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JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN.

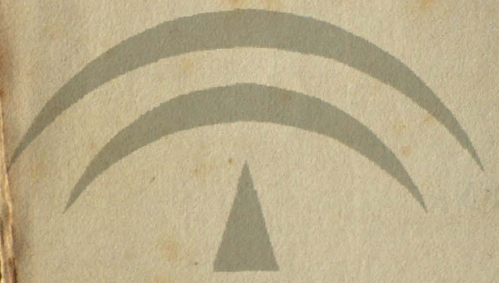
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JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN;

EXTRACTED FROM THE

NAFHU-T-TÍB MIN GHOSNI-L-ANDALUSI-R-RATTÍB WA TÁRÍKH LISÁNU-D-DÍN
IBNI-L-KHATTÍB,

BY AHMED IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ,

A NATIVE OF TELEMSÁN.

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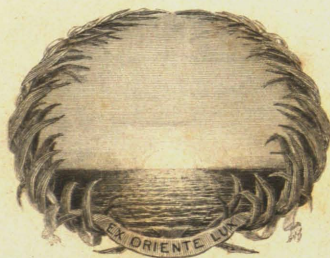
ILLUSTRATED WITH CRITICAL NOTES ON THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN,

BY PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS,

MEMBER OF THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE, AND LATE PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE
ATHENÆUM OF MADRID.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART.,

VICE-PRESIDENT R. A. S., F. R. S., &c. &c.

This Work

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

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

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE TRANSLATOR.

VOL. I.

b



THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE conquests and settlements of the Arabs in the south of Europe may be ranked among the events best calculated to engage our curiosity and attention. The followers of Mohammed, whether considered as the enthusiastic warriors whose victorious arms spread terror and consternation over our continent, or as the cultivated race who led the way for us in the career of letters and civilisation, are certainly entitled to a prominent place in the annals of modern Europe. That part of their history especially which relates to the occupation of the Spanish Peninsula merits a careful investigation. It was from Spain that issued those dreaded expeditions which threatened more than once the liberties of Europe; in Spain shone the first rays of that civilisation which subsequently illumined the whole of the Christian world; in the Arab schools of Cordova and Toledo were gathered, and carefully preserved for us, the dying embers of Greek learning; and it is to Arab sagacity and industry that we owe the discovery or dissemination of many of the most useful and important modern inventions.

However palpable and undeniable these facts may now appear, it was long before men of letters in Europe could be brought to admit them; and the Arabs, instead of being commended to the gratitude of modern ages, as they assuredly deserved to be, have been often charged with corrupting the infancy of modern literature. In no country of Europe, perhaps, were the pernicious effects of this unjust accusation so sensibly felt as in Spain, once the seat of their glory, and the country which participated most largely in the benefits of their civilisation. Mariana, and the best Spanish historians, actuated either by violent national hatred, or by a spirit of religious bigotry, have always manifested the greatest contempt for the writings of the Arabs, whom they frequently stigmatize as "a ruthless warlike nation, hostile to science and polite literature." Rejecting the means of research afforded them by the abundant historical records of the Arabs, as well as the advantages

likely to result from a comparison between the Christian and Mohammedan accounts of the same events, they compiled their histories chiefly from one-sided national authorities; and, without attending to the successive revolutions of the Arab states, their internal wars, divisions, and numerous dynasties,—without stopping to consider their social condition, or to inquire into the causes of the rise and fall of their power,—topics all so closely allied with the subject they had in hand,—those historians proceeded on their course wholly unmoved by the vicissitudes of the Mohammedan kingdoms, and as if not deigning even to cast a glance on the enemies of their country and religion. The effects of such illiberality on their writings need scarcely be pointed out. The history of Spain during the middle ages has been,—and still is, notwithstanding the labours of modern critics,—a tissue of fable and contradiction. What else could be expected from authors who confidently believed and blindly copied in their writings the wretched production of the Morisco Miguel de Luna, whose work,¹ it might be plausibly argued, was intended rather as a hoax upon the grave inquisitors at whose command it was written, than as a history of the Spanish Moslems; inasmuch as his ignorance of the language of his ancestors,—sufficiently evinced in the etymologies interspersed throughout his work,—cannot adequately account for his not knowing that Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, in whose time he places the invasion of Spain, lived five centuries after that event!

It would, however, be unfair to attribute the neglect above complained of solely to the bigotry—real or affected—of authors otherwise commendable for their criticism or their learning. The real cause of it must be sought for in the superstition and intolerance of the Spanish Government. No attempt was made at any time to repair the awful injury inflicted on literature in general, and, above all, on the history and antiquities of the Spanish Peninsula, by the barbarous decree of Cardinal Ximenez, who caused eighty thousand Arabic volumes²

¹ *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo, con la perdida de España y la conquista que della hizo Mirammolin Almançor, Rey que fue del Africa, y de las Arabias, y vida del Rey Iacob Almançor. Compuesta por el Sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, de nacion Arabe. Nuevamente traduzida de la lengua Arabiga por Miguel de Luna vezino de Granada. Interprete del Rey Don Felipe nuestro Señor. Granada, 1592. This work was reprinted in Granada, 1600; Zaragoza, 1603; Valencia, 1606 and 1646; Madrid, 1653, 1654, and 1675. No better illustration can be given of the utter contempt in which the study of Arabic literature was held in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than the fact that this wretched production should have gone through so many editions, whilst the "Historia Arabum" of Rodericus Toletanus, an invaluable treasure of Spanish history, was never printed but out of that country.*

² According to Robles, who wrote a life of Cardinal Ximenez, the number of volumes consumed in this literary *auto de fé*, was one million and five thousand,—no doubt a monstrous exaggeration of that writer, who thought thereby to increase the merits of his hero! *Rebel. de los Moriscos*, p. 104.

to be burnt in the public squares of Granada, on the pretence that they contained doctrines adverse to the diffusion of the Gospel among the vanquished people: on the contrary, the works still remaining in the hands of the Moriscos were eagerly sought out and committed to the flames. The Arabic language was anathematized as "the rude language of an heretical and proscribed race," unworthy of being learned by a Christian, unless for theological purposes; and the few works that escaped the general destruction remained in the hands of ignorant priests, the only persons deemed capable of perusing them without danger of contamination.

However, towards the latter half of the last century, the Spanish Government, stimulated by the example of other nations, and actuated by a more liberal policy, began at last to encourage the study of Arabic literature. The fire which broke out in the Escorial, and which is said to have consumed more than three-fourths of the magnificent collection of Eastern manuscripts therein contained, roused the Spanish Government from its lethargy, and the task of making a catalogue of the remaining manuscripts was intrusted to the learned Casiri. His "Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis," which appeared in the years 1760-70, bears traces of great assiduity and labour, and, considering the time in which it was written, displays considerable learning. It is, however, hasty and superficial, and contains frequent unaccountable blunders. The historical extracts given in the second volume are for the most part incorrectly printed, and the version is far from being either accurate or faithful. Yet, with all its imperfections, Casiri's work must ever be valuable as affording palpable proof of the literary cultivation of the Spanish Arabs, and as containing the first glimpses of historical truth, afterwards so successfully developed in the work of the Jesuit Masdeu.³ Nearly contemporary with Casiri lived Don Faustino de Borbon,⁴ an author

³ *Historia critica de España*. Madrid, 1783-1800. Twenty vols. 4to.

⁴ Great obscurity hangs over the family and the name of this writer. He was born at Madrid in 1755 or thereabouts, and was reputed to be the natural son of the Infante Don Gabriel, brother of Charles III., then the reigning monarch. He nevertheless passed as the son of a Maltese gentleman who filled the office of Eastern interpreter to the Government. His printed works bear the name of 'Faustino de Borbon,' or the initials 'F. de B. ;' but in other productions of his pen, which are preserved in manuscript in the library of the British Museum, he styles himself 'Don Faustino Juan Nepomuceno de Borbon, Vandoma, Guzman, vulgo Muscat.' He wrote the following works: i. *Algunos puntos bíblicos para la inteligencia de varios lugares del viejo testamento*, Mad. 1794.—ii. *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de la España Árabe*, ib. 1796.—iii. *Discursos ó preliminares Cronológicos para ilustrar la historia de la España Árabe*, ib. 1797. The following have not been printed: iv. *Diccionario topográfico de la España Árabe*, 5 vols. 4to.—v. *Demostraciones Cronológicas*, 5 vols. 4to.—vi. *Diccionario topográfico del Principado de Asturias*.—vii. *Topografía de las Asturias de Liébana hasta la raya de Vizcaya*.—viii. *Topografía*

who seems to have passed most of his life in the Escorial Library, with a view to the illustration of the history of his native country during its occupation by the Moslems, but whose works are little known, and, from circumstances not easily explained, have become exceedingly scarce. His *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España*,—the only production of his pen which I have been able to obtain,—were printed at Madrid in 1796, in monthly parts. They relate to a period of Spanish history which is, of all others, the most important, namely, from the insurrection in the mountains of the Asturias to the death of Pelayo in 727. The author has shown vast erudition and learning in the historical antiquities of his country, and occasionally displayed great sagacity in the unravelling of the historical difficulties in which he found himself entangled at every step; but he was evidently no critic, and, whilst defending with great ardour untenable historical points, he often indulged unnecessarily in the wildest speculations, as I shall have occasion to show in the notes to this volume.

Then came Don José Antonio Conde, to whom literary Europe is indebted for the only complete history of the Spanish Moslems drawn entirely from Arabian sources,—an author whose name cannot be mentioned otherwise than respectfully by those who, like me, follow in his steps. But, popular as his work may have been,—and may still be, with a certain class of readers,—there can be no doubt that it is far from fulfilling the expectations of the scholar; and competent judges have lately put it on a level with that of Cardonne, a French writer by no means Conde's equal in learning or literary accomplishments. Disparaging as this judgment may appear on a work which has been the foundation of all our knowledge on the history of Mohammedan Spain, it is, nevertheless, in some manner justified by the uncouth arrangement of the materials, the entire want of critical or explanatory notes, the unaccountable neglect to cite authorities, the numerous repetitions, blunders, and contradictions. But the defects of Conde's work will be more clearly perceived, as well as more readily excused, if we first form an idea of the materials used in its composition. By some strange fatality, the library of the Escorial, though rich in works valuable for their antiquity or their contents, is yet particularly deficient in the very depart-

de las Provincias de Leon, Vierzo, Valladolid, Zamora y Toro.—ix. *Diccionario topográfico de las Provincias de Valladolid, Toro, Zamora, Segovia, Avila y parte de la de Salamanca á medio día del Duero.*—x. *Diccionario topográfico de Vizcaya, Alava, Guipuzcoa, Toro, Merindades de Castilla, Palencia y Partidos de Carrion.*—xi. A Spanish translation of the life of Saládin by Boháu-d-dín. All these MSS., with the exception of the first-mentioned, which is in the Bodleian Library, (*Caps. Or. C. 19-24*), and of the last, which I have seen at Madrid in private hands, are now preserved in the library of the British Museum, having passed into it from the collection of Mayans.

ment which ought to have constituted its chief treasure, namely, the history and geography of the Peninsula during its occupation by the Moslems. The reason for this deficiency is obvious enough: the collection of Eastern manuscripts now in the Escorial is not the result, as elsewhere, of the constant solicitude of an enlightened Government, but the mere work of accident; and had not two Spanish galleys, while cruising in the Mediterranean, captured three Moorish vessels having on board an extensive collection of books belonging to Muley Zidán, Emperor of Morocco, it may be presumed that the Libraries of Spain would not now contain a single Arabic manuscript; for, whilst those of Paris, Vienna, and Leyden, which scarcely counted a few volumes at the beginning of the last century, have increased their stocks to a number double and treble that of the Escorial, the Government of Spain has made no effort to augment that rich but dilapidated collection. The few works of any historical value which exist in that Library are Biographical Dictionaries,—a favourite branch of literature with the Arabs,—where the genealogy, the year of the birth and death, the masters and pupils, of the individual panegyricized, together with a list of his writings, and some extracts from his verses, are given at full length, while those important historical events with which he may have been connected are dispatched in a few words. If the individual, moreover, happen not to be a poet, or a patron of literature, whatever his military talents may have been, or however important the transactions in which he was engaged, he is taken no notice of.

From such rough materials Conde's work is chiefly composed, and with the exception of the second volume,—which is an unfaithful and rambling version of the *Karttás*,⁵—the remainder is but a confused mass of biographical articles borrowed from various writers, and joined together without the least regard to the age or style of the composition. The incoherence of the narrative, and the numerous blunders resulting from such an assemblage of heterogeneous materials, need scarcely be pointed out. Events are frequently related twice in quite different moods, and the same individual is made to appear repeatedly on the stage under various names.⁶ If to this it be added that Conde, a victim to mental anxiety and

⁵ A Portuguese translation of this work by José Moura has since been published at Lisbon, 1828, 4to.

⁶ The mistakes in Conde's work, though unnoticed by the generality of its translators or compilers, must be palpable enough to all those who peruse it with the least attention. The last three chapters of the second volume are repeated, with very slight verbal alteration, in the third. He writes the name of Ibráhím Ibn Humushk, a celebrated warrior, in six different ways. Ben Humusqui (vol. ii. p. 230); Aben Hemsek (p. 323); Aben Hamusek (p. 362); Hamasek (p. 373); and Aben Hamasec (p. 377). Hariz Ibn Okkeshah, the general of Al-mámún, King of Toledo, is also variously called—Hariz Ben Alhakem (p. 29); Hariz Ben Alhakim Ben Alcasha (p. 38); Hariz Ben Hakem ben Okeisa (p. 56); and mentioned

suffering, was surprised by death in the midst of his labours,⁷—that his unfinished manuscript fell into the hands of parties totally unacquainted with the subject, and who increased, instead of remedying, the confusion,—that his work has since been terribly mutilated by translators and compilers, who, with very few exceptions, have suffered his most palpable mistakes to pass uncorrected,—the reader may form an idea of the degree of confidence due to the more modern works on the history of the Spanish Moslems.

No sooner had I become sufficiently master of the language of the Arabs to be able to peruse their historical writings, than I was impressed with the idea that, until these were printed in the original with a literal translation, and their narrative compared with those of the Christian chroniclers, no great progress could be made towards the elucidation of Spanish history. I imparted my idea to the venerable President of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, who not only agreed with me as to the necessity of such an undertaking, but pointed out the manner in which it could be best accomplished, communicating to me, at the same time, the plan of a similar project which had once seriously occupied the attention of that learned body. An application made by me to the proper quarter met, however, with no success, and I was obliged to postpone, if not to relinquish entirely, my undertaking. It was then that I first thought of translating the history of Mohammedan Spain by Ahmed Al-

in a manner as if these names applied to three distinct persons. Limiting, however, my observations to the first volume,—for which alone Conde can be made answerable, since he himself saw it through the press,—I can point out many glaring errors. Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Shoheyd, the celebrated Wizír of Abdu-r-rahmán III., is called at times Ahmed Ibn Sahid (p. 432), at other times Ahmed Ben Said (p. 446). The same might be said of Bahlúl, who at p. 223 is represented as in arms against Hishám I., and a few pages afterwards is called Wizír to Al-hakem I.

⁷ Conde having, like others of his literary friends, espoused the cause of the French during their partial occupation of the Peninsula, was appointed by Joseph Buonaparte chief librarian of the Royal Library of Madrid, which charge he filled as long as the French were in possession of the capital. On the evacuation of the Peninsula by the French troops, Conde retired to Paris, where he passed some years in arranging the materials he had collected for his history of the Arabs. When his task was completed, he returned to Madrid in 1819, intending to give it the last touch and commit his work to the press; but, instead of meeting with the protection and assistance to which his arduous undertaking entitled him, he was, owing to his political offence, persecuted and oppressed; every possible obstacle was thrown in his way by the members of the Government, and, if I am not misinformed, the use of the Oriental manuscripts in the Escorial was refused to him. These marks of indifference to his pursuits, and animosity towards his person, on the part of his countrymen, and the extreme poverty to which he was reduced by the refusal of Government to grant him any portion of the emoluments of his former office, seriously affected the health of Conde, who died in 1820, in a state of almost entire destitution, just as his friends were about to print his work by subscription.

makkari. I knew that, by command of Charles IV., a copy of that work, made under the superintendence of the celebrated French orientalists De Sacy and Langlés from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, had been transmitted to Madrid as early as 1816; and although Conde, for whose use the transcript was made, had never been able to ascertain to what recess it had been consigned, I still hoped that, by searching the Libraries, I should be able to find it. In this expectation, however, I was likewise foiled; and notwithstanding my personal exertions and the most diligent inquiries, I have not yet been able to discover what has become of it. Good fortune procured me at that time the acquaintance of Dr. Frederic William Lembke, a Hanoverian gentleman, the author of an excellent history of Spain,⁸ who possessed a copy of Al-makkari, diligently collated by him with those of Gotha and Paris. Having obtained the loan of the manuscript, I transcribed it entirely, and soon after began a Spanish translation. This I had nearly completed and illustrated with notes and copious extracts from other Arabian manuscripts in the public libraries, or in my own collection, when, in one of my visits to this country, I had the honour of becoming acquainted with the President of the Oriental Translation Fund, who kindly suggested to me the idea of offering to the Committee a translation of Al-makkari's work, copies of which were to be found in the library of the British Museum. My offer being accepted, I fixed my residence in London, and recommenced the version in English,—a language in which, owing to my family connexions and my long stay in this country, I am, fortunately for the accomplishment of my wishes, tolerably well versed.

In undertaking a translation of Al-makkari's work, I was well aware that large extracts from it had been made by Professor Shakespear from a copy in his possession, and printed in Murphy's History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain; that Cardonne and Desguignes had known and consulted it, and that Dr. Lembke had also borrowed from it. All this, added to several defects of composition to which I shall presently allude, rendered a translation of that manuscript less desirable, perhaps, than it would have been under other circumstances, especially as several historical pieces of undeniable merit still remain untranslated. Yet, with all these disadvantages, I fixed upon Al-makkari's text as being the only one, to my knowledge, presenting a continuous history of the conquests and settlements of the Mohammedans in Spain, and thus offering a vast field for such illustrations and additions from

⁸ *Geschichte von Spanien*, Hamb. 1831, forming part of the historical collection entitled *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, by Heeren and Ukert. I have only seen the first volume of this work, which, from its conciseness, and the use the author has made of the writings of Nuwayri, Al-makkari, and other Mohammedan historians, promises to be one of the best written histories of the Peninsula.

other historians as I proposed to collect, so as to form a sort of "Critical History of the Spanish Arabs."

The work of Al-makkarí is divided into two parts; one relates to the history of Spain, the other contains the life of the celebrated historian and Wizír, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah, better known by the surnames of Ibnu-l-khattíb (the son of the preacher), and Lisánu-d-dín (the tongue of religion),—a writer whose works are still highly prized and eagerly read by the learned of Fez and Morocco, and who was himself a pupil of Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-makkarí At-telemsání, one of our author's ancestors. As Al-makkarí himself informs us (see Preface, p. 10), his first intention was merely to write a biography of that celebrated individual. This he had completed, and divided into eight books, in which he treated of the Wizír's ancestors and birth, of his youth, education, writings, &c., when the thought struck the author that his work might be rendered more interesting, were he to write an account of the conquests and settlements of the Moslems in Spain. He then composed the historical part, which he likewise divided into eight books. Al-makkarí seems to have met at first with considerable difficulties in the execution of his task from the scarcity of historical records, having, as he informs us, left the whole of his books in Africa, including a very complete history of Spain under the Moslems, on which he had bestowed considerable labour. He must, however, have procured books in the East, for he introduces quotations from the best authors of Mohammedan Spain,—quotations which, as far as I have been able to ascertain by a comparison with the original works cited, are always correct, and show that he must really have possessed copies of their writings. Indeed, the work of Al-makkarí is entirely composed of passages transcribed or abridged from more ancient historians, (the author himself seldom speaking in his own words,) and chronologically arranged, so that the title of "Historical Collections" would perhaps be better suited to it than that of "History." The plan followed by the author is this: when relating a particular event, he either transcribes at length or abridges the words of a historian; immediately after which he relates it again in two or three different ways from other sources; thus affording several versions of the same event. If to this it be added, that in transcribing the words of a historian he frequently makes longer extracts than are necessary, and perhaps quotes three or four pages merely to tell us the opinion of that historian respecting a matter that might be related in two lines,—that his narrative is continually interrupted by the introduction of poems and long extracts from rhetorical works nowise connected with his subject,—that in his historical information he is at times exceedingly diffuse, while he is often as much too laconic, relating in few words the most important event, or wasting several pages in the discussion of another of little or no interest, according as his inclinations as an author

or the abundance or scarcity of his materials prompted him, and that he but seldom introduces critical or explanatory remarks of his own,—the reader will form a very mean estimate of Al-makkari's qualifications as a historian.

Yet with all these imperfections, and notwithstanding the defects which he has in common with the generality of the Arabian writers and historians, Al-makkari possesses many advantages not easily to be met with in other authors. He gives an uninterrupted narrative of the conquests, wars, and settlements of the Spanish Moslems, from their first invasion of the Peninsula to their final expulsion,—which, as far as I am aware, does not occur in any other author: and besides, his mode of writing history, though involving repetitions, is in my opinion the best he could have adopted; for, if the historical facts recorded by contemporary writers had been garbled and disfigured by a Mohammedan author of the seventeenth century, the utility of such a production would have been impaired, together with its authenticity. As it is, Al-makkari transmits to us a collection of historical extracts and fragments relative to the history of Spain, taken from works, the titles of which, as well as the names of their authors, are in most instances given; and thus presents the original text of ancient historians whose writings are now probably lost.

The deficiency in certain periods of his history, occasioned, no doubt, by his want of proper materials, is an evil of a more serious nature; but this I have attempted to supply by inserting, in an Appendix, such fragments from valuable unpublished manuscripts as were calculated to fill the void, while I have thrown into the Notes and Illustrations such additional matter as appeared necessary to corroborate or refute his assertions. In short, by borrowing considerably from other writers who have partially treated the same subject, I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to augment the real value of this work.

I now proceed to state what parts of the work I have selected for translation. From the second part, viz., that treating of the life and writings of the Wizir Mohammed Ibnu-l-khattib, I have made only a few short extracts relating to the history of the kingdom of Granada. Of the first part, however, I have availed myself in the following manner: Book I., giving a physical and topographical description of Mohammedan Spain, I have entirely translated, with the exception of various poetical extracts, and some lengthy *risáleh* or epistles, which, besides being strewed with difficulties of no ordinary nature, contain no historical fact of any importance. Book II., which details the invasion and conquest of Spain by the Moslems, I have also translated entirely, as well as Book III., containing a chronological account of the various Mohammedan dynasties which ruled over that country, and Book VIII., in which the historical narrative is continued till the final expulsion of the Mohammedans from the Peninsula. Book IV., giving a topographical account of

Cordova, together with a description of its principal buildings and great mosque, I have likewise translated. Of Book V., which contains the lives of illustrious Spanish Moslems who travelled to the East in search of knowledge, I have made little or no use, except in the Notes. Not so with Book VI., which contains those of eminent Mohammedans who left their native towns in the East to settle in Spain; this being perhaps the portion of the work which affords the most abundant and valuable information, since it treats of the Arabian Amírs who governed Spain in the name of the Eastern Khalifs,—of 'Abdu-rahmán I., the founder of the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah,—of other illustrious Moslems who either commanded armies or filled high offices in the state,—in fact, of almost every individual of eminence who figured in Spanish history during the first four centuries after the invasion. Book VII., being almost entirely composed of poetical extracts, intended as proofs of the extent of genius and wit of the Andalusian poets, I have thought fit to suppress, excepting merely a precious fragment on the literature of the Spanish Moslems, which occupies the fourth and fifth Chapters of Book II. of this translation, and a few anecdotes therein related in proof or illustration of the superiority of the Andalusians to every other nation. In order to render the translation a little more readable, I have changed the order of the Books, and divided the matter into Chapters. I have also suppressed repetitions, and inverted in a few instances the order of the narrative, which I found frequently arranged without the least regard to chronology.

The copies of Al-makkarí's work which I have used for this translation are the following :

I. A large folio volume, of upwards of 1200 pages, written in the *neskhi* character, upon thin glazed paper of Eastern manufacture. The hand-writing is extremely handsome and uniform, but so minute as to render the reading almost painful to the eyes, each page containing fifty-one lines. The title-page is tastefully illuminated, and the introductory part of the preface enriched with gold; each page of the remainder of the manuscript is enclosed within a thick line of blue and gold. A note at the end of the volume⁹ states that the transcript was completed in the night of Friday the 29th day of Safar, A.H. one thousand one hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 1750). The copy is correct,

⁹ I here translate it:—"We terminated the composing and writing of the present work on the evening of Sunday the 27th of Ramadhán, A.H. one thousand and thirty-eight (A.D. 1629). Praise be given to God, in whom only we place our trust! May the peace of God be on his servants, those whom he selected! Having, however, after the above was written, thought of adding to our work, we subsequently made considerable additions, so that the whole was not completed until the last day of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, A.H. one thousand and thirty-nine (A.D. 1629). May the blessing of God be on our Lord Mohammed, and everlasting salvation be the share of his people and companions until the last day of judgment!"

and may in every respect be considered a valuable one. (Bibl. Rich in Brit. Mus., No. 7334.)

II. A small folio volume, containing the whole of book the fifth of the first part. The transcript, which from a note at the end appears to have been executed at Túnis, and completed on the last day of Jumáda II., A.H. one thousand and ninety-nine (A.D. 1688), is fairly written in a small but plain African hand. (Brit. Mus., No. 9593.)

III. A small folio volume, containing book the sixth, and the greatest part of the seventh, of the first part. The hand-writing, if not the same, is very similar to that of the preceding volume. (Brit. Mus., No. 9592.)

IV. A volume of the same size, but belonging to a different set of the work. It is written in the African hand, but so badly as to be in some parts almost illegible; the text, besides, is far from being correct. It contains the greatest part of book the seventh, and the whole of book the eighth, of the first part; also the first two books of the second part. (Brit. Mus., No. 9594.)

V. The first and second volume of an abridgment of the work made in the year 1165 of the Hijra (first day of Dhí-l-hajjah), by an author named Sídí Ahmed Ibn 'A'mir Ibn 'Abdi-rahmán Ibn 'A'mir Al-jezayrî (from Algiers). The transcript, which is not only badly written but incorrect, was completed on Friday the 14th of Jumáda I., A.H. one thousand two hundred and five (A.D. 1791). Brit. Mus., Nos. 9591-9595.

VI. Besides the above copies in the library of the British Museum, I have used one of my own, taken from Dr. Lembke's manuscript, and since carefully collated by me with the several copies of the work in the Royal Library at Paris, Nos. 704, 705, 758, 759.

VII. I likewise possess the first volume of a work purporting to be an abridgment of Al-makkarí, made in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-five (A.D. 1771-2),

Immediately after this comes the following note by the transcriber of the work.

"This fair transcript of the work (may the Almighty permit that it meet every where with his blessings!) was completed on the night of Friday the 29th of the month of Safar (the good and the blessed), one of the months of the year of the Hijra one thousand one hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 1750), by the hand of the weakest of the scribes and the dust of the feet of the poor, the Lord Ibráhím, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Ibráhím, son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, better known under the surnames of Ibnu-l-hakem, Al-hanefí, Al-bakshandí, Al-khalwatí, Al-kádirí, (all these epithets being significant of the profession of religious opinions followed by the natives of the East.) And this copy was written under the direction of our master, the Sheikh 'Abdu-l-ghaní Ibn An-nablusí, in whose company and friendship we lived for sixteen years, transcribing his works and profiting by his lessons, at his dwelling in that quarter of the city of Damascus named Sálehiyyah, close to the spot known as the *Markad Ibni-l-'arabí*."