I was told by the Kádi Abú Merwán Al-bájí—Abú Zeyd ʻAbdu-r-rahmán Ibn Búján, who was Wíźár of Al-mansúr, had conceived an enmity towards Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr Al-hafíd, whom he envied and hated on account of the great favour he enjoyed with Al-mansúr, and the great regard which that Sultán entertained for him on account of his learning. Not knowing how to harm him he decided upon administering poison to him, and this he effected by bribing a man who lived with Ibn Zohr, and who gave it him in an egg. There lived also with Ibn Zohr a sister of his, who, together with her daughter, was well practised in medicine and pharmacy, and very expert in curing the diseases peculiar to their sex, owing to which they had admittance into the harem of Al-mansúr, so that no child of that monarch, or of his relations, ever was born within its walls that did not come through the hands of Ibn Zohr’s sister, or, after her death, of her daughter. This sister was present when Ibn Zohr ate the egg, and she also tasted it, when all their science combined did not save them from its effects. Abú Zeyd ʻAbdu-r-rahmán Ibn Búján died a violent death, having been killed by one of his kinsmen. Among the best disciples of Abú Bekr Al-hafíd is counted Abú Ja’far Ibn-l-ghazzál.

[Here follow several quotations from Ibn Zohr’s poems which I have not translated.]

III. Ibn Bójeh (vulgo Avepace), fo. 142.

Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Yahya, surnamed Ibnu-s-sáyegh (the son of the goldsmith), better known under the surname of Ibn Bójeh, the Andalusian. He was the banner of his age and the phoenix of his time in the philosophical sciences, a reason why he was very much exposed to the shafts of malice, and became an object of hatred and envy to most of the people of his profession, who repeatedly attempted his life, although God always saved him from them. Ibn Bójeh was also versed in literature and in the Arabic language; he knew the Korán by heart, and was one of the most eminent physicians that ever lived. He was, likewise, an excellent musician, and could play very well on the lute.

9 Ibn Abí Ossaybi’ah does not give a list of Abú Bekr’s writings, but he was probably the author of a medical work printed at Basle, 1618, 12mo., under the title of De Regimine sanitatis, and which Haller (see Bib. Medicina, vol. i. p. 397) attributes wrongly to his father.

10 Arabic: ابن باجة الأندلس — an easy mistake.
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Abú-l-hasan ’Alî Ibn ’Abdî-l-‘azîz Ibnu-l-imám, in the preface to his work entitled “a collection of the sayings” of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-s-sâyegh Ibn Bâjeh,” expresses himself as follows: “The present is a collection of all the sayings of Abú Bekr (may God show him mercy!) on the philosophical sciences, since such were his Witticism and the elegance of his expressions on those abstruse and subtle topics that he was reckoned, while he lived, the wonder of his age, and the phenomenon of the world. Works on philosophical topics were then very common in Andalus since the days of the Sultan Al-hakem, who caused them to be bought for him in the East, together with other curious and valuable works, and to be brought to his dominions, where they soon spread among the studious. Al-hakem was, indeed, the first sovereign who caused the works of the ancient philosophers to be introduced into Andalus, (may God remunerate him amply for it!) for, before his time, no book of this kind ever gladdened the eyes of the studious, and if it did, it was to lead them astray, and to guide them into error, as happened in the case of Ibn Hazm, of Seville.

“Ibn Bâjeh,” continues Ibnu-l-imâm, “was the man of his time who worked most seriously and with the greatest attention at this sort of studies, surpassing all his predecessors, as well as Ibn Hazm, in the soundness of all his propositions, extensive reading, and clearness of judgment. The paths of knowledge in the aforesaid sciences became thus ornamented by this master (Ibn Bâjeh), and by another doctor, named Mêlik Ibn Wahîb, a native of Seville, and a contemporary of Ibn Bâjeh, who contributed likewise greatly to the advancement of science, only that he (Ibn Wahîb) taught little else than the first elements of psychology. After this, Ibn Wahîb began to abstain from the study of philosophy, as well as from public conversation on the subject, owing to the great dangers which surrounded him and all those who followed those pursuits, and the risk of losing his life on account of it, for so elevated was the view which he took of the said sciences that he would, no doubt, have rendered himself obnoxious had he persevered in the study of them. He therefore now gave all his attention to the lawful sciences, in which he soon became the prince, or nearly so; although, owing to the reasons above specified, the light of philosophy did not shine upon his writings, neither was there found in them, as in the works of others, any thing hidden to be explained after his death.

“But to return to Abú Bekr. His natural inclination having early carried him away into the above difficult paths, he never ceased working with the greatest assiduity, travelling in

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3 The word ٌْ تَوَٰلَىٰ has often the meaning of ‘speech, discourse, essay.’
4 Al-hakem II., surnamed Al-mustanzer-hilîkh, son of ’Abdu-l-râmîs III., occupied the throne of Cordova from A. H. 350 to 366.
5 Conde (Hist. de la Dom. vol. ii. p. 216) mentions a distinguished theologian, named Abu Abdalâ Mêlik b. Wâhi, who was living in A. H. 514. He is, no doubt, the same individual here alluded to.
6 في أول صناعة الذهبية literally ‘on the beginning of the fabric of intellect.’
7 By lawful sciences the Arabs understand theology, law civil and canonical, and all those studies which are in some manner relating to the Korán.
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search of knowledge, and bestowing his serious investigation upon all those propositions of "the truth of which he was once convinced, (according as his circumstances allowed him, and "the changes of his fortunes would permit,) until he strengthened himself in psychology, and "in that branch of physics which, he thought, would lead him to the knowledge of those two "faculties in his individual person—one reasoning, the other discriminating and comparing, "according to the limits assigned to it by the Omnipotent. Ibn Bájeh consecrated, likewise, "his time to geometry and astronomy, leaving behind him works which sufficiently testify his "proficiency in those sciences. Respecting metaphysics, if truth be said, Ibn Bájeh did not "establish any new doctrine, nor is there any thing remarkable in his writings if we except a "few loose observations in that epistle of his entitled Al-wadā', and in his essay "on human "reason," besides a few separate hints in two more of his philosophical tracts. Yet these are "exceedingly vigorous, and go very far to prove his proficiency in that illustrious science "(metaphysics) which is the complement and the end of every other science. It was to his "constant application to the above studies that Ibn Bájeh owed all his attainments and his "superiority in all the other branches of knowledge. But what will appear almost incredible "is that Ibn Bájeh should have strained every nerve to become possessed of those sciences "which had been known and cultivated before him, and in which the paths of invention were "entirely closed10 to him, and that he should have fallen short in his endeavours to ameliorate "that science which is the complement of every science, and an object of desire to all those "endowed with a brilliant disposition, or to whom God imparted his divine gifts. However "ever, with all this, Ibn Bájeh was, of all his contemporaries, the most successful in pro-"miting the study of metaphysics, redeeming it from the shadows which enveloped it, and "bringing it to light, (may God show him mercy!) 11 "We shall begin this collection by an essay of his, written in a most compendious form, "'on the extent of human nature,'12 by way of proving what we have already advanced,

8 It is with great uncertainty that I have given the translation of this passage. The sentence is both obscure, and deficient in its grammatical construction.

9 Conjectio hominis cum intelligentiíl agente' is the title of a philosophical essay by Ibn Bájeh.

10 I here produce the text of this passage, which is rather ambiguous:

و من الاستحيل إن يفرغ في البعثات و ينفصل في أنواع الوجود على كلاها و يكون مقصراً في العلم الذي يلغ في

I am not certain of having seized the real meaning of the words of the botanists or the botanists which so often occur in this extract; the dictionaries being but of slight assistance when translating works on philosophical subjects.

11 All this is very obscure, and I regret that I had not the leisure to compare this passage with the copy in the Bolleanian Library.

12 Thus in the text; but I read الي نهایة من الوجازة Thus in the text; but I read الي نهایة من الوجازة
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namely, his vast attainments in metaphysics and the other sciences which he cultivated.

"We really think that after Abu Nasr Al-Farabi there was no man like Ibn Bajeh for the elevated manner in which he wrote and spoke on those sciences; for if we establish a comparison between his essays and those of Ibn Sina, or Al-Ghazali, the two authors who most promoted the study of that science in the East after Al-Farabi, we shall find the balance inclining rather on the side of Ibn Bajeh, especially if we bear in mind the clearness and beauty of his expressions, and his aptitude in penetrating the writings of Aristotle. Of this, however, there can be no doubt, namely, that the two above-mentioned philosophers were, together with Ibn Bajeh, those who united in themselves all the learning and all the talents of their predecessors, distinguishing themselves by their clearness in their dissertations, and competing in their works with the most celebrated philosophers of antiquity."

This Abu-l-Hasan Ali Ibnu-l-imam was from Granada. He was an eminent writer, well versed in various sciences, and lived in great intimacy with Ibn Bajeh, whose friend and disciple he was. Abu-l-Hasan travelled to the East, and died at Kussa.

Among the pupils of Ibn Bajeh the most celebrated was the Kadi Abu-l-walid Mohammed Ibn Roshd. Ibn Bajeh died young, at the city of Farris, where he was buried. I was told by the Kadi Abu Merwan Al-Ishbili that he saw there his tomb, and close to it that of the theologian Abu Bekr Ibnu-l-arabii, known as the author of various works.

Among the remarkable sayings attributed to Ibn Bajeh the following is one. "There are things the knowledge of which is beneficial to man even long after he has learnt them—namely, good actions, because they ensure him the rewards of Almighty God."

Ibn Bajeh wrote the following works: I. A commentary on the treatise on sound by Aristotle. II. III. An essay on part of the treatise on meteors by the same. IV. An essay on the book of generation and corruption by the same. V.
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chapters of the book of the animals by the same. 21—v. An essay on part of the book of plants by the same. 22—vi. An essay on natural propensities and their signs, beginning thus: "If the causes and proofs of syllogisms are given—" 22—vii. An epistle entitled "Fare thee well." 23—viii. A short essay in continuation of the same subject.—ix. A treatise on human reason. 24—x. An essay on the resisting power, divided into several books, some of which contain the above essay on human reason. 25—xi. A treatise on the regulation of the individual. 26—xii. A treatise on the soul, intended as a study on the book of the fabric of intellect (or psychology) by Abú Nasr. 27—xiii. A few chapters on the public regulations and arrangements of a city, and the state of the individual, in which he introduced some excellent remarks on geometry and astronomy. 28—xiv. An epistle addressed by him to his friend Abú Ja'far Yúsuf Ibn Ahmed Ibn Hasdáy after his arrival in Misr (Cairo).—xv. Philosophical lucubrations, intended as answers to the questions proposed on the science of geometry by Ibn Seyid, the geometrician, which are generally found separate.—xvi. A discourse upon part of the treatise on the properties of simples used as medicaments by Galenus.—xvii. The book of the two experiments upon the medicaments of Ibn Wáfid, in the composition of which Ibn Bájeh was assisted by Abú-l-hasan Sufyán.—xviii. An epitome of the book of the intestines, a work by Ar-rází.—xix. A discourse on the extent of human nature. 20—xx. A discourse on those things in which there resides a power against the acting mind. 30—xxi. A discourse on the noun and the named. 31—xxii. A discourse on demonstrations. 32—xxxiii. The book of elements. 33—xxiv. An inquiry into the powers of resistance
inherent to our mind,—what are they, to what end are they exercised, and how? ²⁷—xxv. The book of the temperaments and habits. ²⁸

IV. Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd (vulgo Averroes), fo. 146, verso.

Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd,¹ that is, the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Roshd, was a native of Cordova, where he passed the first years of his life. He became eminent for his brilliant qualities, and distinguished for his ardour in the acquisition of learning. He attained the utmost limit of perfection in jurisprudence and in the science of controversy, which he learnt from the Faqih and Háfedh Abú Mohammed Ibn Razek. He was likewise greatly versed in medicine, and left behind him several excellent works remarkable for their contents; such as the Kitáb-i-kulliyát (the book of the whole),² in the composition of which he surpassed himself. Abú-l-walíd had contracted an intimate friendship with Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr, so that when he wrote the above work 'on the whole,' he desired his friend to write another 'on the parts,'³ that might be a sort of complement to his, and form a complete treatise on the science of medicine.⁴

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-báji that the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd was endowed with a powerful reason, a clear understanding, and an acute mind.⁵ He learnt

¹ The name of this physician being generally written thus, Abū R ashid, without vowel points, has often been incorrectly read by translators. Conde (Hist. de la Dom. vol. ii. p. 369) wrote Abūwalid ben Raṣid. Csári mistook him for another author, named Abū 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Rashid, who flourished a century after.

² كتّاب في امور الكلية وكتاّب الکليّات The book of the temperaments and the parts.

³ كتّاب في امور الجزيرة Ibn Zohr did really write such a work.

⁴ There is evidently a mistake here, which I have not the means of correcting.

⁵ There is evidently a mistake here, which I have not the means of correcting.
medicine under Abú Ja'far Ibn Hárún, whose disciple he was for a considerable length of time, and from whom he acquired, besides, much of his learning in the natural and philosophical sciences. Ibn Roshd was first Kádí of Seville, and afterwards of Cordova; he enjoyed great favour with Al-mansúr, and became one of the principal officers at his court. He was likewise very much honoured and distinguished by An-nássir, the son of that Sultán. Abú Merwán Al-bájí says: "When Al-mansúr was in Cordova, making his preparations to carry on the war against Alfonso in the year five hundred and ninety-one (A. D. 1195), he happened one day to send for Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd. When he appeared before him the Sultán honoured him greatly, and made him come close to him, going even so far as to allot him for his seat the cushion where Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafs Al-hentétí, the companion and friend of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and the third or fourth in rank among the Sheikhs composing the council of the Almohades, usually sat. This Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed was a great favourite with Al-mansúr, who had given him in marriage one of his daughters, by whom he had a son called 'Alí, who is at this moment the ruler of Eastern Africa. However, when Al-mansúr had thus placed Abú-l-walíd close to his person, and made him sit by his side, he began to converse at length with him upon different topics. After this Abú-l-walíd went out of the royal presence, seeing which the whole of the albare who had been present at the interview, and those among his friends who had been waiting for him outside of the palace, congratulated him upon the high
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“place which he occupied in the good graces of his sovereign, and the great distinction with
which he had been treated. But Abū-l-walid said to them,—‘I do not see why you should
congratulate me, for if the Prince of the believers has bestowed his favours upon me in
this manner, he has merely made me advance one step towards what I expect of him, and
strengthened the hopes I have founded on him.’

“The rivals and enemies of Ibn Roshd, on hearing of his being called to the presence of
Al-mansūr, had given out that the prince of the believers had called him to have him
executed; so that when Ibn Roshd came out of the palace safe, he ordered one of his
servants to go to his house and tell his family to dress him a kattâ’[10] and some young
pigeons, and to have them ready when he should return, meaning to invite his enemies to
partake of his repast, and thus to win over their hearts by his forgiveness.

“Some time after this adventure Al-mansūr was really displeased with Abū-l-walid Ibn
Roshd, whom he caused to be exiled to Al-Isalah, [11] a town close to Cordova, formerly
inhabited by Jews, enjoining him not to move from it without his order. Al-mansūr
punished at the same time several other distinguished and learned men, confining them,
likewise, to different parts of his dominions; the apparent cause of his displeasure being
that they had been accused of giving their leisure hours to the cultivation of philosophy
and the studies of the ancients. Besides Abū-l-walid Ibn Roshd, the sufferers on this
occasion were Abū Ja’far Adh-dhahebî, [12] the theologian; Abū ‘Abdillah Mohammed Ibn
Al-kârâbî; [14] all of whom passed some time in exile. After this, Al-mansūr having been


10 Ad-demîšî (Arab. MS. in my possession) gives the following description of this bird. Kattâ’, which forms its plural
in kattawdî and kattaydî, and the noun of unity kattâ’sim, is the name for a bird so called by the Arabs because its cry
resembles the noise produced by that word thus, kattâ, kattâ’! It is of two kinds, one called kodrî, the other jînî.
The kodrî is of a dusty colour, and has the body covered with black and white spots, except the tail, which is of a yellowish hue,
and short. The jînî has the stomach, the wings, and feet, black, the rest of the body is grey spotted with bright yellow.
This latter kind is larger than the kodrî, the proportion being this, that a jînî is generally equal in size and weight to two
kodrîs. The jînî, however, is inferior in voice to the kodrî, since it utters a confused and disagreeable sound from the
throat, like that of a man who is gorging; while the kodrî, on the contrary, utters a distinct and intelligible sound. It is
owing to this circumstance that this kind of kattâ is called jînî. The females lay their eggs one by one, sometimes they
lay two, but three at most; this being the reason why poets have called the bird ummu-l-thalîth (the mother of the three).
Jewârî adds a third species, which he calls kattâ’—The habits of this bird are these: when it wants to drink it rises before
day-break from its nest, and flies towards the rising sun a distance of seven days’ march, then it comes down suddenly upon
the water, and takes a drink—a word meaning ‘the first draught of a camel or of a sheep.’ When it has thus quenched
its thirst, it remains for two or three hours in the neighbourhood of the water, flying about, when it returns to drink a
second time. Such, at least, is the account given by Al-wâhidî in his commentary upon the poems of Abû-l-tayyeb
Al-mutannabî.

11 The life of this individual, who was also an eminent physician, is to be found in Ibn Abî Ossaybî’ah, bocu lundate, fo. 148,
vreux. His entire name was Abû Ja’far Ahmed Ibn ʿAbî Jâfîr (Jorî) Adh-dhahebî. He was a physician to Al-mansûr (Abû
Ya’kîb), and to his son, An-násir. He died at Telemâsîn in a. H. 600.

12 This might be intended for Bejâyah. See a preceding Note, p. 359.
"convinced, through the testimony of several of the most learned and influential inhabitants of Seville, that Abú-l-walíd's literary and scientific pursuits were not such as had been represented to him, pardoned Abú-l-walíd and his fellow sufferers, and recalled them from their exile in the year five hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1198-9).

"Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí, one of the above-mentioned individuals, became after this one of the favourites of Al-mansúr, who appointed him to the charge of watching over the writings and the studies of the physicians and philosophers of his court. He used to say of him, 'Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí is like the purest dhaheb (gold), which, instead of losing, gains in quality in the melting pan.' The Kádí Abú Merwán further says, "And to prove the great affection and esteem which Al-mansúr entertained for Abú-l-walíd Ibn Rosbd, it is only requisite to say that whenever the former summoned him to his presence for the purpose of conversing with him, or inquiring into some particulars about the sciences which Abú-l-walíd cultivated, he always used to give him the affectionate term of brother." The same writer states that "Ibn Rosbd having once composed a work on zoology, in which he described every species of animals, giving the habits and peculiarities of each, said, in treating about the giraffe, 'I have seen a quadruped of this sort at the King of the Berbers,' thereby meaning Al-mansúr, and that when the passage was reported to that monarch he considered the expression 'King of the Berbers' as an outrage, and was highly incensed on account of it. It is further said that this was the principal cause which brought on Al-mansúr's displeasure, and his order for Abú-l-walíd's exile; and they relate that the excuse given by Ibn Rosbd was that it was a slip of the pen, and that he had meant to write Málek al-ha'yin 16 (the king of the two countries), meaning thereby Africa and Andalus."

The Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Rosbd (whom may God forgive!) died at Morocco at the beginning of the five hundred and ninety-fifth year of the Hijra, and the first of the reign of An-nássir. Abú-l-walíd lived to a very great age, and left a son named Abú Mohammed 'Abdullahí, also a physician, and who was much versed in the practical part of medicine. Abú-l-walíd left also other sons, who applied themselves to the study of theology and the law, and became Kádís of towns and districts. Of the remarkable sayings attributed to Ibn Rosbd the following is one. "Whoever studies anatomy, his merits with the Almighty are increased by it."

The following are the works written by Abú-l-walíd Ibn Rosbd:—I. Kitábu-l-tahssíl, or an exposition of the various opinions entertained by the companions of the Prophet, the tábi'í's and the second tábi'í's, as well as of the arguments advanced in favour of or against their respective sects or schools, and a declaration of the principal passages, forming, as it were, the cream of contradictory opinions. 17—II. A book entitled "Prolegomena on the religious law." 18—III. The book of maturity for the law student. 18—IV. The book of the whole, being

15 I suspect this date to be mistaken, since it is stated lower down that Ibn Rosbd died at the beginning of that very year.
16 The word بربر may be easily changed into بربرین.
17 كتب التحصيل This work, as most of the following, was unknown to Hájí Khalífah.
18 كتاب رجاءة المجتمد في الفقه
a commentary upon a poem written on the science of medicine by the Sheikh and Reys Ibn Siná, and known as the Arjúzah of Ibn Siná. The book of the animals, compiled from the treatises on physics and metaphysics by Aristotle. The book of necessity on logic, following as a model the “Exposition of metaphysics” by Nicolaus. Exposition of the metaphysics of Aristotle. An exposition of the book of ethics by the same. An exposition of the book of the posterior analytics by the same. A commentary upon the treatise on the heavens and the world by the same. An exposition of the treatise on the soul by the same. An exposition of the book of the estokisus (elements) by Galenus. An exposition of the treatise on the temperament of bodies by the same. An exposition of the treatise on the physical powers by the same. An exposition of the treatise on the causes and symptoms of diseases by the same. An exposition of the treatise on bleeding by the same. An exposition of the first book on fevers by the same. An exposition of the first part of his work on the simples used as medicaments. An exposition of the second half of his work on the forms of creation. A book entitled “Destruction of the Théâfet,” being a critique on the Théâfet by Al-ghazâlî. A book entitled “Open roads of

See Hâji Khalifa, voc. Arjúzah. Copies of this work may be found in the Escorial Library. See Catal., Nos. 796, 826, 838.

21. See Al-ghazâlî, the same Mohammedan divine mentioned above, p. xv. His life is in Ibn Khallikán (Tād. Ind.). He wrote, among other things, a work entitled Taḥaffat al-falsafa (ruin or destruction of the philosophers), in which he refuted the opinions of Mohammedan philosophers, and accused them of impiety. Hâji Khalifa, who mentions alike the treatise of Al-ghazâlî and the critique that Ibn Roshd wrote on it, has given us part of the prefaces to both works. (See Kashafr-u-d-dharīs, voc. Théâfet.) This work of Al-ghazâlî, which was afterwards translated into Hebrew by a Spanish Jew, named Rabbi Moses, is preserved in the Escorial Lib. (No. 626), together with many other of his philosophical and metaphysical treatises. See Bib. Ar. Hist. Soc. vol. i. pp. 184, 202, 377, 462, et passim.
direction on the science of elementary jurisprudence. 39—xii. A short treatise entitled "A review of the different opinions entertained by people respecting the harmony that exists between philosophy and religion." 39—xiv. Serious questions on the book of the posterior analytics by Aristotle. 40—xxv. A commentary on the book of analogy by Aristotle. 41—xxvi. An essay on the mind. 42—xxvii. Another on analogy. 43—xxviii. An inquiry whether the intelligence that resides in us has or has not the power of comprehending an object independently of another; this being the problem which Aristotle undertook to resolve in his treatise on the soul, and which we likewise discussed in our exposition of the said treatise. 44—xxix. An essay to prove that what is believed by the dissenters and the theologians of our sect on the existence of the world is nearly the same thing. 45—xxx. An essay entitled "A review of the opinions entertained by Abú Nasr in his treatises on the science of logic," which are in the hands of every scholar, and of those of Aristotle on the same subject, together with an estimate of the remarks on that science to be found scattered in the books of Aristotle, and a calculation of the improvements which science may have received from their contrary opinions. 46—xxxi. A discourse on the union of separate intellect with man. 47—xxxii. Another discourse upon the union of intellect with man. 48—xxxiii. Answers and inquiries between Abú Bekr Ibn Tofayl and Ibn Rosht on the classification of simple medi-

39 The title of this work is written very incorrectly in the text; it reads thus: مقالة في التقياس يبقى الفهود الربطاني عن كتب الربطاني لارسطوطيون. I am not sure of having seized the right meaning of the words the title, and the preceding, form only one in the text; but I think they ought to be separated as above.

40 مقالة في التقياس لارسطوطيون. كتاب في التقياس هل يبقى المعقل الذي فينا فهو البشري بالبولياني ان يعقل المقصورة الخبرات البالية او لا يعقل ذلك وهو الطلب الذي كان أرسطوطيون وعندنا بالفقه عنه.

41 مقالة في ما يعتقد البشرية وما يعتقد البكلمون من أهل متانا في كيفية وجود العالم من مقابل في البعاني.

42 The title of this work is written very incorrectly in the text; it reads thus: مقالة في ان ما يعتقد البشرية وما يعتقد البكلمون من أهل متانا في كيفية وجود العالم من مقابل في البعاني. I am not sure of having seized the right meaning of the words the title, and the preceding, form only one in the text; but I think they ought to be separated as above.
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caments made by the latter in his work entitled Al-kulliyāt.⁴²—xxxiv. An inquiry into the various metaphysical questions which occur in the work entitled Ash-šefí, by Ibn Síná.⁴³—xxxv. An inquiry on time.⁴¹—xxxvi. A discourse on the stupidity of those who oppose philosophy, and the proofs it affords in favour of the existence of matter, together with a discourse showing that what Aristotle said on the subject was a manifest truth.⁴²—xxxvii. A discourse, being a critique upon Abú 'All Ibn Síná because he divided beings into powerful absolutely and powerful by their essence, necessary independently and necessary by their essence.⁴³—xxxviii. A discourse on the temperaments of bodies, being questions on the intermittent fever.⁴⁴—xxxix. A discourse on putrid fevers, being a series of questions on science.⁴⁵—xl. A discourse on the motions of the sphere.⁴⁶—xli. A work on those passages of the posterior analytics by Aristotle with which Abú Nasr found fault when he opposed the order and the rules of the demonstrations and definitions.⁴⁷—xlii. A discourse on the antidote.⁴⁸

V. The Life of Ibn Joljol, fo. 137.

Abú Dáuíd Suleymán Ibn Hossín, known by the surname of Ibn Joljol,³ was an eminent physician, well versed in the knowledge of diseases and the medicaments required for

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³ The word joljol in Arabic means a sort of bell. See Note 109, p. 413. Casiri has frequently treated of Ibn Joljol, whom he calls Eba Golgoth, making him at times a native of Valencia, at others of Cordova. (See Bib. Ar- Hisp. Esp. vol. i. p. 437, and vol. ii. pp. 101, 187.) Conde (Hist. de la Desc. vol. i. p. 543) mentions him under the name of Ben Golgoth. I find also that the late De Saer has given his life in the Appendix to his Relation de l'Egypte por Abdallatif, Medecin Arabe de Bagdad, Paris, 1810.
their cure. He lived in the times of Hishám Al-muyad-billah, whose physician he was. He also paid great attention to the analysis of simples, and the discovery of their several properties. He wrote a commentary on the books of Dioscorides Anazarbeus, wherein he described every one of the simples of which the Greek physician had given the names, explaining at the same time, with much clearness and precision, their qualities and their use as medicaments, tearing the veil and dissipating the obscurity in which most of them were formerly enveloped. In the preface to his work, Ibn Joljol says as follows:

"The books of Dioscorides were first translated from the Greek into Arabic by Estefan, son of Basil the interpreter, who completed his task at Baghdad during the reign of the 'Abbási Khalif Ja'far Al-muwakkel. Honeyn, son of I'shák, then corrected the version made by Estefan, and purged it from the errors it contained. Having afterwards substituted Arabic for such of the Greek names as had been suffered to remain for want of the translator knowing their equivalent in Arabic, he gave his work to the public. Such names of simples, however, as Honeyn found without an equivalent in Arabic he left in the Greek language, trusting that God would send after him people acquainted with their properties, and who would give them names, since it is an ascertained fact that simples receive only their nomenclature either through the common consent of the people of a country, who have observed their properties and the effects they produce, or by derivation, or otherwise, but always by a sort of mutual consent. Estefan, therefore, trusted that there would come after him other naturalists, who, being acquainted with the properties of medicaments, the names of which in Arabic were unknown in his time, would denominate them according to the custom of their days, and that by these means what was before unknown would become known."

"This version of Estefan," continues Ibn Joljol, "such as it was, with some of the simples having equivalent names in Arabic and others not, was brought to Andalus; the learned of this country, as well as those of the East, studying by it until the reign of 'Abdár-r-rahmán An-násir, son of Mohammed, Sultán of Andalus, when an ambassador from Armaníus, Emperor of Constantinople, came to Cordova with letters and presents from his master. This event took place, if I am not mistaken, in the year three hundred and thirty-seven of the Hijra (A.D. 948-9). There was, among other valuable things sent by Armaníus, a copy of Dioscorides' work, beautifully written in the old Greek language, the same that the ancient Ionians wrote and spoke, and having besides drawings of plants beautifully executed and illuminated with the most vivid colours. The Emperor of

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2 ديوستريدوس المعيشي زربي
3 أعتنى بي بسيل The life of this physician is also in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, fo. 68.
4 The tenth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás. He reigned from two hundred and thirty-one to two hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 845-861).
5 On this Honeyn or Honayn the reader may consult the Arabica Philosphorum Bibliotheca, apud Casiri, vol. i. p. 251, as well as Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, fo. 80, verso.
6 Instead of Estefan the sense requires Honeyn.
7 This Armaníus, or Armánius, as his name must have been pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, can be no other than Romanus, son of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who reigned from A.D. 948 to 963.
"Constantinople sent at the same time a copy of the work of the historian Orosius, an excellent history of the Romans, in which were described the events of ancient times and the actions of former kings, and many other curious and important events. In a letter accompanying the presents, the Emperor Armánius, alluding to this copy of Dioscorides, observed to An-násir, the books of Dioscorides ought to be translated into Arabic by a man well versed in the Greek language, and acquainted also with the properties of simples; without this requisite the merits of this wonderful composition will never be duly appreciated and brought to light." He added, "Unless thou find, O king! in thy states a man properly qualified to undertake this version, the advantages and merits of these books will for ever remain in obscurity. As to the books of Orosius, being written in Latin, I have no doubt but that thou wilt find in thy states a man who can read that language, and translate the work into Arabic for thy own use."

"It happened, however," continues Ibn Joljol, "that there was no Christian among those who resided in Cordova at the time who could read and understand the language of the ancient Greeks, so that the work of Dioscorides remained untranslated in An-násir's library. In the meanwhile the learned of this country made use of Estefán's translation, which, as I have remarked elsewhere, was brought from Baghádád. At last, when An-násir, some years after this event, returned the embassy of Armánius, he desired that monarck to send him a man well learned in the language and literature of the ancient Greeks, who should teach them in Cordova to some of An-násir's slaves, and thereby enable them to make a suitable Arabic version. This request was readily granted by Armánius, who dispatched to Cordova a monk named Nicolaus, who arrived in Cordova in the year three hundred and forty of the Hijra (A.D. 951-2). There were at that time in the capital several eminent physicians, men of the greatest learning, who burned with desire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the books of Dioscorides, and dive into the sense of the passages that remained still obscure and unexplained in the translation, as well as to find the equivalent names of the plants in Arabic. Among those who most eagerly desired an opportunity to gain a sight of that precious work, and who, owing to the esteem in which they were held by the Khalif, could at any time go to the palace and enter the library, was Hasdáy Ibn Bashrút, the Israelite. With this man the monk Nicolaus formed an intimate acquaintance,

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8 The history of Orosius was certainly translated into Arabic. I find it often mentioned by Ihna Hayyán (Rud. Lib., No. 157), Al-bekrí (Arab. MS. In my possession), and by Makrízí (Br. Mus., 7317). These authors, however, do not agree as to its title. The former calls it Al-bekrí, in his description of Egypt, أخبار الروم لברוشش الإندلاسي—while the latter, who undoubtedly borrowed his information from Al-bekrí, whom I find he copied in most instances, with a very slight verbal alteration, calls it ترجمة كتاب هروديتيش الإندلاسي في وصف الدول والجبيل.

9 No doubt the same individual called Rabbi Hasdáy ben Isaac Spota by Castro, Bibliotheca Española, tom. i. pp. 29, 239. Ibn Ábí Dossayb'ah, who gives his life, fo. 136, says, that he enjoyed great favour with 'Abda-r-rahmán III., of Cordova, whose physician he was.
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and, in the course of time, explained to him all the obscure passages in the books of Dioscorides. Hasdáy was likewise the first physician who made in Cordova the antidote called "al-fárúk," and determined the proper plants that ought to enter into its composition. Nor was Hasdáy the only physician who worked on the books of Dioscorides; other eminent men laboured sedulously to re-establish the right reading of the names of plants, and to find their equivalents in Arabic. Of this number were Mohammed, known by the surname of "Ash-shajjár," another man called Al-busábistí, Abú Othmán Al-jezzár, known by the surname of Al-yábisah, Mohammed Ibn Sa'id, the physician, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Is'hák Ibn Haytham, and Abú 'Abdillah As-sakílí (of Sicily), who knew and spoke Greek well, and was besides an eminent physician and botanist. All the above-mentioned individuals were contemporaries of the monk Nicolaus, and lived, in the days of the Khalif Al-mustanser, in Cordova, where I knew them in my youth, and profited by their lessons and experience. I also saw and knew the monk Nicolaus, who died in the first year of the reign of Al-mustanser-billah Al-hakem. However, through the united efforts of those illustrious physicians, the translation of the books of Dioscorides was purged of the manifold errors with which it swarmed, the obscure passages were made clear, all the names of plants and simples were satisfactorily explained, with the exception of a few, which did not exceed ten in number, and the people of Cordova, the capital of Andalus, could at last read the very words of the Greek naturalist translated into their own language, and know the equivalent terms for all and every one of the simples described in his works.

Ibn Joljol adds: "Having from my earliest youth shown the greatest inclination to become well acquainted with the materia medica (by Dioscorides), which is the foundation of the knowledge of compound medicaments, I was led to investigate the subject with the utmost care and attention. This I did until God, in his infinite bounty, was pleased to grant me the means of attaining the object of my wishes and accomplishing my purpose, which was to preserve the names and description of many medicaments which I feared would be forgotten, and the advantages resulting from them lost to mankind, since God has created the means of restoring health to the body of man by disseminating them in the plants which cover the surface of the earth, in the quadrupeds that move on it, in the fishes that swim in the water, in the birds that fly through the air, and in the mineral substances..."
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"that lie hidden in the bowels of the earth; and by permitting that all these things should "be appropriated to the cure of diseases, as a proof of his extreme mercy and kindness."

Ibn Jola left the following works:—i. A commentary on the names of the simples used in medicine which occur in the books of Dioscorides; written at Cordova, in the month of Rabii'-l-akhir of the year three hundred and seventy-two (Sept. or Oct. A.D. 982), under the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn Al-hakem.—ii. Another work treating of those simples which may be used in medicine, but are not mentioned in the books of Dioscorides.—iii. A risalah (epistle) entitled "Declaration of the errors committed by physicians in the cure of diseases."—iv. A bibliographical work, dedicated to the Khalif Hishám, containing the lives of eminent physicians and philosophers born in Andalus, or who practised in that country.

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the historical work of Waliyyu-d-din Abá Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khalidání

Al-khadhrání Al-ishbili Al-mátekí, entitled "تَرْجُمَةَ العبَرِ وَ دِيَوَانَ السُّبْدَادَأ، وَ أُخْبَرَ فِي أَيَامِ الْعَرَبِ وَ الْبِرَبَرِ وَ مِنْ عَادِرِهِمْ مِنْ ذُوِّي السُّلْطَانِ الأكْبَر.

"The interpreter of the instructive records, and the collection of the subject and the "predicate, on the history of the Arabs, the Berbers, and their contemporaries who had extensive empires."

Such is the title of a general history which the above-mentioned author seems to have written for Abd-1-abbás Ahmed, surnamed Al-mutawakkil-billah, Sultán of Africa, of the dynasty of the Beni Abi Hafs, and which, if we attend to the various information it contains, to the importance of the subjects treated in it, and the philosophical spirit which reigns through the work, may well be called one of the most complete and best-written histories that ever issued from the pen of an Arabian writer.1

Two volumes, out of the many which compose this invaluable production, are in the Library of the British Museum. No. 9574 contains the mkhaddamat or prolegomena. It is a large quarto, containing one hundred and ninety-nine folios, written in the Maghrebi or Western hand, upon thick brown paper. The age of the MS. is nowhere stated, but, if I am to judge from its general appearance, I do not hesitate to say that it was written before the sixteenth century of our era. The transcript is executed in a large, plain, legible hand, such as that of a professional copyist would be; the titles

of all the chapters are written in blue, red, or green ink, and the first leaf, part of which has been torn, is richly ornamented with gold. The text also is pointed throughout,—a circumstance of no little value in a work like the present, which is written in a highly figurative style, full of metaphorical expressions and idioms borrowed from the African dialects,—and the transcript seems not only to be faithful, but is undoubtedly the work of one well versed in the grammar of his own language. The margins of the manuscript are filled with the scribblings of a late possessor, but these are in most instances of little or no importance. The volume is defective at the end, wanting one, or at the most two leaves, the last one being also very much damaged. I find, likewise, that the volume has since been bound and paged wrong, and that in order to follow the narrative it is necessary to shift continually from one end of the volume to another. In the short extracts that I am now going to give I had to follow these numbers, 125, 120, 119, 117, 118, 116, 141, &c. However, with all its imperfections, I consider it to be one of the most valuable Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum. It is bound together with a fragment of Al-júzi's history described elsewhere. See Preface, and Note 2, p. 403.

No. 9575 is a volume in folio of two hundred and four leaves. To judge from the title-page, it would contain the sixth and seventh part of Ibn Khaldún's work. But, upon close examination, I find that its contents are the end of the second book and the greater part of the third. It begins with the fourth tabakah or division (the last in the second book), treating of the tribes of Arabian origin which settled in Africa; and, at fo. 40, proceeds to the third book on the history of the Berbers, which occupies all the rest of the volume. The transcript,—which from the note at the end appears to have been executed by a certain 'Abdu-I-wahháb Ibn Mohammed Abí-s-sa'ádát Ibn Mohammed Hejzái, of the sect of Sháf'í, who terminated it on Friday the twenty-first of the month of Rejeb, A.H. one thousand and ninety-four (June, A.D. 1683),—is written in the Egyptian hand upon thick glazed paper. The titles of the chapters are written in red, and the genealogical trees of the respective tribes are drawn with tolerable accuracy. Proper and geographical names are occasionally pointed, and the text thus far reaches the collating, which now and then appear on the margins of the volume, show that some care was taken in its transcription. Nevertheless, faults both in the text and in the spelling of proper names are frequent, a circumstance which renders this volume much less valuable than the preceding.

The following extracts on the civil and military offices of the Arabs are taken from the first of the above-described volumes, out of a long chapter of the third mukaddamah, which Ibn Khaldún consecrated exclusively to that object, entitled 'فصل في مراتب الملك و السultan و ألقابه' (chapter treating of the charges of the kingdom, and those of the Sultán, and their names). This I had translated entire with the view of including it in this Appendix, as the information we possess on the civil and military offices and the general system of administration of the Arabs is exceedingly scanty; but the fear of swelling this volume beyond its proper limits makes me abstain from it, and merely extract such passages as are most calculated to throw light upon the present narrative.

Fo. 125, verso.—The charge of Wizír (waizírah) among the Bení Umeyyah of Andalus was at first preserved in its primitive state, and in the very acceptance of that word. It was, however, divided afterwards into several separate offices, each of which was intrusted to the
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care of a Wizir. For instance, the financial department was given to one Wizir; the writing of the correspondence to another; the inspection of memorials from people who considered themselves wronged or oppressed to another; the defence of the frontiers, and the provision and equipment of the troops stationed on them, was placed under the superintendence of another. These Wizirs had a room allotted to them, where they sat in council on cushions prepared for them, and from which they issued orders in the Sultán's name, each in his own department. They were presided over by one chosen out of their number, who sat also on a cushion higher than his colleagues, and was distinguished by the appellation of Hájjib. It was the duty of this latter functionary to act as messenger from the council to the Sultán, going to and from, and communicating to the assembled body the intentions or the wishes of the sovereign. Things continued in this state until the empire of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown, when the office of the Hájjib rose so much in dignity and importance as to become superior to any other office in the state. So much was this the case that the petty rulers (who shared among themselves the dominions of the Khalifs) not unfrequently assumed the title of Hájjib, as we shall have further occasion to observe.

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The Almohades at first being rather inclined to the nomadic life, neglected this as well as other offices of the dynasties that preceded them; but when in the course of time they acquired a taste for the life in cities, they began to assume different titles, and to give the name of Wizir to the holder of a charge, which at first was preserved in all its purity. After this they took for a model the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah, and imitated their conduct in all the affairs of government, giving the title of Wizir to that officer who had under his care the curtain or screen in the royal chamber, or who stood by it in order to announce to the Sultán the visitors, and those who entered his presence for the confirmation of a sentence, or to address him, as well as the poets and literary men who frequently attended their court. In this manner they exalted the charge of Hájjib as much as they wished; things having since continued in the same state until our present time. God is the supreme ruler!

Fo. 120, verso.—Al-hajábah (the charge of the Hájjib). We have already stated that the title of Hájjib was exclusively given under the empire of the Bení 'Abbás to that officer who screened the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects, and who shut his door or opened it to them according to the will of the sovereign, and at the hours appointed by him. The office then was not only one of great distinction, but even superior in authority to all others, since the Wizir himself had to apply to its holder in order to obtain an interview with the Sultán. It continued to be such during the reign of the succeeding Khalifs, and is still so at the moment we write. In Egypt, however, it is subordinate to the highest office of the state, which is that of the Náyib. Among the Egyptians the Hájjib is that officer who moves before the Sultán, and who stands behind him on state occasions, or when he gives audiences to his subjects.

During the government of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus, the name of Hájjib was given to that officer whose duty was to screen or veil the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects, and to be a sort of intermediary between his sovereign and the Wizirs, or their inferiors, as we have
observed elsewhere. As long as the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah lasted, the office of the Hájib was one of the highest importance in the state, as thou mayest read in the histories of Ibn Hadíd and other Hájibs. So great were the honours attached to that post, that when the attacks upon that dynasty commenced, the usurpers assumed the title of Hájib, as did Al-mansúr and his two sons after him. Even the rulers of petty kingdoms who came afterwards, and who, not content with usurping the titles, assumed also all the power of royalty, far from relinquishing the title of Hájib when they possessed it, assumed it upon every occasion, regarding it as an honourable distinction. So much was this the case, that the most powerful among them by the extent and the nature of his dominions would not hesitate, after assuming all the titles of royalty, to add to his other titles those of Hájib⁴ and Dhu-l-wizárateyn, or the holder of the two offices, that of the sword and that of the pen,—meaning by Hájib `he who screens the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects,’ and by Dhu-l-wizárateyn ‘he that unites in himself the two powers, the civil and the military.’

The dynasties that swayed over Western and Eastern Africa had, at first, no office of this name, owing to the nomadic habits which prevailed among their rulers. It is true that instances may be pointed out among the Fátimites of Egypt at the time of their greatest splendour, and when they became accustomed to the life in cities, but these are of very rare occurrence. When the Almohades came afterwards, all their pretensions to civilisation were not sufficient to make them assume for themselves the proper titles, nor to make the necessary distinction between the charges of the state, nor to suit the names of these to their functions. They had no other office at their court but that of the Wizír, which title they at first gave to the Kátib or secretary, who transacted business with the Sultán, or who accompanied him, as Ibn ’Attíyyah and ’Abdu-s-saláín Al-kání. The inspection of accounts, and all other branches of the financial department, were also committed to him. After this they gave the title of Wizír to all those who composed the government of the Almohades, as Ibn Jámi and others, but they never had either the name or the charge of Hájib among them. When the Bení Abí Hafs took possession of the empire, the principal offices of the state remained in the hands of the Almohades; no material change was therefore made in the institutions, and the highest post in the state was that of the Wizír, who was at the same time a counsellor; this functionary was called by them ‘Sheikh of the Almohades,’ and his duties consisted in the appointment and removal of governors, the provision and maintenance of armies, and all other military affairs. The keeping of public accounts was intrusted to an officer called Sáhibu-l-ashghádí (the master of the occupations), because he attended to the receipt and payment of funds, to the counting of all sums that came through his hands, and to the imposition of taxes, as well as to the chastisement of the excesses committed in the levying of the same. Such were the functions of the Sáhibu-l-ashghádí. During the empire of the Almohades the office was made exclusive to people of their sect, and was seldom conferred upon any other. The office of the pen was then committed to a Kátib, who had under his care the writing

3 The author is mistaken. Those governors who, like Khayrán, Zobair, and ’Abdu-l-’azíz, rose in the provinces of the Cordovan empire after the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, did not assume the title of Hájib merely because they considered it an honorific one, but because, though all-powerful in their states, they pretended to derive, and to hold their authority, only from the Bení Umeyyah, whose cause they upheld against the intruders of the house of Idrís.
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of the correspondence, and to whom the secrets of the state were intrusted; but as the office of the Kāšīb was not one of their assumption, and the correspondence was not written in their own native language, it was always given without any restriction of family or sect. The Sultán, moreover, when his empire extended, and his palace became full of applicants, saw the want of a Kahārmān, chosen from among the servants of his household, to put order into his family, to superintend the giving of alms and gifts, to guard his treasures, to take care of his stables, and to issue the proper orders to the revenue collectors whenever money was required for the expenses of his household. To these duties an officer was appointed whom they called Hājīb. Sometimes, even, if this functionary had a handsome hand-writing, the Sultán would intrust him with the writing of the royal cipher upon dispatches; if not, he would give that charge to another. Things continued in this state, (the Sultán all the while screening or veiling himself from his subjects, and the Hājīb being a sort of intermediary between the Sultán and all the people holding posts under his government,) until, in the course of time, the direction of military affairs was intrusted to him as well as the presidency of the council, and the office became thus gradually the highest in the state, and that which united the most extensive and varied powers.

As to the Andalusians of our days, they give the name of Wakīl to that functionary who is intrusted with the keeping of the accounts, the private expenses of the Sultán, and other pecuniary concerns; their Wizār exercises the same functions as in former times, with this difference, that the department of the correspondence is also intrusted to him. The Sultán, moreover, generally affixes his own cipher to the diplomatic dispatches, so that there is no office for this purpose, as in other dynasties.

Fo. 141, verso.—Khattat-ul-ashghādī. This is the office of the keeping of the accounts and the collection of the taxes. In former times it was customary for the Sultāns of the family of Umeyyah (as we have stated elsewhere), to confer it upon liberated slaves, and upon Christians or Jews, but when the Benī 'Abbās succeeded them it was made one of the duties of the Wizār, as happened in the case of the Benī Hārmek, and of the Benī Sahl. After this the Sultāns of the family of Umeyyah, in Andalus, and the 'Omayyads, in Africa, made it again a distinct and separate office. The Almohades, moreover, seldom appointed to it any other than people belonging to their sect, and the holder of the office was by them intrusted with

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4 is the name of a fabulous Persian hero. It means likewise an infuriated lion, and is used metaphorically for treasurer, or confidential servant, a steward or major domo.

Ibn Khaldūn seems to have filled a similar post under Mohammed Ḥa Tafrākīn, governor of Tānis.

The text says  — that is, the Christians or Jews living under the Moslems in the exercise of their religion.

See Note 27, p. 398.

Individuals of the former family filled the charge of Wizār under Hārūn Ar-rashīd, and of the latter, under Al-mamáns.