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et aliam manum etiam etiam

HISTORY OF THE
DOMINION OF THE
SERVANTS OF INDIAN SOCIETY,
THE
INDIA COMPANY
IN
SPAIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH OF

DR. J. A. CONDÉ,

BY

MRS. JONATHAN FOSTER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E .

THE work of the celebrated historian Condé, however well known to the student of Spanish literature, has not before been presented to the English reader: a lacuna in our literature which the present translation is intended to supply.

The first volume of the original work was published at Madrid early in 1820, and had the advantage of the Author's superintendence; but before the second could be given to the public, death had removed him from the scene of his labours, and deprived the world of one of its most distinguished literary ornaments.

Three years after the appearance of the concluding volume (1821), a German translation was made by Herr Karl Kutschmann, Captain in the service of the Grand Duke of Baden, which, though not exhibiting the learning and research so often brought by the Germans to the elucidation of their text, is very faithfully performed.

A French translation, or rather rifacimento of the work, by M. de Marles, was published, Paris, 1825, but so transposed, and otherwise altered, as scarcely to be recognisable. Indeed, M. de Marles requests that his work may neither be called a translation nor a servile imitation, but "a complete History," founded on Condé's materials, and com-

pleted from other sources. All that is valuable, however, in the book belongs to Condé, including much of what, by transposition, is assumed to be new; while the matter added from other sources is irrelevant, or taken from printed works, such as Ferreras, Garibay, &c., which were quite as accessible to Condé as to M. de Marles, had he deemed them of value.

On the admirable manner in which the learned and conscientious Author completed his work, it is not necessary here to dilate. He frequently allows the Arabian writers to speak for themselves, and with so felicitous an effect, that the reader may almost hear the voices of the speakers, conducting him to the land of the patriarchs. He has by this means imparted infinite life and vigour to his story, many parts of which are more exciting, in the stern realities of their mournful interest, than the most successful inventions of romance; while the manner of their narration is not unfrequently invested with great beauty, dignity, and melody of diction.

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**CHRISTIAN KINGS of SPAIN, and other PRINCES, mentioned
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XXXIX. King of Greece.
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LXXXIV. King of the Greeks.
XCVIII. Borel, King of Afranc.‡
C. Garcia Ben Sancho.
Bermond, King of Galicia.
CV. Count Sancho, King of the Christians
Count Bermond.
Count Armengudi.

* Alfonso.

† Alfonso.

‡ Franco.

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

A SORT of fatality, attaching itself to human affairs, would seem to command that in the relation of historical events those of the highest importance should descend to posterity only through the justly suspected channels of narrations written by the conquering parties. The mutation of empires, the most momentous revolutions, and the overthrow of the most renowned dynasties, seem all to be liable to this disadvantage: it was by the Romans that the history of their own aggrandizement was written; the narration of their rivalry and sanguinary wars with the Carthaginians has come down to us from themselves; or if Greek writers have also treated the subject, these men were the tributaries and dependents of Rome,—nor did they spare the flatteries best calculated to conciliate her favour.

Scipio thus appears to us the most admirable of heroes, but is not that in part because the history of his life is the work of his admirers and flatterers? It is true that the noble and illustrious Hannibal cannot look otherwise than great and glorious even in the narratives of his mortal enemies, but if the implacable hatred and aggressive policy of Rome had not commanded the destruction of all the Punic annals, the renowned African general would doubtless appear to us under an aspect differing much from that presented by the ruthless barbarian, described by Livy and accepted by his readers as the portrait of Hannibal. The celebrated warrior, our Cid Ruy Diaz, does not make the same figure in the works of Arabian writers as in the narratives of our own chroniclers: in the latter, humane

as valiant, he is described as receiving and protecting the fallen Gafu, whom he carries out of the press and beyond the reach of danger on his own shoulders; while in the Arabian annals, perfidious as cruel, he is represented as burning alive the Governor of Valencia, although that general had laid down his arms, or as violating all his promises and trampling the most sacred compacts beneath his feet.

But a sound and just discrimination forbids us to content ourselves with the testimony of one side only; this requires that we compare the relations of both parties with careful impartiality, and commands us to cite them with no other purpose than that of discovering the truth.

It is with these convictions, and in the spirit of these demands, that I devote myself to the task of describing the Domination of the Arabs in Spain, compiling it from Arabian memorials and writings in such sort that those documents may be read as they were written, and that all may see how their authors have themselves related the events of that memorable epoch.

And here I may with truth affirm that to this my work I have given all the study and care of which I am capable; I have refused no kind of labour, have taken pains to overcome all the difficulties presenting themselves, and have sedulously availed myself of every facility and assistance that could be obtained. Nor have my utmost care and persistence been more than sufficient for the purpose, since it was no light labour fully to ascertain and clearly to describe the first origin of the great nation whose deeds are here in question, placing all events in their due order of time; neither was it an easy task to make manifest the course of its progress, to relate its vast conquests and important actions, to depict its customs and manners, with the degree of cultivation to which it gradually attained; or, at a word, to set forth in simplicity and sincerity the various and complicated changes occurring in the long series of 800 years. To arrange events thus numerous and diversified, gathering them from conflicting authorities, and comparing the relations of all, to arrive at a fair amount of certitude amidst the discordance of chroniclers and historians, and to gain the true point of view where so much uncertainty prevailed, was a painful and arduous labour, more especially

when we add to this that all these things were next to be translated from the Arabian into our Castilian tongue, and that it was not from written books, correct and legible, and whence the information they may comprise is to be readily obtained, that the facts were to be derived, but from ancient and often much injured manuscripts. Yet, without the endurance of the fatigue consequent on this state of things, it was not possible to place events in their true order, nor could the circumstances be related as they occurred, without the light cast upon them by the Arabian authorities here laid before the reader.

During ages when the most profound ignorance reigned in Europe, and when the higher orders of the clergy alone were there capable of reading, the Arabians, those of the East as well as of Africa and Spain, had already acquired much learning: this truth was well known to the king, Don Alfonso the Wise, and was early acknowledged by that monarch, when, in the year 1254, he commanded the establishment of schools in Seville, and made the Latin and Arabic a portion of the studies to be pursued therein. To this great sovereign we owe many valuable translations from Arabian works, but these were for the most part astronomical treatises, written according to the taste of that age, with some few on the sciences of Medicine and Chemistry: the period influenced by Alphonso was followed, moreover, by unhappy times of ignorance, during which all better things were disregarded; the Arabian learning was then no more held in esteem, nor until the restoration of letters in Europe did any man think of gathering its precious remains.

It may be safely inferred that the libraries of Spain must have been more especially rich in the best MSS. of this language, since they had not only ample opportunity for procuring such at the time of the Conquest of Granada, but had further more occasions for increasing those stores at Tunis, as well as by the occupation of Oran, Ceuta, and other cities of Africa. But in those days the name and literature of the Arabians were alike objects of contempt, and the singularly erroneous opinion of the period, according to which every Arabian writing was held to be the Koran or Book of Mussulman errors and superstitions, caused all to be condemned without examination; thus,

thousands of volumes were cast into the fire and consumed, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Moors to conceal and transport them into Africa before the destroyers could lay hands on those treasures.

Leo Africanus informs us that he had himself dwelt in Algiers, in the house of a Commissioner of that city, by whom no less than 3000 books belonging to the Moors of Granada had been saved from destruction; and although these losses were to some extent repaired in the reign of Philip III., by the capture of a ship wherein was found the library as well as wardrobe of Muley Zidan, Prince of Morocco, yet the fatality by which letters are persecuted did so mightily prevail, that in the year 1671, a conflagration broke forth in the Escorial, by which were consumed more than 8,000 volumes, the greater portion of them Arabian. This was an irremediable loss, since it is well known that, after the expulsion of the Arabs from Spain, their literature constantly degenerated; nay, it has continued to do so, until they have at length arrived at the deplorable ignorance into which are now sunk, not those of Africa only, but of the Orient also: their only good and valuable works are those of old times, but the copies of these books are not now multiplied as in the days when learning flourished among the Arabians, and the originals are unhappily perishing.

It is true that the library of the Escorial, notwithstanding the calamities which it has suffered, still retains magnificent remains of its former greatness: but the most valuable and important works have been more or less injured and are incomplete. Nor is this loss likely to be for the present repaired, seeing that there is now a total absence of all the attention and care required to promote the study of Arabian literature, useful and even, needful as it is for the illustration of our history and geography, while the knowledge of that literature is absolutely indispensable to a correct appreciation of the genius of our own language, and throws light on the origin of many among its richest and most elegant forms of speech. Unhappily the opportunities which have presented themselves for obtaining Arabian MSS. have not at any time been turned to account, although many rich treasures might frequently have been procured, in those parts of Africa where they now lie for-

gotten, together with the works of our own Andalusian writers, also conveyed thither, where all are now perishing, disregarded and unappreciated by their barbarous possessors. On this point we have certainly been far from equalling the learned men of Holland, France, and England, who have been careful to bring from the East and from Africa whatever MSS. they could procure,—thus increasing their literary wealth by an addition which now forms one of the principal ornaments of their Libraries.

But without insisting further on this subject, it is certain that for my purpose the consultation of such memorials as have been left to us by the Arabic writers was indispensable. The little we yet know of the extended dominion exercised by that nation on the soil of Spain, is taken from the superficial notices of our ancient Spanish chroniclers; but these writers are not only disfigured by the extreme rudeness of their style, as well as by their excessive brevity and lamentable inexactitude, but have also been so much injured by time as rarely to have reached us until reduced to a condition which leaves them deplorably incomplete. Even in things relating to ourselves they are frequently obscure, while the little they contain respecting the Arabs is deformed by every kind of confusion and misrepresentation. We have also to remember that their relations are the doubtful narratives of enemies writing at a time when the hatred existing on both sides was at its utmost intensity of violence; when no other communication but the terrible and sanguinary shock of arms was held between the conflicting parties, and when, in the ever-detested domination of the Arabs, our writers beheld, and could behold, nothing more than the abhorred preponderance of its tyrants.

Thence it is that we find so many false, misrepresented, or at the least imperfectly developed relations, contaminating and obscuring our history in this highly important part; and thence arises the belief most commonly entertained that the Moors, when they entered Spain, arrived in hordes innumerable,—not as brave and fortunate warriors, but as fierce, cruel barbarians, without culture and without order; a mere troop of savages, delivering all things to fire and the sword, pitiless and inhuman to both sexes and every age, destroying

whatever they found in their path, and leaving no one stone upon another in the hapless towns they subdued. At a word that Christianity fled in dismay before the aspect of these Barbarians, and that they left no traces behind them but those of horror, desolation, and death.

These opinions, the consequence of that terror to which the rapid and overwhelming conquests of the Arabs in Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, with the excesses of their sanguinary irruptions into Gaul, had given birth, were rendered firm convictions by traditions current in those dark and barbarous times, and were constantly perpetuated by the repetition of those fables. Much more clearly, and, indeed, as they truly occurred, are those events related in the ancient writings of the Arabs themselves: whence we discover with certainty in what manner it was that an army of fanatical warriors entered Andalusia, passed over and totally ravaged the ill-guarded fields of Lusitania, and, defeating a numerous army of badly prepared Goths, quickly subjugated the whole dominion of Spain.

But the conditions imposed on the conquered nation were such that the people found consolation rather than oppression in the presence of the conquerors; and when they compared their then fate with that which they had previously endured, could not fail to consider the change a fortunate one. The free exercise of their religion, a careful preservation of their churches from all injury, the security of their persons, with the unimpeded enjoyment of their goods and possessions,—such were the first-returns which they received for their submission to the stranger, and for the tribute (a very moderate one) which they paid to their victors. But there was yet more: the fidelity of the Arabs in maintaining their promises, the equal-handed justice which they administered to all classes, without distinction of any kind, secured them the confidence of the people in general, as well as of those who held closer intercourse with them: and not only in these particulars, but also in generosity of mind, and in amenity of manner, and in the hospitality of their customs, the Arabians were distinguished above all other people of those times.

And now, since history is the practical teacher of man, it is certain that we are bound carefully to respect the truth in her pages, and to refrain from disfiguring them by falsehoods

and calumnies. Impartiality is the first requisite of the historian; for without this quality what faith can his relations merit? It is not my wish to depreciate the worth or utility of such works as have preceded this which I now publish: I propose only to show that, as respects the period of the Arab rule, those we have hitherto obtained do not afford us much assistance.

The Chronicle of Isidore of Beja, known as the sole contemporary record respecting the arrival of the Arabs, and their first conquests in Spain, is all that we now possess in that kind. This Chronicle is, moreover, of closely limited extent, it embraces but a short period of time* and abounds in errors. The names of the first Emirs who commanded the Arabian forces on their entrance into Spain, form the principal part of the information it affords, and even these are rarely given correctly, nor does the list of them extend beyond the 7th year of Jusef el Fehri's command, the year of our Lord 754, that is to say: it is true that if the other works, which this apparently industrious writer declares himself to have produced, had not unhappily been lost, the history of that calamitous period might not have remained quite so obscure as this fragment leaves it; yet in the little which he has said, although the manner is not so rude and untaught as that of his successors, he proves himself nevertheless to be sufficiently inexact, and is, besides, much too declamatory in style for the calm relation of historical events: the exaggerations of Isidore of Beja are, moreover, manifest; and he presents few clear ideas respecting the policy and government of the Arab conquerors.

Those who followed Isidore of Beja, though they copied his work, yet did so with but little exactitude; and in what they added of their own times they displayed even less care and diligence than himself, while they are still more concise, more impassioned, and more uncultivated than he. Among these writers, the best known and most accredited are Sebastian, called of Salamanca, to whom is attributed the Chronicle which descends to the year of Christ 886; and the Monk Vigila, who added the Chronicle of Abeldum,† which comes down to the year 973: to this succeeds the Chronicle

* A period of forty-four years only.—TRANSLATOR.

† Cronicon Abaldense.

of Sampiro the Asturian, who continues his relation to the year 982; after which there follows that by Pelagius of Oviedo, which closes with the year 1109.

In all these works we find but very slight notices of matters concerning the Arabs; a short allusion to some battle, for example, or to the breaking of a truce, with the incorrectly-given name of some leader,—but all dark, obscure, and insufficient. Nor let any one hope here to obtain the true series of the Mosleman sovereigns,—to say nothing of their government and manners, no trace of which he will discover in these writers.

The Annals of Complutum* come down to the year 1119, those of Compostella to 1248, and the Toledan Chronicle to 1290; but all are exceedingly rude, repulsively dry, and so concise that they merit no better name than mere notices, giving intimation of the year and day when some battle was fought, or when some other event of like character took place. The most important are dismissed with two words: the battle, for example, which the Arabs call that of Zalaca, from the name of the place, near Badajoz, where it was fought—a most important and sanguinary conflict, in which our King, Alfonso the Sixth, contended with the whole assembled might of all the Arabian chiefs and rulers in Spain, reinforced by such aids as were sent to them by the Almoravidan Moors, whose auxiliaries had arrived from Africa to their assistance: this battle, I say, is described in the following words:—“*In Era 1124, Die 6, 10 Kal. Novembris, die SS. Servandi et Germani, fuit illa arrancada in Baduzo, id est Sacralias, et fuit ruptus Rex Domnus Adefonsus.*” So far the Compluternian Annals. Those of Compostella say, —“*Era 1124, fuit illa die Badajoz*; while the Toledan have the account as thus,—“*In 1124 the Moors did utterly defeat the King Don Alonso at Zagalla.*”

From these Chronicles, and from certain Arabic writers, Don Rui Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, compiled his History of the Arabs, the first intelligible account which Europe had received of that renowned Eastern people, and which was written in Latin. This learned prelate lived among the Muzarabians,† by whom the Arabic tongue was

* Or of Alcalá de Henares.

† This name was long given to the inhabitants of Toledo, who, after

commonly used; and the Archbishop spoke it as familiarly as his own. But although the work of Don Rui Ximenes is of considerable merit, it does not exhibit sufficient precision and clearness as to the Arabic Dynasties of Spain, nor does it extend beyond the year of the Hegira 539, or that of Christ 1140. Neither did this writer correctly compute the years of the Christian era, as compared with the lunar years of the Arabian calendar,—an error which has led many of the writers on our History into serious mistakes; among other defects in dates of importance is that which places the entrance of the Arabs into Spain in the year 713, while the battle of Xeres has in like manner been described as fought in Nov. 714.

The History called that of the Moor Rasis or Razif, and which is believed to have been translated from the Arabic by Maestro Muhamed and Gil Perez, a priest, at the command of the King, Don Donis, or Dionisius, of Portugal, is but a wretched compilation from the barbarous old chronicles before alluded to, with some few notices taken from Arabian works of no authority. Full of errors and ridiculous fables, this book yet merits some little consideration for the geographical details contained therein, seeing that these, although very defective, do nevertheless supply a certain amount of information on that subject: for the rest it has no value: incorrect as to matter, rude in manner, and barbarous in style, it gives little more than the names of some few Kings of Cordova. Of a reign of fifty years, renowned as was that of Abderrahman the Third, for example, this book records merely that “He reigned fifty years, was very fortunate in his actions, left sons and daughters, and was chosen King by command of Amirabomelin.” Of this dry and inexact account, moreover, they do not give more than to the period of the son of that Abderrahman, or to the year of the Arabic computation, 366.

Under the name and authority of the historian Iza Ben

that city had capitulated to the Arabs in the year 711,—or, as other computations make it, 714, and even 752,—lived in perfect harmony with their Mussulman conquerors; nor did any difference on the subject of their respective creeds ever arise between them. Authors differ as to the exact derivation of the word Muzarabian: but into the details of their opinions we do not here enter.—TRANSLATOR.

Ahmed Razif, who certainly wrote a history of Spain cited by numerous Arabic authors, not a few fabulous narratives have become incorporated with the Castilian Chronicles.

The work entitled the Chronicle General is without doubt full of excellent matter; it abounds in very noble descriptions, and highly admirable thoughts; in my opinion it is by much the most elegant and refined of all that can be found in the Spanish tongue relating to those times; but it has, nevertheless, many absurd fables respecting the Jews and Moors; and although the wise King Don Alfonso affirms that he had caused this book to be composed after having gathered all the ancient writings and all the chronicles, all the histories in Latin, and those in Hebrew and in the Arabic, which had previously been lost and lay in forgetfulness, yet the matter was but little ameliorated by all that care, nor was the history of our Arabs rendered materially clearer or better known by those labours.

The same result and no better was obtained in respect to those chronicles of particular places, which were compiled in the time of Don Alfonso the Eleventh; nor can we say more of the works referring to a later period, wherein there is, besides, but little which does not concern our own monarchs. The information respecting the Moors to be found in these works amounts in fact to nothing of any moment.

All the succeeding historians, even the best and most learned, have failed to amend this part of our history—a circumstance which has doubtless arisen from their want of acquaintance with Arabian literature, without which it was impossible for them to do anything more than copy the little which had been related by older writers, and offer conjectures of their own; which is no better than groping in darkness. The absurd fables published under the title of a Translation of the History of Tarif Aben Taric, by the Morisco, Miguel de Luna, does not merit even the most cursory mention, seeing that the impudent assumption of that pretender did but serve to prove his profound ignorance of the subject which he presumed to handle, and to set forth the extent of his literary dishonesty.

Yet what I have said here is not intended unduly to exalt the Arabic writers, any more than to depreciate those

of our own nation: I desire only to establish the truth, and, seeking earnestly to be rigidly impartial, will now give my opinion with equal frankness as to the merits of the former, as I have just done respecting the latter.

The Arabs have always had writers in great numbers, and in this respect have never been exceeded by the most highly cultivated nations, ancient or modern; but if, after their best times, and when they confined themselves principally to mere love songs, poems, adventures of various kinds, and deeds of arms (until they betook themselves to the study of the physical sciences, and translated all the useful works written on that subject in Greece),—if, I say, they had at that period devoted their leisure with equal energy to the reading and translation of the Greek and Latin histories, they might have ended by imitating the excellent example set them by both those nations; and at this moment, instead of absurd and puerile biographers, dry annalists, and ridiculous narrators of tradition, pompous of manner, and immoderately ornate in style, the world might have been enriched by the labours of good historians, since the Arabians yield to no people of the earth, whether in genius or the graces of language.

Hadgi Chalfa enumerates more than 1200 historians in his "Biblioteca, or Library of the East;" but the greater part of these writers are mere abbreviators of, or compilers from, some ten or twelve principal authors; and as even these were not altogether free from errors, the moderns, wanting critical knowledge, and unacquainted with the laws, manners, and customs of ancient nations, have copied these faults without consideration; possessing much less learning than their authorities, and having less inclination than they to treat of national antiquities. They have thus propagated an amount of fable which gives much cause for doubt, and creates infinite confusion among the critics of later times.

Some of the Arab authors—as for example Aben Ishak Tabari, Aben Omar El Wakedi, El Mesaudi, Seif Alezdi, Aben Kelbi, Novairi, and others, treat of many Nations in their various Histories, as well as of different Epochs. Others confine themselves to one particular people and to a given period; while others, again, restrict their labours to matters

concerning their own country and contemporaries. Thus Aben Regig or Rechic limits his work to the history of Africa ; and Aben Hayan, the best historian of Spanish affairs, also contents himself with that subject, or more especially with the rule of the Omeyan sovereigns in Cordova. The numerous writers who have followed those above-named have done nothing better than copy their works, each after his own manner, appropriating the notices supplied by the older authors with more or less judgment and critical acumen : nay, not a few among them, yielding to an excessive desire for the marvellous, and unable to content themselves with the repetition of ancient events as they found them, have presented the accounts of the more authentic historian, enriched with circumstances of their own invention ; thus filling what should be History with the deformities of fiction. Some of these writers have even carried this mania to such excess as to misstate the purport and corrupt the relation of events of which they were themselves eye-witnesses, and in which they were to a certain degree participant.

But the literary taste and habit most widely prevalent among the Arabians was that of epitomising their ancient authors, historians as well as geographers,—insomuch that they have for the most part reduced both history and geography to a kind of skeleton, presenting nothing more than the mere names of kings and people, with the dates of certain events, most of which have but slight importance or are altogether irrelevant to the purpose in hand, while they have in other parts exhibited a needless prolixity, even to the enumeration of the hours during which some prince may have lived or reigned, and again have neglected to mention circumstances and events of the utmost interest and moment.

The older Arabic writers are much more exact and consequent in their relations than are the moderns, all of whose narratives, with the exception of very few indeed, such as Abulfeda and Ben Chaledun, for example, want exactitude in the relation of events, beside that they are ill-connected and unequal as to manner, being sometimes immoderately prolix and redundant in description, at others injudiciously concise. In those battles wherein their party were victors, these writers are more especially minute, while the battles won by

their opponents are dismissed with two words, giving intimation of nothing more than a fearful carnage. Such is for the most part the spirit of these authors: yet I repeat that this censure does not comprise all, since there are some good historians who must not be confounded with these less meritorious writers.

The Arabic authors known in Europe and published there by the Doctors Selden, Pococke, Erpenio, Golio, Schultens, and Reische, are not of great utility as regards the history of Spain.

Neither in the dynasties of Abulfaragi, nor in the annals of Aben Batrik of Alexandria, is there any mention of Spanish affairs; and although there is a short account of the conquest of Spain in the Annals of Elmecen, which are abridged from those of Tabari; yet this is confined to the notification of the year in which that event took place, and to the record of the death of the principal Omeyan kings of Cordova, all which is given in very few words.

The Mosleman annals of Abulfeda do not even make mention of the Arab entrance into Spain, of their conquest of that Country, or of the first emirs or prefects by whom they were conducted; neither do they describe the wars of the nation: they speak only of the last days of the Omeyan princes, depicting even the physiognomy of some, while they do but allude to the death of others. They add a few words likewise respecting the Hamudian princes of Malaga, and of the sovereigns of the House of Edris, but all in the most obscure and superficial manner.

The History of the Saracens, published by the Englishman Simon Ockley, and taken from Wakedi and others, is confined to the conquest of Syria, and to certain details respecting Egyptian affairs: it is therefore not calculated to throw light on the subject here treated.

There is a history of the Conquests of the Arabs in Spain and Africa, written in French by Monsieur de Cardonne, and that work has been translated by the Germans and English; but the writer has consulted no other Arabic authors than those from which extracts had been made by our learned Archbishop Don Rodrigo, with some of the notes of Herbelot, in which are comprised what has been related by Novairi: what M. de Cardonne ultimately found written in

our Spanish histories in relation to the affairs of Granada he has repeated, but without correcting the faults of any one among these his authorities. Thus he has copied the chronological error of the Archbishop, whose account of the arrival of the Arabs in Spain Monsieur Cardonne has reproduced. He calls Taric Ben Zeyad, Taric Ben Malic e Meafir; and, as if the Arab captain were another person, he calls him in the following page "Tarid Ben Ziad, Ben Abdallah." The French author likewise makes Muza enter Spain in the year 97 of the Hegira, or 715 of our era, although he had already left Spain in that year by order of the Caliph, and had then proceeded to Syria. He speaks of the Conquest of Murcia as if it had been made by Taric while the Arabian writers describe "the capitulation of Turiola" as made to Abdelaziz in the year of the Hegira 94. M. de Cardonne has indeed reproduced the narrations of our Chroniclers with so little discretion that he repeats even the miracles and prodigies described in some of these writers without any better authority than their own, those fables not being named at all in the Arabic writers: nay, the carelessness of Cardonne has proceeded to such a length that he makes Jelid Ben Hatim enter Fez at a time when that city had not yet commenced its existence; seeing that Fez was not founded until the year of the Hegira 192.

Monsieur de Guignes, in his History of the Huns, has displayed much learning respecting the Chinese and Tartars, but of our Arabs he gives only a few names and certain superficial notices, mingled with important errors and extraordinary misrepresentations. He affirms, for example, that the King Hixem the Second was deposed by his Hajib or minister, Almanzor, in the year of the Hegira 359;—but this is a grievous falsehood, as well as error, seeing that the renowned Almanzor was a most true and loyal subject during all his life, which he employed wholly for the aggrandisement of the State, and finally lost in the service of his sovereign that very Hixem whom De Guignes accuses him of deposing. Five-and-twenty years were passed by the Hajib Almanzor in the most glorious actions for the benefit of his king; and after innumerable proofs of devoted loyalty, he died fighting the battles of the same monarch in the year 392, seven years before King Hixem, according to the erroneous computation of Monsieur de Guignes, was ex-

pelled from the throne. Another proof of the fidelity of Almanzor is, that two of his sons succeeded him consecutively in the office of minister to King Hixem, whom they served with similar zeal and loyalty, if not with equal good fortune.

The History of the Arabs by Monsieur de Marigny scarcely makes any mention of the conquests undertaken by that people in Africa and Spain.

In our own times it has been supposed that the History of the Arabs in Spain could be compiled from the fragments published by Casiri in his work on the Library of the Escorial: the Englishman Murphy, and our own writer Masdeu,* have attempted it in this manner, and without any other guides. I am not now to descant on the merits of these two works, but regard for truth compels me to say, that the fragments translated by Casiri have been to the darkness of our History rather as the lightnings which dazzle and bewilder, than as the beneficent beams that enlighten and illustrate. In his work there are many errors and much confusion respecting persons, places, and times, which cannot be rectified, except by such as read the originals, whom Casiri has but imperfectly rendered, copying and translating them in the utmost haste, leaving numerous *lacunæ*, and committing other important faults: he has, indeed, not unfrequently described an event in a manner wholly unlike the truth, as given in the original; nay, has sometimes written what is altogether the contrary of the relation which he there found.

Many pages would be required to enumerate the errors, historical and geographical, into which Casiri has fallen; it shall suffice me, therefore, to cite the following as a proof of the truth of what I here assert:—In page 65 of his 2nd vol. he tells us that the Beni-Alaftas† commenced their dominion in Badajoz in the year of the Hegira 561, and that they subsequently extended their power over Saragossa and other cities of Spain: but there is here an important error, since the Beni-Alaftas ceased to exist in the year of the Hegira 487, and by consequence could not have com-

* A Catalan author much esteemed in Spain for his critical writings, De Marles.

† Sons of Alafta.—TRANSLATOR.

menced their sovereignty at the period given by Casiri, 74 years subsequent to their extinction, that is to say;—but it is in fact absolutely uncertain whether this family, which did but give four kings to Algarve, ever held dominion of any kind in Saragossa and some other cities. One prince of that house only, Labib Ben Alaftas, brother to the first king of Badajoz, was Wali or Governor of Tortosa, but the Beni-Alaftas were never sovereigns in the Eastern part of Spain.

In page 103 Casiri mentions four personages as kings of Spain and Seville, the three first being of the dynasty of the Beni-Abed, and the fourth, King of Seville, of a different family: but all this is mere confusion. He whom Casiri calls Abu Chaled was son of the King Abulcasem, but never reigned in any part of Spain. Abulcasem is the same with Muhamed Almostamed, King of Seville, whose successor in the kingdom was Abu Amru, called Almotamed Bila, to whom there also succeeded a son named Muhamed, and called in like manner Almotamed Bila. This was the last of the Beni-Abed; and one of his numerous sons was that Abu Chaled Jezid El Radhi, on whom his father conferred the government of Algeziras; he it was who, by command of his father, received Juzef, when the latter came to the aid of the Spanish kings. After having obeyed that order, which he did with infinite reluctance, Abu Chaled passed into Ronda, where he was assassinated by Carur, captain of the Almoravides.

Again, El Abu Mohamed Omar, Ben Almodafar, never reigned in Seville; he was the successor of Gehwar in Cordova, and lost both the city and state, which were obtained by the King of Seville.

In page 104 Casiri introduces a certain Almanzor, King of Calat Hamad (which he translates Alamedilla), but there never was any such reign or such city in Spain. Calat Hamad was a fortress in the state of Magreb El West, or the middlemost, in the kingdom of Tunis, that is to say, and Casiri's Alamedilla is a mere absurdity. In page 112 he tells us that the Beni-Merines took their rise in the year of the Hegira 672, and this is another mistake: according to all the historians, the Beni-Merines first appeared in the year 610, and in the West of Africa, where they made themselves masters of Fez, which they took from the Almohades: in 667 they already occupied all Morocco.

Many other inaccuracies deform the work of Casiri, who calls Jacob Juzef, king of the Almohades, a sovereign of the Almoravides; he confounds the Walis or governors with the kings, and the sons with the fathers, attributing to one ruler the actions of another: as, for example, in the case of Don Sancho, whom he makes the conqueror of cities vanquished by the king of Granada, Muhamed the Second. He takes the Galos, who were Gauls, for the Gallegos, who were Gallicians; he confounds the city of Malaga with that of Ronda, Cosutia with Ecija, and the Cid Campeador with the Emperor Don Alfonso: producing that last result by the mutilation of a very important narrative transmitted to us by Ben Besam, an excellent writer, whom Casiri copied badly and could not translate well. This author has thereby caused the Castilian hero to disappear from the history of the Arabs, although frequently mentioned by Arabian authors, and by so doing he has induced not a few writers to consider the whole of the Chronicles as fabulous, to speak of the renowned exploits of the Cid as mere inventions, and to treat even his existence as matter of doubt, or as though all were simple tradition and legends of the people,—a story based on no higher authority than the Romance of the Twelve Peers, or the Battles of the Zegirs and Abencerrages,* described by Gines Perez de Hita.†

The knowledge of the Arabic language only, if unaccompanied by critical judgment and acquaintance with historical literature, does not suffice to enable an author to make choice of useful and judicious extracts from those works amidst which the notices required are scattered and disseminated without order or arrangement. The later writers have been but too much accustomed to abridge or otherwise disfigure the relation and events originally described with exactitude and correctness by the ancient authors; and he who without care or reflection shall now extract incautiously from the pages of the former, or shall copy them without consideration; is exposed to the danger of propagating serious errors.

* Of whom history has made no mention, notwithstanding their frequent appearance in the pages of romance.—TRANSLATOR.

† The writer of a Spanish romance founded on facts connected with the civil wars of Granada.—TRANSLATOR.

From what has been here said it will be readily inferred that I have endeavoured to study carefully whatever books and authors connect themselves with my subject, or such of them at least of whose works I have been able to obtain a knowledge. I have been compelled to examine all, that I might compare and rectify the whole with impartiality, and might then avail myself of such useful notices as each might contain. I have also been especially cautious in the study of the Arabic writers, whose names I will presently enumerate, and in so doing will proceed to give some account of the MSS. whereof I have made use.

This History of the Domination of the Arabs in Spain is in fact compiled from a selection of Arabic documents and books, all ancient and well accredited: to repeat what they relate has been my constant care, and I propose to do so, in almost every case, in their own words faithfully translated, and no others. Thus, while acquiring a knowledge of the deeds of the Spanish Arabians, the reader will at the same time be enabled to judge of their genius, and will remark the style in which they narrated their actions. I have nevertheless omitted the mere traditions on which the Arabs frequently based their relations; and, wherever it was advisable to do so, have spared my reader the long and prolix chain of names and appellations wherewith certain of their historiographers not unfrequently encumber their pages.

The student of History, then, may read this book as one written by an Arabic author, since it is in effect a faithful translation of, and extracts from, large numbers of those authors; bearing this in mind, therefore, he will not be surprised either by the material difference, which he cannot fail to discover, between the narrations of this History and those found in our books, or by the slight notice which the former takes of our own kings and captains, their exploits and government. This book is in fact the reverse, as it were, of our histories; and as in these there is little or nothing respecting the succession and order of the Arabic dynasties, or the Moorish customs and laws, so in that now before us there will be found but few details respecting the monarchs of Castile and Leon. Nor can it well be otherwise. The names of Buderico, Teodomiro, Atanaldo, Alfonso, Ramiro, Ordoño, and Veremundo, are the only ones that appear in

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the older Arabic writers, while in later times none others have been seen in the works of their authors than those of Alfonsos, Fernandos, Garcias, Sanchos, Remandos, Armenгаudos, Gacumes, Condes of Barcelona, Ruderico el Campeador, Albarhanis, the Conde de Gomis, and Almanrig;—at a word, our history is found to have been as obscure and unknown to them as theirs has been to us.

I have designedly preserved the names of certain places, offices of dignity, employments, &c., in the Arabic, since the translation of these would for the most part have caused a material change in the signification, and would occasionally have rendered them of less moment and dignity than is attributed to them by the Arabic manners. Thus there will be constantly found mention of “Emirs, Walis, Viziers, Cadia, Alcaydia, Xeques, Hagibes, Almucademes, Arrayaces,” &c., with other appellations of expeditions and conquests; such as “Algibed, Algara,” &c., each of which distinguishes the purpose and intent of the War in question, and whether it be an invasion, a sudden onslaught, an irruption, or an extended conquest,—all these being separately distinguished by the Arabic writers, with prolix descriptions of their varying character. I have nevertheless taken care to prevent the text from being rendered obscure by the foreign appellatives thus preserved therein.

In like manner I have retained in the first periods of this History not a few of those mis-statements of the names of our towns and provinces, which the reader will not fail to remark, thinking that these may serve to show the origin of many names of numerous places which still retain those first imposed on them. I have even sometimes adopted the divisions and names of the hours which the Arabs give to their day,—as the Hour of Azohbi, or the dawn; the hour of Adoba, or the full daylight; the Adohar, or noon-day; that of Alazar, or the middle of the afternoon; of Almagrib, or the sunset; of Alatema or Alaxá, the twilight or nightfall,—for these, when once understood, will produce no confusion, but will rather serve the better to intimate the religious customs of the Arabs in their divisions of the day according to the hours of their Azalas or prayers.

Furthermore, and since poetry and the sciences formed an

important part of education among the equestrian orders of our Arabic society, and are admirably calculated to give evidence of their genius and illustrate their manners, I will not deprive my History of this ornament, as adopted by the Arabic taste, since there is no History of any merit among them which is not adorned with verses in greater or less profusion. For this cause I have inserted such couplets as have appeared to me most characteristic, and which for the most part have relation to historical events: but even in this portion of the work I have sought to imitate the originals in my translation, having given the verses in the metre of our romance, that being the method in most frequent use among Arabic writers; and thence our own measure has without doubt proceeded. I have likewise caused these lines to be printed as they were written by the Arabs, one of whose verses, which they divide into two parts, is equivalent to two of ours: thus our first verse is equal to the first half or hemistich of the Arab, which they call the Sadribait or portal to the verse, while our second verse corresponds with the other Arab hemistich, which they name the Ogzilbait or end of the verse, both having an equal number of syllables. The Casia, consonancia, or rhyme, is at the ogzilbait, or end, of the verse:* so that one strophe of our romance, composed of four verses, corresponds to four hemistichs or two verses of the Arabic authors. These remarks I have made, lest the mode of arranging the lines which I have seen fit to adopt should appear singular to the reader's eye, and have done so moreover that the Arabic origin of our metres might at once be perceived. If ever I am able to publish the translation which I have completed of various Arabian poems, I shall be prepared to prove, in the preliminary discourse to be prefixed to them, the great and powerful influence which the Arabian poesy has exercised over that of Spain.

Throughout the whole of my History I use the computation of time as made by the Arabians, and note the years of the Christian era in the margin. For the most part it may be borne in mind that each year of the Hegira falls

* Which is not always the case with Spanish verse, where our readers will remember that the rhyme sometimes occurs in the middle of the lines.—TRANSLATOR.

into two of those of the common era, taking some months from the end of one and the commencement of the other, that is to say: I have not always brought the months and days to their exact coincidence, from the wish to avoid prolix repetitions, but for whoever shall desire to verify the date of an action, it will be always easy to do so, if he will but remember that the Arabic year is lunar, each common year being of 354 days, while the intercalary year is of 355 days. Thus it follows that the commencement of each year is variable, the month of January retroceding by ten or eleven days; and when the common year of the Arab calendar concurs with our intercalary year, that month retrocedes twelve days, whence it follows that in the course of thirty-four years the commencement of their year passes through or falls in each one of our months: wherefore it is in the first instance essential to ascertain in what day and month of our year that of Arabia commences.

The order of their months, which they call lunas or moons, is as follows:—Maharrem, Safer, Rabié the first, Rabié the second, Giumada the first, Giumada the second, Regeb, Xaban, Ramazan, Xawal, Dylcada, and Dilhagia. Each month is computed from the appearance of one new moon to that of another; this interval never exceeds thirty days nor falls below twenty-nine, and thus they compute them alternately; but the last month, Dilhagia, always has thirty days in the intercalary year.

Homaidi tells us that in the earliest days of the Arabic nation, they computed the periods of time after great events, remarkable droughts or extraordinary floods, and subsequently from the foundation of the Caaba or quadrangular house, which is the oldest temple at Mecca,—a structure which they believe to have been erected by Abraham or Ishmael. At a later period they counted from the Ethiopian war, or the expedition of the Lord of the Elephant, a point of time which they still call that of Alfíl or the Elephant. Finally, taking occasion from Mohamet and his Hegira, flight, or retirement, from Mecca to Medina, they began to count from that period; and it is from this last-named epoch that they compute to this day. According to the most accurate calculations the chronologists agree to place the Hegira or commencement of the flight on the 16th of June, in the year of our Lord 622.

As regards the style of the following History, since it is a translation of and compilation from various authors, there will certainly be some inequality of manner observable in its narrations; but not to such an extent, I think, as to offend the genius of our language, or to overpass the variety which historical relations are well calculated to ensure. Be that as it may, my principal care has been to prove myself exact and faithful, giving to the work that character which truly belongs thereto, being as it is a compilation from the Arabic. Another, endowed with more command of our language and superior eloquence, might certainly have done better in this respect: I confess this, knowing it to be so. Our rich language owes much to the Arabian, not in isolated words only, but even in idioms, terms of expression, metaphoric forms and phrases, all of which serve to justify the remark that the Spanish is in so far but a corrupted dialect of the Arabian. The style and expression of the *Chronicon General*, compiled by order of Don Alfonso X., and the book of Count Lucanor, with some other works of the Infante Don Juan Manuel, as for example the "History of Ultramar," are, in fact, written according to the forms of the Arabian Syntax, and nothing but the mere sound of the words distinguishes them from books written wholly in the Arabic tongue.

There now remains only that I mention the Arabic works and writers used in the compilation of the present History. This appears to me to be requisite, to the end that the reader may receive full assurance of my good faith and veracity, since it might not be sufficient that I affirm in mere words the sincerity of my heart, which is nevertheless a stranger to all dissimulation or deceit. I desire, therefore, to afford all who now are, or hereafter shall be, acquainted with the Arabic tongue, an opportunity for comparing what is here written with the originals; thus, judging my labour and correcting my errors or imperfections, those who come after may ameliorate them until the subject shall become more and more fully enlightened, to the advantage and profit of all. To me, meanwhile, it shall suffice to possess that satisfaction which I shall derive from having been the first to commence the undertaking.

The MSS. of which I have availed myself are as follows:—
The work of Abu Abdallah Ben Abi Nasr, El Homaidi, of

Cordova, which contains a short chronicle of the conquest of Spain, the series of Emirs or prefects thereof, the line of the Beni-Omeyas, kings of Cordova, and the lives of many among the illustrious men of Spain. This author wrote to the year of the Hegira 450, and his work was continued by Ahmed Ben Yahye, Ben Ahmed, Ben Omeira, who brought it down to the year 560. El Homaidi, besides that he is himself of respectable antiquity, has furthermore cited Abdelmelic Ben Hahib Zalemi, Abdallah Ben Junes, Abdallah Ben Wahib, Alaitz Ben Saad, and Abul Casem Abderahman Ben Abdallah, Ben Abdelhakem, all of whom were writers belonging to the earliest times of the Arabs, and treat of their conquests in the West. El Homaidi's book is a folio volume on dark and thick paper.

In like manner I have availed myself of the History of Aben Alabar El Codai of Valencia, for the events of the conquest, for the government of the Walis and Emirs, for the period of the first dynasty, and for the middle part of the Arabic Domination. The supplement to this work, which treats of the illustrious men of Spain, I have also found frequently useful: the writer, who was a very learned man, extracted and copied much from the celebrated History of Spain by Abu Meruan, Ben Hayan, Ben Chalf, the diligent and renowned historiographer of the Beni-Omeya dynasty. Aben Alabar has furthermore made use of the Annals of Abul Hassan Ben Besan, and of other writers less distinguished; among whom may be mentioned Iza Ben Hamed, Ben Muhamed, Ben Muza El Razif, Mocri Abu Abdallah, Ben Abdelaziz, Ben Saad, Axati; and Muhamed Abu Becar Ben Jucef Ben Casem, El Xelbi, whose History of Aben Abed, King of Seville, Aben Alabar has frequently turned to account.

I have likewise been much assisted by a valuable fragment of the History of Spain, which will be found at the end of this same codex of Aben Alabar El Codai,* and wherein the events of the arrival of the Arabs, and the first period of

* El Codai. Axati-Xelbi. These appellatives, which the reader will frequently find added to the many other names borne by the actors in the work before us, refer for the most part to the Tribe of the bearer. They are sometimes, but less frequently, the denomination of his family.—TRANSLATOR.

their domination, are carefully related. In this fragment Ahmed Ben Abi Alfeyadh is often cited: the work is in folio, and is printed on paper; there are three volumes, and the oldest copy that I have seen is not earlier than the 15th century of our era.

For the central period of the Arab domination, I have not unfrequently availed myself of that work of Meraudi, entitled "The Golden Meadows," since this ancient and renowned historian, who treats of the affairs of all nations, for the period within his own times, has given a concise relation of numerous events concerning the Spanish interests, which took place in the year 327 of the Arabs. He also supplies many brief notices relating to the expedition of Abderahman III., with others of the reciprocal conquests and devastations of Zamora by the troops of the King of Cordova and the Christians; the latter led by King Radmir of Galicia. The work of Meraudi extends to the year 336, at which period that author flourished. He mentions the Kings of Galicia, Odrón, and Adfons; that is to say, Ordoño and Alfonso, kings of Leon, which country the Arabs frequently include under the name of Galicia. The two volumes of which his work consists are on thick paper; they are an African copy of considerable antiquity.

For the events of the Civil War which broke forth on the extinction of the Beni-Omeyan dynasty in Spain, between the various kings, or leaders of tribes, as they may more properly be called, each independent in his rule, but all confederated together, and who then divided among them the provinces of Spain;—for this period, I say, "The History of Illustrious Spaniards," by Abul Casem Chalaf, Ben Abdelmelic, Ben Bascual of Cordova, has given me valuable aid. This work comprises the first century after the Hegira, and descends to the fifth, at which period the author flourished. It is a folio volume written on card-board paper, of great age.

For all that concerns the epoch of the Almoravide and Almohade Moors, I have availed myself entirely of the History of Fez, by Abdel Hatim of Granada, a careful and diligent writer of the year 726, who had seen and made extracts from the principal historians of Africa and Spain, frequently citing the rolls and registers of the royal archives,

which are documents of the highest authenticity, and of great importance as regards the acts of the kings treated of. The work is in 4to.; it is written on paper, and is an African copy of the middle ages. Among other extracts made for his work by this author, are some from that of Aly Ben Muhamed Ben Aly Zerich or Zara, which others cite as in MS., and which is entitled "The Book of the Peaceful Friend in the Garden of Letters." It treats of the kings of the West, and is a history of the city of Fez.

For the last period of the Arab domination, I have consulted the works of Lizan-Edin Ben Alchatib, Asalemini, secretary to the kings of Granada. His most important writings, and those which I have most frequently used, are the History of the Dynasties of Africa and Spain, in verse, with the author's notes in prose; the History of Granada, which he calls "The Full-Moon of the Nasrina Dynasty in Granada," and his three volumes of "Biographical Memoirs:" they are all copies due to the middle ages, and not of higher antiquity.

For the affairs of Granada, I have likewise used the History of its Kings, written by Abdala Algiazami of Malaga, as I have that written by Ahmed Almaxarsi of the illustrious ruler of Granada, King Jucef Abul Hagiag, with the History of the Beni-Merines, composed in verse and prose by Ismael Ben Jucef, Emir of Malaga, and entitled "The Odour of the Rose." All these works are copies of but little antiquity.

I have also consulted the Annals of Abulfeda, with those of Xakibi and Fesani, which are imperfect copies, but of tolerably high antiquity. I have, moreover, found assistance in the annals of Aben Sohna, a very elegant copy.

From the work of Abu Teib of Ronda, I have made numerous extracts, seeing that together with stories and anecdotes of various poets, and of such princes as have been generous towards them, there are mingled not a few singular events and very curious notices respecting our Arabs.

Lastly, I proceed to mention the rare work of Abdallah Aly Ben Abderahman Ben Huzeil of Granada, who treats of the "Sacred Expeditions," or Wars against the Christians; of the art military, of the guardianship of frontiers, of espionage, and of strategy in its various forms: bold feats of

arms, weapons, machines of war, and chivalry in all its manifestations, are the topics of this writer. From Huzeil's work I have been supplied with accounts of battles and military events not mentioned by other authors, and have found many curious details in his pages respecting the manners and customs of the Spanish Arabs. The book is in folio; it is written on thick paper of dark colour, and is of tolerable antiquity.

The greater part of these MSS. are in the Biblioteca Real or Public Library of Madrid. Some few of them, however, belong to myself, and others to my friends.

And now I will not omit to add, as a proof of my desire and care to render my work as accurate as possible, that in the year 1807 I presented a humble supplication to the King, Señor Don Carlos IV. to the effect that he should cause an exact copy to be made of an Arabic MS. still existing in the Royal Library of Paris, that I might avail myself of whatever notices it might contain; the work in question, being a History and Description of Spain, by Ahmed El Mocri, Almagrebi. His Majesty had thereupon the goodness to command that the copy should be prepared at his own cost, and the care of seeing it done, with the correction of its pages, was confided to the two learned French orientalisks, the Señors Sacy and Langles, under whose direction it could not fail to come forth with the utmost exactitude. In the year 1818, having learnt that the work was completed, I requested and obtained an order to the effect that it should be sent to Madrid by our Ambassador in Paris, to whose charge the affair had been committed, and by whom it had indeed been most carefully attended to. Yet the end of all is that I have never been able to gain possession of this precious copy, nor can I even learn where it now is, or I would gladly make known that fact to others, who may at some future time be more fortunate than myself.

As it was of importance that a clear order and arrangement should be preserved in the long narration of events before us, I have divided the History into four parts. The first treats of the Entrance of the Arabs into Spain, and of the Emirs or Leaders of the Conquest who were dependent on the Caliphs of the East. The second contains the Establishment of the Monarchy of the Beni-Omeyan Sovereigns,

and the Succession of those kings. The third comprises the Civil War and subsequent Division of the Kingdoms of Spain, with the Arrival of the Almoravide and Almohade Moors, and the Succession of the Dynasties which they established. The fourth treats of the whole of the kingdom of Granada, which was the last period of the Arab domination in Spain.