the city, to the end that he might assign to each of his hapless fellow-citizens the amount of ransom to be paid for his life, and might collect those sums for the treasury of the Christian King.

And so was lost that beautiful and ancient city of Malaga, which hath thenceforward remained subject to the King of Castille: the entrance of the Christians therein took place on the 18th day of August, in the year 1487.*

Now the King Abdallah El Zagal had retired, as we have said, to Guadix: he had thence endeavoured to inflict all the injury within his power on the frontiers of Murcia, and in that work he was assisted by the Infant Zelim, Wali of Almeria, who made frequent inroads on the enemy from the last-named city. But these two men acted from wholly opposite motives, and with very different views.

Abdallah El Zaquir was meanwhile sending rich gifts from Granada to the King of Castille, whom he hoped thereby

* According to Mariana: but the true date of that event is 1488.—*Condé.*

to maintain in a friendly disposition towards himself: beautiful horses, with gorgeous caparisons, for the Christian King, and fine tissues of woven silk or gold, with caskets of Oriental perfumes, for the queen, formed a portion only of those magnificent presents. Abdallah furthermore congratulated Don Fernando on his occupation of Malaga, and the rest of his fortunate conquests, believing that he was thus avoiding disturbance in his own territory. The Christian kings* received all these demonstrations with much pleasure, but they none the less continued the work they had commenced; nay, rather they pursued their purpose of bringing the Mosleman empire to its downfall with a constantly increasing determination.

Inflated by the surrender of Malaga, and the many other towns he had taken, the King of Castille was impatient to attain the object of his desires, and render himself master of the cities still remaining within the lordship of the Granadine sovereigns. He first proceeded with a flying camp to devastate the territory of Almeria, and restrain those incursions which the Moslemah of that city did not cease to make on his frontier; but the Infant Zelim, and his son Cid Yahye, marched forth against him with their cavalry, and for that time the Christian monarch was compelled to retire.

The King Abdallah El Zagal also made a successful irruption on the Comarcas of the frontier, and advancing on Alcala Yahseb, he cut up the fields, set fire to the growing crops, and driving off the cattle and herds, returned triumphant with that rich prey to Guadix.

All the attention of the Christian kings was now directed towards the war in which they were engaged on the side of Almeria, and they laid siege to Vera, which is on the edge of the sea-shore, when the inhabitants, dreading the severity of the conqueror, surrendered without much delay, to avoid the endurance of greater evils. In like manner, Muxactas and Velad Alahmar resigned themselves to the hands of the enemy, as did some other fortresses of that Comarca, which had been left without a sufficient garrison;

* It is thus that Ferdinand and Isabella are usually designated by the older historians.

but the Christians were much aided in their subjugation of these places by the terrors which had seized the Moslemah from the time when they knew that Malaga and Ronda were lost to Islam. The people generally had, moreover, lost all confidence in their kings, and, being without hope of succour, would make no attempt to defend themselves, lest by so doing they should ensure the destruction of their fields.

The fortress of Taberna, of which the site is inaccessible, was now besieged by the Christians, who assaulted the city by night and by day. King Abdallah El Zagal, who was then in Medina Guadix, hastened to the relief of that place with one thousand horsemen and a large body of infantry, people gathered from the Sierras, and imperfectly armed, but hardy and full of courage. With this force the king took up a position in the woods, whence he inflicted heavy losses on the Christian army, among whom he made a great carnage in many a fierce encounter, giving them no peace, insomuch that by repeated skirmish and sudden onslaught he had exhausted their numbers to a degree which compelled those Infidels to raise the siege of Taberna; nay, El Zagal drove them over the frontier, and recovered all the towns they had taken in that district.

A similar fate was inflicted on the enemy of Allah in Huesca and the Vegas of Baza: from the last-mentioned city the cavalry of the Moslemah poured forth against the Christians with irresistible impetuosity, when a sanguinary conflict ensued wherein the enemy was defeated and put to flight. In the midst of that carnage there died the Grand Master of Montesa, nephew of the King of Castille.

CHAP. XL.—Surrender of Guadix and Almeria.

Now the Christians, knowing that the success of their arms depended chiefly on the disunion and animosity existing between the Moslemah kings, began to consider the means by which they might still more effectually inflame the fires of discord. With that intent, they despatched an embassy bearing letters to the King of Granada, Abu

Abdallah, called El Zaquir, proposing conditions of alliance, and offering their troops to assist him against his enemies, as well as in the defence of his territories. But one of the conditions on which that aid was proffered went to the effect that if the Christian King should succeed in the subjugation of Guadix, Baza, and Almeria, (which cities were then held for the King Abdallah El Zagal, or for the Infant Zelim,) and whether that were done by capitulation or force of arms, the King Zaquir should be bound to surrender the city of Granada, and place it in the hands of the Christian King. For this, Don Fernando of Castille engaged to confer great riches and an extensive lordship in the kingdom of Granada on Abdallah El Zaquir, who might thus live in peace and security as vassal to the King of the Christians.

The unhappy King Zaquir, degraded and powerless, blind and bereft of reason, consented to those humiliating proposals, and signed the treaty of peace and alliance founded on such conditions. Every desire of his enemies he basely fulfilled, nor could he understand that those who pretended to constitute themselves his defenders did but feed him then that they might subsequently devour him at their lesiure. The miserable Zaquir meanwhile beheld himself to be daily more and more an object of abhorrence to his people, who detested him for his evil fortune no less than for his worthlessness and incapacity: seeing him, moreover, to be so closely connected with the Christians, by his friendship with their kings, and by the alliances which he was known to have formed with those Infidels, they called him a faithless Moslem: had they been made acquainted with these last-mentioned treaties, they would have torn their wretched sovereign to pieces and burnt him alive; but they were kept secret, none knew of their existence, save only the Sultana mother and the Vizier Muza Ben Almelic, by whom it was that El Zaquir was urged to sign them, they using the fear in which he lived of his uncle and competitor, Abdallah El Zagal, as one of their most effectual incitements for that purpose: wherefore, trembling lest the latter should advance upon Medina Granada, after his victories of Baza and Huesca, and should expel him from

his throne, Abdallah gave ear to the treacherous King of the Christians, accepting Don Fernando's offer to divert the attention of his uncle by a devastating war in the Comarcas of Guadix, Baza, and Almeria.

King Abdallah El Zagal was in Guadix when he received intelligence to the effect that his nephew had concerted new treaties of peace and alliance with the King of Castille, and that the latter, seated on the triumphal car of Hope, which had been so lightly prepared for him by the unhappy Zaquir, was approaching with redoubled fervour and courage to renew the war against himself. Abdallah El Zagal was furthermore informed that Don Ferdando had held a review of his forces in Jaen, where he was at that moment surrounded by an army of fifty thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, all carefully selected and well appointed troops, with which he had arrived at the fortified town of Cujar on his way to besiege Medina Baza.

Hearing these things, Abdallah El Zagal wrote an account of all to the Infant Cidi Yahye, son of the Infant Zelim of Almeria, who had just departed to the mercy of Allah. Thrice fortunate prince, since he was thus spared the affliction of looking with his eyes on the grievous calamities and ultimate destruction of his country. The Infant Yahye instantly gathered a body of ten thousand Moslemah, chosen from among the bravest men then in the kingdom, with whom he threw himself into Medina Baza, to prepare for the defence of that place. This city is seated partly on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which there runs a pleasant stream, and partly on the plain, but on either hand the site is protected by works of bold elevation, and there are, moreover, inferior heights covered with the dwellings of the citizens. The town was sufficiently provided with the necessaries of life, and the troops of the garrison gave courage to the inhabitants by their own confidence and valour.

When the Christians had fixed their camp, the Infant Cid Yahye went forth against them with a chosen body of men, attacking the enemy of Allah with infinite animation. The encounter was as obstinate as it was sanguinary; the Christians were defeated and thrown into disorder, while

the Moslemah pursued them even to their tents, filling their camp with terror and confusion, as well as with mangled corpses.

No day then passed in which the Moslemah did not sally forth to make onslaughts against the camp of their foe; night attacks and surprises were not spared, the Infidel avenging himself by cutting up the cultivated fields and destroying the gardens,—ordinary and common calamities of war, but which cannot be seen without grief and tears by the impoverished owner and ruined labourer.

The Christians, perceiving that the defence was likely to prove an obstinate one, and finding a serious diminution in their strength by the losses which those repeated sallies and night attacks occasioned, resolved to surround their entire camp by cutting a deep ditch and constructing a circumvallation, which they extended to the approaches and entrances of the city. These defences were furthermore strengthened by towers erected from point to point, by means of which the Infidels restrained the sallies of the valiant Moslemah. The latter had previously performed wonderful acts of prowess during that siege, keeping the Christians in such perpetual terror and anxiety, that they did not dare at length to go forth and meet the Moslemah skirmishers; nay, they made no attempt to restrain their advance.

Six months had now been passed in these perpetual combats, when the Infant Cid Yahye wrote to his uncle, the King Abdallah El Zagal, who was then at Medina Guadix, giving him to know that if he were not speedily succoured, the city of Baza must fall into the hands of their enemies. Nay, he subsequently despatched a messenger to the camp of the Christians, even the Xeque Hassan, Governor of Medina Baza, who had his directions to take measures for the opening of negociations with the Christian King.

The King Abdallah felt bitter grief when he read the letters of his cousin, the Infant Yahye, whom he esteemed and held in great respect, not only because of their near relationship, but also on account of his remarkable valour: yet, remembering the great bravery with which Cid Yahye had maintained the city, and seeing that while his own

troops did not suffice to the relief of the place, neither could they hope for succour of any kind from Granada, since his nephew, Abdallah El Zaquir, was in close alliance with the Christians, he replied to the letters of the Infant by declaring his assent to the proposed negociations, permitting him to surrender the place on the best terms that he could make.

That reply filled the unfortunate people of Baza with sorrow and confusion; all was sadness and despair among the men, weeping and wailing on the part of the women. The Alcayde Hassan was occupied, meanwhile, with the treaty for surrender which he had arranged with Don Gutier Cardenas, a Christian cavalier, deputed for that purpose by the King of Castille. The Infant Cid Yahye, with certain of the powerful cavaliers of the Moslemah army, then went forth to the camp of the enemy, when they were presented to the Christian Kings, who received the Infant with great honour, treating him with all the observance due to so noble a prince and so valiant a general; nay, the caresses and even paternal kindness which were exhibited by those sovereigns in favour of the Infant Yahye gained his heart so completely, that he bound himself by an oath never more to draw his sword against such noble sovereigns. For this, they distinguished him on their parts by the most flattering attentions, loading him with magnificent gifts, and conferring on him enormous revenues. The Queen of Castille, infinitely delighted with the grace of his manners, declared that if she might indeed be permitted to account the Infant Yahye among those of her party, she should consider the war then desolating the kingdom of Granada to be happily concluded.

To all this the Infant Cid Yahye Alnayar Aben Zelim replied by assurances that he would leave no means unattempted until he had prevailed on his kinsman, the King Abdallah El Zagal, to surrender the cities of Guadix and Almeria by peaceful negociation, thus avoiding the devastation of the Comarcas, with all the carnage and other calamities of horrible war. In requital for that service the Kings of Castille then offered to the prince and his heirs magnificent possessions in the kingdom, investing him on the instant with the Taa of Marchena, its towns, territories,

and vassals. Some have even declared that by the persuasions of the Queen of Castille, Prince Yahye was induced to become a Christian, but that this matter was kept secret, to the intent that he might not incur the abhorrence of his troops, nor see himself abandoned by his Moslemah followers, until that completion of their conquest, which the Christian kings hoped to see effected by his means, should be finally accomplished.

The Infant Cidi Yahye Alnayar then departed for Medina Guadix, there to hold conference with the King Abdallah El Zagal, who was still in that city. He then laid before the Granadine sovereign the deplorable condition to which the affairs of that empire had arrived, and showed how all things were tending to render its downfall inevitable: he proposed that Abdallah should consent to make terms with the Christians, since the continuance of their unhappy struggle could thenceforward not be prolonged with any better prospect than the desolation of the country and the slaughter of its inhabitants. Exhorting the falling monarch to confide in the justice and generosity of the Kings of Castille, Cidi Yahye assured him that he might hope more from them than from his adverse fortune—that inconstant power which had so manifestly turned her back upon his race. The Infant furthermore bade his kinsman remember those fatal prognostications made to the departed King Abul Hassan, when his astrologers had examined the horoscope of the King Zaquir at the moment of that unhappy prince's birth; or if, as might be affirmed, those predictions were to be considered as fulfilled, and the menaces they announced accomplished, when El Zaquir was taken in the campaign of Lucena; yet this could not be depended on with any certainty, but on the contrary it seemed that there was more portended by those threatening stars than the merely momentary deprivation of his kingdom. He concluded by affirming that for himself he believed the measures he was advising to be in conformity with the will of God, and that all the events of which they had been witnesses already proved the crown of Granada to be destined by the Almighty counsels for the possession of those potent monarchs, on whom He had already

conferred other sovereignties of Spain, and into whose hands the whole was now about to fall.

The Infant remained in silence after he had thus uttered his thoughts on the matter, while the King Abdallah El Zagal, listening to all these words with the deepest attention, had not moved an eyelash: having heard Prince Yahye to an end, he remained for a considerable period thoughtful and without uttering a sound; but at length, having drawn a deep and sorrowful sigh, he replied in these words:—

"Allahuma Subahana Hu:* I now perceive, O my kinsman, that such is indeed the will of Allah, and what Allah wills must need come to pass and be accomplished. If it had not been in the decrees of Allah Azza Wajil that the kingdom of Granada should fall, He would have supported this hand and this sword."

Thereupon the princes agreed to repair without delay to that conference which Abdallah El Zagal was now determined to hold with the Kings of Castille, and together they went forth for that purpose, proceeding towards the Christian camp, which was now on the territory of Almeria.

Don Fernando received the Moslemah princes with all due honour, and the conditions of the surrender of Guadix, with that of Almeria, those two richest jewels remaining to the crown of Granada, was determined. A large part of the hill-country of Granada was likewise included in that treaty, seeing that it lay along the coast and was in the sovereignty of the King Abdallah El Zagal. The Christian King then made proffer of his perpetual friendship and favour to Abdallah El Zagal, conferring upon him as his inheritance the Taa of Andarax, and the Valley of Alhaurin, including all its villages, farms, and other domains, with the half of the Salinas of Maleha,—a poor and miserable price for the purchased kingdom.

It was stipulated for the inhabitants of Guadix, Almeria, and Baza, that they were to be left in the undisputed possession of all their lands and wealth, free as they had held

* From the decision of God there is no appeal.

them before the siege and surrender of their homes, but as the vassals of the King of Castille, and subject to pay him tribute. These conditions were made public on the day when the cities in question were occupied by the enemy.

And now the Christians, as well as the Moslemah, found it difficult to believe in the reality of what they saw passing around them, and could not but think that it was all a dream. The people of the towns in the Comarcas were amazed as well as alarmed by the wonderful surrender of those mighty fortresses, and could scarcely be persuaded that what their neighbours assured them was the unhappy fact, had indeed befallen them. Yet the unfortunate dwellers in the surrendered cities were meanwhile doing their part towards deceiving the people of the Comarca, inasmuch as that they affected to be entirely content; nay, declared themselves of opinion that their happiness was now to be increased, since they were thenceforward to be spared the terrors and anxieties of a devastating war. For these causes they advised the inhabitants of the smaller towns to follow their example. Whereupon the strongholds of Taberna and Seron were resigned to the possession of the Christians by their own free will, as were subsequently the mighty and impregnable fortresses of Almunecaub and Xalubania. both situate on the edge of the sea.

All these great losses were sustained by the Moslemah in the year 896, and during the moons of Muharram and Safer.*

CHAP. XLI.—The disorders in Granada still continue.

The rumour of these events was soon carried to Granada, and the confirmation of that rumour was heard with infinite dismay. The people, who had become daily more unruly and discontented with their king, Muhamad Abu Abdallah El Zaquir, whom they looked upon as the odious cause of all the evils which had befallen them, including the now imminent ruin of the Moslemah power in Spain,

* A.D. 1490 and 1491.—*Condé.*

felt their detestation increased by these last calamities: they no longer hesitated publicly to vituperate him as a traitor, a coward, the enemy of his country and false to his faith: becoming heated as words of that import proceeded from mouth to mouth, their rage and disgust were uncontrollable, and rising in revolt, vast crowds hurried to the Alcazar with cries and menaces of inconceivable fury, insomuch that none could hope they would be pacified until they had taken vengeance on the object of their hatred, by depriving him of his kingdom, or even of his life: nor would that catastrophe have been averted, had not certain of the more honourable Xeques and Alfakies of Granada interposed their authority between the helplessness of the king and the rage of the multitude. These men exhorted the furious crowds surrounding the palace to refrain from adding greater evils to those already existing; they represented to them the many sufferings which they had themselves endured from the indulgence of their violent passions and the frequent tumults whereby they had made the city a slaughter-house; they declared the calamities of the kingdom to have proceeded solely from the seditions and disorders of its own people, and not from the strength of the enemy without, concluding by the assurance that one only method of repairing those evils now remained,—the union of all for the general safety, and the restoration of that concord which can alone preserve and strengthen a falling state.

But while the few friends of the country thus endeavoured to diminish the dangers in which all were involved, the partizans of the unhappy King Zaquir were but too effectually employed in hastening the completion of their ruin; they despatched messengers to the Christians on the frontier, demanding their aid as the friends and allies of their sovereign. And the Infidel did not lose that opportunity for pouring his troops over the Vega, when these destroyed all before them, as was their wont, leaving the fertile fields a desert waste: but the intelligence of that irruption produced a greater effect upon the people of Granada than the reasonings of the Xeques and Alfakies had done, seeing that the words of the Sages, although they had for the moment repressed the rage of the crowds which had ga-

thered around the Alcazar, and had saved the unhappy Zaquir from the popular violence, could yet not avail permanently to calm the perturbation of the public feeling. But the necessity now imposed on them of defending their devastated fields, compelled them to give a truce to their internal dissensions, and the popular movement ceased.

Taking occasion, nevertheless, from that disorder, the King of Castille now sent letters to Abdallah El Zaquir, reminding him of the treaty which had been entered into between them, and in which the King of Granada had agreed to become the vassal of the Christian King, surrendering to him the city of Granada, so soon as Don Fernando should have made himself master of Guadix, Baza, and Almeria, the possessions of Abdallah's uncle, El Zagal, whether by capitulation or force of arms. The miserable and unfortunate Zaquir, now that it was too late to avert the evils brought on his country, perceived the consequences of his weakness and want of foresight: he replied by excusing himself from complying with the Christian King's demand, declaring his inability to fulfil the conditions of their treaty: he gave Don Fernando to know that there were many great nobles and men of authority in Granada who would not submit themselves to the vassalage implied therein, nor suffer them to be accomplished; wherefore Abdallah entreated his highness to be content with the fortunate conquests which God had already permitted him to make.

About the same time, the people of Medina Guadix, finding that they were driven by the Christians from their city, and compelled to make their abode in the suburbs thereof, began to show signs of dissatisfaction; and these became open rebellion, when it was found that the Infidel, fearful lest the inhabitants should rise against their authority, was about to deprive them of their arms. But the Christians had a strong garrison in Guadix, and being masters of all the forts, they soon compelled the disaffected to submission. The same thing occurred in the Taa of Andarax, where the people rose against their lord, Abdallah El Zagal, and would have slain him, had he not concealed himself at the moment, and subsequently found means to escape from their hands. He then repaired to the King

of Castille, who proffered him the aid of his arms for the reduction of those disobedient vassals; but Abdallah had determined to abandon his unfortunate country, and, declining that assistance, replied that he would no longer remain in the land, but would at once retire to Africa.

To this the King of Castille made answer, declaring Abdallah at liberty to take the part which he considered to be that best suited to his interests; whereupon El Zagal made over the Salinas of Marleha, with some other parts of his domains, to his cousin and brother-in-law, Cidi Yahye Alnayar, son of the Infant Zelim. The Valley of Alhaurin, with the twenty-three villages and hamlets which belonged to him in the Taa of Andarax, Abdallah sold to the King of Castille, from whom he had received them, and who now paid him the sum of five millions of maravedis for those possessions. Having furthermore received many gifts and much treasure from the Kings of Castille, Abdallah El Zagal bade adieu to the pleasant land of Spain, and embarked for Africa.

The excuses made by King Abdallah El Zaquir were not of a kind to satisfy the King of Castille, who determined to compel the Granadine monarch by force to the fulfilment of that which he had so weakly and basely been the first to offer; seeing that the acknowledgment of the Christian King as his sovereign lord had been one of the first conditions for his deliverance, which had been proposed by Abdallah when taken prisoner at Lucena. Thus Don Fernando assembled a great and powerful host, wherewith he advanced upon the dominions yet remaining to the Moslemah, and declared war against the King of Granada.

But now did Abdallah El Zaquir console himself with the flattering hope that, being delivered from all his competitors in the kingdom,—his father, his uncle, and the Infants,—he should be able, by the re-union of all his power, to defend himself from the Christian assailants. He therefore commanded the Alimes and venerable Alfakies to preach a Sacred War, directing them to exhort the people to concord, and arouse all to the defence of the country. Nor was this an ill-advised measure; and one of its immediate consequences was to cause many of the towns then in the hands of the Christians to rebel against their

Infidel masters. All the hill country, moreover, embraced the interests of Abdallah El Zaquir, from the moment that he adjured their hardy band in the name of religion, and gathering eagerly together, those rude yet brave and faithful mountaineers raised the banner of the Algihed.* The town of Adra, which is on the sea-coast, likewise took up arms in that cause, as did Castil-Ferruh, and many other places.

El Zaquir then marched from his capital with a considerable force of cavalry and a large body of foot-soldiers: with these he laid siege to Xalubania, and with another body of his troops he invested Alheudin, of which he made himself master: he then caused the defences to be razed to the foundations, and put the garrison to the edge of the sword. That event took place in the autumn of the year 896.†

The Christians now despatched succours to their brethren thus attacked in the territory of Granada; and to avenge themselves of those who had thus attempted to throw off their yoke, they devastated the whole country, tearing the seeds from the earth, and burning the fruitful fields to an arid waste: nor was this, which was all that could be effected at that season of the year, more than the foretaste of the vengeance which they proposed to inflict on the Moslemah before its conclusion; and in effect the harvests of such among the cultivated grounds as they had not then been able to destroy, were ruthlessly burnt before the labourer had found time to subject them to his sickle.

A strong force of the Christian people was meanwhile assembled for the succour of Xalubania; while the Moslemah, who had obtained possession of Adra, were assailed by the Infant Alnayar, son of Cidi Yahye, and grandson of the Infant Zelim, whose descendants were thus attached to the fortunes of the Christian Kings, serving under their banners and lending their arms to complete the destruction of their country. The father, Cidi Yahye, now general of an army composed chiefly of Moslemah, who were his vassals, was employed in the subjection of the towns that lie along the shores of the Almanzora, and of the Taa of

* Algihed: Holy War.
† A.D. 1491.—*Condé.*

Marchena; and in that enterprise he had full success, but more by persuasion and intrigue than by the force of arms.

In like manner did the son proceed to reduce to his obedience the rebels of Adra: he concealed from the inhabitants of the city the fact that his ships were a Christian armament, by carrying on them the African banners, and disguising his mariners, as well as the soldiers, in the Moslemah raiment: thus, expecting succours from Africa, and believing the fleet approaching to be from their Moslemah brethren on the opposite side of the strait, those of Adra permitted the galleys to enter peaceably, when they at once became masters of the port. The father of the Infant Alnayar, even Cidi Yahye, had meanwhile arrived with his troops on the land side; when the inhabitants, becoming aware of the deceit which had been practised upon them, would fain have defended their town: but it was then too late: they attacked their betrayers with admirable resolution, and fought an obstinate engagement before their gates; but they were defeated with great slaughter, and compelled to take refuge within their walls, where they fortified themselves in the best manner they were able.

The King Abdallah El Zaquir, who was then occupied with the siege of Xalubania, lost no time in hastening to the succour of Adra: but when he arrived within a short distance of the place, he received the fatal news that the enemy had proved victorious in the battle above mentioned. Being furthermore assured that before he could reach the town it would already have been compelled to surrender, Abdallah then retired to Xalubania, which he was besieging very closely.

But in Adra the king was accused of being prevented from marching to their aid by his fears; and that account of the matter was promulgated by the populace. The defenders then lost all hope, seeing that no succours could now arrive, either by land or sea; wherefore they had recourse at length to the method of negociating, and surrendered on the best conditions they could obtain, as had been done by other fortresses.

The Christians who were defending the strong town of Xalubania now made known the extremity of their peril to the

King of Castille, and Don Fernando commanded the instant departure of a powerful army, who directed its march thither without delay. But even before the light skirmishers of the Christian host had made their appearance in the Comarcas, the fame of its approach had reached Abdallah El Zaquir; when that irresolute and unfortunate king immediately raised the siege of Xalubania, and did not dare to hazard a battle. Before returning to Granada, he made an attempt, nevertheless, to ravage the Taa of Marchena; when the generals who defended these Comarcas for his uncle, the Infant, marched forth against him, but with them El Zaquir fought successfully: having broken and routed their bands, he compelled them to surrender the fortresses which they held for the Infant, in his hatred of whom, Abdallah razed those places to the ground. He then destroyed the growing crops and burnt the villages,—still, as he said, in revenge for the wrongs inflicted on their country by the Infants, who had become the enemies of Islam. That vengeance accomplished, El Zaquir returned victorious and inflated to Granada.

CHAP. XLII.—Siege of Medina Granada. Capitulation of that City.

In the spring of the year 897, all the horrors of war were renewed for the unhappy people dwelling beneath the rule of King Zaquir. The Christians entered the country with forty thousand foot soldiers and ten thousand horse; they advanced even to the Vega of Granada, and fixed their camp at a place called the Fountains, being the sources of the Guetar, which are not more than two leagues from the capital. The inhabitants were filled with affright by the intelligence of their approach; and when it was known that the Infidel was at their gates in such force, even the boldest and most warlike trembled with a fear before unknown.

The King Abdallah El Zaquir assembled his council in the Alcazar of the Alhambra, where he held consultation with his Xeques and Alcaydes as to the best method of providing for the common defence. The Vizier of the city, Abulcasem Abdelmelic, first reported the condition of the place in respect of

provisions.—an account which did not include the stores in possession of the richer citizens, nor those of merchants unconnected with the state. Registers of all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms were also presented.

"The people are many," remarked the Vizier, in conclusion, after having completed his report, "the people are many, but for the multitude of the citizens, what shall we do with them, and to what purpose can they serve, unless it be to give us cares? They swell themselves and become great in peace; they howl aloud and threaten with their hands, but in time of war they conceal themselves and tremble: what then are they good for, if it be not to consume the food which should strengthen the hearts of our warriors?"

To this the brave General Muza Ben Abil El Gazani made answer and said, "There is no need for distrust in our resources; if we direct them with intelligence and firmness, they will suffice. Not only have we soldiers who are the flower of the Andalusian force—the infantry no less than the cavalry—troops well accustomed to privation and inured to the toils of war, but we have besides twenty thousand of our young men, all in the fire of their age, who will be speedily hardened in the present war, and will then be not inferior to the most veteran soldiers; soon shall you see them present their breasts to the foe as bravely as do those most experienced in warfare."

The King Abdallah El Zaquir then said to his Xeques, "Ye are the shield of the kingdom. It is in you that, with the aid of Allah Azza Wajil, will be found the avengers of all the wrongs that have been suffered by our religion. Ye will exact repayment for the lives of our kinsmen and friends, and for the outrages offered to our women. Dispose of all things for this war as shall seem good to your wisdom. In your hands and your bravery lies the general safety. From you must come the security of the country and the liberty of all."

The Xeques thereupon proceeded to give the orders required. The Vizier took charge of the provisions and arms; he also gave directions for the enrolment of the people, according to the registers presented, as above described. The General, Muza Ben Abil El Gazani, was named com-

mander-in-chief,—he undertook the defence of the city, with the sallies to be made upon the Christians by the Moslemah cavalry; his second in command was Naim Ben Reduan: then followed Muhamad Aben Zayde, with Abdelkerim Zegri and other captains, to whom was confided the guardianship of the walls in the different quarters of the capital. The fortresses of the Alcazaba and that of the Red Towers were left to the care of the generals previously commanding them, each remaining in the hands of its respective Alcayde.

In the first months of the year, the principal gates of the capital were not closed, and all were maintained in security by the prudence and the valour of the General Muza Ben Abil. Every day three thousand cavaliers went forth to skirmish with the advanced posts of the Christians, and to protect the convoys of provisions, which were brought to Granada from the hill-country. For that last mentioned service Muhamad Zahir Ben Atar was appointed by the General Muza Ben Abil, and was charged to give his attention to that object only: he therefore repaired to the mountains with fifteen hundred horse, where he committed no small havoc among the Christians who were making an irruption upon that district. Near Padal, among other places, Muhamad Zahir Ben Atar fought a desperate battle with those Infidels. It is true that many valiant Moslemah lost their lives in the conflict; but there were yet greater numbers of the enemy left biting the dust. In that district not a few were the villages and hamlets sacked and burnt by the Christians, for the purpose of cutting off the supplies required by the Moslemah; obstinate encounters took place on all those occasions, the least sanguinary of such battles leaving the ground bathed in blood and covered with the bodies of the dead or dying.

The brave General Muza Ben Abil, with his hardy cavaliers, gave but little repose to the Christians, whom they attacked with an intrepidity and resolution that filled the hearts of those Infidels with dread: not unfrequently did Muza Ben Abil spur the fiery charger he bestrode till far within the entrenchments of the terrified enemy, and many were the victims left by his formidable lance, even within the shadow of their tents. Nor did the other generals

and leaders on the Moslemah side fail to give equal proofs of their zeal; acts of signal prowess were performed by them all, and the Granadine cavalry were found to have degenerated in no degree from their ancient valour.

These continued skirmishes, and the attacks of the Moslemah cavalry, ever sallying forth from the city, were such and so many that the Christians finally drew a circumvallation around their camp; nay, as if the wall were still insufficient, they furthermore protected themselves by a deep ditch: admirable defences without doubt, but therein did those besiegers make manifest their determination not to raise the siege, rather than their bravery in maintaining the struggle.

When Muza Ben Abil saw that work,* he declared to the King Abdallah El Zaquir his desire to seek the besieger in his entrenchments; wherefore, on a certain day, he left the city at the hour of dawn, with all his cavalry and the greater part of the foot-soldiers: that force advancing on the Christian camp amidst the resounding clangour of the trumpets and the pealing thunder of its Atambores.

The Christians did not refuse the battle on that occasion, as they had done at other times, and an obstinate encounter was commenced, in which the Moslemah cavalry performed prodigies of valour. Not so the foot-soldiers; they could not withstand the onset of the Christian force, and turned in disorderly flight towards the city, whither the Infidel enemy followed, after making themselves masters of the Moslemah artillery, and pursuing the fugitives to within a short distance of the walls.

The illustrious General Muza, desperate with rage, and almost deprived of hope, returned to the capital furious as a wounded lion or bull that hath felt the knife; he then

* The Arabian writer makes no mention of the efforts which the general, Muza, who clearly perceived the danger of Ferdinand's tactics, had made for the destruction of the Christian defences, and from the text it might be even inferred that he had seen them only when completed, although it is certain that the writer does not mean to convey this idea, and the Spanish historians insist largely on that subject; they prove Muza Ben Abil to have amply performed his duty as a prudent and able Governor, no less than as a brave warrior and distinguished commander.—*Tr.*

took a solemn oath never again to attempt an onslaught with the infantry.*

On that occasion the Christians obtained possession of the Atalayas,† wherein they then placed an Infidel garrison, with a considerable number of Arquebusiers, sharp-shooters, and cross-bowmen.

Muza Ben Abil now commanded that the city gates opening on the Vega should be closed, since he could no longer place confidence in the foot-soldiers and cross-bowmen by whom they had previously been guarded, for the defence of the same in case of attack.

The devastations of the enemy having exhausted the Comarcas, and the plunder that he had not unfrequently made of the convoys bringing provisions from the Sierras having much diminished those supplies, a failure in the necessaries of life now began to be felt: the watchfulness of the Christians had much increased, all attempts to remedy the evils resulting from that care were baffled thereby, and the vast multitude of inhabitants of whom the Vizier had before made his plaint, a population but little accustomed to content itself with scanty portions, began to cause infinite care to Abul Casim Abdelmelic. He imparted that anxiety to the King Abdallah El Zaquir, who did not fail to partake it, and a council of the Xeques was assembled: then those nobles, with such of the principal citizens as were present, declared that the ceaseless toils of the defence, rendered insupportable by the failure of their provisions, could no longer be endured: they added that the determination of the Christians was now clearly manifest, and that they would certainly never abandon the siege until the capital was surrendered.‡ "What, remedy, then remains for us,"

* That arm has well redeemed its character in these latter ages, as every reader is well aware, and if the narrations of the text have not unfrequently exhibited the Moslemah foot-soldiers as the cause of ruin to the hopes of the generals—nay, as marring even the near prospect of victory—that was, probably, because, in the superabundance of care bestowed on the Moslemah horsemen, the *morale* of the infantry was not sufficiently considered, or perhaps almost wholly disregarded.—*Tr.*

† Atalayas watch-towers. Here the advanced works of the fortifications on the side of the Vega are more particularly alluded to.—*Tr.*

‡ Here the counsellors referred without doubt to the erection of the city of Santâ Fè, which the Catholic sovereigns had begun to build

they added; "what remedy or resource but surrender or certain death?"

The King, Abdallah El Zaquir, was so much troubled by the opinion thus announced that he could not utter a word in reply. All the members of his council, the valiant commander of the forces alone excepted, were inclined to enforce the opening of negociations with the King of Castille; but the noble General Muza Ben Abil insisted that there was yet hope, and declared the mention of surrender to be at least premature. He affirmed that their resources were far from being exhausted, and remarked that the people had as yet made no effort; he demanded that the question of negociation should be deferred until all had taken up the arms of desperation, which have not unfrequently been known to obtain a decisive victory, and assure to him who has wielded them the most signal vengeance.

Such was the opinion announced by the General Muza Ben Abil; but the opposite counsels prevailed, and it was ultimately determined that the Vizier Abul Salim Abdelmelic should go forth to propose a treaty of agreement with the Christians.

That noble old man proceeded to the camp of the enemy accordingly, and was favourably received by the Christian king, when the negociations were opened in due form. After many proposals and very grave discussions, it was then agreed that in the event of the King of Granada receiving no succour, either by land or sea, within the space of two months, counted from that day, he should then, and after the lapse of that period, surrender to the King of Castille the two fortresses of Medina Granada, with the towers and forts of the city. Furthermore that the King Abdallah and his generals should take the oath of obedience and fealty to the King of Castille, whom all the dwellers in

within their entrenchments, and the origin whereof, as many of our readers well remember, is related by the Spanish historians as follows: "The Queen Isabella, having arrived before Granada, was in the camp with her ladies, when one of the latter accidentally set fire to her tent; Isabella then expressed the desire that a city should be built which might render accidents of the kind less probable, and Santâ Fè, which was the name chosen for the new city by the Queen herself, was commenced accordingly."—*Tr.*

Granada should acknowledge to be their lord and king. All Christian captives then within the city were to be instantly set free without ransom; in the meanwhile three hundred youths from the noblest families in Granada should be placed in the hands of the King of Castille, there to remain until all these things were accomplished. These conditions thus arranged were to be fulfilled within twelve days from the signature of the compact thus concluded.

To Abdallah El Zaquir, King of Granada, were then to be assigned certain Taas and domains, to enable him to live as befitted his birth: these he was himself to select in the Alpuxarras.

To the above-mentioned conditions were furthermore added those which follow:—The Moslemah inhabitants of Granada were to be permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of their houses and valuables of every kind, as they were then enjoying the same; they were not to be deprived of their arms, their horses, or any other part of their property; they were to be assured in the free exercise of their religion, to which there was no impediment to be offered, whether public or private; their mosques were to be retained by them, with perfect liberty for the fulfilment of all their rites, ceremonies, and customs; they were not to be disturbed in the use of their accustomed vestments or language; were to be governed by their own laws,—these were to be administered by Alcaydies of their own sect, the latter to serve as councillors to such commandant or governor as might be set over them by the Christians: no heavier tributes were to be laid upon them than those of the Sunna and Xara, which they paid to their own kings; and during the three years next to follow, it was furthermore stipulated that they were to be wholly exempted from tribute of every kind. Thus was the treaty concerted by Abul Casim Abdelmelic, Vizier of Granada, by Gonzalo de Cordova, a great captain of the King of Castille, and by the Catib Fernando de Zafra; the signatures of all who were parties to the same were then affixed, and each man bound himself by oath to the exact fulfilment thereof. That act was accomplished on the 22nd day of the Moon of Muharram, in the year 897; or, by computation of the Infidel, on the 25th day of November, in the year 1491.

CHAP. XLIII.—OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE TREATY OF SURRENDER WAS RECEIVED IN MEDINA GRANADA. REMARKABLE DISCOURSE OF MUZA BEN ABIL. END OF THE MOSLEMAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN.

WHEN the Vizier Abul Casim Abdelmelic returned to the council bearing with him the terms of capitulation above described, the members of that body could not restrain their tears; the firm and noble General Muza alone retained his self-possession, and he spake to those around him in these words:—

"Leave this useless weeping, Oh! ye men of Granada, to the eyes of children and the delicate maiden! Let us be men, and consume our hearts, not in the shedding of unmanly tears, but in pouring forth our blood even to its latest drop. Let us go forth with the strength of desperation in our muscles, and offering the breasts of brave men to the enemies' lance, let us die in the battle as befits us. I am ready to lead you, Oh, my brethren, with a heart that shall not show irresolution. Wherefore should we now refuse the honourable death of the battle-field? Better for us to be accounted by the coming world among the number of those who have been ready to die in defence of their country, than of those who stood inactive while their native land was given over to the grasp of the stranger, and who coldly looked on at the downfall of their country.

"But if indeed our hearts fail us, if we have not the valour that would urge us to go forth in a last effort for our homes, then let us listen to these base conditions with the patience of heart and serenity of countenance which become us as men, and let him who can do so bend his neck to the hard yoke of a perpetual and debasing slavery. I see well that the spirit of the multitude hath become feeble; their hearts have sunk; there is no means left for escaping the loss of the empire; but there is ever one refuge for the breast of the noble—he can seek shelter in death; and I prefer to die while in freedom, rather than to live for the sorrows to come.

"For do you believe that the Christians will be faithful to the promises they make you? Will the king who hath

led them to conquest be as generous a victor as he is a fortunate enemy? Be certain he will not. Do not deceive yourselves; these Christians are thirsting for our blood, and they will sufficiently appease their desire for that sacrifice. Death is the least of the evils that menace you: more fearful are the torments and humiliations which our inimical fortune is preparing for us; the plunder and sack of our houses; the desecration of our mosques; the outrage and degradation of our wives and daughters; wrongs of every kind; unjust demands; oppressive enactments; cruel intolerance; and the burning pile of the bigot, on which these Infidels will not fail to consume our miserable bodies.* All these things we shall see with our eyes; those will see them, that is to say, who now fear the honourable death I propose—for myself, by Allah! I will not see them."

The brave man looked around him, but met no respondent glance; he made a last effort, and added the following words:—

"Death is certain to all, and very near to every man here present: why, therefore, should we not employ the short time that still remains to us, in seeking vengeance on our enemies? Up, my brethren! let us die in the defence of our liberty: our mother earth will receive that which she hath produced, or if to any of us there shall be given no grave to conceal him, there will at least not be wanting the heaven that shall cover him.† God forbid that any man should affirm the nobles of Granada to have proved incapable of dying for their country!"

Muza was silent, and all who surrounded him remained silent also: wherefore, perceiving the depression and debasement of the Xeques, Arrayaces, and Alfakirs, whose eyes

* The Inquisition had been established at Seville in the year 1480, and the holy office had commenced the exercise of its disastrous authority in the following year, when seven Jews had been burned alive in an *auto de fé*. Thus Muza was perhaps not without cause for his apprehension when he warned his country of the Inquisition of their Christian conquerors.—*De Mules.*

† The same idea will be found in Lucan: "Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam."

did not venture to meet his own, he turned his back on that degraded assembly, and in the highest indignation left the hall.

Of the valiant Muza Ben Abil El Gazani it is further related that he then proceeded to his own house, took a horse and his arms, mounted, and rode from the city by the gate of Elvira, from which time he never appeared again.

The departure of Muza was succeeded by a long and mournful silence: the King Abdallah El Zaquir then spoke, and said that in the capital and in all the kingdom the heart and the force required for the resistance of enemies so powerful, had failed at one and the same moment; he added, that he was not amazed to see men who had saved their lives with pain and difficulty from the perilous adventures of battle, exhibiting but little desire to expose themselves to new dangers, more especially since all hope of obtaining a better fate had vanished, and every resource that might have saved them from the wreck, which the tempest of their evil fortune had now rendered inevitable, had been exhausted.

The Vizier and others of the principal nobles, fearing lest the people, excited by the inspiriting words of Muza and other brave generals, might be aroused to revolt during the days that were yet to elapse between that and the one fixed for the surrender of the city, advised Abdallah El Zaquir to write at once to the King of Castille, making known his fears of insurrection, and expressing his desire to give up the capital without delay, adding that he could find no other method for avoiding revolutions and further misfortune. This advice the King accepted; he declared that, since such was the will of God, he would not await the arrival of the stated term, but would place the two fortresses of Granada into the hands of the Christian king on the following day.

With this letter, and a present of magnificent arms and fine horses richly caparisoned, Juzef Aben Tomixa, the Vizier of El Zaquir, proceeded to the Christian camp. He was received with much honour by the King of Castille, who was greatly rejoiced at the intelligence thus brought him, and replied to the effect that all which the King of Granada desired should be done. Don Fernando then renewed the promises of security and friendship which he

had previously made to Abdallah El Zaquir; he confirmed to him the domains before assigned of the Taa and valley of Purchena, adding to these possessions Dalias, Versa, Marchena, Volodui, Luchar, Andaras, Juviles, Xixar, Jubilem, Ferreyra, Poqueira, and Orgiba, with all their rights, dependencies, and privileges. Large revenues from other sources were also conferred on Abdallah for the maintenance of his state by the King of Castille, who did not fail to bestow marks of his favour on the Viziers also, as well as on other great officers of the fallen monarch; Juzef Aben Tomixa and Juzef Ben Egas being more particularly distinguished. To the inhabitants generally the Christian monarch repeated his assurances of safety for all their possessions, with freedom to abide peaceably in the exercise of their religion, and under the shadow of their own laws. Finally, the King of Castille declared that the papers containing the conditions of that treaty should be placed for preservation in the hands of Abdallah himself, or in those of such persons as his highness might appoint for the satisfaction of the Moslemah. These regulations were made, and all was finally concluded, on the 4th day of the Moon Rebie Primera, in the year 891.*

The unfortunate King Abu Abdallah then commanded that his family should depart from the city at dawn of day on the following morning, and should take their way towards the Alpuxarras: with them were sent his treasures and the most precious valuables of the Alcazar: to his Vizier Aben Tomixa, Abdallah gave charge of the fortresses to be surrendered on that unhappy morning into the hands of the Christians.

The fatal moment having arrived, the sound of the clarions and drums of the Christian army was heard, and it soon became known that the Infidel hosts were approaching the city in order of battle: the King Abu Abdallah, with fifty of his principal cavaliers, then rode forth to receive the Christians, and the King of Castille was perceived to be advancing towards Medina Granada, accompanied by his generals and a large body of cavalry. When the two

* A.D. 1492.—*Condé.* (According to some of the Spanish historians on the 2nd of January, or, as others say, the 3rd or 4th.)

sovereigns had approached within a short distance of each other, the King Abu Abdallah made a movement, as if to descend from his horse, but the Christian king would not suffer him to do so; wherefore, advancing on horseback, the fallen monarch kissed the right arm of the conqueror, and bending his eyes to the earth, with an aspect of profound sadness, he uttered the following words:—

"We are now thy subjects, Oh powerful and exalted king. This city and kingdom we resign to thee, for such is the will of Allah. We trust that thou wilt use thy triumph with clemency and generosity." The keys were then delivered up by the Vizier.

The King of Castille thereupon embraced and endeavoured to console the suffering Abdallah, saying that in his friendship he was regaining all of which his adversity and the fortune of war had deprived him, and declaring that the Moslemah prince might now live in the certainty of repose and security. Yet King Abdallah would not return towards the city, but took his way at once towards the Alpuxarras, with intention to rejoin his family.

The Christian generals, accompanied by the two Viziers, had meanwhile entered the city, when the former received possession of the fortresses: first of the Torres Bermejas,* and immediately afterwards of the Alcazaba and Albaycin. The Infidel cavalry passed into Medina Granada without perceiving any man in all the streets of that populous city, whose inhabitants were shut up within their houses to bewail their misfortune. They instantly raised their banners and crosses on the lofty towers, and that done a large body of infantry made their approach, these troops also taking up their quarters in the different fortresses and other places appointed to them by their commanders.

The principal cavaliers of Granada now presented themselves to the Conde de Tendilla, who had been appointed Alcayde of Granada, and by whom they were received with much honour; these nobles then passed through the capital of their ancient kings in company with the Christian generals, and as the vassals of one and the same sovereign.

The Kings of Castille themselves then entered the gates

* Torres Bermejas: the red towers.

of their conquered city, where they appointed the Infant, Cidi Yahye Anayar Ben Ismail, to be the governor of the Moslemah, and gave the command of the coast to his son. These were the rewards of their infidelity to their country, and of the aid they had given to the ruin of their native land. In like manner were the sons of the King Abul Hassan Ben Ismail endowed with riches and domains by the hand of the conqueror.

Now when the grieving king, even Abu Abdallah, arrived at Padul, he turned to look for the last time on his city of Granada; then he could not restrain his tears, and said, "Allah Hu Akbar!"* whereupon it is affirmed that his mother replied to the unhappy man in these words,—"Well doth it become thee to weep thy loss like a woman, since thou hast not been able to defend thyself like a man." From that moment the place where this occurred hath been called "Fey Allah hu Akbar."

The Vizier Aben Tomixa, who accompanied the King and the Sultana, then said to the former, "Consider, O my lord, that a great and notable misfortune, when it hath been endured with fortitude and constancy, doth sometimes render men famous, as do prosperity and high advancement." To which the sorrowing monarch replied in bitter grief, "Where, then, shall be found a misfortune to be compared with mine?"

So finished the empire of the Moslemah in Spain; and that event took place on the fifth day of Rebie Primera, in the year 897.†

The King Abu Abdallah lived thenceforward in deep depression and grief of heart: he could not support the condition to which he had been reduced by his evil fortune, and knew not how to accommodate himself to the life of a private person; wherefore the few friends still remaining to him did their utmost to promote his departure from a land in which he could no longer be supreme. His Vizier, Juzef Aben Tomixa, even took the decisive step of proposing to the King of Castille that the latter should make purchase from Abdallah of the Taa of

* Allah Hu Akbar: God alone is great.
† A.D. 1492.

Purchena, without having received the express permission of the fallen monarch for his doing so: he then took the price of those domains, eighty thousand ducats of gold, that is to say, to the king, Abu Abdallah, who was then at Andarax, advising him instantly to cross over into Africa, and to depart for ever from those realms which he had formerly ruled as his own.

Similar counsels were given to the unhappy son of Abul Hassan by his kinsman and intimate friend, Juzef Ben Egas, a noble cavalier, who successfully added his persuasions to those of Juzef Aben Tomixa.

The King Abu Abdallah, therefore, seeing that better might not be, and that all having now been ultimately decided against him there was no remedy for his misfortune, passed over into Africa with his family: he arrived in the capital of his cousin, Muley Ahmed, in the year 898;* and this unfortunate prince, who had not found courage to die in defence of his own country and kingdom, lost his life in fighting to preserve the crown of another: he took part in the battle of the Fords of Bacuba, on the river Gadisuelda, where his kinsman, Muley Ahmed Ben Merini, King of Fez, encountered the two Xarifes: for such was the destiny prepared for him in the Book of Eternal Decrees.

Praised be God! who exalteth kings and who casteth them low; who giveth power and greatness at his pleasure; who inflicteth poverty and humiliation according to His holy will;—the fulfilment of that will is Eternal Justice, which regulates all human events.

* A.D. 1493.

SINGULAR ANECDOTE.

At the time when Medina Antequera, having fallen into the power of the Christians, was garrisoned by them as a frontier-town, to keep watch on the movements of the Moslemah, a certain cavalier, called Narvaez, was Alcayde of that city. This general made incursions, as was usual, on the neighbouring districts of the Granadine territory, sometimes conducting those expeditions in person, and at other times despatching his officers to make them in his place; while the commandants of the fortresses held by the Moslemah did the same on their part, as respected the Comarcas in the hands of the Christians.

It happened, then, on a certain time, that Narvaez had detached a body of horse to that effect, and the officer in command of the force departing at the hour best suited to promote the success of the purpose he had in mind, pressed far beyond the frontier, and got deep into the territory of Granada before the dawn had appeared. Being thus on his way, and having as yet found no booty, the Christian came upon a bold Moslemah youth, who had come thither for a cause that shall be presently related, and having wandered from his path in the darkness, could not escape the enemy: this youth at once prepared to attack the Infidels, without giving himself time to consider their numbers, and they in like manner were about to fall upon him; but finding that he was alone, they took him unhurt, and learning from his account that the whole district had been stripped of its products and abandoned by the dwellers therein, who had sought safety from the borderers marauding their fields in a more distant Comarca, the Christians returned to Antequera, where they presented their captive to the Alcayde Narvaez.

The prisoner, a young man of some twenty-two or twenty-three years old, was a cavalier of graceful appearance and dignified aspect; he wore a flowing robe of rich mulberry-coloured silk, gorgeously bordered and decorated after the fashion of such vestments; a turban of the finest linen, worn over a scarlet baretta, covered his head; he was mounted on a magnificent horse, and bore a lance which was adorned, as

was his sword, in a manner seen only among the most noble of the Moslemah cavaliers.

Narvaez having enquired of the youth who he was, the latter replied by declaring himself the son of the Alcayde of Ronda, a Moslemah cavalier of high distinction, and one well known among the Christians for his ability in war. Being furthermore asked whither he was proceeding when thus encountered by the troops of the Christian Governor, he could not utter a word, tears having suddenly choked his voice and rendered him unable to reply. Narvaez then said to him, "I marvel to see thee! That thou, being as thou art a cavalier of good race, and the son of a noble so valiant as is thy father, should be thus cast down and weep like a woman, knowing, too, what are the chances of war, and having all the appearance of a brave soldier and a good cavalier: this I cannot understand!"

To these words the youth replied: "I do not weep because my lance hath failed to be my safeguard, nor because I am thy captive—these tears are not for the loss of my liberty; they are forced from mine eyes by a much deeper sorrow, and one that grieves me as the fallen state in which I now see myself could never do."

Hearing these words, the Alcayde Narvaez entreated the youth with much kindness to confide to him the cause of his sorrow; and at length the latter replied in these terms.

"Know, then, that I have been long the servant and lover of a lady who is the daughter of the Alcayde of a fortress which I will not name to thee, and I have served her with much truth and loyalty; yea, many times have I fought in her honour against you Christians. Wherefore the lady, at length perceiving my constancy, and acknowledging that I had in some sort merited her favour, had declared herself willing to become my wife, and had sent to call me to her presence, that I might bear her to my dwelling, since she is willing to go in my company and leave the house of her father, for the love of me. I then, going with this joyful prospect, and in the hope of attaining a treasure so much desired, was given up by my adverse fortune to the hands of thy horsemen; losing, not my liberty only, but all the happiness of my life, in the loss of that priceless jewel which I believed myself to hold in my hand. If this

do not seem to thee to be worthy of tears, I know not for what purpose thou canst believe them to be given to the eyes of man, or how to make thee comprehend the misery I am suffering."

Here the captive closed his narration; and the pity which Narvaez then felt for the youth was such, that he said to him, "Thou art a cavalier of good race, and if, being such, thou wilt promise me to return to thy prison, I will give thee permission to go to thy beloved, and make known to her the cause of thy failure, accepting thy plighted word for the promptitude of thy return."

Gladly availing himself of his captor's indulgence, the Mosleman gave the promise demanded, and that same night he reached the castle wherein his lady dwelt. Here, having made known to her his presence in a manner which he knew she would comprehend, the lady of his love received him with the accustomed welcome, insomuch that no more remained to be done than to fix the day and the hour when he might come to take her for his own. But all the reply that the lover could make to so gratifying an assurance was an expression of regret.

Amazed at this, the lady then said, "What do I hear! Now that thy wishes are accomplished by the promise I have given thee; now that, as thou seest, I am ready to be thine, art thou still sorrowful?" And the cavalier replied, "Know that as I was hastening hither, thinking only of the delight of beholding thee, treasure of my life! I was taken captive by the horsemen of Antequera, who led me to the presence of Narvaez; but he, proving himself the noble cavalier that all accord him to be, and having learned the extent of my evil fortune, hath permitted me to present myself before thee, but upon the faith of my plighted word, and it may be that I do but come to look my last."

Then if these two grieved ye will not ask me. At length the youth found words to say, "There is light in the heavens—it is the hour of dawn, and my word must be redeemed; I have come to see thee as I am permitted, but as the slave of the Christian, and no longer a free man: since, then, I have lost my liberty, God forbid that, loving thee as I do, I should bear thee to a place where thine also would be endangered; I leave thee, to return to my cap-

tivity, because I have pledged my faith; but if I can speedily obtain my ransom, that there may still be time, and I will return for thee."

The lady then made answer, "Before this hour thou hast given me many a proof that thou dost truly love me, but now art thou giving me one that is stronger than all, seeing that thou dost hold my safety in so much respect. Since, then, thou art so good a cavalier, and hast so deeply considered what thou owest to me, as well as to thy plighted faith given to the Christian, God forbid that I should remain to pass my life in the company of any other than thyself; wherefore I will go with thee, even though thou shouldst refuse thy consent; if thou must be a slave, so also will I be; and if it please God to grant thee thy liberty, He will give me mine as well." Saying this, the lady turned her to her waiting damsel, and taking from her hands a coffer richly decorated, she added the few words that follow:—"Here have I this casket with very precious jewels; take me on thy horse, for I am well content to be the sharer of thy fortune."

Having uttered these last words, the lady passed forth with her lover, and he took her on his horse as she had desired. In the morning they arrived at Antequera, where they presented themselves to Narvaez, who received them very kindly, giving them various marks of honour, and praising the love of the lady no less than the honour and good faith of the cavalier. On the following day the Alcayde set them at liberty, with permission to proceed to their own land without delay: he made them rich presents at parting, and commanded an escort of his troops to accompany them until they had reached a place of safety.

This adventure, the love of the lady, the loyalty of the Granadine, and more than all, the generosity of the Christian Alcayde, were highly celebrated and applauded by the noble cavaliers of Granada; nay, they were sung in the verses of the best and most distinguished spirits of that time.

INDEX.

A.

ABDALLAH Aben Sad, slain, ii. 439.
—— Aben Xamir, the renowned poet, i. 274; verses by, 275; liberality of the king to, 276.
—— Abu Reduan, his successes over the Christians, ii. 252.
—— Alahmin, ambassador of king Juzef to Seville, ii. 303, 304.
—— Ameer of Africa, i. 115.
—— Asefah, Caliph, i. 148.
—— uncle of Alhakem, obtains possession of Toledo, i. 243; his forces overthrown, 245, bravery of, 246, defeated and flies to the mountains, ib., sends messengers to his nephew, 247; his submission to him, ib.
—— son of king Abderahman, appointed governor of Merida, i 215, resentment of, 226; establishes himself in the palace of Cordova, 227; quits that city, ib.; proceeds to Toledo, ib.; his defence of that place, 230; his submission to the king, 232; secret designs of, 436; conspiracy of, 437, his proceedings revealed to the king, 438; charges against, ib; seized by night, and thrown into prison, 439; confession of, ib; evil councils of Abdilbar to him, ib., put to death by the command of his father, 441.
—— brother of Caliph Walid, i. 49.
—— father of Mahomet, i. 33.
—— son of Abdelmelic Ben Merwan, takes Casim Ben Juzef prisoner, i. 221, marriage of, 224.
Abdallah, son of Ibrahim, short reign of, i. 403, assassinated by his son, ib.
—— the rebel, i. 147.
—— uncle of Asefah, horrible atrocities of, i. 153.
—— and Abulabas, brothers, assassinated, i. 409.
—— Ben Abdelaziz, Wali of Toledo, his triumphal entry into that city, i. 507, Christian damsel taken by, ii. 51.
—— Ben Abdelmelic, defeats Suleiman, i. 230; command confided to, 235.
—— Ben Abilwalid, his death, i. 415.
—— Ben Abi Naamar, his death, i. 334.
—— Ben Aby, atrocities committed by, i. 152, 153, violates the tombs of the Caliphs, 154.
—— Ben Alhakem, assassinates his kinsman, Almondar, ii. 149.
—— Ben Ayadh Aben Mardanis, a Christian general, ii. 478, 479.
—— Ben Balkin, king of Granada, ii. 296; visit of king Juzef to, 297, his secret treaty with the king of the Christians, ib.; taken prisoner, and sent to Africa, 298.
—— Ben Casim, private secretary of king Muhamad, verses recited by, i. 313.
—— Ben Coleib, governor of Merida, i. 287.
—— Ben Gamri, lays siege to Zamora, i. 423.
—— Ben Habib, a rebel general, i. 204.

Abdallah Ben Harasi El Asedi, assassinated, i. 201.
—— Ben Humusqui, his remarks to the king, ii. 365, his proposition accepted, 366, exploit of, ib.
—— Husein, murdered, ii. 79.
—— Ben Ibrahim, of Asila, invited to Spain, i 490, appointed governor of Saragossa, 506.
—— Ben Ishac, king of Majorca, beheaded, iii. 61.
—— Ben Jah, especial commission entrusted to, i. 383, pursues the Christians, 387.
—— Ben Magbara, his death, i. 147.
—— Ben Mucera El Fahemi, i. 77.
—— Ben Malchi, general, slain by the Christians, i 257
—— Ben Maymon, perfidy of, ii 415; Ameer of the sea, 491.
—— Ben Muhamad, Wali of the fortress of Alcazar Alfekah, iii. 79; tragical death of, ib.
—— Ben Muhamad, literary work by, i. 464, 465.
—— Ben Muhamad, his incursions in Valencia, ii. 416.
—— Ben Muhamad, general, and his brother, treacherously given up to Aben Hud, iii. 113, cut to pieces by the populace, ib.
—— Ben Obeidala, appointed governor of Denia, ii. 89; his conversation with Muhamad, 90.
—— Ben Omar, his death, i. 235.
—— Ben Raxic, co-operates with Aben Omar in the campaign in Murcia, ii. 188, besieges the city of Murcia, 189.
—— Ben Rebie, his death, ii. 114.
—— Ben Saad, an Arab leader, i. 39.
—— Ben Sad, his death, ii. 75.
—— Ben Salema, energy of, i. 205.
—— Ben Taher, appointed governor of Alexandria, i. 262; report relative to, 397.
—— Ben Thalaba, put to death, i. 412.
—— Ben Yasim, a man of learning, proceeds with the pilgrim to the tribe of Gudula, ii. 207, his influence over them, 208, becomes sovereign of the Arabs, ib.; defeats the hill-people, 209; his address to the warriors, ib.; conquests effected by, 210, his death, 211.
Abdallah Ben Zagut, reasoning and adviceof, ii. 231, excommunicated, 232.
—— El Coraixi, defeated, i. 431, victories of, 432.
—— El Jaemi, his defence of Fez, ii. 445, his anger towards Yahye Aben Aly, 446, surrenders the city to Abdelmumen, ib., honours paid to, 446
—— El Lachmi, vizier, his house pillaged, iii. 209; cut to pieces by the populace, ib.
—— El Moaiti, governor of Denia, ii. 123, his death, 124.
—— El Thograi, Alcayde of Quenca, ii. 417; imprisonment of, 419; flight of, ib.; his incursions in Xativa, 438, victory gained by, 439; gains possession of Murcia, ib., his defence of that city, 449, killed and beheaded, 450.
—— El Zagal, brother of Abul Hassan, iii. 360; invited to assume the throne of Granada, 362, his propositions to his nephew, 363, applies for assistance to his brother-in-law, Zelim, ib., solicits the co-operation of the princes of Africa, 365, proposals of, 368, marches to the relief of Velez Malaga, 371; defeated, 372, abandoned by his people, ib., retires to Medina Guadix, 375, his irruption on Alcala Yahseb, 376; his successes over the Christians, 377, disastrous news received by, 379, writes to the infant Yahye, ib., his reply to the letters of Cid Yahye, 381; advice of Cid Yahye to, 382; his treaty with the Christians, 383, escape of, 386; goes over to the Christian king, 387; disposes of his possessions to that monarch, and embarks for Africa, ib.
—— El Zaquir, predictions on the birth of, iii. 382, rage of the multitude against, 385; his excuses to

the king of Castille, 386, determines to defend himself against the Christian king, 387, his conflicts with the Christians, 388; returns victorious to Granada, 390; council held by, ib.; his address to the Zeques, 391; disconcerted at the state of affairs in Granada, 395, surrenders his city to the Christians, 396, speech of, 399; sends a letter and presents to Don Fernando, ib; domains and revenues conferred on, 400; rides forth to meet the conqueror, ib.; resigns his kingdom, 401, reply of his mother to, 402, his possessions purchased by the king of Castille, 403, passes over with his family into Africa, ib.; slain in battle, ib

Abdallah, son of Abderahman Ben Moavia, causes himself to be proclaimed king of Spain, i. 268, takes refuge in Valencia, ib.; his sons intercede for him, 269, his oration to his warriors, ib., wonderful incident that occurred to him, ib.; his reconciliation with his nephews, 270, 271, appointed governor of Tadmir, ib.; his death, ib.

—— Muhamad, son of Jakob Almansor, declares himself king of Murcia, ii. 82; a wise and virtuous man, ib; proclaimed Ameer of the Faithful, ib.; his partizans depose and put to death Abul Mehe, ib., concludes a treaty of peace with the Christians, 84, 106, insurrection of the Xeques on the occasion, ib.; strangled in bed, ib.

—— Muhamad Ben Alaftas, judgment of, ii 138.

—— Muhamad, vizier of Valencia, advice of, ii. 171, destroys himself, 172.

—— son of Muhamad, proclaimed king, i. 332; causes the body of Almondhir to be brought to Cordova, ib.; his personal appearance, ib.; his war with the rebellious princes, 334; puts down an insurrection at Merida, 335; forts invested and taken by, 337; receives unwelcome news from his son, Abderahman, ib., arrives at Cordova, 338; his victories over the rebels of Jaen, 339–342, returns to Cordova, 343; his treaty with the king of Gallicia, 351; offends his vizier, Suleiman Ben Venasos, 359, his reception of Muhamad Ben Adha, the envoy of the rebels, 360; question of precedence decided by, 361, his attachment to his grandson, Abderahman, 358; verses by, ib. 363, death of his mother, the Sultana Athara, ib, appoints his grandson, Abderahman, his successor, ib.; his death, 364; character of, ib.; his funeral, ib.

Abdallah, Wali of Malaga, brother of Abul Hassan, ii. 351; proclaimed king, 353.

—— Raxid, general, accusations of, ii. 198.

—— Sekelebi, debarkation of, i. 204, 205.

Abdelmelic Ben Abdallah, Alcaide of Lerida, 303; his perfidy, 305; totally defeated, 307, killed, ib.

—— Ben Habib, his death, i 294.

—— one of the king's pages, i. 503.

Abdelaziz, Wali of Valencia, ii. 137.

Abdelaziz Aben Rasih, opinion held by, ii. 294, reproached with ingratitude, ib; cast in prison, ib; revolt of his troops, ib.

—— and Iza, brothers of Isaltin, impaled, ii. 481.

—— Almanzor, king of Valencia, his death, ii. 165, 171.

—— Ben Meruan, Wali of Egypt, i. 44

—— brother of Abdelmelic, proceeds to Africa, i. 46.

—— son of Muza, i 67; arrives before Merida, 68, reduces Seville to order, 71; his conquests in Murcia, 73, enters Aureola, ib.; enters into a treaty of peace with Tadmir Ben Gobdos, 75; holds the Government of Spain, 81, his union with Ayela, 83; his fresh conquests in Spain, 86, calumnies circulated respect-

ing, 88; assassinated by the command of Suleiman, ib.; his head sent to the Caliph, 89.
Abdelbar, a noble cavalier, appointed vizier to the king, iii. 323; defeats the Christians, 324–325, sends letters to Aben Ismail, 328.
Abdelcadir, general, carnage committed by, i. 237.
—— Ben Abi Xoiba, his death, i. 297.
Abdelgafir Ben Hassan, vizier, i. 215.
—— the rebel general, i. 207; his advice to Meknesi, 209.
Abdelgebar Ben Muza, demise of, i. 313.
Abdelhac, genealogy of, iii 96.
Abdelhadim, on the fruitfulness of Fez, i. 394.
Abdelhamid Ben Ganim, Ameer of the sea, i. 309.
—— general, taken prisoner, i. 321; ransomed, 322.
Abdel Hatim of Granada, his "History of Fez," i. 24.
Abdelkerim, son of the Wali of the frontier, defeated by the Christians, i. 237, 257, appointed Hagib to the king, 242; his death, 258.
Abdelmegid, vizier, an illustrious poet, ii. 315.
—— governor of Velila, i. 391.
Abdelmelic, kills Omar Ben Haxim, i. 346, himself slain, ib.
—— the insurgent leader, i. 128.
—— the Moslemah, general, killed, iii. 254.
—— Abu Meruan, son of the Hagib Muhamad, ii. 4; entertained by Abulasbaz Muza, 5; works executed by, 10, his nuptials, 12.
—— prince, his departure for Seville, ii 166; entreats the assistance of the king, ib.; flattering offers and promises made to him, ib., arrives before Cordova, ib.; letters from his father to him, 167; his imprisonment and death, 169.
—— Almudafar, proceeds against Zeir Ben Atia, ii. 31; sets his prisoners at liberty, 33; his entry into the city of Fez, ib.; his father's advice to, 35, recalled from the government of Fez, 36; assumes the command of the army, on his father's death, 43; government of, 45; his presents to Alman Ben Zeiri, 46; defeats the Christians at Lerida, 47; his triumphal return to Cordova, ib., his march on Gallicia, 48; continued successes of, 49, visits Xeque Muhamad Ben Ibrahim, ib., his truce with the king of the Christians, 50, his renewed incursions on the Christian territories, 51; splendid cavalry of, ib., his death, 52, demise of his preceptor, ib., his brother appointed Hagib, 53.
Abdelmelic Ben Abdelaziz, succeeds his father, as king of Valencia, ii 171; his summons from the Toledan monarch, ib., deposed, 172; banished to Xelba, ib.; recovers his kingdom, 188; his death, ib.
—— Ben Chalf, forces sent against, by the king of Toledo, ii. 178.
—— Ben Cotan, elected Ameer of Spain, i. 111, his address to the troops, 112, supposed to have been born under an evil star, 113, command given to, 115; pursues the rebels, 117; his zeal and services, 118, civil war in Spain between, and Baleg Ben Baxir, 121, beheaded, 123; his murder avenged by his son, 125.
—— Ben Meruan, i. 39; successes of, 45; appointed governor of Seville, 184, kills his son, Casim, 206, his remorse, 210; his death, 217; his victory over Jusuf, 186, defeats the rebels, 207.
—— Ben Meruan, proclaimed king of Saragossa, ii. 339.
—— Ben Umeya, enmity of, i. 325.
—— general, pursues the rebels to Sidonia, i. 199, sends the head of Hixem to Abderahman, 200.
—— Ziadatala, renowned for his accomplishments, ii. 112.
Abdelmenam, a noble cavalier of Granada, iii. 315, his return to that city, 316.

Abdelmotaleb, Grandfather of Mahomet, i. 34.
Abdelmumen Ben Aly, a youth, instructed by El Mehedi, ii. 350; appointed his vizier, ib.; proceeds with him to the city, 54; his valour and prudence, 367; is commanded to ravage Morocco, 382; his victories over the Almoravides, ib., his public prayers for El Mehedi, 384; last injunctions to, ib., laments the death of his early friend, ib.; elected the successor of El Mehedi, 389; extensive conquests of, ii 402, besieges Morocco, 403; his continued victories over the Almoravides, 405; festival held by, to celebrate his accession to the empire, ib; issues a new coinage, ib, founds the city of Rabaut-Teze, 406; defeated by king Taxfin, 422; flies to the hills, 423, marches to the mountains of Telencen, ib, 425, observes the movements of the enemy, 424, defeats them with great slaughter, ib, arranges the order of battle, 426; remains master of the field, ib., departs for Medina Uhran, 427, encounters the king's forces, ib., commands that the head of Taxfin should be sent to Tinmaul, 428, storms and captures the city of Uhran, ib, appoints Ahmed Ben Husem Wali of Algarve, 440, takes Telencen, 444; besieges Medina Fez, ib, stratagem of, 445, takes Fez, 446, Agmat surrenders to, ib.; enters Sale, 447; makes preparation for two campaigns, ib., commands his general, Abu Amraun, to enter Andalusia, ib.; rejoiced at his conquests in Spain, 448, marches against Morocco, 450, provides shelter for his troops, ib; lays siege to the city, 451; obtains possession of it, 453; the king of, brought before him, ib.; orders him to be put to death, 454, atrocities perpetrated by command of, ib.; distributes the treasures found in Morocco, 455; envoys sent to, 461, advances in person against Muhamad Aben Hud, 462, victory gained by, ib.; returns to Morocco, after subduing the tribes of Sanhaga, 463; turns his arms against the Cabilas of Velad Dukela, ib.; stratagem of, ib.; completely overthrows the enemy, ib.; returns to Morocco, ib.; receives the ambassadors, 464, his discourse with Aben Alarabi, ib.; public works of, 465, causes a garden to be planted without the city, 467, marches on Sigilmesa, ib.; submission of the city of Cebta to, 468, and of Medina Jaen, 470; his victory over Aben Tamarkid, 471; embassy from Andalusia to, ib; address of Abu Giaffar Ben Atia to, 472, his expedition against Ben Hamud, 473, besieges Bugia, 474, submission of the king to, ib.; gentleness of a lion presented to him, 475, colleges and schools instituted by, 476, represses rebellious demonstrations in Africa, 479, causes Isaltin Coraib Almehedi to be taken and impaled, ib.; visits the tomb of El Mehedi at Tinmaul, ib.; declares his son Cid Muhamad to be his successor, 480; division of his governments among his sons, ib., causes the two brothers of Isaltin to be impaled, 481, imprisons his general, Abu Zacaria, 482; his love of learning, ib., his troops lay siege to Granada, 484; commands a treatise to be written against the "Questions of Abul Hassan Abdelmalic," 486, enters the city of Mahedia, ib.; Prince Alhasen Ben Aly goes forth to meet him, ib.; gives him a daughter to wife, ib.; departs with his army for the East, 487; account of his journey from Medina Salè to Tunis, 488; his order of march, 489, besieges the latter city, 490; conquests of, ib.; takes Tunis, ib.; and Mehadia, 491; prophecy regarding, ib. 493; extent of his territories, 492; his

newly-founded city of Batcha, iii. 1, conspiracy against his life, ib.; accepts the noble offer of a Xeque, 2, causes a sepulchre to be erected for the murdered man, ib, inspects the fortifications at Gibraltar, 3; visited by the most distinguished men in Spain, ib., verses recited to, by Abu Giaffar Ben Said, 3, his successful campaign against the Christians in Algarve, 5, orders a census to be made of his dominions, ib., warlike weapons manufactured in his empire, 6, vast amount of Zenete cavalry added to his troops, 7, assembles an immense army for the campaign in Andalusia, 9, malady of, 10, disobedience of his son, Cid Mohamad, ib, his death at Salè, ib.; reign of, 11, his numerous children, ib., succession of his son, Cid Juzef, ib, his demise kept secret, ib. 15, character of, 12, conquests of, ib., buried with great pomp at Tummaul, ib., his viziers and secretaries, ib.; Algihed, or sacred war commenced by, 13.

Abdelola, son of the Wali Muza, i. 82.

Abdelrauf Ben Abdelsalem, general, i. 279, proposals sent to, 280; governor of Merida, 283; ordered to proceed to Toledo, 284, reduces that city, 288, appointed governor of it, ib., his death, 306.

—— Ben Omar, slain in battle, i. 380.

Abdelsalem Ben Ibrahim, appointed Wali of Elvira, i. 203.

—— Ben Walid, Cadi of Huesca, i. 244.

Abdel Salem, vizier, his daughter married to Prince Abu Hafas, ii. 485, is said to have caused the death of Abu Giaffar, 486, 493, is put in prison, iii. 3; poisoned, ib.

Abelwahib, a rebel leader, killed, i. 129.

Abdelwahib, Vizier, mission of, i. 352.

Abdelwalid, general, made governor of Jaen, i. 349.

Abdelwahim of Zauhaga, a Moorish general, i. 119

Aberahman Aben Asbat, Alchatib of Juzef, consulted by the king, ii. 257, his reply, ib.; writes a letter in his name, 258.

Abderahman (called Abulaswad), son of the Ameer Jusef, i. 145.

—— the third, reign of, i. 9.

—— Almostadir Billah, proclaimed king, ii. 107; his accomplishments, 108; refractory spirit of his guards, 109; conspiracy against, ib., assassinated. ib.; his murderer proclaimed king, ib.; brief reign of, 110.

—— Almudafar, defeats the French, ii. 17.

—— Ben Abdallah El Gafeki, exploits of, i. 96, liberality of, 97, removed from command, 98, nominated Ameer of Spain, 104; makes a tour of his provinces, 105, solicits reinforcements for the army of Spain, ib., his orders to Otman, 106; his expedition into the Gauls, 108; takes Bordeaux, 109; his terrific conflict with the king of France, 110, is killed, ib, 111.

—— Ben Abdelmela, Alcayde of Almeria, treachery of, iii. 127.

—— Ben Ahmed, deposed from office, ii. 121.

—— Ben Badr, his advice to the king, i. 343.

—— Ben Chalid, governor of Egypt, deposed, i. 113.

—— Ben Fadal, Cadi of Tadmir, demise of, i. 289.

—— Ben Habib, displaced from command, i. 131.

—— Ben Hassan, a brave general, i. 138.

—— Ben Jusuf, killed in battle, i. 188.

—— Ben Moavia, his wanderings among the Alarabes of the desert, ii. 163, his life among the Bedouins, 164, narrow escape of, 165, embassy of the Xeques to, 168; noble reply of, 169, arrives in Spain, 173, his enthusiastic reception, ib.; prophecy of, 176; his great valour, 177, Cordova surrenders to, 178;

again defeats the enemy, 180, grants an amnesty to Jusuf, 181; enters Merida, ib., birth of his son, 182, improvements effected by ib.; verses said to have been composed by, 183; the people of Castille agree to pay him tribute, 187, noble gift to, 191; entrusts an important mission to Samail, 192; puts down the rebels at Toledo, 194, Meknesa advances against, 200; his visit to various cities, 205; heads the troops in person, ib., 209, defeats Meknesa, 210, visits Seville and Cordova, ib; appointments and orders of, 211; education of his sons, 213; nominates his eldest son governor of Toledo, 214; his love of falconry, 215, pursues the rebels among the Jaen mountains, 219; his journey through Lusitania and Gallicia, 221, returns to Cordova, 222, noble conduct of, ib., great Mosque constructed by, 223, oath of allegiance to, 224; his death, 225; buried with great pomp, ib.

Abderaman Ben Moavia, general, slain, i. 350.

—— Ben Muhamad, Wali of Jaen, proclaimed king of Spain, ii 97; rejoiced at the safety of his Hagib, Haran, 98, popularity of, ib.; addition of nobles to his banners, 101, successes of, 102; carries on the war against Manzor of Sanhaga, 103, slain by an arrow near Granada, 106, his death regretted, 107.

—— Ben Ocba, appointed governor of Cordova, i. 121; oath taken by, 124, proceeds to attack Baleg, ib.; and kills him, 125.

—— Ben Taher, his defence of Murcia, ii. 189.

—— Ben Tahir, elected Ameer of the Almohades, ii 431; dispossessed of his government, 432; his death, in. 28.

—— Prince, son of King Alhakem, command given to, i. 251, Amru's invitation to, ib.; defeats the Christians before Tortosa, 256, returns in triumph to Cordova, ib, his successful incursions into France, 258; defeats the Christians with great slaughter, ib., oath of allegiance taken to, 259, skirmishes between his troops and the Christians, 264, proclaimed king, 267; his many excellent qualities, 268; his expedition to Barcelona, 270, embassy of the king of Greece to, 271, his reply to that monarch, 272, education of his sons, 273, causes important works to be carried on in Cordova, 273, his domestic pursuits, 274, plays at chess, ib.; valuable present made by, ib; gallant speech of, 275; verses by, 276, his liberality to his poet, ib., sends troops to the frontiers of France, 278, surprised by an unexpected revolt at Merida, ib., pardons the rebels, 281, disquieted by an insurrection in Toledo, 282, orders the wali, Abdelnuf to tranquillize that district, 284; proceeds against the rebels at Merida, 285, lays siege to that place, 286, his entry into the city, ib., repairs the fortifications, 287, his incursions and successes in France, 288; the king of the Greeks entreats his assistance against Almoatesim, Caliph of the East, 289; repairs the ravages committed by the Normans, 291, orders ships to be built, ib.; useful works of, 292; declares his son, Muhamed, his successor, 292; his death, 293.

Abderahman, Prince, his mission to Seville, i. 335; failure of his negotiations, 337, his advice to the king, 338; his proceedings against the rebels, 343, takes possession of Seville, 344, his victory over his brother, 345, acquaints the king with his success, ib.; takes prisoner and decapitates the rebel, Ibrahim Ben Allegag, 356, desires the recall of Abu Othman, 357, assumes the command of the forces against the rebel chief, Aben Hafsun, 358, his

partiality to his nephew, 365, takes a leading command against the rebels, 366; prosecutes the war against them, 367; his successes over them, 373, gives his nephew advice of the rebel, Aben Hafsun, 379; obtains possession of several towns, 380; returns to Cordova from the eastern frontier, 387; captives taken by, put to death, ib, again defeats the Christians, 388, returns with great spoils to Cordova, 417; marches with the troops to Gallicia, 422, advises with his nephew, ib, gives battle to king Radmir, 424, his undaunted bravery, ib.; his death, 441.

Abderahman, brother of Abdelmelic, appointed Hagib by the king, ii 53; splendid gift presented to, by Amaar Ben Zeiri, ib., pursuits of, 54; his intimacy with King Hixem, ib.; endeavours to persuade him to declare him heir to the throne, ib., hatred of Muhamad Ben Hixem, the king's cousin, to him, 55, his conflict at Cordova, 56, taken prisoner, and put to death, 57; his wealth confiscated, ib.

—— called El Machlad, attachment of the king to, i. 358; education of, 361; verses of the king in praise of, 362; appointed by King Abdallah to be his successor, 363; proclaimed king, 364, his prepossessing appearance and great ability, ib, partiality of his uncle to him, 365, his conciliatory manners, ib.; proceeds to Toledo to subjugate the rebels, ib., his victory over Caleb Hafsun, 367; his emotion on beholding the field of battle, ib.; returns to Cordova, ib.; orders a change to be made in the coinage, 368; proceeds to the south of Spain, in the hope of subjugating the Alarabes, 369, returns victorious to the capital, 370; his dispositions for guarding the Spanish coast, 371; his expedition to Murcia, 373; his reply to the envoys of the rebel, Hafsun, 375, his expedition to the Sierras of Elvira, 376; proceeds to Jaen, 378; returns to Cordova, ib.; rejoiced at the death of his mortal enemy, Caleb Aben Hafsun, 379; works undertaken by, ib.; visits Granada, 382; lays siege to Toledo, 385, his entry into that city, 386, pardons the inhabitants, ib.; his assistance sought by the partisans of the race of Edris, 411; his troops occupy cities in Almagreb, 412; proclaimed at Fez, 413, success of his arms in Africa, 416, splendid Alcazar built by, on the banks of the Guadalquiver, 418; founds the city of Medina Azahra, 419; his life-guard, ib, his numerous household, 420, assembles his forces on the frontiers of Gallicia, 422; advises with his uncle, ib.; rallies his troops, 425; presses forward the siege of Zamora, 427, obtains possession of the city, ib., returns in triumph to Cordova, 428, rewards conferred by, ib.; disastrous news received by, 431; secures the services of the learned Ben Casim, 433, enters into a truce with King Radmir, 435, splendid aequeduct constructed by, ib.; declares his son, Alhakem, his successor, 436; conspiracy of his son Abdallah, 437; the Prince's designs revealed to him, 438, causes him to be taken and thrown into prison, 439, interrogates him, ib.; a stern judge, 440, his son Abdallah put to death, 441; envoys sent by the King of Greece to, ib.; his magnificent reception of them, 442; promises his protection to Abu Alaixi, ib.; proclaims the Algihed, or sacred war, 443; magnificent present sent to, 445; declared at Telencen protector of the sons of Edris, 446; his displeasure towards the Soldan of Egypt, 447; grief and melancholy of, 453; recovers the lost cities and fortresses, ib.; proclaimed throughout Almagreb,

454; various works performed by, ib; state of literature during his reign, 455, verses by, ib., his increasing melancholy, 456, the last days of, 457, his death, ib.; magnificent funeral of, 458.
Abdilbar Ben Mugihaid, lord of Denia, defeated, ii. 183.
Abeldum, chronicle of, i. 7.
Aben Abda Gewara, General, wounded, i. 207
—— Abdelbar, companion of Prince Abdallah, i. 436, incites him to rebellion, 437, seized and imprisoned, 439, evil counsels of, ib; conviction and sentence of, 440, destroys himself, ib
—— Abdelkerim, General, commands the vanguard of the king's army, i. 270, his successes in France, 288.
—— Abdelwahid, Wali, efforts of, i. 261.
—— Abi Taher, his "History of Bagdad," i. 408.
—— Adha, Cadi of Granada, ii. 435; his death by poison, ib
—— Alabar El Codai, history of, i 23.
—— Alafia, his successes in Almagreb, i. 411, lays siege to the fortress of Hijar Anosar, 412, his arrival in Fez, ib., orders Governor Abdallah to be put to death, ib., takes possession of Medina Telencen, 413; his demise, 414
—— Alaftas, triple alliance proposed by, ii 157, dissatisfaction of, 158.
—— Alahmar (son of Muhamad Aben Alahmar) proclaimed king of Granada, iii. 168; marches against the insurgent Wahes, 169, defeats them, ib.
—— Alarabi, Cadi, his conversation with Abdelmumen, ii 464.
—— Alatar, Lord of the Rose, seizure of, i. 439, declared innocent, 441.
—— Aly, of Jaen, his defence of Medina Fez, ii. 444.
—— Anasir, kills Don Sancho, iii 178.
—— Atia, vizier, parties at the house of, ii. 461; deposition of, 485.
Aben Bokina, vizier, ii. 140, victory of, 141; besieges General Naja and Prince Hacen at Cebta, ii. 144.
—— Cahina, leader of the Barbary forces, i. 43, defeated, 44.
—— Chahid, Wali of Jaen, iii. 127.
—— Conixa, restores the Africans to order, iii. 374.
—— Cotan, Wali, rescues Husam from prison, i 138.
—— Catham, on the origin of El Mehedi, ii. 386.
—— Derag, an admired poet, ii 24.
—— Dhakuen, Cadi of Cordova, ii. 47.
—— Dolah, son of Seif Dolah, his death, ii. 436.
—— Ferag, his collection of poems, i. 481.
—— Galib, the Jew-treasurer, ii. 248; put to death, ib
—— Gamri appointed Habib to the King, i 274.
—— Gania, Wali of Lerida, defeats the Christians, ii. 404; sends an account of his victory to Prince Taxfin, ib.; marches against the rebels, 412; defeats them, 413, lays siege to Labla, ib.. apprehensions of, 413; his command to his brother, ib.; his surrender of Xativa, 429; his exhortations to the people, 441, his reasonings prevail, 442; successes of, 455, besieges and takes Cordova, 456; unpopular in that city, ii. 457; Mohamad Ben Omar elected Ameer in place of, ib.; proclaimed at Cebta, 468; repairs to Granada, 469; strikes off the head of Yahye Ben Aly, 470; his conflicts with the Almohades, ii. 470, his incursions in Granada, ib., dies of his wounds, ib., heroic deeds of, ib., alluded to, 471; his asylum at Majorca, 485.
—— Gaymes, Zuleiman Aben Rabie, takes refuge with, iii. 206; alliance of the King of Castile with, ib., besieges Almeria, 210, 222.
—— Gueta, the rebel General, i. 471.

Aben Habib, governor of Barca, i. 164, goes in quest of the fugitive, Abderahman, 165
—— Harasa, killed and beheaded, i. 210.
—— Hayan, work written by, i. 12; statements of 223, 265.
—— Hebâb, sudden death of his friend, ii. 14.
—— Hemsek, Wali of Murcia, ii 459; 483, flight of, 484.
—— Hud, removal of his treasures, ii 150.
—— Ishac Ben Omeya, goes over to king Radmir, i. 416, implores the king's pardon, 433.
—— Ismail, king, his defence of Granada, iii. 335, his truces with the Christians, 336, 338, rules with prudence and justice, ib., his two sons, 337, his death, 338; succeeded by his son, Abul Hassan, ib.
—— Iza El Razif, his account of the fall of Morocco, ii. 452, 454.
—— Juzef Alguzami, makes himself master of Murcia, iii 90.
—— Mafot Ben Ibrahim, vizier of Toledo, i. 282; his conflicts with the rebels, 283; appointed vizier of the council of state, 288
—— Muza, Alcayde of Malaga, iii. 373, revolt of his troops, 374.
—— Ocba, Wali, i 138.
—— Omar, an accomplished youth, ii. 161.
—— Omar, general of the king of Seville, ii 167; enters Cordova, 168, takes Valencia by surprise, and deposes the king, 171, accompanied in his campaign to Murcia by Abdallah Ben Raxic, ib., 187; his continued intrigues, 187; his march into Murcia, 178; his convention with Raymond, the Barceloman, 179, complaints made to, 180, defeated, 181; escape of, ib., obtains the restitution of the Infant Raxid, 182; his treacherous intrigues, 183; captures Seville, 185; appointed vizier to the king, 188; his conquest of Murcia, 190; appointed governor of that city, ib.; missions of, 191, his magnificent presents from the king of Gallicia, 192, detestation of, 198; flies to Toledo, ib., address of king Alfonso to, 199; seeks refuge in Saragossa, ib., taken prisoner, 200; his verses to the king, 201, his head struck off by the king's orders, 202.
Aben Ozmin, a noble youth, his death, iii. 231.
—— Ozmin, conspiracy of, iii 327; deposes his uncle, and is proclaimed king. 328; takes the fortified town of Beni Maurel, 329, his successes over the Christians, 329, 331, proposes to form an alliance with the kings of Arragon and Navarre, 330, causes his general, Muhamad, to be put to death, 332; cruelty and fall of, 333, his flight, 334.
—— Radmir, attacks the king of Saragossa, ii. 287; encourages his soldiers, 288, killed, 289.
—— Radmir, king of Saragossa, gives battle to Abu Bekar, ii. 337, raises the siege, 342; success of, 343; requires Amad Dolah to give up the city, 344, decisive victory gained by, at Cutanda, 345; entreaty of the Christians to, 369, temptations held out to, 370, lays siege to Medina Baza, 371, his stay at Gayana, 372, retreat of, 373; perpetual attacks on, 374; defeated at Lyrena, ib., his successes over the Moslemah, ib.; pursues his march towards the Mediterranean, 375; anecdote of, ib.; proceeds towards Granada, ib.; arrives in Murcia, 376; mortality among his troops, ib.; little effect of his campaign, ib., king Jusef determines to invade his dominions, 377; ravages of, 379, defeat of his troops at Fohos-Assebab, 380; again routed at Gebel el Cazar, 381.
—— Rafie, governor of Egypt, his death, i. 112.
—— Regig, his "History of Africa," i. 12.

Aben Sad, defeated by El Thograi, ii. 439, flight of, iii. 9
—— Sohna, statement of, i. 471.
—— Taher, Wali, applies for succour to the king of Seville, ii. 178, entertains Aben Omar, ib., taken and imprisoned, 190
—— Tahir, vizier, removes the remains of king Alcadir to Murcia, ii. 319, his death, ib.
—— Tamarkid, defeated by Abdelmumen, ii. 471.
—— Ubeid, his convention with the king of Castille, iii 152.
—— Wahib Ben Leboun, general, ii 171; occupies cities of Jaen, 184, his death, 187.
—— Yahye Ben Omeira, his account of the conquest of Mehadia, ii. 491; statement of, iii 34.
—— Zarb, Cadi, his house the resort of the learned, i 430.
—— Zargan Mesaud, son of the sultan of Rihai, enters the service of king Juzef, iii. 30.
—— Zeid Abderahman, reign of, iii. 103.
—— Zeragh, the Moslemah general, his intrepidity, iii. 326, slain, 327.
—— Ziri, a rebel general, slain, iii. 29.
—— Zulema, fortress of, taken by the Moslemah, iii. 329.
Abencerrages, battles of the, i. 17.
Abesa, the mother of Suleiman, i. 85.
Abês Ben Firnâs, the poet, his death, i. 334.
Abi Aglab, his account of himself, i. 395.
—— Aly Anas, verses by, ii. 392.
—— Xoaiba, work of, i. 294.
Abu Abdallah Ben Ahmed, pilgrimage of, ii. 17.
—— Abdallah Ben Senanid, an illustrious general, iii. 45, his opinion requested by king Jakob Almanzor, ib., his reply to that monarch, 46; his counsel approved, 47; command confided to, 48; animates the soldiers, 50; valorous exploits of, 51.
—— Abdallah Ben Verdi, dream of, ii. 454.
Abu Abdallah Juzef, marriage of, i. 292; succeeds his father as king of Granada, 293, releases Christian captives, ib, his sons, 294, rebellion of Prince Muhamad against, 295
—— Abdallah Muhamad, elected Wali of Valencia, ii 458.
—— Abdallah Muhamad Ben Ishak, assurance of, iii 30
—— Abdallah Muhamad Ben Hud, his numerous partizans, iii. 107; proclaimed Ameer of Spain, 108; his declaration to the people, ib.; his victory over Abu Aly Alamoun, 109; makes himself master of Murcia, 111; proclaimed sovereign in that city, ib.; eloquence of, 112; his new victory, ib.; prepares forces to march against the Christians, 118; impetuous attack of, 119; his pursuit of the foe, 120, proceeds to the relief of Cordova, 123; varying counsels received by, ib.; false intelligence given by, ib.; receives a letter from Giomail Ben Zeyan, ib.; abandons Cordova, ib; arrives at Almeria, 125; splendid banquet given to, 126; suffocated in his bed, ib.; conflicts and disquietudes of his reign, ib.; his virtues and valour, ib.; his brother, Aly Ben Juzef, proclaimed king of Murcia, ib.
—— Abdallah Muhamad, proclaimed Wali of Toledo, i. 311; implores and obtains the King's pardon, 312.
—— Abdallah, son of king Abul Hassan, iii. 342, his affable manners, 343, conspires against his father, 347; taken and imprisoned, ib.; his escape contrived by his mother, 348; proclaimed king, ib, defeats his father, 349, unpopularity of, 353; evil augury with reference to, ib.; his expedition against Lucena, ib.; his summons to the Alcayde of that city, 354; defeated, 355, flight of, ib., taken prisoner, ib.; his mother treats for his ransom. 356; her advice to him, ib.; his submission to the Christian king, ib.; his treaty with him, 357; his return to

Granada 358, dissatisfaction of, 363, seeks assistance from the Christians, 364, attempted expulsion of, 366; held in abhorrence, 368; proposals of his uncle to, ib.; marches to the defence of Loxa, 369, defeated, 370; surrenders the city, ib.; his shameful apostacy, ib., returns to Granada, 371; his valuable presents to the King of Castille, 373, Christian embassy to, 378, degrading propositions accepted by, ib.

Abu Abdallah Muhamad III., his accession to the throne, iii 202, his energy and application, ib.; his viziers and secretaries, 203, takes the city of Almondhar, ib.; resigns a beautiful damsel to the king of Morocco, 204, defeats his cousin, Abul Hegiag, ib., his letters to the King of Castille, 204, his public works at Granada, 205.

—— Abdelmelic, king of Saragossa, his death, ii. 401, succeeded by his son, Abu Giafar, 402; compelled to quit Cordova, 415.

—— Abderahman, the Andalusian sage, his teaching opposed, i 294, his system advocated by the king, ib.

—— Alaixi, Wali, places himself under the protection of Abderahman, i. 442, requests permission to visit Spain, 450; received with great honours, ib.

—— Alhakem Omar, defeated, ii. 3.

—— Amer Ahmed, vizier, his house open to learned men, i 430

—— Amer Ben Deragh, verses by, ii. 83.

—— Amir Taxifin, reign of, iii. 102.

—— Amram, a native of Fez, ii. 206; letters of recommendation given by, 207.

—— Amraun, general, commanded to proceed to Andalusia, ii. 447, enters Algezira, 448, and Gebal Taric, ib.

—— Amru Muhamad, king of Seville, crafty reply of, ii. 156.

—— Anan, king of Cebta, iii. 276; treaty of alliance between him and the king of Seville, ib.

Abu Ayab Ben Hillel, advice of, iii. 24; proceeds to Murcia, ib.

—— Becar, spies employed by, ii. 199; captures Oben Omar, 200.

—— Becar Ben Idahim, opinion of, ii 204

—— Becar, the Xeque, government of, ii. 156

—— Becre, the first Caliph, i. 35, proclamation of, ib.; his address to his troops, 36, his death, 38.

—— Bekar, general, appointed to succeed Aben Alhaug, ii. 337, encounters the troops of Aben Radmir, ib: slain, 345.

—— Bekar, Cadi, anecdote of, iii. 200.

—— Bekar (grandfather of Abdelhac), particulars relative to, iii. 97.

—— Bekar Aben Sofian, abandons his party, iii. 23, entrenches himself in Medina Xucar, ib.; solicits the aid of the Almohade generals, ib.; verses by, 24, his defence of Valencia, ib; his victory over the Christians, 27.

—— Bekar, son of Abu Inan, reign of, iii. 102.

—— Bekar Yahye, dexterity of, ii. 99; reduces Mekmesa, ib., his tomb in that city, ib.

—— Bekir Aben Tefelit, General of King Aly, ii. 379.

—— Bekir Alged, his address to Abdelmumen, ii. 472.

—— Bekir, verses by, ii. 466.

—— Bekir Ben Gedi, letter written by, in the king's name, ii. 253.

—— Bekir Seir, the king's son, his death, ii. 285.

—— Bekir, son of king Juzef, defeated, ii. 382.

—— Bekir, son of Omar, chief of the Lamtuna, ii. 210, becomes king on the death of Abdallah, 211, accedes to the wishes of his people, 212; city of Morocco founded by, ib.; proceeds to the succour of his Cabila of Lamtuna, 213; success of, 220; his anger towards Juzef, ib; his address to him, 221, his abdication, 222, magnificent present sent to, ib., his death, 223.

Abu Bekir, Wali of Suz, expedition under, ii. 358; his report to the king, ib.
Abul Beht Ben Ruxd, king Juzef goes forth to welcome him, ii. 368, his important mission to Morocco, ib., his advice to the king, 377.
Abu Ben Abdelgafir, vizier, letter written by, ii. 323.
—— Ben Meruan Hayan, statements of, i. 340, ii. 62, 63, 68, 73, 89, 110, 116.
—— Beeri, lines by, i. 455.
—— Chaled, assassinated, i. 16.
—— Chalid Mahyu, son of Abu Bekar, iii 97.
—— Charaub, advice of, ii. 95; indignation of, 96.
—— Dibus, rebels against Omar Aben Ibrahim, iii. 95; his proposition accepted, ib., his ill won sovereignty, ib.; slain in battle, 96, his head sent to Medina Fez, ib.
—— Faris Abdelaziz, reign of, iii. 102.
—— Gezid, the rebel, i. 434
—— Giafar Ahmed, succeeds his father, Amad Dolah, as king of Saragossa, ii. 402, wicked treaties of, 403; friendship of Abderahman Tahir to, 431; his partisans at Jaen, 435; curious incident that occurred to, ib., his departure from Granada, 436; proclaimed sovereign of Murcia, 437; killed on the field of Lug, 439.
—— Giaffar Ahmed, fortifies Jaen, iii. 8.
—— Giaffar Ben Atia, his address to Abdelmumen, ii. 472, said to have been poisoned, 486, 493, iii. 13; particulars respecting, ib.
—— Giaffar Ahmed Ben Gubeir, sent in chains to the castle of Materna, ii. 434.
—— Giaffar Ben Said, of Granada, verses recited by, to the king, iii. 3, a great general as well as poet, 8; proceeds to Jaen, 9.
—— Giaffar, general, rewarded, ii. 81.
—— Giffaar Hamdam, the rebel Wali, ii. 415; proclaimed at Cordova, 417; contest between his partisans and those of El Thograi, 419, proclaimed king of Granada, 420, returns to Murcia, 430; slain, 431; alluded to, 460
Abu Giaffar, king of Saragossa, his letter to king Juzef, ii. 311, his alliance with that monarch, 313, his successes over the Christians, 314; slain in battle, 338; funeral of, 339.
—— Giaffar, vizier of Abdelmumen, his friendship for El Jaen, ii 446.
—— Giomail Ben Mudafe, takes prisoner Aly Ben Juzef, and causes him to be beheaded, iii. 126.
—— Giux, an Almohade general, commands of the king to, iii. 65.
—— Hafas, general, precaution of, iii. 7.
—— Hafas Ben Yahye, appointed governor of Morocco, ii. 473; besieges Almeria, 478.
—— Hafas, prince, marries the daughter of the vizier, Abdel Selem, ii 485.
—— Hafaz, vizier, appointed by the king general-in-chief, iii 18.
—— Hamid Algezali, books by, condemned, ii. 386, 387, anecdote of, ib.
—— Hamri, captures Ronda, ii 461.
—— Hassan Aly, his death, iii 102.
—— Ibrahim Ahmed, Wali of Africa, indignation of, i. 397, verses by, 398.
—— Ibrahim Ishac, commands a palace to be erected at Granada, iii 80.
—— Inan Faris, reign of, iii. 102; his death, ib.
Abu Ishac Ben Abdelhac, appointed vizier to king Juzef, iii. 250; displaced from office, ib.
—— Ishac El Raquiqui, statement of, i. 400.
—— Ishac Ibrahim, command entrusted to, ii. 358; panic among his troops, 359; anecdote of, 365.
—— Ismail Dilnoun, appointed governor of Toledo, ii. 74.
—— Izag, his learning and piety, ii. 207.

Abu Jacob Juzef, becomes sovereign of the Beni Merines, iii. 101; besieges Bejer and Telencen, ib.; his death, ib.

——Jakob, son of the king of Morocco, iii. 188-189; proclaimed sovereign, 191, his interview with the king of Granada, 192; sends an embassy to Don Sancho ib.; fortress ceded by the king of Granada to, ib., indignant at the conduct of the governor of Malaga, 193, rumours brought to, ib., retires to Algezira, ib., army raised by, ib., destruction of his ships by the Christians, ib; places prince Juan in command of his army, 194, his treaty with king Muhamad, 197, beautiful damsel given up to, 204; assassinated, 205, succeeded by his son, Abu Thabet, ib.

——Juzef, accession of, iii. 99; extirpates the Almohades, ib; his conquest of Morocco, ib.; his journeys into Spain, 100, his death, ib.: his seven sons, ib.

——Juzef Ben Abdelhac, king of Tunis, suspicion against, iii. 170, letters of king Muhamad to, 173, besieges Medina Ecija, 177, his treaty with king Alphonso, 179; burns the Christian Armada, 181; proceeds to Algezira, 182; his treaty with the king of Castille, ib.; assists the latter against his son, 184; defeated by the king of Granada, ib.; distrusted by his ally, king Alphonso, 186; sends letters of condolence to king Sancho, 188, offence given to, ib., devastations of, ib., his interview with the king of Granada, 189, submission of the Walies to, 190; territories ceded to, 191; his death, ib.–201; succeeded by his son, Abu Jakob, ib.

——Meruan Abdelaziz, proclaimed at Valencia, ii. 416; besieges Xativa, 429; takes possession of that city, ib.; proclaimed sovereign, 430; dislike to, 433; his flight from the city, ib., captured and taken about in chains, ib.; particulars related of, 434.

Abu Meruan Abdelmelic, son of the king of Saragossa, his mission to Juzef, ii. 312; his encounter with his son in-law, 320, horrible cruelty of, 321, his letter to the Ameer, 377

——Moarref Mohamad Ameer, oath of allegiance to, iii. 98, tribes subjugated by, ib., slain in battle, ib.

——Muhamad Abdallah, marches against the Christians, iii. 5.

——Muhamad Abdelwahid, defeats the rebel-chief, El Mayorki, iii. 60, proclaimed Caliph, 93; his untimely end, ib, succeeded by his brother, Abul Hassan Aly, ib.–106.

——Muhamad Ben Abi Afs, appointed Wali of Africa, ii. 475

——Muhamad Ben Samail, the rebel, cruelty of, ii. 457.

——Muhamad, general, reply of, ii. 366.

——Muhamad Abdallah, Wali of Malaga, iii 190, cedes his territories to Abu Juzef, ib.; sent to Africa, 191.

——Muhamad Abdallah, Cadi of Cadies, iii 200.

——Muhamad Aben Hud, proclaimed king of Granada, iii. 91; successes of, 92

——Muhamad Bakir, lays siege to Morocco, ii. 365; his death, 367.

——Muhamad Bekir, joins El Mehedi, ii. 350.

——Muhamad Ben Huzam, his "Universal History of Races," i. 461.

——Muslema, insidious conduct of, i. 146.

——Naser, son of the king of Seville, put to death, ii. 302.

——Obeid El Beri, statement of, i. 410.

——Obeida, an Arab leader, i. 38.

——Omar Abderahman, put to death, iii. 113, verses by, 114.

——Omar, a miracle of learning, his death, ii. 48.

——Omar Aly Ben Muza, his defence of Jaen, iii. 137.

——Omar Ben Afif, his account of the conspiracy of Prince Abdallah, i. 436.

Abu Omeya Abdelgafir, appointed governor of Seville, i. 210.
——Othman Ben Algezar, supposed death of, ii. 62.
——Othman of Cordova, pilgrimage of, ii. 57.
—— Otman Obeidala, orders given to i. 229; defeats and kills the rebel, Said Ben Husem, 234; his victories over the rebels, ib.; vigilance of, 338, defeats Calib Aben Hassan, 356; his retirement from office, 357; made captain of the Sclavonian guard, ib.; departs for the East, ii. 39.
——Rebie Zuleyman, his death, iii. 101.
——Sagia, disinclination of, i. 45.
Abu Said, influence of, iii. 275; aids Ismail in his conspiracy, 276; his predominance over the usurper Ismail, 280; treachery of, 281; defeats the king, ib.; causes him to be assassinated, 282; proclaimed sovereign, ib.; his successes over the Christians, 284; artful policy of, ib; state of his finances, 285; proceeds to Seville to conciliate the king of Castille, 286.
——Said, put to death by Don Pedro, iii. 287; his head said to have been sent to the king of Granada, 288.
——Said, Amir, dies near Tanja, iii. 101.
——Said Otman, solemn oath taken by, iii. 97; tribes subject to, ib.; cause of his death, 98.
——Said Ozman, reign of, iii. 102; his death, ib.
——Said, prince, sent to occupy Gebaltaric, iii. 305; unjust suspicion of, ib; his surrender of the city, 306, taken prisoner to the court of Granada, ib; his brother orders poison to be administered to him, ib; proceeds to Fez, and deposes him, ib; proclaimed king in his stead, ib.
——Salem Ibrahim, his death, iii. 102.
——Salem, king of Fez, treaty of peace with, iii 275; his reception of king Muhamad, 278; put to death, 279.
Abu Sultan Aziz, vizier of king Muhamad, iii 199.
——Tahir, the Moslemah general defeated, i. 243.
——Tahir Temim, brother of king Juzef, ii. 330; appointed governor of Valencia, 333; besieges and takes Ukhs, 334; proposes to abandon the fortress, ib.; successful sortie of, ib.; sends an account of his victory to the king, 335; disaster of his troops, ii 361.
—— Taleb Abdallah, his flight from Ceuta, iii. 204.
—— Talib Abdelgebar, verses by, in praise of prince Taxfin, ii 407
—— Talib Ben Gamm, ii 316.
—— Teib, of Ronda, work of, i. 25.
—— Thabet succeeds his father as king of Morocco, iii 205; raises the siege of Telencen, ib; his death 221; succeeded by his brother, Abu Rabie Zuleiman, ib
——Thabet Omar, in disgrace with the king, iii. 252; cast in prison, ib.; rumour respecting, ib.
—— Walid, retires from court, i. 482, works by, ib.
—— Walid Albage, cadi of Cordova, council of Ameers convoked by, ii. 230.
—— Walid of Beja, cadi, declaration of, ii. 197.
—— Yahye, succeeds his father as king of Almeria, ii. 158; his fine qualities, ib; pardons his brother, 159.
—— Yahye Ben Tobada, Wali of Cordova, ii. 346; flight of, 347.
—— Zacaria, secretary of prince Taxfin, his poem on the defeat of the Almoravides, ii. 394.
—— Zacaria Ben Zamoun, takes Leila by storm, ii 481, brought to Morocco in chains by command of Abdelmumen, 482.
—— Zacaria Yahye, king of Tunis, iii. 151.
Abu Yahye, arranges his force in order of battle, iii. 49; animates the soldiers, 50.
—— Zeid Abdelaziz, tenures reclaimed

of, ii. 159; besieged in his own Tower, 160, his nocturnal escape, ib.; cordially received by the king, ib.
—— Zacaria Yahye Aben Anasir proclaimed Ameer by the Xeques, iii. 85; sent with the cavalry into Spain, ib., defeated by Abulola Edris, 86, flight of, ib.; again overcome, 89.
—— Zacaria Yahye, nephew of Abulola Edris, iii. 93; his death, ib.
—— Zeyan Mohamad, reign of, iii 102.
—— Zacaria Yahye, chief of the Lamtuna, ii. 208; victory of, 209; conquests of, 210; slain in battle, ib.
Abulasbaz Muza, entertainment given by, ii 5.
Abulbehar Ben Zeiri, his wars with his nephew, ii 15; receives the title of Ameer, ib.; perfidy of, ib.
Abul Casem, secretary of Mohamad II. iii. 200.
Abul Casem Chalaf, his "History of Illustrious Spaniards," i. 24.
Abulcasim Abdelmelic, the king's vizier, iii. 390, report of, 391; his concern at the critical position of affairs in Granada, 394; his mission to the Christian camp, 395; treats for the surrender of Granada, 396; his return to the council, 397.
Abul Casim Ben Edris, governor of Ronda, ii 460: his people discontented with his rule, 461; flight of, ib.; appointed cadi of Seville, ib.; his death, ib.
Abulcasim, El Mezeli, i 77.
Abulfaragi, an eminent writer, his death, i. 468; works by, 469
Abulfeda, narrative of, i. 12-25.
Abulfeth El Tesûli, general, i. 412.
Abul Hassam, son of Abu Aly, resigns the government of Carmona, iii. 139; gives up the keys of Seville, and departs from that city, 145.
—— Hassan Aly, succession of, iii. 93; killed in battle, 94; succeeded by Omar Aben Ishac, ib
—— Hassan Aly Ben Moul, vizier, deprived of office, iii. 253.
—— Hassan Ben Algiab, appointed vizier to the king, iii 253.
Abul Hassan Ben Mesaud, vizier, governs during the king's minority, iii. 237, his death, ib.
—— Hassan Hasuri, verses by, ii. 305.
—— Hassan, king of Fez, takes Gebal-Tarie, (Gibraltar), iii 245; alliance of king Muhamad with, ib.; his generals conspire to assassinate the king of Granada, 247; his naval victory over the Christians, 253; his cordial reception of king Juzef, ib.; lays siege to Tarifa, 254; his Harcem and treasures taken by Christians, 256; flies to Gebal Tarie, ib.; advice of, 260; marriage of his daughter, 292; his consort Zahira, ib; his presents to king Juzef, 297.
—— Hegiag Ben Cadis, defends Calatrava, iii. 68; compelled to capitulate, 69; proceeds to the king's camp, 70; indignities to, ib., put to death, ib.; murmurs among the troops in consequence, 71; his death avenged, 72.
—— Hegiag Juzef, lays siege to Gezira Xucar, iii. 23; obtains possession of the city, 24; his battles with the Christians, 25
—— Said Aben Gania, vizier, atrocity of, iii. 70, maladministration of, 71.
—— Hegiag, Wali, rebels against Muhamad III., iii. 203, defeat and flight of, 204.
—— Huzam, vizier, urges king Hixem to appear in the Capital, ii. 120.
—— Melic Abdel Wahid, prince, assumes the sovereignty on the death of his nephew, Almostansir Billah, iii. 82, feuds and dissensions throughout his empire, ib.; deposition of, ib, deprived of life as well as of his throne, ib.
——Naim Reduan, vizier, his death, iii 250
——Naim, son of Reduan, appointed vizier to the king, iii 250; his severity, 251; cast in prison, ib.
Abul Said, nephew of king Nazar, rebellion of, ii. 210; his escape from Granada, ib, ambitious designs of,

216; assembles a large army, 217, successes of, ib.; besieges the king in Granada, ib; becomes king of Granada, iii. 223. See Ismail Ben Ferag.
Abul Walid, Imaum, lectures of, ii 386
—— Walid, a distinguished physician, iii. 15.
—— Xetaf, overcome by the Christians, iii. 141.
Aby Ben Zeriab, an accomplished musician, taken into the king's palace, i. 277.
Acach, a Moorish general, i. 128; killed, 129.
Acbat Albacar, battle at, ii. 65, 66.
Adharwera, a fortified place, i. 302.
Adnan, an Arab tribe, i 30.
Adra, stratagem for reducing the rebels of, iii 389, fall of that fortress, ib.
Adultery, punishment of, iii 268.
Adwa, province of, i. 393.
Afranc (France) the mountains of, i. 80.
Africa, insurrections in, i 128; excessive drought in, 306; famine and pestilence in, 348, dreadful hurricane in, 467; wars of the Almoravides in, ii. 205, great mortality in, iii. 28–30.
African cavaliers, killed and beheaded, i. 210.
Aglab Ben Xoaibi, the renowned poet, taken into the king's service, i. 378.
Agmat, the king of Seville sent prisoner to, ii. 305, retirement of El Mehedi to, 355; march of troops against, 358; nobles of, killed, 362; surrenders to Abdelmumen, 446.
Agriculture, state of, in Spain, i. 489.
Ahmad Moez Dola, proclaimed king of Almeria, ii. 308; flies to Africa, 309.
Alhassan Ben Kenuz proclaimed sovereign in many of the towns of Almagreb, ii. 3; defeats the Andalusians, ib.; treacherously beheaded, 8; curious incident in reference to, ib.; duration of [illegible], ib.; extent of his [illegible]
Ahmed Aben Iza, his death, iii. 132.
Ahmed Abu Giaffir, king of Saragossa, his successes over the Christians, ii. 174.
—— Abu Giaffir Ben Eloski, defeated near Murcia, iii. 18; letters to, 20; him killed by, 21; offers to join the Almohades, ib.
—— Ben Abdelmelic, appointed Cadi of the Aljama at Cordova, i. 477; learned book written by, ib.; his death, ii. 72.
—— Ben Alchiteb, governor of Tadmir, ii. 4; exonerated from paying tribute, 5, 6.
—— Ben Aly, renowned for his learning, ii 12, his death, ii. 75.
—— Ben Baequi, his death, i. 417.
—— Ben Beeri, made governor of Fez, i. 413; taken prisoner, 414, 452.
—— Ben Ferag, collection of, i. 319; dies in prison, ib.
—— Ben Gehaf, Cadi, surrenders Valencia to the Almoravides, ii 311; his treachery, ib., 317; gives possession of the city to the Christians, 318; burnt in the great square, 319.
—— Ben Hakem, appointed Cadi of Toledo, ii. 11
—— Ben Hamud, governor of Cebta, proposals to, ii 82.
—— Ben Havem, made captain of cavalry, i. 332.
—— Ben Husein, dissemination of his doctrines, ii. 409; storms and takes the fortress of Calat Murtala, ib.; other conquests achieved by, ib, 411, 440, appointed Wali of Algarve by Abdelmumen, 440; his devastations in Beja and Merida, 442; deposed and imprisoned, 443.
—— Ben Moavia, his alliance with Hassun, the rebel chief, i. 349; his threat to the king of the Christians, ib.; killed, 350.
—— Ben Muhamad Abdrabihi, the great poet, his death, i. 428; collection of his works, 429; anecdote of, ib.; dream of, ib., studies of, 430.
—— Ben Muhamed Ben Wasim, crucified, ii 73.

Ahmed Ben Muhamed Ben Ahmed, his death, ii. 75.
—— Ben Muhamad El Hamdani, chosen their leader by the people of Elvira, ii. 378; fortifies various cities, ib.
—— Ben Said, wali, defeats the Christians, i. 444; returns in triumph to Cordova, ib.; poetical composition by, 445.
—— Ben Said, Hagib, defeats the Egyptians, i. 447; honours conferred upon, 148.
—— Ben Said, hospitality of, i. 486; assassinated, 487.
—— Ben Said, vizier, ii. 110.
—— Ben Xarac, mandate entrusted to, iii 302.
—— El Goranic, death of, i. 399.
Ahu Becri Ahmed, the historian, ii. 6.
Aixa, a maiden of Cordova, poems by, i. 457.
Alabas Aben Omar, governor of Zahore, ii. 194.
Alabdaries, bravery of the, i. 157: their conquest of Saragossa, 159, 166, termination of the war against the, 171.
Alacaub, sanguinary battle of, between the Christians and Moslemah, iii. 72; defeat and flight of the latter, 74, alluded to, iii. 104.
Aladfuns Ben Sancho, the Christian Embalatur, ii. 456, 459, 460, 469.
Alafia Ben Ahmed, thrown into the sea, ii. 82.
Alanfus (Alphonso), king, war against, i. 273, 288.
Alaksa, or holy house, i. 223.
Alameri Wadha, chamberlain to King Hixem, ii. 59; advice of, 63.
Alameries, dominions of the, ii. 135.
Alamoun, caliph, sends a message to his wali, i. 397; satisfied of his loyalty, 398.
Alarabes, expedition of Abderahman against the, i. 369.
Alarca, victory of, iii. 41; arrival of the king and army before, 44; taken by storm, 53; prisoners taken in, ib.
Alarcon, town of, i. 221.
Al Asedi, the poet, lines by, i. 333.
Alathir, the historian. ii. 126.
Albarkanis, king of the Christians, ii. 340.
Albortat, mountains of, i. 93, 102, 235, 250, 257, 273, 318.
Albuhassan Ben Othman, speech of, i. 500; his discourse reported to the Hagib Muhamad, 501; arrested and put in prison, ib.
Alcabdat, taken by the Christians, iii. 196; retaken, ib.; beautiful situation of, ib.
Alcadi Yahye Ben Dylnoun, king of Toledo, ii. 186; revolt against, 192; flies to Cuneca, ib; perfidy towards, 193.
Alcala, surrender of, to the Christians, iii. 141.
Alcala de Aben Zaide, battle of, iii. 156; conference at, 161.
Alcaut, dreadful scene on the plain of, i. 305; city of, 374.
Alcantara, the grand master of, slain in battle, iii. 297; his narrow escape, 325.
—— Tenseta, foundation of, commenced, iii 22
Alcasim, Prince, brother of King Abdallah, taken prisoner, i. 345; captive life of, 349; disloyalty of, 351; taken and put to death, 352.
Alcasim Ben Hamud, letters to, ii. 82, 83, proclaimed king of Spain, 100, investigates his brother's death, 101; convention with his nephew, 102; abhorred at Cordova, 103, proceeds to that city to oppose his nephew, 104, his atrocities there, 105, conspiracy against, ib., besieged in the Alcazar, ib., escapes to Xeres, 106, given up to his nephew, 110, imprisoned for life, ib.
Alcayem Bismilla, takes possession of Sicily, i. 421; his death, 434.
Alcazar, or palace of the king, at Toledo, i. 65, magnificent one built by king Abderahman, 418, description of it, ib., its gardens, baths, &c. 419.
—— Alfekah, fortress of, taken by the christians, iii. 79.

Alcazar de Abidenis, besieged by the christians, iii. 80; captured, and the garrison put to death, ib.
Alcorane law, instruction in the, i. 50.
Alchamizes, or union of five parts, i. 300.
Alexandria, city of, captured by the Arabs, i. 38, taken possession of by wanderers in Andalusia, 262.
Alfadal Aben Omar, prince, wali of Merida. ii. 195.
——, prince, sent to the relief of Toledo, i. 196, returns to Merida, 197.
Alfadil and Alabas, princes, put to death, ii. 315
Alfaqui Ismail Abu Aly, preceptor to the king, his death, i. 469.
Allombras, or carpets, i. 255.
Alfonso the Wise, king of Spain, i. 3.
—— the Sixth, i. 8.
—— the Eleventh, chronicles compiled in his time, i. 10.
—— Ben Ferdeland, king of the christians, treaty with, ii 192, his magnificent presents to Aben Omar, 193; his return to Gallicia, 194, his wars against Toledo, 195, 196; takes the capital, 197, his reception of Aben Omar, 199, sends auxiliaries to Aben Abed, 203; ravages of, 204, marches to Andalusia, 229, ravages of, 230, his pride and ambition, 237; letter of the king of Algarve to, ib., his conquest of Gallicia, 242, his threatening letter to the king of Seville, 243, indignant replies of that sovereign to him, 245, 247, sends an ambassador and treasurer to Seville, 248, besieges Saragossa, 260, 261, raises the siege, 263, council called by, ib.; augments his forces, 264; remarkable vision of, 265; consults his wise men relative to it, ib.; his dream interpreted, 266; sends for Muhamad Aben Iza, 267, his dream expounded to signify his downfall, 268, marches to encounter Juzef Ben Taxfin, 269, letter said to have been addressed to, ib.; his reply to it, 270; crafty letter said to have been written by, ib.; gives battle to the Moslemah, 272, his personal valour, 274, fearful attacks of, ib, totally defeated, 275; flight of, 276; said to have been wounded by a slave of King Juzef, ib., his return to Toledo, 277, flight of, 281, fortifies the fortress of Alid, 286, his march thither, 295; dismantles Alid, ib.; besieged by Juzef, 296, secret treaty of the king of Granada with, 297: aids the king of Seville, 303; advice of his wife to, 334; his son slain in battle, 335; his own death, ib.; defeated by the Almohades, iii. 5; his arrogant letter to king Juzef, 41, slaughter of his troops at Alarcos, 51, annihilation of his forces, 52, flight of, 53, besieged in Toledo, 54, his devastations in the Moslemah territories, 62; army collected by, 68, his success at Santa Maria, ib., besieges Calatrava, ib.; reduces that fortress, 69; marches to Alacaub to encounter Mohamad Abdallah, 71; irresistible charge of his troops, 72; throws his enemy's forces into confusion, 73; utterly defeats them, 74; storms and takes Medina Ubeda, ib., further conquests of, ib.
Alfonso, king, defeats prince Taxfin, ii. 393; lays siege to Cordova, 471; sends reinforcements to Almeria, 478; his ravages in Andalusia, 479, killed, 484.
—— Ben Raymund, obtains possession of Alyehud, ii. 103, lays siege to Medina Fraga, 404; defeated by Aben Gania, ib.
Algarve, the troops of, i. 279; treaty of Aben Hud with the king of, ii. 204; insurrection in, 408.
Algezira, arrival of king Juzef at, ii. 262; the defences of, strengthened, ib.; reception of king Aly Ben Juzef at, 333, surrenders to Abu Amram, 447, siege of, iii. 181; christian armada destroyed at, ib, siege of, raised, 208, re taken by

king Muhamad, 243, captured by the African invaders, 241; invested by the christians 258; taken by king Muhamad, 290.
Algihed, or holy war, proclaimed throughout Spain, i. 234, 443, 450, 463; ii. 231, 233, 337, 478, iii. 9, 13, 25, 62, 67, 387.
Alhab, city of, i. 107.
Alhaitam, Ameer, his cruelty and avarice, i. 103, deposed and disgraced, 104, injustice committed by, 105.
Alhakem Ben Adberahman, father of Suleiman, i. 80, left in charge of Cordova, 87, beheaded, 92.
—— prince, son of king Hixem, defeats his uncle on the plains of Lorca, i. 232, oath of allegiance to, 240, proclaimed king, 242; his person and accomplishments, ib.; proceeds against his rebel uncles, 243; council of war held by, 244, troubled state of his kingdom, ib.; his successes at Narbonne, 245, and in the territory of Toledo, ib, sanguinary conflict with his troops, 246, his emotion on seeing the corpse of his uncle, Suleiman, 247, birth of his son, 248; departs with his army to the east of Spain, ib., sends envoys to Edris, with whom he enters into an alliance, 250, command given by, to his son, Abderahman, 251, displaces his cousin, Esfah, as wali of Merida, 253; reconciliation with him, ib., receives letters of the utmost moment from his cousin, Casim, 254; causes three hundred conspirators to be beheaded, 255; conquers the christians in Lusitania, 257, discontent among his people, 260, executions ordered by, 261; personally puts down an insurrection in Cordova, ib.; barbarities of, 262; solemn command of, 264, his melancholy and depression, 265, anecdote of, ib.; his strange proceedings, 266; verses by, ib.; his remorse and death, 267.
Alhakem, prince, his love of literature, i. 433, declared his successor by king Abderahman, 436; conspiracy of his brother, Abdallah, 437; vainly intercedes on behalf of his brother, 440; his welcome to Abu Alayxi, 450, proclaimed king, 457; oath of allegiance to, 458; a prosperous reign predicted for, ib.; commands his name and titles to be inscribed on the coinage, 459; his learning and thirst for knowledge, ib, employs agents to purchase valuable books, 460; copyists employed by, ib., catalogues of his library, ib., the protector of letters and the learned, 461, the history of Spain and Africa written for him, 462; his incursions on the frontiers of Gallicia, ib., arrives at Toledo, 463, rules laid down by, in prosecuting the sacred war, ib., his kindness to the youth Abdallah, 465, takes Santistiban by assault, ib; returns in triumph to Cordova, 466; enters into a treaty of peace with the king of Gallicia, ib., confers with the Alimes and Alfaquies on the custom of wine-drinking, 468, gives orders that all the vine-grounds should be rooted up, ib., legacy of books received by, ib.; his remarks on parting with the general Galib, 472, his generosity to Alhasan Ben Kenuz, 475, permits Alhasan to return to Africa, 476, mass of Amber presented to him, ib., receives a threatening letter from the Egyptian Soldan, ib., visits Halewa, the beautiful slave, 480, finds learned masters for his son, prince Hixem, 487, his paternal advice, 488; state of his dominions, 489, works of, 491, poems by, 492, his death and funeral, 493.
Alhama, siege of, i. 382; taken by the king's troops, ib.; surprised by the Christians, iii. 345; desperate defence of, ib.; taken, 346; besieged by king Abul Hassan, ib.
Alhandic, sanguinary battle of, i. 427.

Alhamman, ancient temple of, i. 33, 183.
Alhasan, the Andalusian poet, murdered, i. 471.
—— Ben Edris, i. 413–414.
—— Ben Kenuz, disobedience of, i. 470, perfidy of, 471, abandons the city of Biserta, 472, surrender of, 473; arrives at Cordova, 475; prostrates himself before the king, ib., generous conduct towards, ib; requests permission to return to Africa, 476, proceeds to Egypt, ib.
Alhasan Ben Sargibil, his death, i. 354.
Alhasan Ben Aly, prince, ingratiates himself with Abdelmumen, ii. 486; married to a daughter of that monarch, ib.
Alhassan Aben Bucar, encounters the Christians, iii. 195.
Alhassan, Said, stag and verses presented by, to Muhamad, ii. 27.
Alhaûr, Emir, ravages of, i. 92; his oppressions, ib, captures Narbonne, 94; deposed, 95.
Alhaus Yahix, of Malaga, the renowned artificer, ii. 466.
Alhebab, secretary of the Amer Ben Amru, i. 157, put in chains, 171; his dreadful death, 172
Ali, cousin of Mahomet, humane precepts of, i. 373.
Alid, a fortress of great strength, ii. 286, 292, besieged by the Moslemah, 293; march of king Alfonso on, 294.
Alisbona (Lisbon), vagabonds infesting the Comarcas of, i. 285; their entry into Merida, ib.; rebellion of the Wali of, 335; he is taken and beheaded, 338.
Aljama of Cordova, i. 235; described, 236; literary dispute between the learned men of, and Abu Abderahman, 294, embellishments to, 448; inscription on one of the fountains, ib.; compared to the Aljama at Jerusalem, 449.
—— at Damascus, erected, i. 49.
Aljamas and Mosques, construction of, i. 221.
Alkinza, wife of Esfah, her successful mediation, i. 253.
Almagreb, conquests of Muza in, i. 47; his son Abdelaziz, 48, on the affairs of, and the condition of the Beni Edris in Fez, 388; civil discords in, ib.; adventures of Edris in, 390; of the wars in, 411, 470; the entire land restored to obedience, 474; entry of Alhassan Ben Kenuz into, ii. 3; submission of, to Juzef Ben Taxfin, 218.
Almahedi Ben Juzef, slain, ii. 224.
Almahedi, caliph, defeats Muhamad, i. 389.
Almamun, Caliph, i. 262.
Alman Ben Zeiri, confirmed in his government as Ameer of Magreb, ii. 46, promises to send an annual present to Cordova, ib.
Almanzor, his loyalty to king Hixem, i. 14.
—— Ben Zeiri, makes himself master of the towns in Elvira and Granada, ii. 123; proceeds to Africa, ib.
—— Caliph, his death, i. 389; alluded to, 395.
Almanzor, wali, his surrender of Malaga, ii. 431.
Almayar, son of Cid Yahye, stratagem of, iii. 389.
Almeiz, city of, rebellion in, iii. 39.
Almeria, the baths of, i. 323, 324; siege of, ii. 307, 460, 478; surrender of, 309, 460, 483; siege of, raised, iii. 210, 222.
Almoatesim, caliph of the East, i. 289.
Almoctadir, king of Saragossa, perfidious counsels to, ii. 183; returns to his territories, ib.
Almohades, their war with the Almoravides, ii. 358; defeated by Faleki, 364; their successes over the Almoravides, 365, 382, 420; three hundred decapitated, 366, routed, 367, 422; proclaim Abdelmumen Caliph, on the death of El Mehedi, 392; their continued wars with the Almoravides, 402; their victory over king Taxfin, 424; besiege and capture Telencen, 444; Medina

Fez, 446; and other cities, ib., pass the sea and enter Spain, 447; the inhabitants of Cebta rebel against, 467; their conquest of Cordova, 469; and Medina Jaen, 470, take Leila by storm, 481, their conquests in Spain, 483; capture Granada, ib.; defeat the Christians, iii 9, their further campaigns, 25

Almojarifes, or receivers of the public revenues, ii. 111; their exactions, 112.

Almondar Ben Yahye, king o Saragossa, assassinated, ii. 149.

Almondar Ben Hud, lord of Saragossa, ii. 137.

Almondhar, city of, taken, iii. 203.

Almondhir, prince, commands the troops before Toledo, i. 297; inspects the fortresses, ib.; routs the rebels, 298; his victory over the Christians, 300; charged with the defence of the frontiers of Gallicia, 304-305; letters sent to, 306; proceeds to Rotalychud in quest of the treacherous Omar, 307, his slaughter of the rebels, ib; storms and takes Rotalychud, ib; submission of various towns to, 308; returns in triumph to Cordova, ib.; his entry into Saragossa, 311; surrender of that city to, ib.; makes another incursion into the territories of Gallicia, 314; returns to Lusitania, 315; lays siege to Zamora, 316; his retreat on the approach of the king of Gallicia, ib.; vainly endeavours to quiet the people on the occasion of a fearful earthquake, 317; enters into a truce with the king of the Christians, ib.; proclaimed successor to Muhamad, 320; proceeds against the rebels on the Ebro, 321; his troops defeated, 322; proclaimed king, 324; his resentment against the Wali, Haxem Ben Abdelaziz, 325, caution given by, 326; summons the wali Haxem, to appear before him, 328; causes him to be beheaded, 329; his successes in Toledo, 330; killed in battle, 331; regret for the loss of, ib.-332; his simple habits, ib.; honours paid to, ib.

Almoravides, reported exploits of the, ii. 173, their wars in Africa, 205; their origin, ib.; campaigns of the, 285; their successes in Gallicia, 287; their conquests over the Moslemah of Spain, 300, 307; their war with the Almohades, 358, defeated, 359, 361, 365; arrogant letter of El Mehedi to, 360; overthrown by the Christians, 393, conquests of the, ii. 339, defeat the Almohades, 367; routed, 382; insurrection against the, at Cordova, ii. 346; their continued wars with the Almohades, ii. 402; defeat the Christians, 404; reverses of the, 405; their signal victory over the Almohades, 422, defeated by Abdelmumen, 424; council held by, 430; their war with the Almohades, iii. 7.

Almovarifs, or collectors of dues, ii. 129

Almostansir Billah, son of Muhamad Abdallah, personal appearance of, iii. 77; his viziers and secretaries, ib.; festivities on his proclamation, ib.; his pleasures and amusements, 81; his early death, ib.; leaves no successor to the throne, ib.

Alms, collection of, in 263.

Almudafar Abdallah, king of Granada, ii. 292.

Almunecab, fortress of, i. 173, 201, assemblage of troops in, ii. 87, 88; exile of king Muhamad to, iii. 210.

Almunia, wedding-festival in the gardens of the, ii. 12.

Almustain Billah, king of Saragossa, attacked by Aben Radmir, ii 287; is defeated and retires to Huesca, 288; returns to Saragossa, 289, 336.

Almutafar Almanzor, king of Algarve, his death, ii. 173; succeeded by his son, Yahye, ib.

Almutaraf, Prince, son of king Muhamad, slays Abdelmelic, i. 346; assassinated, ib.

Almu'tasim Ben Samida, king of Almeria, ii. 292.
Alora, city of, besieged and taken by the Christians, iii. 364.
Alphonso the third, king of Gallicia, treaty with, i. 351.
—— Ben Gaymis, king of Arragon, death of, iii 201.
—— Prince, son of Ferdeland, iii. 130; messengers sent from Murcia to, 131; he accedes to their conditions, ib.; inspects the province, ib; takes the fortress of Mula, 132; ravages Carthagena and Lorca, 133; letters of condolence written to, on the death of his father, 149; requests the king of Granada to supply him with a body of cavalry, ib.; Xeres capitulates to, 150; his conquest of other towns, ib., 159; troops sent to, by the king of Granada, 151; Niebla capitulates to, 152, revolt of the Moslemah against his rule, 155; dispatches messengers to Muhamad Alahmar, requiring his assistance in the war of Murcia, 156; dissatisfied with his reply, ib; defeated by the king of Granada, 156; promises his aid to the rebel Xeques, 158, 170; captures Xeres, ib.; his convention with Aben Alahmar, 161; his interview with Muhamad II. 171; his treaty of peace with the king of Granada, 172; his conflict with the Moslemah, 178; his treaty with the king of Morocco, 173; besieges Algezira Albadra by land and sea, 181; his treaty with the king of Tunis, 182; resigns the command of the army in consequence of a malady of the eyes, ib.; besieges his son in Cordova, 184; defeated by the king of Granada, ib.; success of his troops, 185; his distrust of Abu Juzef, 186; his death, 187; character of, ib; succeeded by his son, Prince Sancho, 187.
—— king, surrender of Calayasch to, iii. 257, besieges Algezira Albadra, 258, truce with, 260; dies of the plague, 271, his personal appearance, ib.
Alsama, wonderful exploits of, i. 95; killed, 96.
Aludan El Gamri, the rebel, iii. 58.
Alwacires, or ministers, ii. 129.
Aly Atar, the Moslemah general, killed, iii. 254.
—— Atar, Alcayde of Loxa, bravery of, iii. 347, 350; slain in battle, 355.
—— Ben Abderahman Ben Hudeil, of Granada, i. 84.
—— Ben Aly Ben Nazir, proclaimed king of Granada, iii. 288, defeat and flight of, 289.
—— prince, humiliating proposal made to, iii. 304.
—— Ben Casim, naval victory of, iii. 25.
—— Ben Hamud, proposals to, ii. 82; co-operates with Harun, 83; army of, 88; beheads Suleiman, his father, and brother, 92, proclaimed king at Cordova, 93; rebellion against, ib, defeats his assailants, 96, 97; proceedings of, 98; beheads Haran, 99; has many enemies, ib.; his melancholy fate, 100; investigation into the cause of his death, 101; his son, Yahye, asserts his right to the throne, ib; his body embalmed and interred at Ceuta with great pomp, 103.
—— Ben Ishac, storms and takes Begaya, iii 37; rebellion of, 38.
—— Ben Juzef, proclaimed king of Morocco, ii. 328; extent of his dominions, ib.; character of, 329; his sons and viziers, ib.; oath of allegiance to, 330; rebellion of his nephew, prince Yahye, 331, marches against him, ib; sends messages and letters to him, ib.; pardons him, 332; visits his Spanish dominions, 333; makes war with the Christians, ib.; his victory over them, 335, disaster to his troops, 336; his grief at the death of Aben Alhaug, 337; appoints in his place the general, Abu Bekir, ib.; again

proceeds to Spain with an immense army, ib.; his devastations in Toledo, 338, takes Medina Talbira, ib.; sends his ships against the islands on the east of Spain, 341; directs his brother, Temim, to proceed to the north of Spain to succour the Moslemah, 343-345; victory over his troops, ib.; determines to march in person to the Sacred War, ib.; his devastations in Algarve, 346; returns to Africa, ib; again proceeds to Spain to put down an insurrection at Cordova, 347; recalled to Africa, in consequence of the rebellion of El Mehedi, 349; caution to, 351; commands his Almes to question El Mehedi, ib.; is advised to cast him into prison, 352; amazed at the reply of El Mehedi, 353; sends a warning messenger to him, 354; commands that his head be cut off, ib; sends a body of Almoravides against El Mehedi, 358; panic among his troops, 359; dejection and anxiety of, 360; pardons the robber, Taleke, 363; resolves to give the enemy battle, 366; welcomes to Morocco Abul Beht Ben Ruxd, 368; takes counsel with his viziers, ib; commands the banishment of Christians to Africa, 369; letter of the king of Saragossa to, 377; commands his general not to proceed against Saragossa, 379; fortifies Morocco, ib.; death of his brother, Temim, ib; sends his son, Taxfin, to Toledo, ib.; books condemned by, 386; continual defeats sustained by, 405; valour of his son, prince Taxfin, ib.; summons him to Africa, ib.-406, his grief at the defeats of his son, 421; dies at Morocco, ib.; his son proclaimed his successor, 422.

Aly Ben Juzef, brother of Aben Hud, proclaimed king of Murcia, ii. 126; rebellion against him, ib.; taken prisoner and beheaded, ib.

—— Ben Mogueith, Wali of Cairvan, his arrival in Spain, i. 195, devices of, 196; slain in battle, 197; his head, with an inscription, exposed in the market-place of Cairvan, 197.

Aly Dordux, a wealthy citizen of Malaga, goes to the christian camp, ii. 374; perfidy of, 375; appointed wali, ib.

—— prince, declared successor to prince Juzef, i. 323; oath of allegiance to, ib.; document relative to his successor, ib.; solemn exhortation to, 325, his father's commands to, 327; proclaimed king at Morocco, 328; his vast territories, 329, his family, ib.; his ministers, ib.; his conduct of the affairs of government, ib., his generous and noble nature, 330, rebellion of his nephew, 331.

—— king, son of Juzef, his vast treasures, ii. 465.

—— prince of the Almoravides, poisoned, ii. 483.

Alzaca, the Strait of, i. 120.

Amad Dolah Aben Hud, hesitation of, ii. 342, his perfidious alliance with the christians, ib. 343; required by the king of the christians to surrender Saragossa, 344; retires to the fortress of Rotalychud, ib.

Amber, mass of, presented to the king, i. 476.

Ambisa, Ameer, proceedings of, i. 99.

—— Ben Sohem, orders of, i. 96; suppresses a rebellion at Tarragona, 99, his incursions into France, ib.; his death, 101.

Ameers of Spain, election and deposition of, i. 101, list of, 160; their offices defined, 212.

Amer Ben Feth, alcaide of Malaga, ii. 83.

—— Ben Abi Giafar, the illustrious poet, his death, i. 238.

—— Ben Muhamad, made Cadi, i. 393.

Amina, mother of Mahomet, i. 33.

Amira Ben Abderahman, demise of, i. 295.

Amram Ben Othman, his death, i. 387.

Amru Ben Alâs, Alexandria surrenders to, i. 38; his death, ib.
Amru, the king's general, i. 246; proceeds with Alhakem to the east of Spain, 248; appointed wali of Toledo at his own request, 249; his invitation to the young prince Abderahman, 251, his vengeance on the Toledans, 252.
Amumenin, Ameer, his decapitation of the christians, ii. 277.
Anbaro, the Sclavonian, ii. 70.
Andalusia, incursions of the Arabs into, i. 54; conquests of Taric in, 61; the walies of, 141; cities of, 144; ravages of king Alfonso in, ii. 230; incursions of the Moslemah into, 287; fate of the kings of, 316; christians of, banished to Africa, 369; expedition of Abdelmumen to, 447; the christians extend their rule in, iii. 132.
Andalusians, expatriated, take refuge in Alexandria, i. 262, they proceed to Crete, 263, their flight at the battle of Alacaub, iii. 72
Anfus, king (Alphonso), i. 254.
Antekaria, sanguinary battle near, iii. 169.
Antequera, siege of, iii. 304; capitulates, 305.
Aquitaine, duke of, his daughter taken captive, i. 105, 108, intelligence sent to, 106.
Arab army, described, i. 78.
Arabia, dreadful drought and pestilence in, i. 315.
Arabias, the two, i. 30.
Arabs, their dominion in Spain, i. 2; difficulties of writing their history, ib.; their progress in learning and knowledge, 3; their extraordinary conquests, 6; character of the, ib.; numerous writers among the, 11; poetry of the, 20; their computation of time, 21; works of the, consulted, 23; manners and customs of the ancient tribes, 30; the two races of, ib.; their different modes of worship, 31; their study of astrology, 32; excell in horsemanship, ib.; feuds among the, ib.; military expeditions of, 35; signal victories of the, 37; capture Damascus and Alexandria, 38; their incursions into Africa, and conquest of Cyrenaica and Gelula, 39; their subjugation of Barbary, and foundation of Cairvan, 40; their conquests in Almagreb, or Mauritania, which led to their empire throughout Spain, 47, 49; civil war between their generals in Spain, 154
Argona, surrenders to the christians, iii. 132.
Argosy, Egyptian, captured, i. 446.
Armenguch, count, general of the christians, ii. 69.
Army on a march, regulations for, i. 78.
Arubato El Cutemi, put to death, i. 409.
Asama, governor of Egypt, cruelties of, i. 86; his death, 92.
Ascalcha, general, takes Fez, ii. 11, 14.
Ased Ben Abderahman, wali of Elvira, i. 201; his death, 203.
—— Ben El Forat, saying of, i. 395; his death, 397.
Asefah, caliph, head of Meruan sent to, i. 149.
Asisbila Ben Anasir, king of Bugia, his submission to Abdelmumen, ii. 474; honours paid to, ib., fond of the chase, 475; presents a lion to the sovereign, ib.
Aslam Ben Abdelaziz, his death, i. 415.
Asoma, wali, infidelity of, i. 378; defeats the king's troops, 380; captures the city of Jaen, 381; taken and beheaded, 382.
Astorica, the christians withdraw from, i 509; surrenders to Muhamad, 510.
Astrologer, predicts the death of king Hixem, i. 239.
Atambore, the eastern drum, ii. 265; described, 487.
Athara, sultana, mother of king Abdallah, i. 332; death of, 362; splendid tomb to her memory, ib.

Attarveya, or the day of Mina, i. 96.
Audan, city of, destroyed, i. 42.
Aulad-Arabi, or sons of the Arabs, i. 47.
Auric, prince, towns besieged by, iii. 150; differs with his brother, king Alphonso, 151; advised to proceed to Africa, ib.; his return from Africa, 170, his suspicion of the king of Tunis, ib., proposition of the king of Granada to, 198.
Auriola, city of, i. 75; stratagem of Theodomir at, ib.
Axara, meaning of the word, i. 485.
Ayach Muza, cadi, rebellion excited by, ii. 467; passes into Spain to procure succours, 468; defeated, ib.
Ayamonte, fortress, captured by king Muhamad, iii. 299; re-taken by the christians, 301.
Ayax Ben Xerahil, wali of the Spanish fleet, i. 92
Aybar, defeat of the christians at, i. 319.
Ayela, her marriage, i. 83; report respecting, 88.
Ayoub Ben Amer, cast in prison, ii. 29; a renowned general, 143; defeats the allies, ib.
Ayûb, fortress built by, i. 90.
Ayûb Ben Sarhabil, deposed, i. 94.
—— general, elected governor of the interior of Spain, i. 89; his tour through the country, ib.
—— son of Suleiman, his death, i. 90.
Ayuntamiento, or assembly, i. 141
Azahra, flight of Muhamad to, ii 113.
Azala, or public prayer, ii. 68, 254, 350, 449, 476, 487, 488; iii. 2, 31, 32, 43, 61.
—— of terror, made in the mosques at Granada, ii. 373.
Azaque, revenues of the, i. 278.
Azeddin, town of, taken, iii. 300.
Aziz Ben Abdelmelic, killed, iii 135.
—— Ben Aly, vizier, his learning and accomplishments, iii 180.
Azohbi, prayer of, iii. 231.

B.

Badiaza, attack on the fortress of, ii. 371.
Badis Ben Habis, king of Granada, ii. 175.
Baena, besieged by king Muhamad, iii. 242.
Baeza, the wali of, iii. 83.
Bahlul Ben Maklue, rebellion of, i. 234; force sent against, 248; taken and beheaded, 250.
Bahlul, the Moslemah general, defeated, i. 243.
Baleg Ben Baxir, an Arab general, i. 119; civil war in Spain between, and Aben Cotan, 121, cruelty of, 123; killed, 125; alluded to, 133.
Balkam Ben Teiri, his irruptions in Almagreb, ii. 11.
Balkim Ben Zeiri, general, ii. 3.
Balkin Ben Zeir, his successes in Almagreb, i. 470; expedition against, 471; treaty of alliance with, 496; head of Giaffar sent to, 499.
Baqui Ben Machlad, advice of, i. 334; his virtuous life, 354; consoles a poor mother in respect to her captive son, ib.; miraculous event recorded in reference to this matter, 355.
Barbary, conquest of, i. 40; character of the men of, 85; rebellion in, 113; quelled, 116; dreadful conflict in, resulting in the utter defeat of the Arabs, 120; victories of Hantala Ben Setuan in, terminating in the subjugation of the rebels, 129.
Barca, province of, i. 45; wanderings of Abderahman in, 164, alluded to, 184; arrival of Edris in, 390; found too small for the people, 393; the tribes of, claim the protection of king Edris, ib.
Barcelona, besieged by the Christians i. 248; surrender of, ib; expedition of king Abderahman to, 270; capture of the city of, 271; march of the Hagib Muhamad upon, ii. 5; liege and surrender of, 7; the count of, lays liege to Xativa, iii. 142.

Barcerah Ben Nooman, insurrection of, i. 189; killed, ib.
Basque mountains, incursions of the Moslemah forces into the, i. 235.
Bateha, the newly-founded city of, iii. 1.
Bati Ben Ismail, takes Jaen, ii. 301; and Cordova, 303.
Baxar Ben Sefuan El Kelbi, appointed governor of Egypt, i. 94.
Bayonne, the king of, his submission to Muhamad Abdallah, iii. 63; his visit to that monarch, 64; detention of his guards, ib.; valuable gift brought by, 65; his progress from Carmona to Seville, ib., arrangements for his reception, 66; his interview with the Caliph, ib.
Baza, its conquest by Ismail Ben Ferag, iii. 231.
Beard, a mark of dignity and authority, i. 356; anecdote in reference to it, 359.
Becre Ben Hemad El Taharti, verses by, i 401.
Bedouins, honour and hospitality among the, i. 165.
Bedre, Gen. i. 188–190; takes Samail prisoner, 191; assembles the troops to march against the Wali of Cairvan, 194.
Begaya, Cid Abu Said appointed governor of, iii 19; stormed and taken by Aly Ben Ishac, 37.
Beja and Merida, devastations in, ii. 442.
Ben Adra, his revolt in Medina Toledo, i. 92; supplicates pardon from Abderahman, 193.
Ben Alhegag, Wali of Egypt, passes into Africa, i. 112; appoints his brother Ameer of Spain, ib.
Ben Amru, Ameer, ambition of, i. 143; his letter to the Caliph, 155; his extraordinary escape, 156; defeats Samail, 157; besieges Saragossa, ib.; captures the city, 158; dreadful death of, 172.
Ben Chaledun, narrative of, i. 12.
Ben Hamad, expedition of Abdelmumen against, ii. 473.
Beni-Aglab, lords of Africa, important events that befell them, i. 395.
—— Alaftas, error respecting, i. 15.
—— Amat, of Zanhaga, sends reinforcements to the Ameer Taxfin, ii. 423; honourable reception of his generals, 424.
—— Edris, condition of the, in Fez, i. 388
—— Maurel, town of, captured by the Christians, iii. 324; taken by the Moslemah, 329
—— Mermes, mistake respecting, i. 16, empire of the, iii. 96
—— Omeyas, dominion of the, i. 146; tragical events that befell them, after the death of Meruan, 151, preservation of the race of, 163, partisans of the, 184.
Ben Lahmi, Ziyad, dies at Cordova, i. 258.
Ben Muhamad, the Toledan Wahib, appointed receiver of the revenues, i. 371, his rigorous conduct resented, 377.
Ben Raymond, the Barcelonian, ii. 179, defeated, 180.
Bentome, a fortified town, surrenders to the Christians, iii 373
Bermond, King of the Christians, his treaty with Muhamad, ii 29.
Blood, the contribution of, i 79.
Book of the prophet, iii 65.
Books, saved from destruction, i. 4.
Bordeaux, taken by Abderahman, i. 109.
Bridges, magnificent, i 72.
Bugia, siege of, ii. 474.
Bulche, the battle of, i. 230.
Bulmar, fortress of, taken by king Muhamad, iii. 198.

C.

Cafisa, city of, stormed and taken, iii 29, 38.
Cahina, queen of Barbary, beheaded, i. 16.
Cahtan, an Arab tribe, i. 30.
Cairvan, foundation of, i. 40; the Aljama at, built, 396; foundation of the city of, 397.

Calat Anasor, terrific battle at, ii. 41.
Calat Hamad, fortress of, i. 16.
Calatrava, besieged by king Alfonso, iii. 68; capitulates to him, 69.
Calat Mertula, attack on the fortress of, ii. 409; taken, ib, 443.
Calayaseb, surrenders to king Alphonso, iii. 257.
Caleb Aben Hassan, challenge to, i. 347; his flight from Cordova, 354; defeats sustained by, 356; takes refuge in Toledo, ib.; retires to the east of Spain, 366; leaves his son, Giafar, to defend Toledo, ib.; rejoins his son, ib.; is defeated, 367; retires to other fortresses, ib.; submission of some of his followers, 369; sends envoys with a proposition to the king Abderahman, 375; his renewed exertions to oppose the king, 376; his death, 379; his two sons, ib.
Calib Aben Hafsun, son of Omar, revolt of, i. 321; takes possession of several cities, 325; retires from Toledo, 326; treachery of, 327; flight of his troops, 331; pursued by Abdallah, 336; retires to the fortress of Zurita, 337; continued ravages of, 339; taken and beheaded, 340.
Caliphs, the first, military expeditions of, i. 35; Omeyan race of, 150; list of, in the East, 161; their tombs at Damascus violated, 154.
Calzada, meaning of the word, i. 182.
Cantillana, stormed and taken by the Christians, iii. 140.
Captive, Mosleman, liberated by the Christians, i. 355.
Caraos Ben Abês, demise of, i. 287.
Cardonne, M. de, his "History of the Conquests of the Arabs," i. 13; errors committed by, 14.
Carlos IV., courtesy of, i 26.
Carmuna, city of, i 66; besieged and taken, ii. 140, 303; return of Muhamad to, 143; the road from, to Seville, lined with soldiers, iii 65; incursions of the Christians into, 139; the inhabitants send ambassadors to the Christian king ib.
Carmut, Albarhan, mission of, ii. 244.
Carthagena, siege of, i. 46.
Carur El Lamtuni, forces under, ii. 302; causes Abu Naser to be put to death, ib.; and also Yezid Radillah, ib.
Casares, siege of, iii. 242.
Casim Ben Asbag, his death, i. 444.
—— Ben Hilel, demise of, i. 292.
—— Ben Jusef, taken prisoner, i. 190.
—— Ben Muhamad, his poem procures his release from prison, ii. 24.
—— Ben Thabita, demise of, i. 368; particulars respecting, ib.
—— Prince, intercedes for his father, i. 269–70; permitted to inherit his father's riches, 271.
——, cousin of Alhakem, conspiracy discovered by, i. 254
—— Son of Abdelmelic, killed by his father, i. 206
—— Son of Jusef, i. 189, 194; his escape from Toledo, 202; forces collected by, 218; taken prisoner, 221, implores the king's clemency, 222, receives a full pardon, ib.
Casiri, his work on the Library of the Escurial, i. 15; errors of, 16.
Castalana, city of, i. 219, the battle of, 220.
Castille, tribute imposed on the people of, i. 186, king of, his treaty of peace with the king of Granada, iii. 308, his reception of the Granadian exiles, 312, sends ambassadors to the king of Tunis, 313, his success before Granada, 319, deserts the Granadian insurgents, 320; letter of Aben Alahmar to, 322.
Cavalier, Christian, defiance given by, i. 504; kills his opponents, ib.; is himself slain, 506.
Cavaliers, cruelly put to death, i. 153.
Cazires, the Christians defeated at, iii. 80.
Cebta, city of, ii 144–165, assemblage of troops at, 299, improvements in, ib.; the inhabitants of, rebel against the Almohades, 467, submission of, 468.
Ceuta, city of, i. 3, retirement of

king Juzef to, ii. 326; captured, iii. 204, besieged, 207; taken, 210; recovered by the Beni-Merines, 221.
Chadaraque, fortress of, i. 249
Chalaf Ben Ayub, poems of, i. 454.
—— Ben Meruan, proceeds to the East, i. 509; retires from office, ii. 47; appointed president of the council of state, 58.
—— Ben Mesaudi, studies of, ii. 48; torn in pieces by the populace, 63.
Chalid Ben Walid, appointed to command the Arab troops, i. 37.
—— El Zaneti, a Moorish general, i. 113, 119.
Charazag, tribe of, arrive in Spain, i. 466.
Chotba, or public prayer, i. 226, 242, 324, 351, 365, 413, ii. 2, 11, 15, 93, 98, 109, 111, 190, 329-330, 456, 469, 470, 480, 483, 484; iii. 58, 157.
Christians, banished to Africa, ii. 369; their conquests in the territory of the Moslemah, 459, successes over the, iii. 5, 9, 18, 21, their ravages and desolation throughout Spain, 41; new expedition against the, 63; their signal victory at Alacaub, 74; their devastations in the Moslemah territories, 78-9, 105; storm and take the fortress of Alcazar Alfekah, ib., signally defeated at Cazires, 80; and at Valencia, 81, their renewed incursions in Valencia, 83; fortresses taken by, ib.; their truce with the Caliph, 84; their arms every where victorious, 86, defeated at Jaen, by Abulola Edris, ib., successes of the, 89, 121, 219, 226, 228, 246, 250, 254, 257, 364, 365, 366, 367, 371, fresh incursions of the, 114; atrocities committed by the, 118-19; attacked by King Aben Hud, ib.; their retreat at Guadalete, 120; scale the walls of Cordova, 122; their conquest of the city, 124. Murcia submits to their rule, 131; their dominion in Andalusia, 132; overrun the Algarve of Spain, 134; lay siege to Jaen, 136; their ravages in the vicinity, 137, and at Xeres, 139; submission of Carmona and Lorca to, ib., take Cantillana, 140; Alcala surrenders to, 141; also Seville, 145; Xeres, 150, Niebla, 152; other towns in Algarve, 153; revolt against their rule, 155; defeated by the Moslemah, 156; take Xeres, 158, and other cities, 159; victory over the, 176, 229, 240, defeated before Granada, 229; lose the City of Cabra, 241, and other cities, 243, repulsed before Gibraltar, 246; naval victory over the, 253; their devastations in Granada, 317, 388; rout of the, 324-5; towns taken by, ib.; defeated, 350, 377; conquests of the, 376; places ceded to them, 383-4; the Moslemah territories given up to them, 401.
Chronicle, General, a work so called, i. 10.
Cid Abu Abdallah, iii. 75; his misrule in Andalusia, 77; his alliance with Gacum, King of the Christians, 89; defeated by Aben Hud, 91; retires to Cordova, ib.; compelled to fly the city, and take refuge with King Gacum, 92; his mode of life, 105; his death, ib.
Cid Abu Abdallah, conspires against his brother, the King of Granada, iii. 339, invites the assistance of the King of Castille, ib., his wars with his brother, 341; compact with, 342.
Cid Abu Aly Alamoun, an illustrious prince, iii. 106, suppresses the council of the Xeques, ib.; makes a treaty of peace with Ferdeland, King of the Christians, 109; is vanquished by Aben Hud, on the plains of Tarifa, 109; proceeds to Africa to raise a powerful army, 110; again defeated by Aben Hud, 112; dies at Morocco, 115
Cid Abu Ishac (son of King Juzef), commands to, misunderstood, iii. 32.
Cid Abulola Edris, an illustrious general, proclaimed Caliph, iii. 84;

writes a work against the policy and laws of El Mehedi, 85, supported by his Vizier, ib., declared a usurper, ib., defeats his rival, Yahye Aben Anasir, 86, 107, defeats the Christians at Jaen, ib.; suddenly appears at Morocco, reproves the Xeques, and condemns them to death, 87; restricts the powers of his councils, 88; prohibits mention of the name of El Mehedi, ib.; defeats Yahye Aben Anasir, 89; returns to Spain to besiege Medina Baeza, 90; the head of Muhamad presented to, ib.; his treaty of alliance with Ferdeland king of the Christians, 9, 109; disconcerted by the fall of Granada, ib; passes over into Africa to raise a powerful army, 72, 110; his death, 92; parties and factions at Morocco in consequence of that event, 93.

Cid Abu Said (son of Abdelmumen), besieges Almeria, ii. 478; declared the King's successor, 480; Almeria surrenders to, 483; works under his superintendence, iii. 3; his disobedience, 10; defeats the rebels, 18; sends to King Juzef an account of his victory, ib.; appointed Governor of Begaya, 19; sent to Andalusia, to prosecute the war against the Christians, 21; commences the foundation of Alcantara Tensifa, ib.

Cid Ahmed, brother of the King of Granada, sent to the succour of Gebaltaric, iii. 306; takes possession of the city, ib.

Cid Aly El Bazi, Alcayde of Alora, iii. 364.

Cid Juzef, Prince, son of Abdelmumen, receives the oath of allegiance, iii. 11; personal appearance of, 13; extent of his dominions, 14, his energy and activity, ib.; his eighteen sons, ib.; his viziers, ib.; his physicians, 15; form of his proclamation, ib.; statement of the historiographers of his reign, 16; first command of, ib.; disbands the troops, ib.; summons the Xeques to Morocco, ib.; his extreme liberality, 17; nominates his brother, Cid Abu Zacaria, governor of Begaya, 19; humane instructions of, ib.; captures and beheads the rebel, Monkeland, ib; proclaimed in the Sierras of Gomera, ib.; arrival of ambassadors to congratulate him on the success of his arms, 20; sends his brother, Cid Abu Hafaz, to prosecute the war against the Christians, 21; passes into Spain on a tour of inspection, 22; his entry into Seville, ib.; overruns the Christian territories, 25; returns in triumph to Seville, ib.; his imprisonment in that city, ib.; his successful campaigns in Spain, 26; submission of various states to, ib.; builds a city near Gebal Fetah, 27; his conquest of the City of Tarenna, ib.; his alliance with a daughter of Muhamad Aben Sad, 28, returns to Morocco, ib; death of three of his brothers, ib.; his campaign in Velad Africa, 29; takes Cafisa by storm, ib; subjugates the rebel tribes, 30; journey of, ib.; his third campaign in Spain, ib.; embarcation of his army, 31; lays siege to Sant Aren, ib; his commands misunderstood, 33; critical situation of, ib.; attacked and mortally wounded by the Christians, ib.; his death, 34; conflicting statements relative to, ib.

—— Muhamad, Wali of Xeres, defeated by the Christians, iii. 80.

—— Muhamad, son of Jakob Aben Juzef, his reply to the letter of king Alfonso, iii 48.

—— Muhamad Almanzor, driven from Valencia, iii. 110; seeks refuge at the court of king Gaymes, ib

—— Ruy Diaz, the celebrated warrior, i. 1.

—— Yahye, son of the infant Zelim, marches to the defence of Medina Baza, iii. 379; defeats the Christians, 380; represents his critical position to his uncle, king Abdallah, ib.; his cordial reception by the Christians, 381; his exhortations

to Abdallah, 382; appointed governor of the Moslemah, 402.
Cidi Almayar, his advice to his father, iii. 360.
Cifuentes, Condé de, taken prisoner, iii. 352.
Cohin, taken by the Christians, iii. 366.
Comage, alterations in the, i. 368, 459; ii. 229; inscriptions on the, 328; issue of a new one, 405.
Coins, inscription on, i. 225.
Coltum Ben Aam, troops sent by, to Abderahman, i. 105.
—— Ben Ayadh, council convened by at Cordova, i. 166.
—— Ben Zeyad, governor of Magrib, i. 118, killed, 119.
Comaica, mother of Ali Ben Jezul, ii. 328.
Comet, appearance of a, i. 49.
Complutum, the annals of, i. 8.
Compostella, annals of, i. 8.
Condé Gumis, the Christian general, ii. 303; defeated, 304.
—— M, death of, i. 144.
Constantine, king of the Greeks, i. 108.
Cora, commotions in the towns of, i. 258.
Cordova, taken by the Arabs, i. 63; cowardice of the people of, 123; besieged by Thaalaba, 131; surrenders to that general, ib., imprisonment of Husam Ben Dhirar at, 137, 138, invested and taken by Samail Ben Hatim, 140; remarkable phenomena seen at, 159, subjection and surrender of the council of Xeques at, 166, 177; construction of the Great Mosque at, 223; oath of allegiance taken by the Walies at, ib.; rejoicings at, 224, 234, 235, 288, 320, 428, 466; ii. 25; the Great Mosque at, i. 236; conspiracy discovered in, 255; triumphal return of prince Abderahman to, 256; tumults and executions at, 261; destruction of the insurrectionary suburb at, 262; exiles from, 263, barbarities of the king at, 264; arrival of Greek ambassadors at, 272; assembly of the Walies in, 292; they take the oath of fidelity to prince Muhamad, ib. 297; seditious attempt at, 336, improvements in the city of, 371-379; terrible conflagration at, 372; embellishments to the Aljama in, 448; visit of Christian cavaliers to, 467; arrival of general Galib at, 474; conflicts at, ii. 56-60, siege of, 73; devastations of Suleiman near, 74; discontent of the people at, 76; fugitives from, 77; defence of, 78; given up by traitors, ib.; atrocities at, 79, 80; Yahye proclaimed king of, 103; approach of Alcasim to, 104, atrocities perpetrated at, 105; dismay at, on the death of Abderahman, 107, measures for preserving tranquillity at, 130; successes of Ismail Ben Dilnoun in, 184; city of, surprised, ib.; taken by the Almoravides, 302; entry of the Christian army into, 303; insurrection at, against the Almoravides, 346, entry of king Juzef into, 349, revolt at, 413; surrenders to Aben Gama, 456; entry of the Christians into, ib.; vexations of the inhabitants of, ib.; departure of the Christians from, 457; captured by the Almohades, 469; besieged by king Alfonso, 471; address on the affairs of, 472; besieged by the Christians, iii. 122; abandoned by king Aben Hud, 123; conquest of, 124, besieged by the Moslemah, 290.
Coreib Ben Otman, put to death, i. 344.
Corraho Ben Xaric, appointed governor of Egypt, i. 50; his tyranny, ib.; his death, 86.
Coteiba, nephew of Suleiman, takes Samarcand, i. 48; put to death, 85.
Crete, expatriated Andalusians settle in, i. 263.
Cuenca, city of, taken by storm, ii. 406.
Cufa, defeat of the rebels in, i. 116.
Cumia, tribe of, great contributions from, iii. 6.

Cup, the poisoned one, ii. 435.
Cutanda, decisive victory of the Christians at, ii. 345.
Cyrene, conquest of the city of, i. 39.

D.

Daharo, king, beheaded, i. 48.
Damascus, surrender of, i. 38; the great Aljama of, 90; immense treasures brought from Spain to, 87.
Davoud Aben Ayxa, general of Juzef, ii. 271; encounters the troops of king Alfonso, 272, murderous conflict maintained by, ib; reinforcements sent to, 273, defeated, 274; occupies Medina Hariza, ii. 307; takes possession of Almeria, 309; successes of, ib.; his conquest of Valencia, 311.
Day, Arab, divisions of the, i. 19.
Dead, inhuman vengeance against the, i. 154; prayers for the, ii. 265.
Denia, attack on the city of, ii. 371; taken by king Gacum, iii. 135.
Dinara, a piece of gold money, i. 49.
Don Alonzo, of Aguilar, non-appearance of, iii. 340, troop of cavalry under, 355.
—— Diego, of Cordova, request of, iii. 340, intercedes with the king, 341, advice of, 342; fortifies Lucena, 353.
—— Denis, king of Portugal, i. 9.
Douro, passage of the, by the army of Abderahman, i. 423.
Dove, the herald of victory, ii. 282.
Dream, remarkable one, of the king of Gallicia, ii. 265; favourably interpreted, 266; expounded in quite another light, 268.
Dula Ben Hafas, his death, i. 444.

E.

Earthquakes, fearful, in Spain, i. 317, ii. 191.
Ebro, plains and valleys of the, i. 79.
Ecija, magnificent aqueduct constructed at, i. 435, 498; inscription on it, ib.
Edobi, statement of, i. 263.
Edris Ben Abdallah, his irruption into Africa, i. 225, founds the kingdom of Fez, ib.; poisoned, 237.
Edris, the son of Edris, proclaimed sovereign of Almagreb, i. 250; his reception of the envoys of King Alhakem, 251; purchases the site for the city of Fez, 256; his adventures in Almagreb, 390, arrives in Velila, and is proclaimed sovereign of the kingdom, 391, provinces subjugated by, ib.; poisoned, 392.
Edris, the son of Edris, proclaimed king, i. 393; the Barbary tribes claim his protection, ib.; founds a new city, 394, his conquests and death, ib.; his twelve sons, 395.
Edris, king, taken prisoner by Naja, ii. 146, troops sent to his assistance, ib., his release, 147; pacifies the multitude, ib; succours the Lord of Carmona, 162; informed of plots against him, ib.; spares his cousin's life, 164; occupies Tangier and Ceuta, 164; allegations made to, ib.; returns to Andalusia, 165, deposed, and dies in prison, 174.
Edris Ben Yeman, poems of, i. 443.
Egypt, exploits of the Arabs in, i. 38; in the hands of the Alabas, 390; revenge of the Soldan of, 447.
El Cambitur, a Christian prince, devastations of, ii. 290, 310; captures Valencia, 317; puts to death the traitor Ahmed Gehaf, 319, his measures for the security of Valencia, ib.
El Darawi, his submission to Abdelmumen, ii. 468.
Elephant, seen in a dream, ii. 265, 266, 268.
El Harizi, poem by, ii. 24.
El Isfahani, work by, i. 460; rewarded by the king, ib.
El Mahedi, building of a city commenced by, i. 370.
El Mehedi, rebellion of, ii. 349, origin of, ib.; youth instructed by, 350; his proceedings at the great mosque of Morocco, ib.; his caution to the

king, 351; answer of, ib.; questions the Alimes, ib.; judgment respecting, 352; his discourses to the people, 353; questioned by the king, ib.; commanded to leave the city, 354; increase of his followers, ib.; retires to Tinmaul, 355; declares his mission, ib.; oath of allegiance to, 356; his two councils, ib.; preaches to the people, 357; universally well received, ib.; proceeds with his military host to Medina Agmat, 358, pursues the troops of Aly Ben Juzef, 359; his arrogant letter to the Almoravides, 360; his victory over them, 362; retires to Tinmaul, ib.; strongly fortifies that city, ib.; determines to lay siege to Morocco, 364; his troops annihilated, 367, commands Abdelmumen to ravage Morocco, 382; takes leave of his followers, 383; exhortations of, ib.; his demise, 384; his injunctions to his friend and vizier, Abdelmumen, ib.; regret for his death, ib.; character of, 385; his form of prayer, ib.; his descent, ib., particulars relative to, 386; anecdote of, 387, his followers divided into classes, 388; Abdelmumen elected his successor, 389, his death said to have been concealed, 390; conversation respecting, 464; visit of Abdelmumen to his tomb, 479, mention of his name prohibited, iii. 88.

Elmesaudi, Author of the "Golden Meadows," i. 426.

El Sanhagi, the rebel, instigates the people of Gomera to insurrection, iii. 17; atrocities of, ib.; slain, ib.

El Taglebi and the water-carrier, ii. 39.

Elvira, city of, i. 62; rebel hordes from, 201; intelligence received by the wali of, ib.; his death, 203; the Alcaide of, kills Meknesi, 210; the king's clemency sought by the rebels of the Sierras of, 360, expedition of Abderahman to the Sierras of, 376; surrender of the towns of, 383.

El Xablai, the poet, dream of, ii. 25.

El Yaferini, Wali of Almagreb, assassinated, i. 451.

Emerald rings, of immense value, ii. 193.

Emirs, or kings of tribes, i. 32.

Enrique, Don, king of Castille, iii. 290, 292; his death, 293.

Epistle, poetical, of Zacaria to prince Taxfin, ii. 394.

Esbilia, city of, submits to Muza, i. 66.

Escurial, books burnt in the, ib. 4.

Esfah, prince, intercedes for his father, i. 269, 270; permitted to inherit his riches, 271.

Esfah, wali of Merida, complaints against, i. 252, removed from office, 253; his restoration, ib.

Estija, city of, submits to Taric, i. 62.

F.

Fadl Ben Tadl, Cadi of Tadmir, his death, i. 316.

Fadlo Ben Amira, his death, i. 258.

—— Ben Salema, his death, i. 387.

Falconry, a royal pursuit, i. 215.

Faleki, the Robber, pardoned, ii. 363; enterprise entrusted to, ib., successes of, 364.

Farag Ben Canena, of Sidonia, Cadi of Cadies, vigilance of, i. 255; his death, 259.

Farkin Ben Aun, fountain constructed by, i. 237.

Fatema, an illustrious woman, i. 394.

Fayard, a Christian general, killed, iii. 324.

Ferag, General, Wali of Malaga, takes Ceuta, iii. 204, rebellion of his son, 211-216.

—— prince, brother of king Muhamad, his death, iii. 271.

Ferdelando, king of the Christians, iii. 91; gifts sent to him, ib; treaty of peace with, 109; his devastations in Andalusia, 117; entry of his troops into Medina Balma, 118; Medina Ubeda surrenders to, 121; besieges Alcolea, 123; submission of various towns to, 125; his de-

signs on Murcia, 130; solemn oath of, 137, requests the king of Granada to accompany him in his campaign against Seville, 138, advice to, 140; conditions prescribed by, ib.; invests Seville by land and sea, 141; capitulation entered into with him, 145, his residence in the Alcazar, ib; Muhamad Alamar takes leave of him, 146; his death, 149.
Ferdilando of Gallicia, consul, a Christian general, ii. 460.
Ferdinand IV., king of Castille, requests of the king of Granada to, iii. 204; his haughty reply to king Muhamad, 206, takes Gebal Taric (Gibraltar), 207, negotiations of Muhamad with, ib., his incursions into Granada, 212, advice of Muhamad to, ib.; his condemnation of two brothers, 222, his death, ib
Fernando, Don, takes Zahara, iii. 300; further successes of, ib., raises the siege of Setenel, 301; invests Antequera, 304, takes that city, 305; submission of king Abdallah to, 356; consults his advisers, 357; his treaty with the king of Granada, ib.; his treaty with king Abdallah, ib., his interview with a citizen of Malaga, 375; rich gifts sent to, ib., determines to overthrow the Mosleman Empire, 376, sends an embassy to the king of Granada, 378, reviews his forces in Jaen, 379, his treaty with Cid Yahye, 381, reminds king Abdallah of his treaty, 386, purchases the possessions of Abdallah El Zagal, 387; declares war against the king of Granada, ib.; his vigorous siege of that city, 392, prescribes conditions for its surrender, 396; letter and presents sent to by king Zaquir, 399; confers domains and revenues on that monarch, 400; his entry into Granada, 401; purchases the possessions of king Abdallah, 403.
Fez, city of, i. 14; foundation of the kingdom of, 225; purchase of the site for the city of, 256; on the condition of, 389; its fruitfulness, 394; completion of the city of, ib.; taken by storm, 413, 452, ii. 11, 14, 22; the Aljama at, enlarged and beautified, i. 446; Alcoba erected at, ii. 9, conquest of, by Juzef, 225; changes effected at, 226, rebellion at, 331, march of king Aly towards ib.; he takes possession of the city, ib.; advice of the council of, ib., obstinate defence of, ii 444, catastrophe at, 445; sanguinary battle near, iii. 98; foundation of the new cities of, 100; arrival of king Muhamad at, 278; eloquent address of the ambassador of, to the insurgents, 295, Fez, the king of, sends troops to take possession of Gebaltaric, iii. 305, desires the death of his brother, 306, marches forth against him, 307, defeated, ib., his death, ib.
Filibo, prince, son of king Alphonso, iii. 170-171.
Fleet, Moslemah, wrecked, i. 309.
Fohos—Assehab, victory of prince Taxfin at, ii, 380.
—— Atia, defeat of the Christians at, ii. 406.
Fortun, a distinguished Christian, taken prisoner, i. 300.
Fortuna, the battle of, iii. 226.
Fostal, river of, i. 86.
Foteis Ben Suleiman, Wali, disastrous news received by, i 244.
France, incursions of the people of, i. 214, their irruptions into Eastern Spain, 248, 254, 256, 289, 318; successes of the Moslemah in, 288; rebellion on the frontiers of, 302.
Fulari Perea, Don, governor of Cazorla, iii. 326; slain, 327

G.

Gacum, king of the Christians, iii. 89, 92; his devastations in Valencia, 127; takes the city of Denia, 135; marches against Murcia, 159; his daughter married to Don Manuel, 160.

Gafo, the fallen, i. 2.
Galeb Ben Muhamad, secretary to king Alhakem, i. 461.
Galib, Alcaide of Medina Selim, killed in a duel, i. 503
—— Ben Omeya, verses by, ii. 36.
—— general, expedition under, i. 472; lays siege to Hijar Anosor, 473; captures that fortress, ib., reduces the whole land of Almagreb to obedience, 474; arrives in triumph at Cordova, ib.
Gallicia, expedition to, i. 202; habits of the people of, 203, wars on the frontiers of, 295, the king of, sends his forces to aid the rebels in Toledo, 296, renewed incursions of the Christians of, 300, exaggerated reports relative to the war in, 301, new expeditions into, 309; the king of, proceeds to the relief of Zamora, 316; irruption of the rebels into, 348; conventions with the king of, 350; incursions upon the territories of, 416-122, inroads of the king of, into Zamora, 443, incursion of king Alhakem on the frontiers of, 462; treaty of peace with the king of, 466; incursions of the Hagib Muhamad into, 498, 499, 503; ii. 11, 16, 25.
Garcia Ben Sancho, king of the Christians, ii. 26; dies of his wounds, 29.
—— king of the Christians, killed, i. 319.
Garcilaso de la Vega, slain, iii. 336.
Garnata, the fortresses of, i. 339.
Garonne, river, passage of the, by the Moslemah forces, i 108.
Gauls, expedition of Abderahman into the, i. 108.
Gayana, stay of king Radmir at, ii. 372.
Gaymis, king of the Christians, iii. 110; takes Majorca, 114; also Minorca and Ivica, 115; and Dema, 135.
Gebal Almina, fortifications constructed on, ii. 46.
—— Quintos, sanguinary conflict at, ii. 62-63.
—— Tarik (Gibraltar), town and fortifications at, ii. 3; surrenders to Abu Amraun, 448; siege of, iii. 227; its occupation by the king of Fez, 245; besieged by the Christians, 246, 271, 306; the Christians repulsed at, 326; taken by the Christians, 337.
Gebel El Cazar, rout of the Christians at, ii 381.
Gebin Ben Gaith, of Libla, his death, i. 368
Gedhi Ben Zeyan, sent to observe the proceedings of Otman, i. 106; his promptitude, 107.
Gehaf Ben Yeman, Cadi of Valencia, his death, i. 425.
Gehwar El Rumi, his invasion of Almagreb, i. 451; rewards offered by, ib; pays the murderers, ib., takes Sigilmesa by storm, 452, puts the garrison to the sword, ib; enters the territory of Fez, 452; his victorious career, ib; barbarities of, 453.
—— Vizier, proclaimed king ii. 127; new form of government established by, 128; economy and retrenchment of, ib.; abuses abolished by, 129; wise measures of, 130, writes to his Wales, ib; contemptuous reply of Ismail Ben Dylnoun to, 139, his efforts to maintain peace and concord, 142; unsettled state of his dominions 148; sends troops to subdue the rebellious, ib.; his death, 154; funeral solemnities, ib.
Gehl Ben Geleil Aben Luka, his mission to the king of the Christians, iii. 317.
Gelula, conquest of, i. 39.
Germon Ben Rebah, animates the soldiers, iii. 49.
Geron, city of, surrenders to the Christians, i. 248.
Gerona, city of, taken by the Moslemah, i 235.
Gesira Alandalus, the peninsula of Spain, i. 51.
Gezira Xucar, assault on the fortress of, ii. 371; splendid residence of El Machzumi at, iii. 21, 23; siege of, ib.

Ghaad Ben Abdelgafir, Wali of Jaen, defeated and taken prisoner, i. 339.
Giafar made Cadi of Valencia, i. 428.
—— Ben Othman, the Sevilian general, i. 391-411; his death, 509.
Gift, magnificent one, presented to Abderahman, i. 445.
Gilfeya Wali, an experienced general, ii. 96; success of, 97.
Gines Perez de Hita, i. 17.
Giomail Aben Mardanis, Wali, insurrection excited by, ii. 108; takes possession of Valencia, 110-111; his conquests in Valencia, 116; his successes over the Christians, 120; desires the alliance of king Aben Hud, 123; besieges Hisn Santamaria, 125; is compelled to retire, ib.; encounters the forces of king Gayeum, 127; defends Valencia, 128, succours sought by, ib.; proposes terms for surrender, ib.; resigns the city to the Christian king, 129; makes himself master of several fortresses in Murcia, 135; takes possession of Lorca and Carthagena, ib.; his attempt on Murcia, 143.
Gomera, rebellion at, iii. 17; king Juzef proclaimed at, 19.
—— mountains of, appearance of a prophet in the, i. 420.
Gomis, Don, occupies the Alcazar of Xeres, iii. 150, slain, 155.
Granada, conquest of, i. 3; books belonging to the Moors of, 4; works relative to the history of, 24; the Jews of, 77; visit of Abderahman to, 382; sanguinary battle on the Vegas of, ii. 106; letters of Aben Abed to the king of, 203; visit of king Juzef to, 297; taken possession of by him, 298; prudence of the Wali of, 372; beautiful situation of the city, 370, Azala of terror, made in the mosques at, 373; rebellion in, 430; besieged by the Almohades, 483; taken by the troops of Abdelmumen, 484; siege and capture of, by Aben Hud, iii 91; submits to the rule of Yahye Ben Anasir, 127; public works of king Muhamad Aben Alahmar at, 133; improvements in the city of, 205, 251, 259, public rejoicings at, 252-253; cavalier exiles from, 312; the Christians repulsed at, 335, rebellion in, 348; return of king Zaqur to, 358; disorders in, 359, devastations of the Christians, in 365, 388, dismay of the people at, 384; revolt at, 385; entrance of the Christians into, with a powerful army, 390; preparations for the defence of 392; vigorous siege of, 393, conditions for the surrender of, 396; entry of the kings of Castille into, 401.
Greece, the king of, his brilliant embassy to the court of king Abderahman, i. 271; sends envoys to that monarch, 441; their magnificent reception, 442.
Greeks and Persians, military expedition against, i. 35.
Green Island, or Palombas, (Gezira-Alahdra), i. 57-58; ceded to king Juzef, 259; disembarcation of troops at, 262, alluded to, 292
Guadacelito, battle of, in. 256.
Guadalahiad, river, course of, i. 222.
Guadalete, battle of, i. 56, 63, 74; iii. 120.
Guadalquiver, river, course of, i. 222.
Guaditeba river, conflict on the banks of the, iii. 245.
Guadix, assembly of the Walies in, ii. 94; flight of king Muhamad to, in. 277; given up to the Christians, 383; disaffection of the inhabitants towards the strangers, 386.
Gualá, a phrase of asseveration, i. 59.
Gudala, tribe of, ii. 205-207; at war with that of Lamtuna, 213.
Guf, Hixem's troops enter the land of, i. 235.
Guignes, M. de, his "History of the Huns," i. 14.
Gunpowder, when used by the Moors, in. 152.
Guzman, Don, appointed governor of Tarifa, iii. 194; tragic fate of his son, 195, defeated by the king of Granada, 198.

H.

Habib Ben Abdelmelic, i. 184; grief of the prince on the death of, 217.
Habib, the lieutenant of Abdelaziz, i. 74, 82; exclamation of, 87; killed in Barbary, 117.
Habiba, daughter of Abdallah Ben Yahye, married to Abdelmelic, ii. 12.
Habus Ben Maksam, king of Granada, his death, ii. 174.
Habus Ben Mascan, governor of Granada, ii. 135.
Habus of Sanhaga, intelligence communicated by, ii 162
Hacen Ben Yahye, oath of allegiance to, ii. 144, returns to his government, 145; marries his cousin, Asafia, ib.; assassinated by Naja, ib.
Hadgi Chalfa, historians enumerated by, i. 11.
Hafas Ben Walid, governor of Egypt, i. 118; deposed, 126.
Hafila, general, killed and beheaded, i. 222.
Hafites, institution of the, ii. 476; their exercises, ib., recreations of the, 477; include thirteen sons of the king, ib.
Hahye Ben Hegag, his death, i 315.
Hail-storm, a terrific one, i 444, 445.
Hairan, appointed governor of Almeria, ii 77; verses in praise of, ib; his kindly disposition, ib.; his defence of Cordova, 78; wounded, ib.; concealment of, 80; escapes to Almeria, 82; instigates Aly Ben Hamud to co-operate with him, 82; verses presented to, 83; collects his forces to oppose Suleiman, 87; gives him battle, 88; advice of, 93, incites rebellion against Aly Ben Hamud, ib.; is defeated, 96; retires to Jaen, ib., takes the oath of fidelity to Abderahman Ben Muhamad, 97; appointed Hagib by the king, ib.; retreat of, 98; wounded, ib.; taken and beheaded, 99.
Halewa, the mother of Prince Abderahman, i. 267.
Halewa, a beautiful slave, story of, i. 478.
Hamed El Hamdani, i. 412; made governor of Fez, 413; beheaded, 414.
Hamid Ben Sobeil, his arrival in Fez, i. 412, 413.
Hamim, the prophet, his preachings and teachings, i. 420; seized and examined, 421; put to death and beheaded, ib.
Hamu Muza Ben Othman, Prince, iii. 221.
Hanax Ben Abdallah Asenani, i. 79; exploits of, 89.
Hannibal, the African general, i. 1.
Hantala Ben Sefuan, i. 94, appointed governor of Africa, 118; goes forth against the Barbary rebels, 119, 128, defeated, 120; alluded to, 124; victorious, 129.
Hariz Ben Alhakem, general, defeated, ii. 156; seeks refuge with the king of Toledo, 170; takes Cordova, 184; appointed the king's Naib, 185, 186; delusive hopes of, 186; killed, 187; honours conferred on his son, ib.
Harun Raxid, caliph, atrocity of, i. 391.
Hasan Ben Besar, appointed cadi of the cadies, i. 213
Hassan Ben Melic presents his commentary on the Proverbs of Sohal to Muhamad, ii 39.
Hassan Ben Naaman, wali of Egypt, takes Carthagena, i. 46; his death, ib.
Hawks, attacks of, ii. 84.
Haxem Ben Abdelaziz, general, i. 297.
Haxem Ben Abdelaziz, Wali of Jaen, i. 322; particulars respecting, 324; held in great estimation, ib.; incurs the resentment of Almondhir, 325; lays siege to Toledo, 326; his entry into that city, 327; summoned before the king, 328; accident to, ib.; beheaded, 329; verses said to have been written by, 330; his sons imprisoned, ib.
Hayun Ben Salem, the Xeque, slain and beheaded, i. 210.

Hayut of Hemesa, his address to the Xeques, i. 167; his death, 191.
Heads of Christian, decapitated at the battle of Zalacca, marvellous amount of, ii. 277.
Heavens, strange appearance of the, i. 311.
Hebaba, the caliph's grief on her death, i. 97.
Hegiaz, district of, i. 33, 35.
Hegira, computation of time from the, i. 34.
Hemesa, city of, i. 127, 135, 148.
Henry III., king of Castille, interview of the king of Granada with, iii. 298; reply to, 300; his death, ib.; succeeded by his son Yahye, ib.
Henry IV., king of Castille, his march on Granada, iii. 335; returns to his dominions, ib.; takes Ximena, 337; his truce with Aben Ismail, 336; his reception of Cid Abu Abdallah, 339; his death, 342.
Herrera, Alcayde, taken prisoner, iii. 329.
Hijar Anosar, or the Rock of Eagles, fortress of, besieged, i. 412, 472; surrender of, 473.
Himaro, meaning of the word, i. 353.
Hisn Altarag, a new city, founded, iii. 53.
—— Atarmikes, fortress of, taken by storm, ii. 5.
—— Mahedi, protracted siege of, ii. 225.
—— Xariz, defeat of the Christians at, i. 321.
Hixem II., error respecting, i. 14.
—— Ben Abdelmelic, caliph, reign of, i. 98; exhortation of, 111; his death and character, 120.
—— Ben Adra, army under, i. 192; supplicates the king's pardon, 193; again rebels against his authority, 195, 196; taken and beheaded, 200.
—— Ben Muhamad, Alcaide of Toledo, ii. 119; his death, 120.
—— Ben Suleiman, declares the new king a traitor, ii. 60; beheaded, 61.
—— Caliph, exhortation of, i. 111; his death, 120; his marvellous wardrobe, ib.
—— El Atiki, an insurgent leader at Toledo, i. 282; successes of, 283; beheaded, 288.
—— El Motad Billah, proclaimed king, ii. 118; his reply to the envoys, 119; urged to appear in the capital, 120, his cordial reception at Cordova, ib.; visits the hospital, schools, &c., 121; changes effected by him, ib; reduces to obedience the refractory wales, 122; negotiates with them, 124; his state weakened by disunion, ib.; advice of his vizier to, 125, rebellion of his people, ib.; retires to the fortress of Hisn Abi Xarif, ib; his poets accompany him, ib, his death, 126; the last of the Omeyan sovereigns, ib.. rejection of a pretender to his throne, ib.
—— King, invention in reference to, ii 142
—— Prince, son of Abderahman, i. 212; grief of, 217, oath of allegiance taken to, 224; proclaimed king, 226; his personal appearance, ib; resentment of his brothers against, ib.; repairs to Cordova, 227; his reply to his vizier, 228; traitorous compact between his brothers, ib; his letter of remonstrance to Suleiman, ib, heads the troops and departs for Toledo, 229; successes of, 230, submission of Abdallah to, 232, his advice to his son, 233; causes the Algihed, or Holy War, to be proclaimed throughout Spain, 234, his army enters the land of Gut, 235; success of his arms in the east of Spain and in France, ib.; character of, 236; buildings erected by him, ib.; works performed by him, 237; verses by, 238; prediction relative to, 239, appoints his son, Alhakem, his successor, 240; his death, ib.; his good counsels to his son, ib.; his funeral, 242.

—— Prince, oath of allegiance to, as heir to the crown, i. 481, 493; his education under learned masters, 487; proclaimed king, 493; his pleasures and recreations, 495; his secluded life, ii 2, gardens presented by, to his Hagib, Almanzor, 12; proclaimed sovereign at Fez, 14; places the government in the hands of Abdelmelic, 15; his permission to Christian exiles, 50; appoints the brother of Abdelmelic, Hagib, 53; seizure of his person by his cousin, Muhamad Ben Hixem, 56; proposed assassination of, 59, his supposed death, ib; his existence revealed to Suleiman, 65; excitement at Cordova on his reappearance, 70; joyously welcomed, ib.; orders Muhamad to be beheaded, ib.; eternal hatred vowed to, 72; murmurs against, 74, letters written by, 76; orders his Hagib to be beheaded, 77; uncertainty as to his fate, 80; wrongs of, 82.
Hodaifa, Ameer of Spain, i. 102
Homaid of Cordova, i. 21; chronicle written by, 23, statement of, 263.
Homare, worship of the tribe of, i. 31.
Howara, Sultana, delivered of a son, i. 182, persuasions of, 224.
Huelma, taken by the Christians, iii. 326.
Huesca, city of, surrenders to Calib Ben Hafsun, i. 325.; siege of, ii. 289; taken by the Christians, iii. 324.
Hurricane, a fierce one in Spain and Africa, i. 467.
Husam Ben Abdelmelic, governor of Cordova, i 178, flight of, 179.
—— Ben Dhirar defeats the Barbary rebels, i. 129; elected Ameer of Spain, 130, captures the Moorish general, Thaalaba Ben Salema, 131; his line of policy, 132, imprisonment of, 137; rescued by Aben Cotan, 138; killed, 140.
—— El Ocaili, cousin of Samail Ben Hatim, i. 181.
Husein El Abdari, insurrection of, i. 212, taken and beheaded, ib.
—— Ocaib, a Yemani general, i. 157, 159.
Huzam Ben Gehwar, advice of, ii. 124.
Huzeil of Granada, rare work by, i. 25.

I.

Iban, prince, education of, i. 272.
Ibrahim Aben Hamusek, offended by Muhamad Aben Sad, iii. 23; his death, 28.
—— Abu Ishak, proclaimed sovereign of Morocco, ii. 443; opposed by his uncle, ib.; capture of his city, 453; implores the conqueror to spare his life, ib.; put to death, 454.
Ibrahim Ben Ahmed, his death, i. 368.
—— Ben Ahmed, atrocities perpetrated by, i. 402; proclaims his son, Abdallah, his successor, ib.
—— Ben Alhegag, taken and beheaded, i. 356.
—— Ben Edris, poems by, ii. 24, 45; banished, ib.
—— Ben Harun, cadi of the Aljama, i. 355.
—— Ben Hegag, atrocities committed by, i. 344
—— Ben Hikel, his death, i. 431.
—— Ben Ismail, an Almoravide leader, ii. 303.
—— Ben Iza, his death, i. 354.
—— Ben Muslema, i. 311.
—— Ben Nazor, a learned Mufti, ii. 18.
—— Ben Nesar, cadi of the Aljama, demise of, i. 350.
—— Caliph, reign of, i. 134; his death, 136, 137, 148.
—— El Moredi, his death, i. 421.
—— Muhamad, a preacher and poet, ii. 23.
—— son of Abu Othman Said, incites the Christians to make war upon the Moslemah, iii. 240.
—— the wicked, reign of, i. 399; court of, 400.
Idols, seven silver ones, i. 80.

Impostor from Africa arrives in Spain, i. 333; cast into prison, 334; impaled, ib.
Infantry, unsatisfactory conduct of the, iii. 393.
Inquisition at Seville, iii. 398.
Iolant, wife of king Alfonso, her letters to the king of Granada, iii. 160; her request to that monarch, 172.
Isa Ben Abi Atâ, governor of Egypt, i. 126.
—— Ben Dinar, a learned Alfaqui, dies at Toledo, i. 277, character of 278.
—— Ben Lebonn, general, appointed governor of Valencia, ii. 172.
Isaltam Coraib, Almehedi, impaled, ii. 479, 481; his two brothers take Morocco by surprise, ib.
Ishac Ben Abderahman, his death, i. 415
—— Ben Dhezame, demise of, i. 370.
—— Ben Ibrahim, admiral of the fleet, i. 411.
—— Ben Ibrahim, the king's general, i. 309; victories gained by, 343; defeated, 381, his death, 383.
—— Ben Otman, his wisdom and prudence, ii. 379.
—— El Ocaili, report relative to, i. 350.
Isidore of Beja, chronicle of, i. 7; exaggerations of, ib.
Islam, or the faith, i. 29; origin of, 33.
Ismail Aben Abed, his hospitality, ii. 117, 131.
—— Ben Badre, his death, i. 381; elegant verses by, 459.
—— Ben Boxair, his death, i. 379.
—— Ben Casim, invited by the king to instruct his son, i 433.
—— Ben Dylnun, an illustrious general, ii. 138; his contemptuous reply to the king, 139.
—— Ben Dylnoun, king of Toledo, defeats Muhamad, king of Cordova, ii. 165; troops of, 167; his reception of Hariz Ben Alhakem, 170; sends an army against the lord of Azahila, 178; successes of, 180, 182; returns to Toledo, ib.; surprises his enemies in Cordova; 184; malady of, 185; declares his son, Yahye, his successor, ib.; his death, 186.
—— Ben Ferag, accession of, to the throne of Granada, iii. 223; a zealous follower of the law, 225; his troops defeated, 226; besieges Gebal Taric, 227; his address to his generals, 229; defeats the Christians, ib.; truce granted by, 230; his conquest of Baza, 231; and of Medina Martos, ib.; act of tyranny of, 232; assassinated by his cousin, 233; inscription on his tomb, 235; his sons and viziers, 236; his improvements in Granada, 237.
—— Prince, conspires against his brother, ii. 275; proclaimed king, 277; seeks the favour of the king of Castille, ib; effeminate character of, 279; influence of Abu Said over him, 280; his secretary and cadies, ib; Abu Said rebels against, 287; defeated by the rebels, ib.; assassinated, 382.
—— Ben Omeya, his death, i. 370.
Isû Ben Abdallah El Towati, general, i. 66, 81.
Ivica, subjection of, by king Juzef, ii. 320.
Iza Ahmed Ben Muhamad, statements of, i 324, 328.
—— Ben Ahmed Razif, his history of Spain, i. 10; statement of, 257.
—— Ben Alhassan, takes possession of Gebaltaric, iii. 275, put to death, 276.
Iza Ben Said, appointed governor of Fez, ii. 3.

J.

Jacinto, the king's attendant, i. 265.
Jacûb, prince, son of Abderahman, education of, i. 277; trust confided to, 291.
——, the king's brother, charge confided to, i. 332.
Jadoc Ben Jali, slain, ii. 22.
Jaen, escape of Muhamad to the moun-

tains of, i. 217; the rebel forces near, 218; entry of Abderahman into the city of, 378; taken by Asomar, 381; siege of, ib.; ii. 301; iii. 136; defeat of the Christians at, 86; taken, 116; supplies sent to, 136; which, however, do not reach their destination, ib.; incursions of the Moslemah in, 177, 336.

Jaen, the Wali of, proclaimed king of Spain, ii. 97.

Jakob Aben Juzef, accession of, iii. 35; his personal appearance and habits, ib.; his sons and Viziers, ib.; proclaimed sovereign, ib.; oath of allegiance to, 36, benevolent acts of, ib.; inspects his dominions, ib; his wisdom and prudence, ib.; salutary regulations of, 37; suspects two of his brothers, 38; marches against the rebels, ib.; takes Cafisa, ib., his successful campaignin Almagreb, ib.; proceeds to Spain and defeats the Christians, 39; his commands to his generals in Andalusia, 40; malady of, ib.; his second campaign in Spain, 41; insulting letter of the king of the Christians to, ib.; commands it to be read to his army, 42; reply of his son to it, ib.; great preparations made by, ib.; passes with his army into Spain, 43; his march to Medina Alarca, 44; council of war held by, ib.; his address to the Andalusians, 45; their reply to him, ib.; requests the advice of Abu Abdallah Ben Senamd, ib.; reply of that general to him, ib.; approves his advice, 47; prayer of, ib.; relates his dream, ib.; arranges his order of battle, 48: the Christians advance to meet him, 50; takes part in the conflict, 52; dismay of Alfonso at his presence, ib.; storms and takes the fortress, 53; sets his prisoners at liberty, ib.; sends an account of his great victory to all parts of his dominions, ib.; his successful incursions into the Christian territories, 54; repairs to Seville, ib.; pleased with the public works at Morocco, 56; causes the oath of allegiance to be taken to his son, ib.; admits the prince to share his government, ib.; his increasing illness, 57; three things on his conscience, ib.; his death, ib.

Jaleh Ben Amrau, forces under, ii. 228.

Jah Ben Ahmed, his death, ii. 48.

Jerusalem, the Aljama of, compared to that of Cordova, i. 449.

Jews in Spain, excitement among the, i. 101, confiscation of their property, ib.

—— of Lucena, intimation to, ii. 326; indulgence granted them, ib.

Jezid Ben Abdelmelic, Caliph, empire of, i 93; his death, 97; particulars relative to it, ib

—— Ben Abi Muslema, governor of Africa, i. 92.

—— Ben Abi Sofian, appointed to command the Arab troops, i. 36.

—— Ben Hatim, Wali of Africa, i. 397.

—— Ben Mahlabi, [illegible] or in place of Coteiba, i. 85, rebellion of, 93; his death, ib.

—— Ben Walid, proclaimed Caliph, i. 126; cruelty of, ib.; insurrections against, 127, dies of the plague, 128; succeeded by his brother, Ibrahim, 134.

——, Caliph, order of, i. 42.

John, king, his reception of the Granadian exiles, iii. 312, ambassadors sent by king Muhamad to, 315; demands of, refused, 316, writes to the king of Tunis, ib.; rich presents sent to, 334; his death, ib.

Juan, prince of Castille, seeks refuge with the king of Morocco, iii. 194; lays siege to Tarifa, ib.

Juir, Abu, statement of, ii. 359.

Julian, the Christian, his advice to Taric, i. 61.

Juma, the day of victims, i. 176-177.

Jusef Ben Monkefaid, the rebel, beheaded, iii. 19.

Justice, administration of, i. 114.

Jusuf Abu Amer Almutamen, proclaimed king of Saragossa, ii. 193; valour and ardour of, ib.; his death, 198.
—— Ben Amru, the new Alcaide of Tutela, his violence and cruelty, i. 249; taken prisoner, 250; ransomed, ib.; sent to the frontier, ib.
—— Ben Bath, reported death of, i 237.
—— Ben Hamud, Cadi of Cebta, ii. 81.
—— Ben Harún, a most learned man, i. 477; story related by, ib.
—— Ben Omar El Tzakifi, governor of Irak, i. 117.
—— Ben Taxfin, prince of the Almoravides, proposition relative to, ii. 204; invitation to, ib; Caliphate of, 213; his origin, 214; personal appearance and character of, ib; vast extent of his empire, 215; his wisdom and economy, ib.; events in his life, 216; his attention to the progress of the new city, 217; reduces to obedience the land of Almagreb, 218; slaves purchased by, ib.; proceeds with a vast army to Fez, 219; subjugates the hostile tribes, 220; fame of his exploits, ib.; his interview with Abu Bekir, 221; his magnificent present to his cousin, 222; takes Velad Gomara by storm, 223; his troops defeated, 225; reduces districts to submission, ib.; storms and takes Fez, ib.; effects great changes in that city, 226; continued conquests of, 227-229; his alliance with the king of Seville, 228; his conquest of Tangiers, ib.; and of Medina Telenzen, 229; effects a change in the comage, ib.; returns to Morocco, ib; invited by the Ameers of Spain to assist them against king Alfonso, 232; invites the Cabilas to his court, 233; titles adopted by, 235; pressing letter of the king of Algarve to, 239; the king of Seville's proposition respecting, 249; letters of Aben Abed to, 251-253; asks the advice of his kinsmen, and Xeques, 256; confers with his Alchatib, 257; reply of the latter to, ib.; cession of the Green island to, 259; his reception of the king of Seville, 260; armament prepared by, 261; disembarks on the Green island, 262; proceeds to Seville, 263; his march to Medina Artuxa, 265; letter to Alfonso, said to have been written by, 269; crafty letter of the latter to, 270; vigilance of, 271; verses of the king of Seville sent to, 272; animates the soldiers, ib.; reinforcements sent by, 273; penetrates to the camp of his enemy, 274; exhorts the Moslemah to remain firm, ib.; his intrepidity, 275; totally defeats king Alfonso, ib.; title assumed by, 278; account of his great victory, ib.; returns to Africa, 285; his tour of inspection through the land of Almagreb, 287; letters of Aben Abed to, 290; visited by the king of Seville, 291; promises to pass into Spain to oppose the Christians, ib.; again lands on the Green island, 292; his commands to the Spanish rulers, ib.; his differences with his allies, 293; his return to Africa, 295; ambitious designs of, 296; lays siege to Toledo, ib.; visits Abdallah Ben Balkin at Granada, 297; takes possession of that city, and sends the king prisoner to Africa, 298; refuses to receive the ambassadors of Seville and Badajoz, ib.; detains prince Oveidallah as hostage, ib.; proceeds to Morocco, 299; orders the troops at Cebta to embark for Spain, ib.; sends the king of Seville prisoner to Agmat, 305; letter of the king of Saragossa to, 312; his reply, ib.; presents to him, ib.; aids the king of Saragossa against the Christians, 314; proceeds to Spain with two of his sons to visit his new dominions, 322; declares his son, prince Aly, his successor, 323; solemn exhortation to him, 325; his intimation to the Jews of Lucena, 326; his death at Morocco, ib.; reign of,

327; his commands to his son, ib.; his funeral, ib.; inscription round his coins, 328.
Jusuf, prince, ordered by his brother to be put to death, iii. 302; his extraordinary coolness, 303; proclaimed king of Granada, ib.; his public entry into the capital, ib.; sends an ambassador to the king of the Christians, 304, his treaty of peace with that monarch, ib.; his futile attempts to renew it, ib., act of treachery refused by, 307; his treaty of peace with the king of Castille, 308; friendly offices of, ib; universally beloved, ib.; his death, 309; accession of his son, Muhamad Ben Juzef, ib.; his funeral obsequies, ib.
—— El Fehri, command of, i. 7.
—— El Fehri, elected Ameer of Spain, i. 142; sketch of his government, 143; his upright conduct, 154; seditious machinations against, 155; Saragossa surrenders to, 171; atrocities of, 172; dismay of, ib.; indignation of, 174; the war against him, ib.; defeat and flight of, 177; compact made with, 179; again defeated by Abderahman, 180; amnesty granted to, 181; insurrection of, 185; killed in battle, 186; flight of his son from prison, 215.
Juzef Aben Alahmar, conspires to dethrone the king of Granada, iii. 317; sends a messenger to the Christian king, ib.; his interview with that monarch, 318; proclaimed king of Granada, 320; his improved prospects, ib.; acknowledges the sovereignty of the king of Castille, ib.; successes of, 321; his entrance into Granada, 322; oath of allegiance to, ib.; his letter to the king of Castille, ib.; his death, 323.
—— Aben Tomixa, his mission to the Christian camp, iii. 399; charge assigned to, 400; reply of king Abdallah to, 402; his proposition to the king of Castille, ib.
Jusef Aben Zeragh, Cadi of Granada, iii. 310; compelled to leave the city, 311; his report to king John, 312; restored to favour, 315; slain in battle, 321.
—— Ben Ismail, brother of Muhamad, proclaimed king of Granada, iii. 248, oath of allegiance taken to him, 249; his pursuits and acquirements, ib.; treaties of peace concluded by, ib.; public works of, 251, 269; visits the king of Fez, 253; lays siege to Tarifa, 254, defeats sustained by, 256; hastens to the succour of Algezira Alhadra, 258; enters into a truce with the king of the Christians, 260, his regulations for religious worship, 261; ordinances of, 263; internal polity of, 267; his relations with other sovereigns, 270; leads his forces against Ronda, 271; murdered in the mosque, 272: funeral of, ib.; epitaph on, ib.; summary of his character, 273.

K.

Kabilas, or Tribes, i. 30, 49, 119
Kaxiefes, duties of the, i. 114.
Kemsa-Rebina, a country-house near Seville, i 88.
Kethira, a beautiful Alaraba, i. 238.
Kinza, a favourite slave, i. 393.
Koran, precepts of the, i. 333.

L.

Ladies, learned ones, i. 483-484.
Lamtuna, tribe of, ii. 205; their victory over the hill-people, 209, their war with the Cabila of Gudula, 213.
Learning and Learned Men, i. 483.
Leila, taken by storm, ii. 481; the inhabitants put to death, 482.
Leo Africanus, at Algiers, i. 4.
Leon, city of, taken, ii. 49.
Lerida, defeat of the Christians at, ii. 47.
Leyonis, the Christians retire from, i.

509; besieged by the Hagib Muhamad, 510; the city sacked, ib.
Lubla, fortress of, taken ii. 411, siege of, raised, 415.
Libya, deputation from, to the Wali Haxem, i. 328.
Lion, curious anecdote of a, ii. 475.
Luzan-eddin Ben Alchatib Asalemini, writings of, i 25
Lobia Ben Muza, dismissed from office, i 296
Locusts, plague of, ii. 14
Lone, river, dreadful conflict on the banks of the, i 110
Lorca, battle on the plains of, i. 232; submits to the Christian king, iii. 139; defeat of the Moslemah 332
Loxa, battle of, i 74, 186; Aben Abed takes refuge in, ii 286.
Lug, sanguinary conflict on the field of, ii 439.
Lusitania, visit of Abderahman to, i. 221; execution of rebels in, 338
Lyrena, defeat of the Christians near, ii. 374.

M.

Maad Ben Ismail, his expedition to Almagreb, i. 451; the head of El Yafeima sent to, ib., enters Cairo, 471; proclaimed in various towns, ib
Macer, an Alme, proposition of, iii. 360: his address to the multitude, 361.
Macsura, a tribune or gallery, ii. 2
Madrid, manuscripts in the public library of, i 26.
Madrisas, or public schools, endowment of, i. 274.
Maestro Muhamed, book believed to have been translated by, i. 9.
Magioges, the Arab name for the Normans, i. 290-292; their return to the coast of Spain, 299; demonstrations of, ib.
Mahedi, signifies a guide or director of men, i. 404.
Mahedia, city of, built, i. 409; entry of Gewhar into, 452; siege of, ii. 491; taken, ib; besieged by Muhamad Abdallah, iii. 59; the capitulation of, 60.
Mahomet, i. 30; born at Mecca, 33; his followers, 34; his death, 35.
Mahtagian, General, his victory over the Christians, iii 229.
Majorca, conquest of the island of, iii. 61; taken by the Christians, 114.
Maksura, or moveable cabinet, constructed, ii. 465; lines on the occasion, 466.
Malaga, city of, i. 62; taken by surprise, ii. 146; war on, 191; death of the king of, ib.; taken possession of, by the king of Morocco, iii. 191; sumptuous Alcazar built near, 251; irruptions of the Christians into, 351.
Malec, anecdote of, i. 277 his death, ib.
—— Ben Anas, doctrines of, i. 259.
Man Ben Ategibi, Wali, ii. 137.
Manser, son of Alman Ben Zeiri, ii. 46, 51-53.
Mansur Ben Balkin, lord of Tunis, ii. 15.
—— Billah, the Fatemite, his death, i. 445.
Manuel, Don, brother of king Alphonso, married to a daughter of king Gacum, iii 166.
Manxur, or passport, i. 86.
Manzor, of Sanhaga, incursions of, ii. 103; gives battle to Abderahman, 106, entrenches himself in Granada, 107
Maqueda, sanguinary battle near, ii. 73.
Marbalia, taken by the Christians, iii. 368.
Mariana, a noble woman, i 394.
Marigny, M. de, his "History of the Arabs," i. 15
Maron, a youth related to the king, his love of a beautiful slave, i. 501; kills his father, 502; sentence on, ib.; love-songs written by, ib.; set at liberty, ii. 25.
Martos, besieged by king Muhamad, 130.
Masamuda, tribe of, ii. 357.

Masdeu, a Spanish writer, i. 15.
Matruk, statements of, iii. 16, 34.
Maun Alahuas, lord of Almeria, his death, ii. 158; succeeded by his son, ib.
Mauritania, conquests of Muza in, i. 47.
Mauro, vizier, machinations of, iii. 281–284.
Maysor, El Feti, General, lays siege to Fez, i. 414; takes Ahmed prisoner, ib.
Mecca, calamities at, i. 315.
Medina Azahra, foundation of the city of, i. 419; splendid mosque at, ib.; palace of king Abderahman at, 456; sanguinary conflict at, ii. 184.
—— Balba, atrocities committed by the Christians in, iii. 118.
—— Baza, siege of, ii. 371; defeat of the Christians before, iii. 79; entry of king Abulola Edris into, 90; Cid Yahye marches to the defence of, 379; treaty for the surrender of, 381; given up to the Christians, 383
—— Cauria, siege of, ii. 241; strong castle in, ib.
—— Ecija, siege of, iii 177.
—— Elvira, battle of, i 340.
—— Fez, public works at, iii. 61.
—— Fraga, siege of, ii. 404.
—— Jaen, taken by the Almohades, ii. 470.
—— Loxa, repulse of the Christians at, iii. 347, 350; its perilous situation, 349; besieged, 366; king Zaquir marches to the relief of, 369; surrendered to the Christians, 370.
—— Lucena, expedition against, iii. 353; siege of that city, 354; defeat of the Moslemah at, 355.
—— Malaga, beautiful situation of the city, iii. 373; besieged by the Christians, 374; fall of, 375; plunder of its inhabitants, ib.
—— Martos, conquest of, iii. 231.
—— Narbona (Narbonne), arrival of Muza at, i. 80.
—— Ronda, besieged by the Christians, iii. 366; capitulation of that city, 367.
Medina Salè, march of Abdelmumen from, to Tunis, ii. 488.
—— Segovia, the Aljama at, restored, i. 454.
—— Sidonia, duke of, takes Gibraltar, iii. 337.
—— Talbira, taken by storm, ii. 338.
—— Talca, desperate battle at, ii. 91.
—— Teba, surrenders to the Christians, iii. 245.
—— Telencen, city of, i. 413; conquest of, ii. 229.
—— Tunis, advance of the Moslemah upon, i. 447; submission of, 448; money exacted from the inhabitants, ib.
—— Ubeda, surrenders to the Christians, iii. 121.
—— Yatrib, retirement of Mahomet to, i. 34; immense assembly of troops at, 36.
—— Zamora, the Christians driven out of, i. 258; taken by storm, 465.
—— Zelim, sepulchre of the aged Muhamad at, ii. 43.
Meckmsea, the suburbs of, destroyed by fire, i. 372; siege of, ii. 446; razed to the ground, 468; its conquest by Abu Bekar Yahye, iii. 99.
Meknesi, advances against king Abderahman, i. 200; incursions of, 203; war against, 204; successes of, 206; his entry into Seville, 207; evacuates the city, 209; killed and beheaded, 210.
Melik Ben Wahib, his advice to the king, ii. 352.
Meraudi, his work "The Golden Meadows," i 24.
Merchandise, new tax levied on, i. 260.
Merg-Rahita, verses in reference to the battle of, i. 100; battle of, described, 176–177.
Merida, obstinate siege of, i. 67; surrender of, 69; cities of, 145; entry of Abderahman into, 181; orders sent to the Wali of, 208; formidable revolt at, 278; the inhabitants plundered, 279; troops sent to suppress the rebellion, ib.; siege of, ib.;

proposal to the royal troops before, 280; insurgents killed in the streets of, 281; entrance of rebels into, 285; capitulates to the king, 286; fortifications repaired, 287; insurrection at, suppressed, 335; sanguinary battle at, iii. 112.
Mertula, defeat of the Moslemen near, i. 122; completion of the tower at, iii. 22.
Meruan Ben Abdelmelic, imprisonment of, i. 346.
—— Ben Hayan, his History of the Alameries, ii. 5.
—— Ben Muhamad, victory gained by, i 135; on the reign of, 146; lines to, ib.; defeated at Turab, 147, escape and pursuit of, 148; killed, ib.; his head embalmed, 149; fate of his family, ib; particulars respecting, 150; tragical fate of his race, 152.
—— cousin of Suleiman, his revolt and imprisonment, ii. 64
Mezdeli, general, takes Medina Telinzan, ii. 229; his advice to prince Yahye, 332; his devastations in Toledo, 340; escapes to Cordova, ib.; his death and that of his son, 341.
Miguel de Luna, translation by, i. 10.
Moavia Ben Abi Sofian, caliph, i. 40; his death, 42; alluded to, 91.
—— Ben Hixem, success of, i. 108.
—— Ben Horeig, i. 39–42.
—— Ben Salehi, his return from Syria, i. 184; his death, 213.
—— the rebel, executed, i. 94.
Moclin, fortress of, ambush at, iii 183; defeat of the Christians at, 369.
Moghar, prince, dies in prison, i. 406; verses by, ib.
Mondhir, Cadi, directions of the king to, i. 480.
Monks, tribute paid by the, i. 49.
Months, Arabic, order of the, i. 21.
Montixon, fortress of, i. 350.
Moon, eclipses of the, i. 308, 316, 467.
Moors, character of the, i. 5.
Morocco, foundation of the city of, ii. 212; progress of, 217; its delightful situation, ib.; curious incident in the great mosque at, 350; besieged on various occasions, 365, 403, 451; new fortifications at, 379; divisions and dissensions in, 443; arrival of Abdelmumen before, 450; frightful sufferings of the inhabitants, 452; the walls scaled, ib.; fall of the city, 453; the king of, taken before Abdelmumen, ib.; put to death, 454; distribution of treasures found at, 455; deserted state of, b; public works at, 465; colleges and schools instituted at, 476; taken by surprise by Abdelaziz and Iza, 481; who put the governor to death, ib.; entry of Zenete cavalry into, iii. 7; pestilence in, 28; public works at, 55; heads of Xeques affixed to the walls of, 88; parties and factions in, on the death of Abulola Edris 93; events that have occurred in, from its foundation, 103.
Moslemah Cavalier, young, taken before Narvaez, iii. 404, interrogation of, 405; story of his love, ib.; generosity towards, 406; redeems his promise, 407, set at liberty, ib.
—— cavalry, i. 54, 59.
—— force, retire to Narbonne, i. 96.
—— civil wars among the, ii. 143; revolt of, against the Christians, iii. 155, successes of, ib.
Mosque, construction of the great one at Cordova, i. 223, 299; splendid, erected in Morocco, ii. 465.
Mosques, rules for service in the, iii. 261–262.
Motul, river, passage of the, ii. 375.
Mozna, a beautiful slave, songs composed by, i 457.
Mugueiz, El Rumi, force under, i. 62; takes Cordova, 63; command confided to, 73.
Muhageries, troop of, i. 39.
Muhamad Abdallah Aben Hud, brother of king Aben Hud, proclaimed king of Murcia, iii. 163.
—— Abdallah, caliph, iii. 57; motto

on his seal, 58; particulars respecting, ib.; his ministers, ib.; his accession proclaimed, ib.; rebellion put down by, ib.; marches against El Mayorki, 59; lays siege to and captures, Mahedia, 60; takes possession of Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, 61; public works of, ib.; assembles a large army to proceed against king Alfonso, 62; lands on the coast of Zarita, 63; divisions of his army, ib.; arrives at Seville, ib.; lays siege to Sarbatera, 67; his great concern at the loss of Calatrava, 71; his renewed exertions and conquest of Sarbatera, ib.; his sanguinary encounter with the Christians at Alacaub, 72; deserted by his Andalusians, ib.; critical situation of, 73; his flight from the battle-field, ib.; his entire army put to the sword, 74; arrives at Seville, 75; returns to Morocco and declares his son, Cid Abu Jakob Juzef, his successor, ib.; retires from court, 76; his viziers and kinsman, ib.; dies of poison, 104; cruel vengeance taken by, ib.; his impolitic proceedings, ib.

Muhamad Aben Abed, king of Seville, wars carried on by him, ii. 155, courtesy of, 158; tenures reclaimed by, 159; honour conferred on his general Abdelaziz, 161, a crafty man, 166; ambition of, 167; entertains the people of Cordova, 170; territories of, 172; knights his son, 173; his war with El Barzeli, ib.; aggressions of, 174; his grief on the demise of his daughter, 175; his death, 176; splendid funeral of, ib.; his advice to his son, 177.

—— Aben Bahr, a learned man, ii. 321; his death, 322.

—— Aben Cadi Ben Mardanis, decline of his power, iii. 22; visits his provinces and cities, ib.; his death, 29.

—— Aben Fatima, governor of Seville, his death. ii. 340.

—— Aben Hud, occupation of, ii. 461; rebels against Abdelmumen, 462; conquests of, ib.; slain in battle, ib.

Muhamad Aben Ismail, beautiful damsel rescued by, iii. 231; she is taken from him by the king, 232; jealousy of, ib.; assassinates the king, 233–234.

—— Aben Ismail (nephew of the king), discontent of, iii. 327; letters sent to, 328; returns to Granada and is proclaimed king, 329; his alliance with the Christians, 332; defeats his cousin, Aben Osmin, 333; enters Granada and is proclaimed king, 334; sends rich presents to the king of Castille, ib.

—— Aben Iza, reply of, ii. 267; the king's dream interpreted by, 268.

—— Aben Juzef, Wali of Cordova, takes Xelb, iii. 40; returns in triumph to Cordova, ib.

—— Aben Sad, sends his son to lay siege to Gezira Xucar, iii 23; and to Valencia, 24; dies in Majorca, 26; succeeded by his son, Aben Hegiag, ib.

—— Abu Abdallah, nephew of Yahye Ben Anasir, commands the troops, iii. 116; takes the city of Jaen, ib.; further successes of, 117.

—— Abulaswad, son of Jusuf el Fehri, taken prisoner, i. 188; his flight from prison, 215; takes refuge among the bandits of the Jaen mountains, 217, war against him, 218; advised to solicit the king's clemency, 219; his flight from the field of battle, ib.; again defeated at Castalana, 220; his wretched mode of life, ib.; his death, 221.

—— Abu Zeyan, king of Fez, iii. 279.

—— Alcanthir, general, i. 300.

—— Almahruc, vizier, domination of, iii. 237; his despotic rule, 238; imprisonment of, 239; decapitated in prison by command of the king, 240.

—— Almutamed Aben Abed, proclaimed king of Seville, ii. 176; character of, 177; despatches Omar,

his general, into Murcia, 178; suspicions entertained of, 180; witnesses the defeat of his troops, 181; his city taken and his riches distributed, 185, solemn oath of, ib; his triumphal entry into Seville, 186; slays Haziz Ben Alhakem, 187; Murcia submits to, 190; appointments made by, ib, makes war with Muhamad, king of Malaga, 191; conquests of, ib; his treaty with Alfonso, king of Gallicia, 192; ravages of, 193; extension of his dominions, 195; appointments of, ib.; gives orders for the capture of Aben Omar, 199; strikes off the head of Aben Omar, 202; his Christian auxiliaries, 203; writes to the king of Granada, ib.; his treaty with the king of Algarve, 204; his alliance with king Juzef, 228; assists that monarch in his wars against Ceuta and Tangiers, 228, entreats assistance from Juzef, 229; [illegible] letter of Alfonso Ben [illegible] 243; his indignant replies to it in prose and verse, 245, 247, enraged at the proposition of Aben Galib, 248; his conference with his son, 249; embassy despatched by, to Juzef Ben Taxfin, 251; his letter to that monarch, ib.; reply to it, 258; cedes the Green Island to Juzef, 259, goes to meet and welcome the African monarch, 260, his return to Spain, 261; warning given by, 271; consults astrologers, ib, 272; his verses to Juzef, ib.; valour of his troops, 273; his renewed exertions on the field of battle, 275; wounded, 281; sends an account of his victory to his son Raxid, 282; his incursions in Andalusia, 286; defeated at Loxa, ib.; returns to Seville, 289, writes to Juzef, detailing the devastations of the Christians, 290; his visit to Juzef, 291; receives a promise from him, ib.; returns to Spain, 292; his grand reception of Juzef, ib.; takes possession of Alid, 295; fortifies his cities and restores the walls of Seville, 299; commanded to resign his territories to Juzef, 300; his depression, 301; remarkable dream of, ib.; his encounters with the Almoravides, ib.; two of his sons put to death, 302; seeks and obtains the aid of Alfonso, king of the Christians, 303; surrenders to the Almoravides, 304, sent prisoner, with his family, to Africa, 305; shut up by the orders of Juzef in a tower at Medina Agmat, ib.; his poverty and destitution, ib; privations endured by, 306; his death, ib.; his love of poetry, ib.

Muhamad Ben Abdallah, secretary of the sultanan, 494–495; appointed principal Hagib of the youthful monarch, ib.; his wisdom and prudence, 496; determines to prosecute the war against the Christians, ib.; his expedition against them, 497; his ravages in Gallicia, 498; returns to Cordova, ib.; again defeats the Christians in Gallicia, 499, ii. 29; divides the spoil among the soldiers, 500; gives a feast to them, ib.; peculiar custom of, ib.; causes Albuhassan to be put in prison, 501; his renewed incursions in Gallicia, 503; his victorious career, 507; desperate attack of the Christians on, 508; succeeds in rallying his troops, ib.; intrepidity of, 510; besieges and takes the cities of Leyonis and Astorica, ib.; his triumphal return to Cordova, 511; honours conferred by, on men of learning, ii. 1; encourages education, 2; sumptuously entertained by the governor of Tadmir, 4; his march upon Barcelona, 5; captures that city, 7; returns to Cordova, ib.; orders an Alcoba to be erected at Fez, 9; his ravages in Gallicia, 11, 16; presents made by, on his son's marriage, 13; valuable gifts sent to, by Aben Atia, ii. 17; poem presented to, by Said

Ben Othman, 18; his gift to Said Ben Hassan, 19; anecdote of, ib.; his reception of Zeiri Ben Atia, 21; differences between them, ib.; poetical tournament held at his house, 32; prize given by, 23; his successes in Gallicia, 25; proceeds to the frontier to invade the Christian territories, 26; stag and verses presented to, 27; victory gained by, 28; his treaty with Bermond, king of the Christians, 29; commands the general Wadha El Feti to march against Aben Atia, 30; sets Christian prisoners at liberty, 33; intercession of a poor widow with, for her son's life, 34; extraordinary anecdote related of, ib; his wise counsels to his son, 35; his victory at Hisn Dhervera, 38; commentary on the Proverbs of Sohal presented to, 39; his bravery at the battle of Calat Anosor, 41; retreat of, 42, his death, 43; is deeply regretted, ib.; lines on his sepulchre, ib.; remarks on his government, 44.

Muhamad Ben Abdallah, inquiries of, i. 104; becomes governor of Spain, ib.; his flight to Ecija, ii 140; assistance obtained by, ib.; his return to Carmona, 143

—— Ben Abdelsalem, command given to, i 278.

—— Ben Abderahman, his oath of vengeance, ii. 108; conspiracy excited by, 109; causes his cousin to be assassinated, ib.; proclaimed king of Cordova, ib; rewards and privileges conferred by, 111; his diminished treasury, ib.; given up to his pleasures, 112; the poets of his court, ib.; complaints of his people, ib.; unhappy state of his dominions, 113; flies to Azahra, ib.; and thence to Ucles, 114; poisoned, ib.

—— Ben Adhcha, appointed general of the rebels, i. 342; implores the king's pardon, 360; his return to the sierras of Elvira, 377; his mild rule, ib.

Muhamad Ben Ahmed, Infant of Seville, conquests of, ii. 161; his acquaintance with the accomplished youth, Aben Omar, 161; army under, 168.

—— Ben Alcasem, sends troops to rescue Edris, ii. 146; becomes king of Malaga, 174.

—— Ben Alhâg, general, enters Saragossa, ii. 335; his incursions into Barcelona, 336; disasters sustained by, in an ambush laid by the Christians, ib.; slain, ib.; grief of the king on his death, 337, defeats the Christians, 342; joins prince Temim, 343.

—— Ben Alhasen, the prince's preceptor, i. 487.

—— Ben Aly, vizier, his ambition and envy, ii. 215; party formed against, 216–224.

—— Ben Aly, Wali of Lorca, his death, iii. 143; particulars respecting, ib.

—— Ben Amer, of Mekinez, slain, ii. 14.

—— Ben Axalath, Ameer of Africa, i. 395.

—— Ben Ayadh, proclaimed Ameer of Merida, ii. 432; defeated, 439; attacks and enters that city, 449; head of El Thograi brought to, 450; his death, 458; interred at Valencia, ib.

—— Ben Feth, put in chains, i. 452.

—— Ben Gehmar, enmity of, i. 325.

—— Ben Hamza, General, slain in battle, i. 406.

—— Ben Hixem, the king's cousin, revolt of, ii. 55; enters the capital, and siezes the king's person, 56; puts Abderahman to death, 57; procures himself to be appointed Hagib to the king, 58; changes effected by, ib.; proposes to assassinate the king, 59; dissuaded from his purpose, ib.; proclaimed king of Spain, 60; orders the expulsion of the African guard, ib.; negociations of, 62; defeats Suleiman, 65; his triumphant entry into Cordova, 66; defeated by Suleiman, 67; declining

influence of, 68; protestations of, 69; vituperations on, ib.; vacillation of, 70; beheaded, 71; particulars relative to, ib.; his head sent to Suleiman Ben Alhakem, ib.
Muhamad Ben Ibrahim, blessing pronounced by, ii. 50.
—— Ben Ibrahim, vizier, put to death, iii. 280.
—— Ben Ishac, anecdote of, i. 485.
—— Ben Ismail, Wali of Seville, his disobedience, ii. 116; origin of, ib.; his father Aben Abed, ib.; alluded to, 131, 132; letters of king Gehwar to, 133; lays siege to Carmona, 140, his troops defeat the allies, 143, reports circulated by, 151; birth of his grandson, ib.; his death, ib.; that event deplored, 152; his harem of 800 damsels, ib; his poems, ib.; his rare collection of cups, ib.
—— Ben Ismail (son of Ismail Ben Ferag), oath of allegiance to, iii. 234, his vizier governs in his name, 237; his pursuits and accomplishments, 238, imprisons his vizier Muhamad Almahruc, 239; goes forth to meet the rebels led on by his uncle, ib.; losses of, 240; commands that the vizier Almahruc be decapitated in his prison, ib.; takes the city of Cabra and the fortress of Priega from the Christians, 241, his reply to the sages, ib., besieges Medina Baena, 242; victory gained by, ib; successes of, 243, his battle with the Christians on the shores of the Guaditeba, 245; his alliance with the king of Fez, ib.; besieges Castro del Rio, ib.; defeats the Christians before Gibraltar, 246; jests with the African general, ib.; assassinated, 247; grief on the death of, 248; epitaph on his tomb, ib.; his brother proclaimed king, 249.
—— Ben Jusuf, taken prisoner, i. 188.
—— Ben Juzef, accession of, iii. 274; his beneficence and generosity, ib.; concludes a peace with Don Pedro, ib.; conspirators break into his apartment at night, 276; his vizier murdered, ib.; his escape and flight to Guadix, 277; departs for Africa, 278; cordially received by the king of Fez, ib.; proceeds with a large army to Spain, 278; his death, 309.
—— Ben Juzef, proclaimed king of Granada, iii 309; character of, ib.; his relations with foreign princes, 310; detested by his subjects, ib.; deposition and flight of, 311; takes refuge with the king of Tunis, ib.; his return to his dominions, 313; his welcome reception in the capital, 314, desires to continue his friendly relations with the king of Castille, 315; refuses to comply with his just demands, 316; defeats the Christians, 317, conspiracy to dethrone him, ib.; his troops routed, 319; his troops defeated before Granada, ib; Juzef Aben Alahmar proclaimed king in his stead, 320; deposed and flies to Malaga, 322; returns to occupy his throne for the third time, 323; his truce with the Christian king, 324, its termination, and his renewed wars, ib; dissensions in his kingdom, 327; deposed by his nephew and thrown into prison, 328, his "History of Spain and Africa," 462.
—— Ben Maun, besieged in Almeria, ii. 307; his death, 308; his advice to his son, ib.
—— Ben Maymoun, takes Abdelaziz captive, and leads him about in chains, ii. 433.
—— Ben Mezdeli, proceeds with the army to Valencia, ii. 341; killed, 342.
—— Ben Omar, of Mekinez, ii. 12.
—— Ben Omar, a youth of a noble family, ii. 409; a disciple of Ahmed Aben Husem, 410; appointed generalissimo of the forces, 411; defeated, 413.
—— Ben Omar, chosen Ameer of Cordova, ii. 457; quits that city, ib.; his death, ib.

—— Ben Sad, general, powerful army under, iii. 7, 9; marches against the Almohades, 17; defeated, 18; divorces his wife, 20; denounced, 21.
—— Ben Said, the prince's preceptor, i. 273; prefect of police, 336; restored to office, 365; his death, 415.
—— Ben Said, Wali of Granada, magnificent residence built by, ii. 406.
—— Ben Salema, appointed Cadi of the Aljama, i. 350; his death, 355.
—— Ben Umen Ben Thabita, i. 82.
—— Ben Walid, vizier, his visit to Suleiman Ben Venasos, i 360.
—— Ben Yahye, Wali of Huesca, drowned, ii. 150.
—— Ben Yahye, of Saltis, followers of, ii. 409.
—— Ben Yahye, vizier, slain in defence of Algezira, iii. 241.
—— Ben Zehwar, proclaimed king at Cordova, ii 154; proposes a truce to the king of Toledo, ib.; invites assistance from the king of Seville, 156; auxiliaries of, 159; his cordial reception of Abdelaziz, 160; defeated by the king of Toledo, 165; his death, 167.
—— Ben Zeyad, appointed Cadi of the Aljama of Cordova, i. 291.
—— Ben Zeyadatala, king, particulars relative to, i. 401
—— Casim, murdered, ii. 79.
—— El Barquete, Hagib of Tangiers, slain in battle, ii. 228.
—— El Begi, exhortations of, ii. 89; explains his dream, 90.
—— El Tsafiki, conquers and beheads king Daharo, i. 48.
—— El Zaquir, cousin of the king, proclaimed sovereign of Granada, iii. 311; his equestrian feats, ib.; his tyranny and cruelty, 312, abandoned by his people, 314; taken and beheaded, ib.
—— general (son of Abdelbar), his incursions in Murcia, iii. 331; attacks Lorca, 332; retreat of, ib.; put to death by command of the king, 3 .
—— Hamdun, Alcaide of Tiscar, his defence of that town, iii. 228.
—— Huzeil, lord of Azahila, his death, ii. 178.
—— Imaam, brother of Abdallah, defeated, i. 389; returns to Mecca, ib.; proclaimed sovereign, ib.; his six brothers, ib.; slain, 389.
—— of Algezira, advances against Malaga, ii. 163; proclaimed king, ib.; his life spared by his cousin Edris, 164; his death, 191; leaves eight sons, ib.
—— Omar, succeeds his brother as king of Badajoz, ii. 194.
—— prince, oath of fidelity to, i. 292; proclaimed king at Cordova, 293.
—— prince, Wali of Seville, i 333; rebellion of, 334, wounded and taken prisoner by his brother, 345; his death, ib.; his infant son, 346.
—— prince, proclaimed king of Granada, iii. 272.
—— Sid Ray, encounters Aben Cosai, ii. 442; proclaimed governor of Calat Mertula, 443; takes refuge in Seville, ib.
—— Zahir Ben Atar, his encounters with the Christians, iii. 392.
—— Zubeidi, Cadi, killed, ii. 136.
Muhamed Ben Mofreg, general of cavalry, i. 248.
—— El Barceh, lord of Carmona, flight of, ii 162; retires to Ecija, ib.
—— the Wali of Baeza, his compact with the Christians, iii. 83; his head presented to Abulola Edris, 90.
——, king, his negociations with the king of Castille, iii 207; rebellion in favour of his brother, 208; deposition of, 209; residence assigned to him, 210; taken to Granada on the rumoured death of his brother, 211; his advice to the king of Castille, 212; his death, 213; epitaphs on, ib.
—— king, orders his troops to the frontiers of Gallicia, i. 293; his sen-

timents on the occasion of a learned dispute, 294; proceeds in person against the rebels at Toledo, 296; stratagem of, ib.; his success over the rebels, 297; returns to Cordova, ib.; prosecutes the siege of Toledo, 298; pardons the people, ib.; his victory over the Christians, 300; marches against the Christians in Gallicia, 302; proceeds against the rebel, Omar Ben Hafsun, 304; gives ear to his traitorous proposals, ib.; his grandson and troops assassinated, 305; oath taken by, 306; goes forth to meet his son on his return from Cordova, 308; sends his fleet to make a descent on the coast of Gallicia, ib.; proceeds to Toledo, to restore obedience in that city, 312; fond of children, 313; verses recited before, ib.; his victory at Aybar, 319; verses by, ib.; his triumphal return to Cordova, 320; declares prince Almondhir his successor, ib.; his reply to the Wali Haxem Ben Abdelaziz, 322; his death, 323; character of, ib.; his funeral, ib.; grief of Haxem on his death, 325.

Muhamad, prince, son of Muhamad, king of Granada, declared successor to the throne, iii. 157; his interview with king Alphonso, 171; reluctantly accedes to the request of queen Iolant, 172; his treaty of peace with king Alphonso, ib.; sends letters to the king of Tunis respecting his affairs, 173; the head of Don Numo sent to him, 176; his grief on beholding it, ib.; his incursions on the territory of Jaen, 177; fortifies his frontiers, 180; resembles his vizier, ib.; devastates the territory of Ecija, 182; defeats prince Sancho, 183; his treaty of alliance with him, 184; defeats the forces of the kings of Morocco and Castille, ib.; defeats Don Sancho, 185; conflicts between his troops and those of Abu Juzef, ib.; his interview with the king of Tunis, 189; and with the new sovereign of that country, 192; wins over to his interests the Wali of Malaga, ib; his rupture with the king of Castille, 195; his invasions of the Christian territories, 196; his treaty with the king of Morocco, 197; defeats Don Guzman, 198; conquests of, ib.; his death. 199; his funeral, ib.; his sons and ministers, ib.; his secretaries, Cadies, &c. 200.

Muhamad, prince, hatred of his brother, iii. 294; conspires to dethrone his father, ib.; proclaimed king of Granada, 298; throws his brother, prince Juzef, into prison, ib.; proceeds *incog.* to Seville, and introduces himself to the king, ib.; his letters to the king of Fez, 299; his incursions into the Christian territories, ib.; takes possession of Ayamonte, ib.; his reply to the king of Castille, 300; his campaigns against the Christians, ib.; ravages the territory of Jaen, 301; his engagements with the Christians, ib.; orders his brother Juzef to be deprived of life, 302; his own death, 303.

Muhegir Dinar El Ansari, command given to, i. 40; city destroyed by, 42; deposed and cast into prison, ib; set at liberty, 43.

Muley Aben Fariz, king of Tunis, iii. 310–312; ambassadors sent by the king of Castille to, 313; his advice to the king of Granada, 316; entreaties of, 323.

—— Abul Hassan, prince, his irruptions on the Christian frontiers, iii. 337; his accession to the throne of Granada, 338; his wives, ib., 342; insurrection of his brother, Cid Abu Abdallah, 339; ravages the Christian territories, 340; decision of, ib.; his wars with his brother, 341; his truce with the Christians, 342; public works of, ib.; his reply to the Christian ambassadors, 343; storms and takes the fortress of

Zahara, 344; marches forth to meet the Christians, 346; lays siege to Alahma, ib.; imprisons his rebellious son, 347; revolt in his capital, 348; takes refuge with his brother-in-law, Zelim, 349; defeated by his son, ib.; marches to the relief of Medina Loxa, 350; defeats the Christians, ib.; his further successes, ib; retires to Malaga, 351; proceeds to Granada and takes possession of the Alhambra, 356; resolves to drive his son from Granada, 359; attacks the rebels, 360; advice adopted by, ib; abdication of, 363; his death, 370.

Muley Ahmed, king of Fez, iii. 403.

—— Zidan, prince of Morocco, library of, i. 4.

Mugehid Edim, fleet prepared by, ii. 88; takes possession of Ivica and Majorca, ib.; and Sardinia, 90; discontent among his followers, 94; embarks on his return home, 95; encounters a dreadful storm, ib.; disasters of, 96; returns to the Yesibat islands, ib.

Multimines, or Almoravides, ii. 205.

Murcia, conquests of Abdelaziz in, i. 73; division of the lands of, 132; expedition of king Abderahman to, 373; siege of, ii. 189; conquest of, 190; campaign of Aben Abed in, 286; insurrection in, 419; the city taken by El Thograi, 439; defended by that general, 449; sanguinary conflict near, iii. 18; entry of Aben Hud into, 111; torn and divided by various factions, 130; subjection of, to the Christians, 131; Aben Hud proclaimed king of, 163; the people of, gratified with their new sovereign, ib.

Murphy, Mr, work written by, i. 16.

Musara, camp of Jusuf at, i. 176; battle of, 177.

Museir, general, killed, i. 112.

Mushaf, treasures surrounding it, ii. 488.

Mushafa, general, his replies to the Hagib, i. 504, goes forth against the Christian knight, 505; slays him, 506.

Muslama Ben Machlad, orders given to, i. 40–41.

Muslama Ben Abdelmelic, brother of Suleiman, i. 85.

—— Ben Abdelmelic Ben Merfan, his death, i. 117.

—— brother of caliph Hixem, Turkish territories taken by, i. 108.

—— brother of caliph Jezid, i. 94.

Muza Ben Abil, general, patriotic reply of, iii. 391; appointed commander-in-chief of Granada, 392, his achievements in defending that city, ib.; his sortie on the Christians, 393; his heroic advice, 395; his noble address to the council on the fall of Granada, 397; his departure from Granada, 399.

—— Ben Afan, his treachery rewarded, ii. 162.

—— Ben Alafia, his death, i. 432.

—— Ben Almelic, vizier to king Zaqur, iii. 378

—— Ben Hodeira, a great statesman, i 214; killed, 229

—— Ben Hodeira, dispute of, i. 361.

—— Ben Noseir, appointed to the supreme command of the Moslemah troops in Africa, i. 47; his conquests in Mauritania, ib.; gathers forces from Syria and Egypt, ib.; warlike tribes subdued by, 48; his successes in Barbary, 49; his mild sway, ib.; wise regulations of, 50; his death, ib.; incited to attempt the conquest of Spain, 51; receives details of the battle of Guadalete, 58; head of king Roderic sent to, ib.; his arrival in Spain, 60; his conquest of Esbilias, 66; and of Merida, 69; artifices of, 68, 69; arrives in Toledo, 71; his interview with Taric, 72; deprives him of command and throws him into prison, 73; reinstates Taric in his command, 77; his successes in the north of Spain, 78; takes Saragossa, 79; passes into France, 80; riches acquired by, ib.; his recall to Syria, 81; his departure

from Spain ib.; deception practised by, 84; fined and imprisoned, 85; fate of his family, 87; shown the head of his son, 90; his death, ib.
Muza Ben Zeyad, Wali, defeated, i. 295; calumnies against, ib; deposed from his government, 296; revolt of, ib.; defeated by the king's forces, 297–298.
—— the rebel Wali of Saragossa, i. 310; his death, 311.
Muzarabians, or people of Toledo, i. 8.

N.

Naama, city of, sacked, i. 127.
Naaman Ben Abdallah, general, i. 81.
Nahara, the lands of, laid waste, ii. 11.
Naja, the Sclavonian general, ii. 144; returns to Ceuta, 145, assassinates prince Hacen, ib.; proceeds to Andalucia, ib; surprises Malaga, 146; takes king Edris prisoner, ib.; advised to return to the city, ib.; cut to pieces, 147; dispersion of his followers, ib.
Naquila, village of, near Hemesa, i. 213.
Narbonne, arrival of Muza at, i. 80; capture of the city of, 92; siege of, 111; cities in the province of, 145; lost to the Moslemah, 187; taken possession of by the Christians, 213; and by the Moslemah, 235; massacre of the Christians in, 245.
Narvaez, Alcayde of Medina Antequera, his incursions into Granada, iii. 404; story of his young captive cavalier, ib.; his generosity, 406–407.
Nasir Abu Othman, vizier, i. 379.
—— Ben Seyar, general, verses by, i. 146; his death, 147.
Navigators, early Portuguese, ii. 84.
Naza Ben Maad, Soldan of Egypt, sends a threatening letter to king Alhakem, i. 476; writes to his general Balkim Ben Zeiri, ii. 3.
Nazar, prince, brother of Muhamad, rebellion in favour of, iii. 208; deposes his brother, 209; proceeds to the relief of Almeria, 210; defeats Aben Gaymis, and returns in triumph to Granada, ib.; reproaches of Ferag to, 211; has an attack of apoplexy, ib.; his rumoured death, ib.; causes epitaphs to be engraved on his brother's tomb, 213; his personal appearance, 215; his alliance with Pedro, king of Castille, ib.; his viziers and secretary, ib.; appeases the insurgents, 216, 224; besieged at Granada by his nephew, Abul Said, 217; entreats assistance from Don Pedro, ib.; his deposition, 218; retires to the city of Guadix, 219, 225; his death, ib.; funeral, ib.; epitaph on, ib.
Necklace, or collar, a valuable one, i. 275.
Negm Dolah, son of king Almetuakil, his imprisonment, ii. 316.
Niam El Chalaf, general, reported death of, i 357.
Nibel, snow-storms at, ii. 373.
Niebla, siege of, iii. 152; capitulates to king Alphonso, ib.
Nilometer, erection of, i. 86.
Normans, their arrival on the coast of Spain, i. 289; their ravages, 290; return and renew their devastations, 299.
Novenas, a series of prayers, iii. 264.
Novera, city of, ii 307.
Nuno, Don, army under, iii. 175; attacked by the Moslemah, ib.; slain in battle, 176; his head sent to his friend, the king of Granada, ib.

O.

Obada Ben Abdallah, his History of the Spanish Poets, ii. 1.
Obeida Ben Abderahman, envy of, i. 98; arbitrary acts of, 100.
—— Ben Amza, a cruel and crafty man, i. 243; given up, and beheaded, 246
—— El Kisi, governor of Africa, i. 111.
Obeidala Ben Abdallah, his incursions into France, i. 288.
—— Ben Abdelaziz, general, success of, ii. 122

Obeidala Ben Ahmed, Wali of Toledo, defeats the Christians, i. 446.
—— Ben Carloman, the king's page, i. 276.
—— Ben El Hagiag, governor of Africa, i. 101.
—— Ben Meruan, verses recited by his secretary, ii. 121.
—— Ben Yahye, El Laithi, demise of, i. 356.
—— El Gamri, general, successful mission of, i. 351; alluded to, 357.
—— called Mahedi, proclaimed caliph in Roqueda, i 405; his origin and parentage, 407; builds the city of Medina Almahedia, 409; his death, ib.; statement respecting, 410; his letters to the Wali, Said Ben Salhi, ib.; his death, 416.
—— El Moati, his death, ii. 74.
—— El Xeyei, army of, i. 413; his troops put to the sword, ib
—— Wali of Jaen, defeated by the rebels, i. 380.
—— Wali of Toledo, ii. 69, 71; vows eternal hatred to king Hixem, 72; quits the city, 73; beheaded, ib
Obeidallah Araxid, Cadi of Seville, ii. 195; revenues bestowed on his son, 196; petition of Ben Omar to, 200; visits the traitor in prison, 201.
—— Raxid, son of Aben Abed, reproaches his father, ii. 299; his encounter with Abu Meruan, his father-in-law, 320; his horrible death, ib.
Ocaili, Wali, fleet under the command of, i. 371.
Ocba Ben Alhegag, Ameer of Spain, i. 112; his troops defeated, 113; government of, 114; his just decisions, ib.; his irreproachable character, 115; his meditated conquests in France, ib.; quells a rebellion in Barbary, 116; his zeal and activity, 117; returns to Spain, 118; his death, ib.
—— Ben Nafe, great renown of, i. 40; defence of, 41; conquests of, 43; proceeds to quell an insurrection in Barbary, ib.; his prayer before battle, ib.
Ockley, Simon, History of the Saracens published by, i. 13.
Ola Ben Gebir El Ocaili, cousin of Samail Ben Hatim, i. 184.
Omar Ben Masab, vizier to king Edris, i. 393.
—— Aben Ibrahim, his accession to the throne, iii. 94; journeys to Tinmaul to visit the tomb of El Mehedi, 94; rebellion of Abu Dibus against, 95; treacherously assassinated, ib.
—— Ben Abelaziz, declared caliph, i. 90; empire of, 91; his death, 93.
—— Ben Alaftas, king of Algarve, his reply to the arrogant demands of Alfonso Ben Ferdinand, ii. 237; his pressing letter to Juzef Ben Taxfin, 239; provisions made by, 264; his defence of Badajoz, 314; put to death, 315; a very learned man, ib.; anecdote of, 316.
—— Ben Alchitab, caliph, i. 38; his death, 39
—— Ben Almondar, general, defeats Aben Cosai, ii. 442.
—— Ben Hafsun, the rebel, particulars respecting, i. 302; his incursions and successes in Spain, 303; his feigned humility to the king, 304; his perfidy and atrocities, 305; conceals himself in the mountains of Arbe, 308; his compact with the Christians, 315; mortally wounded, 319, 321; revolt of his son Calib, 325
—— Ben Haxem, imprisoned, i. 330; set at liberty, and appointed governor of Jaen, 332; killed by Abdelmelic, 346; his death avenged, ib.
—— Ben Mohly El Batuy, becomes governor of Malaga, iii. 191; presents of the king of Granada to, 192; the king of Morocco proceeds against him, 193.
—— son of Othman Abu Said, rebels against his father, iii. 243; slain in battle by his brother, 244.
—— Xoaib, leader of the Andalusians, i. 263; exhortations of, ib.

Om Atala, Sultana, the mother of Muhamad Abdallah, iii. 58.
Omaya Ben Galib, an eminent poet, ii. 6.
Omeya Ben Abdelmelic, his defence of Toledo, i. 121.
—— the son of Abderahman, his slaughter of the rebels before Toledo, i. 284.
Omeyan race of caliphs, i. 150.
Omeyas of Spain, termination of their dynasty, ii. 126–127.
Oran, city of, i. 3; mountains of, 36.
Osman and Hakem, princes, put to death, i. 135.
Othman Abu Said, general, reply of, iii. 233; fears of, 234; retires from Granada in disgust, 238; his successes over the Christians, 239; revolt caused by, ib.; rebellion of his son Omar, 243; his death, 244.
Otman, Ameer, governor of Spain, i. 102.
—— Ben Abi Neza, i. 102, 104; discontent of, ib.; his lady-captive, 105; truce concluded by, 106; killed, 107; his head sent to Abderahman, 108.
—— Ben Abi Obeida El Carsi, i. 77.
—— Ben Afan, caliph, conquests of, i. 39; his death, ib.
—— Ben Omar, the king's vizier, ii. 329, opinion given by, 352.
—— Ben Rebia, his death, i. 382.
—— Ben Said El Caneni, his death, i. 416.
—— prince, education of, i. 272.
Oveidala Ben Alhegag, his accomplishments, i. 117.
—— sent to defend the northern frontier of Spain, i. 272; returns victorious to Cordova, 273.
Oveidallah, son of the king of Almeria, detained as hostage by Juzef, ii. 298; escapes in disguise, ib.

P.

Palm-tree, verses to the, i. 183, 192.
Pampeluna, taken by the Christians, i. 244, siege of, raised, 310.
Pedro, son of king Ferdinand, becomes king of Castille, iii. 215; his alliance with king Nazar, ib.; his assistance sought by the king of Granada, 217; his conquest of the fortress of Rute, 219; depredations of, 227; besieges and takes Velmez, 228, and Tiscar, ib.; his further successes, 229; appears before Granada, ib.; defeated, ib.; peace concluded with, 274; his alliance with king Abu Anan, 276; receives the embassy of the usurper, Ismail, 277; sends troops to assist Mubamad, 283; returns to his dominions at the desire of the king of Granada, 284; again retires to Ronda, ib.; his reception of the traitor Abu Said, 286; his treachery to his guests, 287; present said to have been made by, 288; receives assistance in his wars from king Muhamad, 289; his death, 290.
Pelagius of Oveido, Chronicle of, i. 8.
Philip III., king of Spain, i. 4.
Plague, mortality caused by the, ii. 376.
Planets, Arab worship of, i. 31.
Poetry, Arabic, its influence, i. 20.
Prayer, simple form of, ii. 385; for rain, iii. 264, [illegible], 261–264; for the dead, 265.
Present, a magnificent one, ii. 222.
Princes, good advice for, i. 240.

Q.

Quesada, fortress of, taken by the Christians, iii. 196; retaken, ib.
Queg, disaster of prince Temim at, ii. 361.
Quinsarina, arrival of Meruan Ben Muhamad at, i. 135, 148.
Quixata, taken and retaken, iii. 114.

R.

Rabitos, or frontier-knights, ii. 119.
Radhia, a fortunate star, i. 484.
Radmir, king of Gallicia, i. 416; marches to the relief of Zamora, 423; bravery of, 425; retreat of,

426; truce between him and king Abderahman, 435.
Radmir, king, slain, ii. 174.
Rafel Dola, his death, ii. 309.
Rain, prayer for, iii. 264.
Rambla, or water-course, i. 380.
Rasis, or Razif, the Moor, work written by, i. 9.
Raven, or bird of separation, i. 407
Raxid Ben Abed, the hostage, ii. 179; placed under a strong guard, 180, restitution of, 182.
—— Ben Ibrahim, sad fate of, ii 82
—— Obeidallah, son of Aben Abed, conference of the king with, ii. 249; his replies to his father, 250, 251; opposition of, 259; his father sends him an account of his victory at Zalacca, 282.
—— the trusty servant of Edris, i. 390-391, proposition of, 392.
Redhiya, a beautiful slave, i. 462.
Reduan Ben Egas, the Moslemah general, iii. 351, his victory over the Christians, 352; anecdote of, ib.; government offered to, 362, his furious charge against the Christians, 369; marches to the relief of Velez Malaga, 371, his intrepidity, 372; advice of, 373, oath of allegiance to, 390, reported speech of, 391; anecdote of, 392.
Romans, their wars with the Carthagenians, i. 1.
Ronda, city of, its surrender to Abul Hamri, ii. 460; expedition against, iii. 271.
Roqueda, destruction of the city of, i. 400, improvements at, 404.
Rotalychud, the stronghold of the perfidious Omar, ii. 307; stormed and taken, ib.
Ruderic, king of Spain, i. 51; dismay of, 55; heads his troops to Guadalete, 56; killed, 57; his head sent to Muza Ben Noseir, 58.
Rui Ximenes, his History of the Arabs, i. 8.
Rusafa, a kind of quay, i. 320.
Rute, its conquest by king Pedro, iii. 219, 257.
Ruy, Ponce, the Christian genera., iii. 345; surprises Alhama, ib.

S.

Saad Ben Ahmed, Cadi of Toledo, i. 39.
Sabaton Ben Abdallah, Cadi, his death, i. 278.
Sabin, or juniper-tree, i. 443.
Sabur, the Persian general, ii. 138.
Sahba, a kind of liquor, i. 314.
Sahib El Barid, chief of the Forenicos, i. 406, stanza supplied by, 407.
Saib, of Sanhaga, general, ii. 98
Said Alhakem Aben Osman, Wali, his defence of Majorca, iii. 114.
—— Ben Abdus, the traveller, his death, i. 241.
—— Ben Ahmed, anecdote related by, i. 430.
—— Ben Almesib, Wali of Toledo, slain, i. 195.
—— Ben Edris, appointed prefect of Azala, ii. 7.
—— Ben Gudi, a rebel general, defeated, i. 342.
—— Ben Hassan, a learned man, ii. 18; anecdotes of, 19; works by, ib., his death, 48.
—— Ben Husein, Wali of Tortosa, heads the rebels, i. 228, killed and decapitated, 234.
—— Ben Jonas, statement of, i. 263.
—— Ben Othman, poem by, ii. 18.
—— Ben Salhi, his reply to Obeidula, i. 410; orders to him, 412, takes Fez by storm, 413.
—— Ben Suleiman, his eulogy of Suar Ben Hamdum, i. 340, causes that led to his assassination, 347.
Saida, sister of king Almondhir, i. 325.
—— Cubra, consort of the king of Seville, ii. 304; her death, 305.
Salcho, prince, son of king Alfonso, sends his son to encounter the Almoravides, ii. 334; slain in battle, 335
Salè, city of, captured, ii. 405, surrenders to Abdelmumen, 447; death of Abdelmumen at, iii. 10.

Saleh, brother of the caliph Abdallah, i. 148; verses by, 149, returns to Egypt, ib.
Salerno, descent upon the city of, ii. 49.
Salomon Ben Coraixi, his death, i. 433.
Samail Ben Hatim, some account of, i. 133; civil war between him, Thueba El Hezamy, and Husam Ben Dhirar, 136, stratagem employed by, 139, 156, defeated by Amer Ben Amru, 157; his defence of Saragossa, 158, retreats from the city, ib, assembles his troops at Toledo, 159; the war against, 175, defeated, 177; retires to the land of Tadmir, 178; advice of, 180, mission entrusted to, 183; retires from public life, 187; his death, 191.
Samarcand, taken by Coteiba, i. 48.
Sampiro, the Asturian, Chronicle of, i 8.
Sanche, vizier, torn to pieces by the populace, ii. 415.
Sancho, count, king of the Christians, ii. 61.
—— general, slain in battle, iii. 27.
—— prince, commands the Christian army, iii 177; taken prisoner and killed, 178.
—— prince, son of king Alphonso, iii. 182, defeated by the king of Granada, 183, his propositions to that monarch, ib.; forms a treaty of alliance with him, 184; besieged at Cordova by his father's troops, ib.; defeated by the troops of Muhamad, 185; receives letters of condolence from the king of Tunis, 188; message of, ib., negociations of the king of Morocco with, 192, storms and takes Tarifa, 194; his ruptnre with the king of Granada, 195; besieges and takes Quesada and Alcabdat, 196, successes of, ib.; his death, ib., 198.
Sanhaga, successes of Zeiri Ben Atia in, ii. 37, tribe of, 205
Santamaria, town of, rebuilt, ii. 81; defeat of the people of, iii. 68; besieged by Ben Zeyan, 125.
Santaren, besieged by king Jusef, iii. 31; taken by storm, ib.
Santistiban, capture of, i. 465.
Santyac, capture of, ii. 16; church of, burnt, 25.
Saragossa, conquest of, i. 79, tombs at, 89; arrival of the Ameer Ocba at, 115; cities of, 145; siege of, 157; capture, 158; surrenders to Jusuf El Fehri, 171; advice sent by the vizier of, 212; occupied by the rebels, 234, entry of king Alhakem into, 250, entry of prince Almondhir into, 311, new incursions in, 314, surrenders to Calib Ben Hafsun, 325; entry of king Abderahman into, 374; besieged by king Alfonso, ii. 260–261, siege of, raised, 263; surrendered to the Christians, 344; troops sent to the relief of, 345.
—— the Wali of, ordered to proceed against the French, i. 288; defeated on the frontiers of Gallicia, 295; inactivity of, 303.
Sarbatera, siege of the fortress of, iii. 67, sufferings of the army before, 68.
Sardinia, island of, Christian fleet destroyed at, i. 265; taken, ii. 90, 94.
Savato Ben Salema, a learned man, i. 224.
Scipio, the most admirable of heroes, i 1.
Sea, extraordinary sinking of the, i. 448.
Sebastian of Salamanca, Chronicle attributed to, i. 7.
Secura, mountain city of, i. 221; taken, ii 310.
Sefonda, the fortress of, occupied by Suleiman, i. 230, who takes shelter in the mountains, ib.
Segura, the sierras of, i. 77.
Selima, a beautiful slave, i. 97.
Serag-Daula, prince, killed, ii. 184.
Sérida, ambush laid at, ii. 371.
Setenil fortress of, besieged, iii. 300–301, the town of, surrenders to the Christians, 365.
Seville, schools established at, i. 3;

carnage of the inhabitants of, 71; captured by the rebels, 189, 198; entry of Mekuesi into, 207; depredations of the Normans at, 290; the walls and edifices at, restored, 291, rebellion at, 334; taken by prince Abderahman, 344, disloyalty at, 351; treaty of alliance concluded at, ii. 157; captured, 185, besieged by, Aben Abed, ib., congress of Cadies at, 204, council of Ameers at, 230, arrival of Juzef at, 264, ii. 22; rejoicings at, on account of the battle of Zalacca, ii. 282; surrenders to the Almoravides, 304; conquest of, by the Almohades, 455, erection of a new Aljama at, ii. 25, 54, 55, arrival of king Abdallah and his army at, 63; invested by land and sea, 141, protracted siege of, 142; surrounded by the horrors of war, 144, surrenders to king Ferdeland, on certain conditions, 145.

Shepherds, Arab, their mode of life, i. 31.

Sicily, the conquest of, i. 396, slaughter of the inhabitants of, 421; successes of the king of, ii. 467.

Sidonia, insurrection of the Alcaide of, i. 198; siege of, 199.

Sierras, proceedings of the rebels in the, i. 204.

Sigilmesa, taken by storm, i. 452; capitulates to Abdelmumen, ii. 467.

Siguenza, a tragic event in the palace of Samail at, i. 156–157.

Sirag Ben Abdallah, appointed president of the chief tribunal of Cordova, i. 213.

Slaves, natives of Guinea, purchased, ii. 218; instructed in horsemanship, 219.

Sobeiha, Sultana, mother of prince Hixem, i. 480–493; influence of, 494; aqueduct constructed by, 498; causes a mosque to be erected at Cordova, 507; her death, ii. 45.

Sodaif, verses recited by, i. 152.

Sohaib Ben Muza, curious anecdote respecting his seal, i. 372.

—— Cadi, his death, i. 388.

Solomon, the precious table of, i. 73, 84.

Spain, domination of the Arabs in, i. 2; the libraries of, 3; proposals for passing into, 51; tempting descriptions of the country, 52; Taric crosses into, 53; Arab expedition to the east of, 77, rebellion in, suppressed, 99; election and deposition of Ameers of, 101; civil war in, between Baleg and Aben Cotan, 121, distribution of lands in, 132; civil war between the Arab generals in, 154, 156; list of the Ameers or governors in, 160–162, caliphs of, 161, incursions of the Christians into, 213, rivers of, 222; public instruction in, 224; rebellion and war in the east of, 234; irruption of the people of France into, 248; expedition to the northern frontiers of, 272; fleet sent from, on a warlike expedition to France, 289; arrival of the Normans on the coast of, ib., great drought and scarcity in, 291; grand works effected in, 292, 306, fearful earthquake in, 317; incursions of the French into, 318; famine and pestilence in, 348; dispositions for guarding the coast of, 371; terrible mortality in, 379, dreadful hurricane in, 467; expedition of the Almohades to, ii. 447; their conquests in, 483.

Suar Ben Hamdum, a rebel general, i. 339; taken and beheaded, 340; eulogy on, ib.

—— Don, false intelligence communicated by, ii. 123.

Suleiman Ben Abdelgafir, reply of, i. 456, his death and funeral, ii. 68.

—— Ben Albaga, satirical works of, i. 353, implores the king's pardon, ib.; secret revealed by, ib.

—— Ben Alhakem, marches against Cordova, ii. 61; enters that city, and is proclaimed king, 63; proceedings of, ib.; causes conspirators to be decapitated, 64; malicious

advice rejected by, ib.; defeats Muhamad Ben Hixem, 67, head of that general sent to him, 71; his devastations around Cordova, 74; his appeal to the Wahes, 76, his entry into Cordova, 79; proclaimed king, 80; proceedings of, ib.; rewards his followers, 81, his cares and anxieties, 87, battle fought by, 88, defection among his troops, 90; fall of, 91; beheaded, 92.
Suleiman Ben Ams, Cadi of Merida, implores the king's pardon, i. 335; appointed vizier, 336.
—— Ben Chalaf, his death, ii. 99.
—— Ben Foteis, Wali of the Zoco, i. 237.
—— Ben Harun, his death, i. 356.
—— Ben Hixem, success of, i. 108; defeated, 135; ordered to be put to death, 152.
—— Ben Jorais, poisons Edris, i. 392, wounded, ib.
—— (uncle of Alhakem), excites the people to open rebellion against the king, his nephew, i. 243.
—— Ben Mohran, the poet, ii. 47.
—— Ben Venasos, vizier, i. 358; offended at the king's pleasantry, 359; deposed from command, ib., reply of, 360.
—— Ben Xihab, his defeat and death, i. 179
—— caliph, succeeds his brother as caliph, i. 84; empire of, 85; anecdote of his cruelty, 90; his death, ib., 91.
—— El Firexi, funeral of, ii. 68.
—— prince, son of Abderahman, i. 213; appointed governor of Toledo, 214, resentment of, 226; requests his brother, Abdallah, to repair to Toledo, 227; his compact with Abdallah, 228; defeated, 230, overthrow of his forces, 245, his great valour, 246; slain, ib.; his honourable interment, 247.
Sun, extraordinary appearance of the, i. 215; total eclipse of the, 362, 424, 467.
Suns, three, seen at Cordova, i. 159.
Sûs, conquest of, i. 43.
—— Alaksa, rebellion in, ii. 349.
Syr Ben Bekir, the Almoravide general, ii 285; information communicated by, 297; command given to, 299–300; his letter to the king of Seville, commanding him to resign his territories to Juzef, ib.; besieges and captures Jaen, 301, sends an account of his victory to Juzef, 302; further conquests of, ib, storms and takes Carmona, 303, and also Seville, 304; his successes in Algarve, 314; Badajos surrenders to, 335: treacherously causes the king of Badajos and his two sons to be put to death, 315; takes possession of Ivica, Majorca, &c. 319; lays siege to Valencia, 321, his successes in the Algarve of Spain, 339; his death, 340.
Syr Ben Musladi, defeated by the Almohades, ii. 359.
Syria, military expedition to, i. 36–37; civil war in, 101; appearance of an impostor in, 134.

T.

Taberna, defeat of the Christians before, iii. 377.
Tadmir (or Theodomir), the Spanish knight, defeated, i. 55, his desperate conflicts with the Arabs, 74; stratagem of, 75; enters into a treaty of peace with Abdelaziz, 75–77; his reception of the Arab general, 76
—— (Murcia), division of the lands of, i. 182, alluded to, 178, 181, 186, 205, 221, 230, 245, 258, 268; orders to the Alcaides of, 373; entry of king Abderahman into, 374, the governor of, entertains the Hagib Muhamad, ii. 4.
Tahart, a place in Mauritania, i. 165 168.
Taira, princess, her death, ii. 175;

grief of king Muhamad, her father, ib.
Takerna, dreadful carnage at, i. 237.
Talamanca (Salamanca), the city of, taken and plundered, iii. 54.
Talavera, the Wali of, i. 297; besieged by the Christians, 387; the walls of, repaired, 388.
Talismans of the ancients, ii. 10.
Tangiers, sanguinary battle at, i. 471; the city of, surrenders to Juzef, ii. 228.
Tanja, the Christians of, i. 51, city of, 53.
Tarabolos, the Wali of, assassinated, i. 402.
Tarcuna (Tarragona), conquest of, by king Juzef, iii. 27.
Taric Ben Zeyad, general, crosses into Spain, i. 53, celerity of his movements, 56; animates the soldiers, 57; kills king Roderic, ib., his account of the battle of Guadalete, 58, his conquests in Andalusia, 61, takes Toledo, 64, his successes at Tolaitola, 70, cast into prison, 73, reinstated in his command, 77, his recall, 81; his departure from Spain, ib.; his interview with the caliph, 82; confounds Muza, 84.
Tarif Aben Taric, translation of the History of, i. 10
Tarifa, battle on the plains of, iii. 109; the city of, stormed and taken by the Christians, 194; beleaguered by prince Juan, ib.; loss of, 197; proposition relative to, 198; siege of, 254.
Tarragona, rebellion in, suppressed. i. 99, wrested from the rebels, 250; inscription in the mosque at, 454.
Taxfin, son of king Aly Ben Jusef, sent to Spain, ii. 379; arranges his troops in order of battle, 380; his signal defeat of the Christians at Fohos-Assebab, ib.; takes counsel of his generals, 381; routs the enemy at Gebel El Cazar, ib.; defeated by the Christians, 393, poem addressed to him on that occasion by his secretary, Abu Zacaria, 394; rejoiced at the defeat of the Christians, 404; exploits of, 405; his campaigns against the Christians, 406; takes Cuenca by storm, ib., requested by his father to return to Africa, ib., verses in his praise, 407; defeated by the Almohades, 421; his accession to the throne, 422; writes to his generals, ib.; proceeds against and defeats Abdelmumen, ib; pitches his camp at Wadi Tehlt, 423, accession to his forces, ib.; defeat and flight of his troops, 424; sends for fresh troops, 425, reviews them, ib.; marches towards Telencen, ib., charges the Almohades, 426, is vigorously repulsed, ib, shuts himself up in Telencen, 427; sortie of, ib.; proceeds to the relief of Uhran, ib.; falls over a precipice and is killed, 428; his head sent to Tinmaul, ib.; brief reign of, 429.
Telencen, submits to Edris, i. 391; the inhabitants put to the sword, ii. 444, sanguinary conflict near, 424; siege of, 427, 444, iii. 205.
Telmda, battle of, i. 44.
Telle Giron, the Christian general, defeated. iii. 331; slain, 347.
Temam Ben Alcama, reply of, i. 167; proceeds to Africa, 168; his address to Abderahman, 169, victory gained by, 188; takes Muhamad Ben Jusef prisoner, ib.; arrives at Seville, 189; his declaration to the rebels of Toledo, 193; his advice to Abderahman, 209; appointed high admiral, 211.
—— Ben Amri, vizier, demise of, i. 346.
Temim Aben Juzef, sent to the north of Spain to succour the Moslemah, ii. 343; his conflict with the Christians, ib.; utterly defeated at Cutanda, 345; cares of, 346; his return to Andalusia, 372; his death, 379.
—— Ben Mansur, victory of, ii. 224 killed, 225.

Tempest, terrific, at sea, ii. 95.
Tendilla, Condé de, appointed Alcayde of Granada, iii. 401.
Tensitena, sanguinary battle at, ii. 462.
Thaalaba Ben Salema, an Arab general, i. 119; passes into Spain, 120; proceeds towards Merida, 124; lays siege to Cordova, 131; arrested and sent to Africa, ib.
Thabit El Guagemi, a wise astrologer, ii. 90.
Theft, punishment of, iii. 269.
Themina, mother of king Muhamad, i 293.
Theophilus, king of the Grecks, entreats the assistance of Abderahman against the caliph of the East, i. 289.
Thueba El Hezami, elected Ameer of Spain, i. 137; his revengeful conduct, 138, government of, 140.
Time, Arabic, computation of, i. 20.
Tinmaul, retirement of El Mehedi to, ii. 355, 362; strongly fortified, ib., march of Abdelmumen from, 402
Tiscar, obstinate defence of, iii. 228; taken by Don Pedro, ib.
Tobeos, or Arab sovereigns, i. 31.
Tolaitola, arrival of Taric at, i. 62; surrenders to him, 64.
Toledan Chronicle, i. 8.
Toledo, Don Rui Ximenes, archbishop of, i. 9; conquest of, by the Arabs, 64; arrival of Muza Ben Noseir at, 71; siege of, 121, 188, 201; cities in the province of, 145; assemblage of troops at, 159; revolt of Ben Adra in, 192; surrender of, 202; the king's son appointed governor of, 214; Abdallah obtains possession of, 243; negociations of the people of, 245; massacre at, 252; sedition and insurrection of the people of, 282; dreadful slaughter of the rebels before, 285; reduction of, 288; siege of, 296; stratagem of the king, ib; fatal sortie from, 297; reduction of, 298; the people of, pardoned, ib.; seditious proceedings at, 311; the king restores order at, 313; entry of Calib Ben Hafsun into, 325; surrender of, to general Haxem, 327, treachery of Hafsun in respect to, ib.; conflicts between king Almondhir and the Christians in the province of, 330; the army under king Abderahman proceeds to subjugate the rebels at, 365; surrenders to king Abderahman, 386; the inhabitants of, pardoned, ib.; the Wali of, attacks the Christiansof, before Talavera, 387; arrival of prince Alhakem at, 463; taken by the Wadha El Alamari, ii. 73; Abu Ismail, governor of, 74; desolation of the district of, 196, siege of the capital, and its surrender, 198, its conquest alluded to, 242–243; devastations in, 338–340, iii. 25.
—— the king of, his treaties with the Christians of Gallicia and Castille, ii. 155; his incursions in the territories of Cordova, 156; his ambitious purposes, 167; his death, 169.
Tombs of the caliphs at Damascus, violated, i. 154.
Torgiela, taken by the Christians, iii. 114.
Tortosa, landing of the rebels in the vicinity of, i. 204, sanguinary contests near, 229, 250; defeat of the Christians before, 256.
Toulouse, siege of, i. 95; defeat of the Arabs at, 96.
Tours, the city of, i. 109.
Towns, register of the, i. 488.
Tunis, city of, i. 3; march of Abdelmumen from Medina Salè to, ii. 488, siege of, 490; taken, ib.
Turab, defeat of the caliph Meruan at, i. 147.

U.

Ubeda, foundation of the city of, i. 324.
Ucles, flight of Muhamad to, i. 114.
Uhran, city of, besieged, ii. 427; stormed and taken by Abdelmumen, 428, 444.

Ukailis, siege and surrender of, ii. 334; valiant defence of, ib.
Uxixar, a strong citadel, iii. 107.
Uzam Daula, protection afforded to, ii. 149.

V.

Valencia, the governor of, i. 2; the Wali of, killed, 229, taken by the king of Toledo, 172; deposition of the king of, ib.; siege of, ii 310; fall of, 311, 321, restored to Islam, ib., attacked by king Radmir, 371; the Christians defeated at, iii. 81; their renewed incursions into, 83; taken by Giomail Ben Zeyan, 110, besieged by king Gaveum, 128, defended by king Giomail Ben Zeyan, ib., conditions of its surrender, 129; given up to the Christian king, ib.; abandoned by the Moslemah, ib.; exiles from, settle in Granada, 144.
Velad Barga, city of, ii. 225.
—— Dukela, Cabilas of, utterly defeated by Abdelmumen, ii. 463.
—— Tudela, taken by storm, ii. 403.
Velez Malaga, Reduan Ben Egas marches to the relief of, iii. 371; surrendered to the Christians, 373.
Velila, arrival of Edris in, i. 391.
Velmez, town of, its conquest by Don Pedro, iii. 228.
Vera, surrenders to the Christians, iii. 376.
Venquia, city of, ii. 211.
Vigila, monk, Chronicle of, i. 7.

W.

Wadaramla, valley of, i. 171.
Wadha El Alameri, secret revealed by, ii. 65; appointed Hagib to Muhamad Ben Hixem, 66; insinuations of, 70; attacks and takes Toledo, 73, vituperations on, 74; his influence over the king, 76; beheaded, 77.
Wadha El Feti, general, marches against Ben Atia, ii. 30; defeated, 31; his victories over Zeriri Ben Atia, 32; recalled from Fez, 46.
Wadi-Mena, sanguinary battle at, ii. 31.
Wahda, city of, built and fortified, ii. 30.
Wahib Ben Zahir, proposition of, i. 168.
—— son of Amer Ben Amru, appointed governor of Saragossa, i. 159, exploits of, 166, his dreadful fate, 172.
Walid Ben Abdelmelic, caliph, empire of the, i. 48; commands the great Aljama to be built at Damascus, 49; complaints made to, 80; recalls his generals, 81; his reception of Taric, 82; malady of, 83; Muza convicted before, 84, his death, ib.; succeeded by his brother, Suleiman, ib.
Wahib Ben Jezid, caliph, reign of, i. 125; character of, 126, barbarously murdered, ib., attempts to avenge his death, 127.
Wali of Cairvan, disputes the authority of Abderahman, i. 194, artifices of, 196, killed, 197; his head exposed in the market-place of Cairvan, ib.
Walies of the frontier, defeat and pursue the Christians, i. 214, oath of allegiance taken by, 224; unworthy conduct of, 244; sanguinary battles fought by, 273, reduced to obedience, ii. 122.
Walimas, or wedding-feasts, i. 467, iii. 266.
Warriors, female, at Auriola, i. 75.
Weapons, warlike, amount of, manufactured in the empire of Abdelmumen, iii. 6.
Wedding-procession at Cordova, ii. 12.
Wine, sale of, prohibited, i. 400; on the use of, 467; disapproved of by the king, 468.

X.

Xalubania, cruel mandate sent to the Alcayde of, iii. 302; his emotion and indecision on receiving it, ib.;

besieged by the Moslemah, 388–389.
Xativa, siege of, ii. 419; surrender of, to Abu Ben Abdelaziz, 429.
Xelb, city of, captured, iii. 40.
Xeque, noble conduct of a, iii. 2; his sepulchre, ib.
Xeques, council held by the, i. 156; hospitality of the, 165; embassy of the, to Abderahman, 168; accompany him to Spain, 173, insurrection of the, iii. 84; put the caliph to death, ib., new sovereign proclaimed by, 85, condemned to death, 87, their heads suspended on the city walls, 88, offended with the king of Granada, 157; rebel against him, 158, defeated, 169, countenanced by king Alphonso, 170, truce granted to, for one year, 172–173; accommodate matters with king Muhamad, 174; advice to, 175, retire to their cities, 180, their reply to Abu Juzef, 190, their submission to him, ib, subjected by the king of Granada, 197.
Xeques of Lamtuna, government of, ii. 339.
Xeres, battle of, i. 9; city of, ii. 106, 110, the inhabitants submit to Abu Amruan, 448; devastations of the Christians at, iii. 139, besieged by king Alphonso, 149; capitulation of, 150–158.
Xerif Edris, statement of, ii. 84.
Xabil Ben Abdallah, verses recited by, i. 152.
Ximena, town of, taken by the Christians, iii. 336.
Xiyeis race, kings of the, i. 407.

Y.

Yahye Aben Aly, uncle of king Ibrahim, nuptials of, ii. 445; flight of, 446.
—— Ben Ahmed Hussein, Wali of Xativa, becomes an outcast, iii. 143.
—— Ben Alaftas, king of Badajoz, marches to the aid of Yahye of Toledo, ii. 194; flight of the Christians on his approach, ib.; his sudden death at Merida, ib.; succeeded by his younger brother, ib.; sends his son, Alfadal, to the relief of Toledo, 196; his letters to the prince of the Almoravides, 204.
—— Ben Alhakem, his death, i. 301, particulars respecting, ib.
—— Ben Almamun, surrender of his city to king Alfonso, ii. 198; retires to Valencia, ib.
—— Ben Aly Ben Aasa, Wali of Cordova, ii. 469; his head struck off by Aben Gama, 470.
—— Ben Amer, his death, ii 72.
—— Ben Anasir, vanquished by Aby Aly Alamoun, iii. 107; flies to the mountains, ib.; foments the revolt against the Almohades, 109; congratulates Aben Hudon his victory, 111; asserts his right to the throne, 115; army assembled by, 116, confers the command of it upon his nephew, ib., his death, ib.; his nephew proclaimed king of Almeria, 127; entry of the latter into Granada, ib; he concerts measures with his viziers, iii. 129; is compelled to raise the siege of Martos, 130; defeats the Christians, ib.; drives the Christians from his territories, 132; his public works at Granada, 133; councils held by, 134, order observed in his household, ib.; cultivates the friendship of powerful Ameers, ib; sends supplies to his strongholds on the frontier, 136; approves the conduct of the leaders of the convoy, ib.; defeated at Hisn Bolullos, 137, places himself under the protection of king Ferdeland, 138; his cordial reception, ib.; agrees to the condition of the Christian king, ib,; accompanies him in his campaign against Seville. ib., advice of, 140; defeats Abul Xetaf, 141; valorous acts of, ib.; takes leave of king Ferdeland, 146; rejoicings on his arrival in Granada,

ib.; encourages the arts of life, ib.; device on his shield, 147; selects preceptors for his sons, ib.; his principal counsellors, 148; sends letters of condolence to king Alphonso, on the death of his father, 149; his treaty of alliance with that monarch, ib.; joins king Alphonso in his invasion of Xeres, ib.; his advice to prince Auric, 151; sends troops to king Alphonso, iii. ib.; inspects his dominions, 153; visited by Moslemah cavaliers, who urge him to throw off the Christian yoke, ib.; takes the advice of his council, 154; arguments of, ib., his evasive reply to king Alphonso, 156, defeats that monarch, ib.; successes of, 157; enmity of certain Xeques towards, ib.; declares his eldest son, prince Muhamad, his successor, 157; rebellion in his kingdom, 158; letters of queen Iolant to, 160; writes to the king Alphonso, ib.; his convention with that monarch, 163, enters Murcia, ib.; returns to Granada, ib.; acquaints the king of Castille of his intention to proceed against the rebel Walies, ib.; his troops occupy the towns seized by the insurgents, 164; required to desist from further attack upon the rebel Xeques, ib.; his indignation on the occasion, ib.; reproaches the Christian king for his perfidy, ib.; noble fugitives at his court, 165; honours conferred upon them, ib.; seeks the aid of the king of Morocco, ib.; determines to put down the rebel Xeques, 166; sudden illness of, 167, his death, ib.; interred with great pomp, ib.; epitaph on, ib.; his son Muhamad proclaimed king, 168.

—— Ben Chalid, vizier, i. 391.

—— Ben Dylnoun, king, mortally wounded, ii. 310; his death avenged, 318; his remains removed to Murcia, 319.

—— Ben Edris, besieged in his capital, i. 395.

Yahye Ben Hakem, the great traveller, i 274.

—— Ben Hudheil, the poet, i. 429.

—— Ben Ibrahim, his pilgrimage to Mecca, ii. 206; his stay at Tunis, ib., his conversation with Abu Amram, ib.; obtains letters of recommendation to Abu Izag, 207; returns to his tribe, in company with Abdallah Ben Yasim, 207.

—— Ben Ishac El Mayorki, march of the king against, iii. 59; takes refuge in Mahadia, ib.; defends that city, 60; implores the king's clemency, ib., honour conferred on, ib.; defeat and escape of, ib.

—— Ben Yahye, returns from his travels, i. 276; his reply to Malec, 277, becomes the prince's preceptor, ib.

—— Ben Zalema, nominated governor of Spain, i. 101; removal of, 102.

—— El Laethi, his death, i. 310.

—— the son of Aly Ben Hamud, asserts his right to the throne, ii. 101; his convention with his uncle, 102; proclaimed king at Cordova, 103; quits the city on the approach of Alcasim, 104; fortifies himself in Algezira Alhadra, ib.; his uncle given up to him, 110; invited to take possession of the throne, 115; departs from Malaga for Cordova, ib.; his welcome reception, ib.; marches against Muhamad Ben Ismail, 117; killed in an ambush, ib; beheaded, 118, grief at his death, ib.; alluded to, 134.

—— prince, rebellion of, ii. 331; the king marches against him, ib.; receives letters from his uncle, ib.; pardoned, 332; his death, 333.

—— Ben Malic, his sudden death, ii. 14.

Yala Ben Yala, Ameer of Telinzen, slain, ii. 229.

Yemen, the first kings of, ii. 205.

Yemeniya, or Arabs of Yemen, i. 134-141.

Yesibat islands, ii. 94-96.

Yetti, general of Latmuna, slain in battle, ii. 362.
Yezid Arradi, prince, ordered to arrest Aben Omar. ii. 199.
—— Ben Muhamad Arredi, erudition of. ii. 196.
—— Radillah, son of Aben Abed, put to death, ii. 302.

Z.

Zab, the country of i. 43.
Zabor and Aubaro, generals, ii. 72-74.
Zacaria Ben Alchitab, his exemplary life, i. 352
Zacum, church of, plundered, ii. 11.
Zagût, Wali of Malaga, his advice disregarded, ii. 204.
Zahara, taken by Don Fernando, iii. 300.
—— fortress of, taken by the Moslemah, iii. 344.
Zahira, consort of the king of Fez, iii. 292.
Zaide Ben Rustam, general, i. 309.
Zalacca the battle of, 18; ii. 269, iii. 53.
Zalem, a Negro youth, wounds Zeiri Ben Atia, ii. 32.
Zamora, siege of, i. 316, retreat of the Moslemah from, ib.; the battle of, i. 350; slaughter at, 351, besieged by Abdallah Ben Gamri, 423; taken by Abderahman, 427; again captured, 432, inroads of the king of Galicia into, 443.
Zaonoun, Alcayde of Auriola, ii. 432.
Zarafa, arrival of king Abdal'ah and his army at, iii. 63.
Zawiyas, or beggars' hospital, ii. 13.
Zayde Ben Kesadi, force under, i. 62.
Zecraf, the mother of Alhakem, i. 242.
Zehir, river, site of the city of Fez near, i. 256, 393.
Zeid, his head sent to Caliph Hixem, i. 116; defeated by the Christians, 300.
Yeid Ben Casim, grandson of king Muhamad, i. 304, perfidiously assassinated, 305
Zeiri Ben Atia, orders received by, ii, 15; victories of, 17; sends valuable presents to Muhamad, ib.; appointed Wali of Cordova, 20; his rare and valuable presents, 21; his return to Africa, ib.; defeats and slays Jadoc Ben Jali, 22, verses sent by to Muhamad, 23; his rebellious proceedings, 30, defeated by Wadha El Feti, 32, flight of, 33; his successes in Sanhaga, 37; his death, 379.
Zelim, brother-in-law of king Abul Hassan, iii. 349, 363, 366, 372, 375, 376; his death, 379.
Zeneta tribe [illegible] of the, i. 49; their hospitality, 165, 169.
Zetayfa, vizier, treachery of, ii. 146, hewn to pieces by the rabble, 147.
Zeyad Ben Nabaa, general, i. 87.
—— Ben Zaide, complaints of, i. 103.
Zeyadatala, command given by, i. 396, his account of the conquest of Sicily, ib.; sends three slaves to murder his father, 403; causes them to be put to death, ib.; his army defeated, 404; works effected by in Roqueda, ib., his death, 405.
—— king, son of Ibrahim Ben Muhamed, ominous lines respecting, i. 407.
—— Ben Aly, the poet, ii. 11.
Zeyid, the rebel, executed, i. 116.
Ziad Ben Aflag, a freed man, i. 499.
Zicandar, a stronghold, built, iii. 30.
Zoco at Toledo, the Wali of, i 282.
Zohair El Alameri, his conquests in Almeria and Tadmir, ii. 136; his death, 150.
——, the Arab general, i. 44; his address to the troops, 45; killed, ib.
Zonaria, an impostor, i. 101.
Zoraya, sultana, wife of king Abul Hassan, iii. 338, 342; enmity of, 343, imprisoned, 347; contrives

the escape of her son, 348; sends ambassadors to the king of Castille to treat for his ransom, 356; her exhortations to the latter, ib.; welcomes her son back to Granada, 358.

Zuleiman Aben Rabie, assumes the title of king of Medina Almeria, iii. 206, escapes and takes refuge with Aben Gaymis, ib., lays siege to Ceuta 207; captures the city, 210; defeated by king Nazar, ib.; his death, 221.

—— Ben Almondar, proclaimed king of Saragossa, ii. 149; his war with the Christians, 154; his death, 155.

Zurita, fortress of, i. 337.

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