

by Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Ibráhím At-telemsání. Unlike most abridgments of Arabic works, the present is made with great judgment and care, and that too by a person fully conversant with the subject. Indeed, such as it is, the work cannot be adequately styled an abridgment, inasmuch as it occasionally contains some additional matter. The author states in the preface, that happening to have in his possession some of the works quoted by Al-makkarí, he bethought him of giving the cited passages entire whenever it was expedient. He has also in many instances most judiciously changed the order of the events recorded, and suppressed such passages as were repeated. In short, he has cleansed and recast, as it were, the text of Al-makkari; and as this has been done with the utmost judgment and criticism, I need scarcely say that in most instances I have followed this text in preference to that of the original author, regretting that I should possess only one out of the four volumes of which this valuable *rifaccimento* seems to have been composed.¹⁰

As I have cited various Arabic works in my notes, I think it proper to apprise the reader what they are, and where they are to be found; but, before I proceed, I must state a fact which, however painful to my feelings, I feel myself called upon to disclose. Having decided on publishing this work in English, and my arrangements for coming to this country having been completed, I felt that unless I could spend some time at the Escorial, and ramble amidst the hallowed treasures of its Library, many of the historical points which it was my wish to ascertain, and to elucidate in those notes, would remain, for want of proper research, as obscure as they were before. I accordingly petitioned the Ministers of Her Catholic Majesty for permission to visit that Library; but, strange to say, notwithstanding repeated applications on my part, and the interference of persons high both in rank and influence,—notwithstanding the utility, not to say necessity, of the work I contemplated,—my request was, as often as made, positively denied, professedly on the plea that the Library could not be opened, (a contention having, two years before, arisen between the Government and the Royal Household as to the possession of it,) but, in reality, from no

¹⁰ It would have been highly satisfactory to me to have procured a sight of a complete copy of Al-makkari's work, once belonging to Dr. Carlyle, but which is now in the possession of Professor Shakespear, who was the first, in 1816, to make that work known to the public, through his valuable extracts inserted in Murphy's History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain. His copy, which seems to be a very good one, would have afforded me additional confirmation in the readings of proper and geographical names, an object which the translator of an Eastern work ought always to bear in mind; but I regret to say, that although I applied in time for the loan of it, it has been out of the power of that gentleman, with whom I am personally acquainted, to gratify my wishes.

other motive than my having publicly avowed the intention of making use of my materials in this country. This remnant of inquisitorial jealousy about its literary treasures ill suits a country which has lately seen its archives and monastic libraries reduced to cinders, and scattered or sold in foreign markets, without the least struggle to rescue or secure them.

Owing to the above reason, my quotations from the MSS. in the Escorial Library will be scanty, being limited to a few short extracts taken on a former occasion. I have, however, availed myself fully of some transcripts from historical works in that Library, which the Spanish Government caused to be made at the close of the last century by two Maronite Christians, and to be deposited in the Royal (now National) Library at Madrid. In this number are the *Silah*, by Abú-l-kásim Khalf Ibn Bashkúwál; the *Bighyatu-l-multamis*, by Adh-dhobí; the *Hillatu-s-seyrá*, by Ibnu-l-abbár; the *Tekmilah likitábi-s-silah*, by the same, &c.; a description of which may be read in Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 31-121, 133-140). Of these and other Arabic manuscripts in the same establishment I have made a very ample use; and it is but just to add, in contrast to the illiberality above complained of, that I am indebted to its enlightened and zealous Librarian, Don Joaquin Patiño, for the most unreserved perusal of all the valuable works therein contained.

I need not dwell on the statement, that, whilst in this country, I have met with every possible kindness and encouragement on the part of my friends,¹¹ as well as of the several persons intrusted with the custody of Oriental books in the libraries I have visited: I shall, accordingly, have frequently to acknowledge in the course of my notes my numerous obligations for kind assistance, or the loan of scarce and valuable manuscripts.

The works which I have consulted and cited are the following:

*Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán fi maháseni-l-'ayán*¹² (gold necklaces on the brilliant actions of the illustrious); a biographical dictionary of poets and learned men who flourished in Spain during the fifth and part of the sixth century of the Hijra, by Abú Nasr Al-fat'h Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Obeyd-illah Ibn Khákán Al-kaysí. There are two copies of this work in the library of the British Museum. One marked Add. MSS., No. 9579, is bound up with a commentary on the *Makssúrah*, a celebrated poem by Ibn Házem, of Cartagena; the other (Bibl. Rich, No. 7525) is also bound up with the *Muntekhabu-l-loghati*,

¹¹ To Dr. John Lee I am particularly indebted for the loan of several valuable manuscripts, which I shall duly notice whenever I happen to quote from them.

¹² تَلايد العقيان في محاسن الاعيان

by Ibn Koteybah. It contains only the second part out of the four into which the work is divided; but though incomplete, it is valuable for its antiquity,¹³ and I have frequently used it to correct the readings in the former. Besides these two copies of that valuable work, I have used one in my possession: it is a volume in quarto, of 236 folios, transcribed about the middle of the sixteenth century of our era by Al-hasen Ibnu-l-huseyn Al-is'hákí.

*Mattmahu-l-anfus wa masrahu-t-tánnaus fí milhi ahli-l-andalus*¹⁴ (the spot of recreation for the eyes and the field for familiarity on the witty sayings of the people of Andalus); another biographical dictionary, by the above-mentioned writer. The copy in the British Museum (No. 9580) is a volume in octavo, very badly and incorrectly written in the month of Rabi' II., A.H. one thousand one hundred and ninety-two (A.D. 1778-9). The work is ill described in the Catalogue of Additions for 1833, where it is given as a copy of the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*.

*Al-muktabis fí táríkh rejáli-l-andalus*¹⁵ (the imparter of information, or the fire-striking steel on the history of the eminent Spanish Moslems); being a history of Mohammedan Spain by Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Hayyán, a historian of the twelfth century of our era. The third volume, out of the ten which compose the work, is in the Bodl. Lib. (Nic. Cat. cxxxvii.) It contains the reign of 'Abdullah, son of Mohammed, the seventh Khalif of the family of Umeyyah in Spain.

*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*¹⁶ (the sparkle of fire from the *Muktabis*); or an abridgment of the above work by Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Fatúh Ibn 'Abdillah Al-azdí Al-homaydí, a native of the island of Mallorca, who died at Baghdád in A.H. 488. This work is also in the Bodl. Lib., *Hunt.* 464. Its contents are the lives of eminent Spanish Moslems, divided into ten parts, and preceded by a valuable historical introduction. The transcript, which appears to have been executed towards the middle of the sixteenth century of our era, is a fair and correct one.

¹³ A note at the end of the volume states that the transcript was made by *Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún*. I need scarcely point out the inaccuracy of such a statement, which has also found its way into the Catalogue of the Rich MSS. How could Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún, who died in A.H. 463, make a transcript of a work which was not composed until nearly seventy years after his death, and in which he himself figures among the illustrious men of his age? The fact is, that the name of Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún being written in large letters at the head of the biographical notice of him, with which the work begins, gave rise to that strange mistake. This shows that an Oriental scholar cannot be sufficiently on his guard against the ignorance or the knavery of an Arabian bookseller.

¹⁴ مطبخ الأنفس و مسرح الناس في ملح أهل الأندلس

¹⁵ المقتبس في تاريخ رجال الأندلس

¹⁶ جذوة المقتبس

*Adh-dhakhírah fi maháseni ahli-l-jezírah*¹⁷ (the hoarded treasure of the commendable deeds of the natives of Spain); or a biography of illustrious Spanish Moslems, divided into three parts, and each part into two books, by Ibn Besám or Bessám, of Cordova. The second volume of the second part, containing the lives of eminent men born or residing in the western districts of Spain, is in the Bodl. Lib. (Uri Cat., No. DCCCLIX.)

*Al-holalu-l-maushíyyah fi akhbári-l-marrékoshiyyah*¹⁸ (variegated silken robes from the history of Morocco); or a history of the Almoravides and Almohades who reigned in Africa and Spain, compiled from the best authorities. This work, a copy of which is in my possession, appears to have been written towards the close of the fourteenth century of our era, but the name of the author is not ascertained. It is true that both my copy and another of the same work in the Royal Library at Paris (No. DCCCXXV.) attribute it to the celebrated traveller Ibn Battúttah; but, as I shall show hereafter, this can hardly be the case.

The history of Spain under the Almoravides and Almohades, by Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát, a historian of the thirteenth century of our era. The second volume of this valuable work, containing the narrative of events which happened in Spain from A. H. 554 to 568, is in the Bodl. Lib. (*Marsh.* 433.)

*Tárikh Ibn Habíb*¹⁹ (or the history of Spain, by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb As-solamí). This is a miscellaneous work, mostly treating of theological subjects, traditions, the beginning of the world, the prophets, the life of the Prophet Mohammed, predestination, the doctors who first introduced in Cordova the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, &c. Some of the chapters, however, relate to the history of Spain, giving an account of the conquest of that country by the Moslems; the series of the Amírs who governed it in the name of the Khalifs; a short history of the first seven Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah who reigned in Spain, &c.

Tárikh Kodhát Kortobah (the history of the Kádís of Cordova); or a biographical dictionary of all those who discharged there the functions of that office, from the conquest of that city by the Moslems to the year three hundred and fifty-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 968-9), by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Hárith Al-khoshaní or Al-khoshní.

Both these works, which were transcribed in A. H. six hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1296), by 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Al-lawatí, are bound up in one volume in the Bodl. Lib. (Nic. Cat., No. CXXVII.)

¹⁷ الذخيرة في محاسن اهل الجزيرة

¹⁸ الحلل الرشية في ذكر الاخبار البراكشية

¹⁹ تاريخ ابن حبيب

*Kitábu-l-iftifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá*²⁰ (the book of sufficiency in the history of the Khalifs), by Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazreji, of Cordova, a writer of the twelfth century of our era; containing a history of the Mohammedan empire, both in the East and the West, beginning with Abú Bekr, and ending with Al-mámún Mohammed, son of Al-muktafi bi-amri-llah, of the house of 'Abbás, who began his reign in A. H. 560.

*Ahádithu-l-imámati wa-s-siyásati*²¹ (traditions of commandment and government); a very ancient history of the Khalifs from Abú Bekr to Hárún Ar-rashíd, with a full account of the conquest of Spain. See Appendix E., p. 1.

*Kitábu-t-ta'rif bitabakáti-l-amam*²² (the book of acquaintance with the races of mankind), by Abú-l-kásim Sá'id Ibn Sá'id, Kádí of Toledo. (Bibl. Arund. in Brit. Mus., No. 6020.) See Appendix C., p. xxxix.

The history of the Western Arabs and Berbers, by Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún. (Brit. Mus., Nos. 9574-5.)

*Kitábu-l-aháttati fí táríkhí gharnáttati*²³ (the book of the circle of the history of Granada); or a history of Granada, followed by a biographical dictionary of eminent men born at or domiciled in that city, by the celebrated historian Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'id As-salmání, better known by his surname Ibnu-l-khattíb. A fair transcript of the first volume of this work is in my possession. It is a thick folio, written in the African hand at the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era. It contains the lives of one hundred and seventy-nine individuals whose names began with the first eleven letters of the Arabic alphabet, passing afterwards to those whose first name was Mohammed. A copy of the second part is preserved in the Escorial Library, No. MDCLXVIII. There is in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 867, an epitome of this valuable and scarce work, entitled *Markazu-l-aháttati fí adabá gharnáttati*²⁴ (the central point of the circle of the literary men of Granada).

*'Ib'ratu oulí-l-abssár fí táríkhí molúki-l-amssár*²⁵ (admonition to the clear-sighted on the history of the kings of countries); or a general history of the world, by 'Omádu-d-dín

²⁰ كتاب الاكتفاء في اخبار الخلفاء For a fuller description of this work the reader is referred to page xlii. of the Appendix, where some extracts from it have been introduced.

²¹ احاديث الامامة و السياسة

²² كتاب التعريف بطبقات الامام

²³ الاحاطة في تاريخ غرناطة

²⁴ مركز الاحاطة في ادب غرناطة

²⁵ عبرة اولي الابصار في تاريخ ملوك الامصار

Isma'íl Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed, better known under the surname of Ibnu-l-athír. This work is but a commentary upon and a supplement to a poem called *'Abdúniyyah*, from the name of its author, Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-mejíd Ibn 'Abdún, Wizír to 'Omar Ibn Al-afttas, the last King of Badajoz. After the death of his royal master, who, together with his two sons, was executed by order of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, into whose hands he fell a prisoner, A. H. 487, Ibn 'Abdún composed an elegiac poem²⁶ to commemorate that catastrophe, as well as the tragical events attending the rise and fall of the dynasty to which he was attached. In order better to exemplify the instability of human fortune, the poet takes a short review of all the once powerful empires that fell into decay. This poem, which, from the tenderness of its strain, and the rhetorical beauties with which it abounds, is justly considered as one of the brightest gems of Arabian literature, was, shortly after the death of Ibn 'Abdún (A. H. 534), commented upon by the most eminent authors of that nation. Ibnu-l-athír, among others, continued the poem down to his own days, adding fifty-two verses to the forty-one of which it was composed; and then commented upon the whole, or rather gave a detailed account of every one of the dynasties, whether Mohammedan or not, that are mentioned in it. An ancient copy of this valuable work is in the British Museum (Bibl. Arund., No. 9969). I also possess one which must have been written soon after the death of the author; for in the note at the end of the volume I find that the transcript was completed on the 6th of Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 729, and, according to Hájjí Khalfah (voc. *'Ib'ratu*), Ibnu-l-athír died in 699.

*Raudhatu-l-manáthir fí akhbári-l-awáyil wa-l-awákhir*²⁷ (the garden of the overlooking places on the history of the first and the last); or a compendious history from the beginning of the world to the year 806 of the Hijra, by Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Shihnah, who died in eight hundred and eighty-three (A. D. 1478). There is a good copy of this work in the British Museum (Bibl. Rich, 7328), but I have generally used one in Dr. John Lee's collection, which, besides being very ancient, having been written shortly after the author's death, is filled with valuable marginal notes.

*Murúju-dh-dhaháb wa na'dánu-l-jauhar*²⁸ (golden meadows and mines of precious stones), by the celebrated writer Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibnu-l-huseyn Al-mes'údí. I have used a fine

²⁶ A Latin translation of this poem has lately appeared in the collection entitled *Specimen e litteris Orientalibus exhibens Diversorum Scriptorum locos de regia Aphasidarum familia et de Ibn Abduno poeta*, by Marinus Hoogvliet, Leyden, 1839.

²⁷ روضة المناظر في اخبار الرايل و الاواخر

²⁸ مروج الذهب و معدان الجواهر

copy of this work, in two folio volumes, in my possession, the readings of which I have occasionally collated with those of another in the British Museum.

*Al-khamís fí ossúl nafs nafís*²⁹ (the book of the five divisions on the principles of a reasoning soul); a voluminous general history from the beginning of the world to the year 820, by Huseyn Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed, a native of Diarbekr. A copy of this work, in two thick closely-written folio volumes, is in my possession. It is also in the Royal Library at Paris, No. DCXXXV.

*Kitábu-l-jumán fí akhbári-z-zamán*³⁰ (gathered pearls from the history of the times), by Sídí Al-háj Mohammed Ash-shátibí (from Xativa, in the kingdom of Valencia). It is a general history, divided into three parts. Part I. embraces from the beginning of the world to the birth of Mohammed. Part II. is exclusively dedicated to the life of the Prophet. Part III. gives the history of the various Mohammedan dynasties that ruled in the East or the West, including an account of the Berber tribes, and a chronological notice of the sovereigns of the house of Umeyyah who reigned in Spain. The work appears to be an abridgment of a larger one which Shehábu-d-dín Ahmed Al-fásí wrote under the same title. (See *Not. et Ext. des MSS.* vol. ii.) The copy of the work which I possess is fairly transcribed in the African character.

*Reyhánu-l-lebáb wa rey'anu-sh-shebáb fí marátibi-l-adab*³¹ (the sweet gales of the prudent, and the flower of youth shown in the various degrees of education); a sort of Cyclopædia, treating of various subjects, but especially of history, by Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím.

*Al-wáfí bi-l-wafiyát*³² (the complement to the *Wafiyát*); an extensive biographical work, intended as an addition to and a continuation of the *Wafiyátu-l-a'yán* (the deaths of the illustrious) by the celebrated Ibn Khallekán, composed by Saláhu-d-dín Khalíl Ibn Ibek As-safadí, who died in seven hundred and sixty-four (A. D. 1362-3). An ancient and beautifully written transcript of one part of this work, containing the lives of illustrious Moslems whose names began with any of the letters ف غ ع is in my possession.

*Oyúnu-l-anbá fí tabakáti-l-atibbá*³³ (the sources of intelligence respecting the classes of physicians); being the lives of the eminent Arabian physicians, by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah. See Appendix A.

²⁹ الخيس في أصول نفس نفيس

³⁰ كتاب الجمان في اخبار الزمان

³¹ ربحان اللباب و ربحان الشباب في مراتب الادب

³² الوافي بالوفيات

³³ عيون الانبياء في طبقات الاطباء

*Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah [jaghrafíyyá] fí masáhati-l-ardh wa 'ajáyibi-l-asaká' wa-l-boldán*³⁴ (the book of geography respecting the extent of the earth and the wonders of districts and towns), by an anonymous writer of the seventh century of the Hijra. It is a geographical description of the inhabited part of the world, divided into seven climates. The author occasionally quotes the words of Ibnu-l-jezzár, an African geographer, who wrote a work entitled '*Ajáyibu-l-ardh* (the wonders of the world), Mes'údí, Al-bekrí, Idrísí, Ibnu Hayyán, &c. The copy I have used is in my collection. It is a volume in quarto, of about 200 pages, written in Egypt towards the close of the sixteenth century of our era. There is in the Royal Library at Paris another copy of the same work, with which I have carefully collated all the readings of that part which relates to Spanish topography.

*Al-mesálek wa-l-memálek*³⁵ (the routes and kingdoms), by Abú 'Obeyd-illah 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-bekrí, a geographer of the fifth century of the Hijra. An ancient and correctly written copy of the second part of this valuable work, containing the description of Africa, is in the library of the British Museum, No. 9577. I possess, likewise, a copy of a portion of it.

*Al-ikhtissár min kitábi-l-boldán*³⁶ (an abridgment of the [Kitábu-l-boldán] book of countries). Bibl. Rich in Brit. Mus., No. 7496. A volume in quarto, of the greatest antiquity, written upon coarse brown paper of Eastern manufacture. The names of the author and epitomiser are nowhere stated, but I believe it to be an abridgment of the *Kitábu-l-boldán*, a voluminous geographical work by Abú-l-hasan Ahmed Ibn Yahya Al-beládhori, a writer of the third century of the Hijra. My reasons for thinking so are: 1. I find in Hájí Khalfah that Al-beládhori wrote a work on geography entitled as above.—2. The contents of the volume in question seem to agree with those of the *Kitáb fotúhi-l-boldán* by the same author, as described by Hamacker, *Spec. Cod. MSS. Or. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* p. 7.—3. I read, at fo. 15, that the author wrote it during the Khalifate of Al-mu'atadhed, and he often relates events of the year 279, a date reconcilable with that of Al-beládhori's death, which, according to Abú-l-mahásen, happened in A. H. 289.—4. I have collated some passages with the works of Ibn Khordádbah, Mes'údí, and Ibn Haukal, who wrote after Al-beládhori and copied him in their writings, and find them the same.

*'Ajáyibu-l-maklúkát*³⁷ (the wonders of creation). Such is the title of a work (Bibl.

³⁴ كتاب الجغرافية [الجغرافيا] في مساحة الارض و عجائب الاسقاع و البلدان

³⁵ المسالك و الممالك

³⁶ الاختصار من كتاب البلدان

³⁷ عجائب المخلوقات

Rich in British Museum, No. 7504) on physics, natural history, and geography, compiled from those of Yúsuf Al-warrák, Al-'azízí, Ibnu-l-beyttar, and Al-harawí, by Abú Hámíd Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-andalusí, who, as stated in the preface (fo. 2), wrote it during his stay at Baghdád in A. H. 555. It is a small quarto volume, with 106 leaves. A note at the end states the transcript to have been made at Baghdád, A. H. one thousand one hundred and seventy-one (A. D. 1757-8), by Ahmed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahím, a native of that city. There is in the Bodl. Lib. (Uri Cat., No. CMLXIX.) another copy of this, which I believe to be only an abridgment of a larger work.

*Nashaku-l-azhár fí 'ajáyibi-l-akttár*³⁸ (the sweet odour of flowers from the wonders of the earth), by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Iyás (Bibl. Rich in British Museum, No. 7503).

*Nozhatu-l-lebáb fí-l-alkáb*³⁹ (the pleasures of the wise set forth in surnames); or a treatise on the surnames of the Arabs, arranged alphabetically, by Shehábu-d-dín Abú-l-fadhil Ahmed Ibn Hajr Al-'askalaní (from Ascalon).

*Tohfatu-dhawi-l-irab fí mushkáli-l-asmái-n-nasab*⁴⁰ (a gift offered to those desiring to be instructed in the difficulties of patronymics); a treatise on patronymics by Núru-d-dín Abú-th-thaná Ibn Khattíb. (Brit. Mus., Bib. Rich, No. 7351.)

*Neháyatu-l-aráb fí márefati kabáyil-l-'aráb*⁴¹ (the fulfilment of wishes for those who desire to gain a knowledge of the Arabian tribes), by Shehábu-d-dín Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Suleymán Ibn Isma'íl Al-kalkashandí (Bib. Rich in the British Museum, Nos. 7353-4).

*Kashafu-n-nikáb ani-l-asmá wa-l-alkáb*⁴² (the tearing of the veil from before names and patronymics), by Jemálu-d-dín Abú-l-faraj 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-júzí, who died A. H. five hundred and ninety-seven (A. D. 1201).

*Dhátu-n-nikáb fí-l-alkáb*⁴³ (the imparting of immediate knowledge on the surnames of persons); being a *risáleh* or short treatise on proper names, by Shemsu-d-dín Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Othmán Adh-dhahebí, who died in seven hundred and forty-eight (A. D. 1273-4). These two tracts, bound together in one volume, and transcribed A. H. one thousand and seventy-six (A. D. 1666), are in Dr. John Lee's collection.

³⁸ نشق الأزهار في عجائب الاقطار

³⁹ نزهة اللباب في اللقاب

⁴⁰ تهفة ذوي الإرب في مشكل أسماء النسب

⁴¹ نهاية الاراب في معرفة قبائل العرب

⁴² كشف النقاب عن الاسماء و الانساب

⁴³ ذات النقاب في الانساب

*Hayátu-l-haywán*⁴⁴ (the lives of living creatures); a zoological dictionary by Kemálu-d-dín Mohammed Ad-demírí Ash-sháfe'í, who died in A. H. 808. Of this work I possess a handsome copy, in two thick volumes in folio. There is also one in the library of the British Museum (Rich MSS. No. 7512), but although a very correct one, and of great antiquity, it is deficient, like most copies of the same work which have passed through my hands, in the history of the Khalifs, which the author introduces under the word *Iwaz* (goose).⁴⁵ Ad-demírí's work was abridged by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-kádir Ibn Mohammed Ad-demírí Al-hanefí, who entitled his work *Háwiyu-l-hossán min Hayátu-l-haywán*⁴⁶ (the excellent collector from the *Hayátu-l-haywán*). A splendid copy of this epitome, beautifully written in a large Eastern hand, in the month of Rabi' II., A. H. one thousand and sixty-three (March, A. D. 1653), is likewise in my possession.⁴⁷

*Kitábu-l-jámi' likwi-l-muf'ridáti-l-adwiyah wa-l-aghdiyah*⁴⁸ (the collection treating of the virtues and properties of simples used as medicaments or as aliments); a dictionary of simples, by the celebrated botanist Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-beyttar [the son of the farrier], known also by the honorific surnames of Dhiyáu-d-dín (bright light of religion), Jemálu-d-dín (glory of religion), a native of Malaga. The copy of this work which I have used and cited occasionally in the notes is in my collection. It consists of three thick volumes in small folio, written in Egypt in the year nine hundred and fifty-three of the Hijra (A. D. 1546-7), by Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Al-anbabí Al-azharí.

*Al-mugh'rib fí tartíbi-l-mu'arrib fí-l-loghah*⁴⁹ (the eloquent speaker on the classification of language); or a dictionary of the Arabic language, by Borhánu-d-dín Nássir Ibnu-l-mukárim 'Abdu-s-seyid Ibnu-l-mutarrezí Al-hanefí, a celebrated philologist and rhetorician,

⁴⁴ حياة [حياة] الحيوان

⁴⁵ This may easily be accounted for by the fact that Ad-demírí published two different editions of his work, one with a short history of the Khalifs, the other without it. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Hayátu-l-haywán*.

⁴⁶ حاوي الحسان من حياة الحيوان

⁴⁷ Hájí Khalfah knew of six different abridgments of Ad-demírí's work; but the present, which, to judge from the author's name and patronymic, is likely to have been the work of a grandson or some other descendant of that author, was unknown to him.

⁴⁸ كتاب الجامع لقوي [المفردات] الادوية و الاثدية

⁴⁹ المغرب في ترتيب العرب في اللغة

born A. H. 536, at Jorjániyyah, a town in Khawárazem, and who died in 620. There is a copy of this work in the library of the British Museum (Bib. Rich, No. 7438). I also possess one, the transcript of which was made in the author's lifetime by Abú-l-hasan 'Ali Ibn Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn, and finished on Tuesday the 18th of Safar, six hundred and eight (A. D. 1209). At the end of my copy is an appendix, written by the same author, and transcribed by the same hand, entitled رسالة في النحو ' an epistle on grammar,' which is not in the copy in the British Museum.

*Ráyidu-l-faláh bi-'awáli-l-asánídi-s-saháh*⁵⁰ (the searcher for early food on the elevated grounds of true allegation), by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibni-l-'áfíyyah Al-meknásí (from Mequínez), better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-kádhí. This work, of which my copy is an autograph, written in A. D. 1599, by the preceptor of Muley Zidán, Emperor of Morocco, before the latter ascended the throne, is one of those permissions (إجازة) not unfrequently granted to pupils by their masters, authorizing them to quote them in writings or conversation. The author divides the moral, religious, and other sciences into various sections, giving the titles of all the works he read on those topics, and also the line of doctors through whom the contents of the several works were transmitted to him. The number of works thus quoted exceeds five hundred; and as the name as well as the country and age of their respective authors are in most cases stated, it forms a sort of bibliographical repertory, if not so considerable as that of Háji Khalfah, yet much more full of correct information respecting the literary history of the Spanish Moslems.

*Fahrasat kutub wa tawálif*⁵¹ (an index to books and works), by Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Kheyr Ibn Khalífah Al-andalusí, a writer of the twelfth century of our era. This also is a kind of bibliographical compilation, giving the names of the authors and the titles of the books, many hundred in number, which the author read in the course of his literary career. The work, which is exceedingly valuable in its kind, is in the Escorial Library (Cat., No. MDCLXVII.), where I once made considerable extracts from it.

I shall now terminate my prefatory remarks by saying a few words on the system of orthography which I have followed throughout my translation.

It is customary for the translator of an Oriental work to state in the Preface his system of writing proper names, or rather of expressing in European characters the multifarious sounds of the Arabic alphabet. Hence have originated almost as many systems as there

⁵⁰ راید الفلاح بعوالي الاسانيد الصحاح

⁵¹ فهرست كتب و تواليف

have been translators, each scholar considering himself entirely at liberty to alter or modify those of his predecessors. The evil, as regards the experienced reader, is not so great as it appears at first sight, it being an easy matter for the scholar to distinguish an Arabic proper name in whatever disguise it may be found, whether written by a German, a Frenchman, or a Spaniard: not so for the reader who is unacquainted with the languages of the East, for he will find himself stopped by difficulties to all appearances insurmountable; and unless a proper system be at once established, uniting under its banners the scholars of every nation of Europe, it is to be feared that the confusion will shortly wax so great as to make the ordinary reader lay aside his book in disgust. Had this work been written in Spanish, as was at first intended, I might perhaps have considered myself fully competent to decide upon a system that should express the Arabic sounds in the letters of the Spanish alphabet; since, besides the innumerable words left by the Arabs in that language, it is a known fact that for upwards of three centuries the Moriscos were in the habit of writing Spanish with their own letters: but as such was not the case, and I had to fix upon one of the many systems used in this country, I chose that adopted by the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund, although it is, in my opinion, one of the most defective. According to that system the vowels are always sounded as in Italian; the letters *ذ* *ض* *ظ* are all represented by *dh*; *ك* *ق* *ك* by *k*; and *ح* *ه* by *h*. The *ط* and *ت* are made alike, as well as the *ص* and *س*—In this, however, I have deemed it necessary occasionally to deviate from the rule, rendering *ط* by *tt*, and *ص* by *ss*, whenever a word written with either of those letters could be mistaken for one written with a *ت* or a *س*—The letter *ع* I have always expressed by a *ʿ* to show that the vowel before or after which it is placed is to be pronounced with a sort of guttural aspiration. There is another very material point in which I have by necessity been compelled to differ from the system alluded to, viz., the pronunciation, in certain cases, of the letters *و* and *ي* when they are used as 'letters of prolongation.' These are invariably rendered, by English writers, by an accented *á* or *ú*. But I do not hesitate to say that such is not the sound which those letters are intended to convey, and that they ought to be rendered by *ó* and *é*. There can be no doubt that the conquerors of Spain pronounced as the inhabitants of the coast of Africa still do, who say *Karmónah*, *Tarrakónah*, *Barshelónah*, *Al-manssór*, *Bónah*, *Lishbónah*, (قرمونة تركونة برشلونة المنصور بونة لشبونة) not as English scholars are in the habit of pronouncing, *Karmúnah*, *Tarrakúnah*, *Barshelúnah*, *Al-mansúr*, &c. The same observation may be applied to the words *كرطجانة مرشانة بجانة باجة* *فلس تلبسان* which are to be pronounced *Kartajénah*, *Marshénah*, *Bejénah*, *Béjah*, *Fés*, *Te-*

lemsén, and not *Kartajánah*, *Marshánah*, *Bejánnah*, *Bájah*, &c. I need scarcely remark, that whenever I have had to mention a city or town in Spain preserving its ancient Arabic name, and thus affording traces of the correct pronunciation, I have taken upon myself to depart from the rule which I have most scrupulously followed in all other instances.

There is still another case in which I have deviated from the general rule. I have frequently observed in conversation, and whilst hearing the Western Arabs read poetry, that the word *Ibn* is by them pronounced in certain cases with additional emphasis. For instance, a *talbe* in the West will say *Ibn Sa'id*, when alluding to an individual whose father's name was '*Sa'id*,' but he will pronounce *Ibnu Sa'id* with a strong emphasis upon the *u* of *Ibnu*, if *Sa'id* happen to be the family name of the individual. In the former case the word *Ibn* means the *son*, in the latter 'the descendant,' 'he of the posterity.' According to this rule I have written *Ibnu Khaldún*, *Ibnu Sa'id*, *Ibnu Hayyán*, *Ibnu Bashkúwál*, because the authors to whom these names apply were the members of ancient and illustrious families, known in Spain as the *Bení Khaldún*, *Bení Sa'id*, *Bení Hayyán*, *Bení Baskúwál*, &c.; and in order to render this translation the more intelligible to the generality of readers, I have adopted the common spelling of words already admitted into the English language, and written '*Khalif*,' '*Wizír*,' '*Kádi*,' instead of the more correct orthography, '*Khalífah*,' '*Wazír*,' '*Kádhí*,' &c.



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JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WRITINGS.¹

Ahmed Al-makkari At-telemsáni descended from an ancient and illustrious family established at Makkarah, a village not far from Telemsán, since the invasion of Africa by the Arabs. He was the son of Ahmed, son of Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Abú-l-'aysh, son of Mohammed Abú-l-'abbás, son of Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Abú Bekr, son of Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Abú Bekr, son of 'Alí, of the tribe of Koraysh. He was known in the East by the honorific surnames of *Al-háfedh Al-maghrebí* (the western traditionist), and *Shehábu-d-din* (bright star of religion). He followed the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, and partook of the religious opinions of the Ash'arís, or disciples of Ash'ar. Ahmed was born at Telemsán, where he passed the first years of his life; learning the Korán and the traditions under his uncle, Abú 'Othmán Sa'id Ibn Ahmed, who then held the office of Muftí in that city. Under the tuition of this learned man, who was himself the author of many important works on various topics, Ahmed early imbibed that love of science, and acquired that taste for literature, by which he was so much distinguished in after-life. Having com-

¹ Al-makkari having lived in times comparatively modern, it was long before I could meet with any Arabic work giving an account of his life and writings. Háji Khalfah, who mentions him occasionally, (voc. *Táríkhul-andalus*, *Azhár*, *Fat'h*, *Nafhu-t-tíb*, *Mukaddamát Ibn Khaldún*, &c.) gives only the year of his death, and the titles of some of his works. Having perused in vain many biographical dictionaries, I was on the eve of giving up my task in despair, when my excellent and learned friend, the Rev. J. Renouard, of Swanscombe, was kind enough to point out to me a very full notice of Al-makkari, occurring in a Biographical Dictionary of learned men who flourished at Damascus during the eleventh century of the Hijra, entitled *خُلَاصَةُ الْأَثَرِ فِي أَعْيَانِ الْقَرْنِ الْحَادِي عَشَرَ* 'the best part of fresh butter on the illustrious men of the eleventh century,' by Amín Jelebí. From this work, of which that gentleman possesses a handsome transcript, executed A. H. one thousand one hundred and seventy-one (A. D. 1757-8), by Isma'il Ibn 'Abdi-l-kerím Al-jerá'i, the above notice of Al-makkari is abridged.

pleted his education, he quitted his native place in A.H. one thousand and nine (A.D. 1600-1), and repaired to Fez, where he sought and frequented the society of the learned men of the day, with many of whom he contracted an intimate friendship. He then returned to Telemsán, which place he again left for Fez in 1013. After a stay of fourteen years, wholly spent in literary pursuits and in the society of the learned, Ahmed quitted Fez towards the end of Ramadhán, one thousand and twenty-seven (A.D. 1618), and soon after sailed for Alexandria, intent upon a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medína. He arrived at the former place early in 1028, and, having made a short stay at Cairo, started for Arabia in the month of Rejeb of the same year. After duly fulfilling all and every one of the sacred duties incumbent upon a good Mohammedan on such occasions, he returned in Moharram, 1029, to Cairo, where he took a wife and settled. In the month of Rabi' i. of the ensuing year he visited Jerusalem and returned to Cairo, whence he generally started every year on a pilgrimage to Mekka; so that in 1037 he had already visited that place five times, and Medína seven. He returned to Cairo in Safar, A.H. one thousand and thirty-seven (Sept. A.D. 1627), and left immediately for Jerusalem, where he arrived in Rejeb of the same year (Feb. A.D. 1628). After a stay of twenty-five days, he proceeded to Damascus, which city he entered at the beginning of Sha'bán (March, A.D. 1628). Immediately after his arrival, Ahmed Ibn Sháhín Ash-shahíní, a rich and influential person, and a liberal patron of literature, which he himself cultivated with success, gave Ahmed suitable rooms in the college of Jakmak, of which he was the director, and conferred upon him several other distinctions. At the persuasion of this individual, Ahmed afterwards wrote the historical work of which the present is a translation.

While at Damascus, where he stayed only forty days, Ahmed occupied his time in various literary pursuits. He used every day after sunrise to sit under the dome of the eagle in the great mosque, and there deliver eloquent lectures on the *Sahih* of Bokhári; but the auditory increasing, and being no longer contained within that narrow space, Ahmed removed to the spacious court of the mosque. These lectures, which generally lasted several hours, from sunrise to near noon, were attended by the principal citizens, as well as by all the scholars and theologians of Damascus; the number of people thus assembled amounting to several thousands. Ahmed left Damascus on the 5th day of Shawwál, A.H. 1037, and returned to Cairo. He again visited that city towards the end of Sha'bán, A.H. 1040, being received by Ahmed Ibn Sháhín and his other friends as kindly as on a former occasion. He then returned to Cairo, and, after a short stay, divorced his wife. He was preparing for another journey to Damascus, where he had determined to settle for the remainder of his days, when he was attacked by a violent fever, which caused his death in the month of Jumáda II., A.H. 1041.

Ahmed Al-makkarí wrote the following works:—I. Blooming buds and flowers of the gardens on the history of the Kádí 'Iyádh.²—II. The dissipation of obscurity on the religious duties of an orthodox Moslem.³—III. Sweet odour of the flowers on the history of Damascus.⁴—IV. The lean and the fat, the threadbare and the costly.⁵—V. The garden of the sweet-smelling myrtles, or an account of those learned men whom I met during my stay at Morocco and Fez.⁶—VI. Valuable pearls on the names of Allah, our guide and our trust, and marginal notes for a commentary on the Korán.⁷—VII. Bunch of grapes symmetrically arranged on abridged history.⁸—VIII. The gifts of Al-makkarí towards the completion of the lesser commentary (upon the Korán).⁹—IX. The beginning and the growth, a work written entirely in elegant prose or verse.¹⁰—X. An epistle on the final point with five dots to it, but without having any in the middle.¹¹—XI. The eminent victory, or a description of the slippers of the Prophet.¹²

² ازهار الكمامة و ازهار الرياض في اخبار قاضي عياض A copy of this work is in the Royal Library at Paris (No. 1377, ancien fond). Abú-l-fadhl 'Iyádh Ibn Músa Al-yahsebí, better known as the Kádí 'Iyádh, was a celebrated theologian, native of Ceuta, but who resided most of his life at Granada. He was born in A.H. 476, and died at Morocco in 544. His life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 522). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 112, *et passim*. He wrote a history of his native city, and a life of the Prophet Mohammed, entitled كتاب الشفاء في تعريف حقوق المصطفى 'efficient means to ensure the knowledge of the true history of the elected,' which is in the library of the British Museum, No. 9513.

³ وفاة الودجثة في عقايد اهل السنة

⁴ عرف النشق في اخبار دمشق

⁵ العث و السبين و الرث و الثمين It is not easy to say, from the title of this work, what its contents may be. Hájí Khalfah makes no mention of it, nor indeed of most of those named here. I should have thought that this title and the following ought to have been joined together, as belonging to the same work, had not the rhythm required their separation.

⁶ روض الاس العاطر الانفاس في ذكر من نعتته من اعلام مراكش و فاس

⁷ الدر الثمين في اساء الهادي الامين وحاشية شرح ام البراهين

⁸ قطف المهتصر في اخبار المختصر

⁹ اتحاف البفري [البفري?] في تكديل شرح الصغري

¹⁰ كتاب البداء و النشاء

¹¹ رسالة في الوقف [الوقف] الخمس الخالي الوسط The stop which the Arabs use in their writings is generally this ☉

¹² فتح المتعال الذي صنفه في اوصاف تعلي [نعلي] النبي صلي الله عليه

Besides the above works, Al-makkarí appears to have written, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tárikh Ibn Khaldún, Mukaddamát, &c.*), a commentary upon the historical prolegomena of Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún. I find also (fo. 647) that he entertained an idea of writing a life of the Prophet Mohammed;¹³ and that he began, but did not complete, a Biographical Dictionary of illustrious men born at his own native place, Telemsán, under this title, "The time of *Nisán*¹⁴ on the eminent men of Telemsán."

who mentions this work (voc. *Fatah*), gives the title differently—فتح البتعال في وصف النعال—and says that it was a poem ending with the letter *ra*.

و قد كُنت نويت ان اولف في ذلك بالخصوص كتاباً اسماه روضة التعليم في ذكر الصلاة¹³ "And I once had in mind to write on this special subject a work, which I was to have entitled 'The garden of instruction on the act of invoking God's favours (*salat*) and his salutation (*teslím*) upon the Prophet,' treating of the sublime conceptions of his mind, and the eloquence of speech with which the Almighty endowed him."

¹⁴ ابو النيسان في ابناء تلمسان *Nisán* is the name for one of the Syrian months, answering to our month of April.



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