

and was endowed with great penetration and prudence. Such were his military talents that it was said of him that he never lost a battle. Al-hijári says that “ he “ always surrounded his person with holy men, and virtuous friends, whom God “ Almighty selected to be the instruments of his glory and power, as well as the “ means of establishing the fame of Músa, a fame that shall last throughout day and “ night, and which the course of ages shall not impair ; although it was tarnished in “ his days by his becoming the victim of that cruel enemy against whom a noble- “ minded man has no power, I mean envy and hatred, those two vices so common “ in people of narrow minds,—for nothing is more true than the words of that “ captain who exclaimed—

‘ No captain ever stood against malevolence.’ ”

Al-hijári says that Músa was originally from Wáda-l-korá, a town of Hejáz, that he became a *mauli* of the Bení Merwán of Damascus, and that having gained some celebrity by his military talents the Khalifs of that family appointed him to different situations in the state, until, under the Khalifate of Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, he was intrusted with the government of Africa proper, and more remote countries in the West ; that he penetrated to the utmost frontiers, and conquered Andalus, entering it from the mountain called after him in the vicinity of Ceuta.<sup>41</sup> But having been recalled to Syria by Al-walíd, the indisposition and death of that Khalif was the cause of all his misfortunes, since Suleymán, his brother and successor, inflicted upon him a most severe chastisement, deprived him of his riches, and even went so far as to send him to Wáda-l-korá, the place of his birth, in order that his countrymen might harass and despise him. According to the same writer Músa died at Wáda-l-korá, in the year ninety-seven (beginning Sept. A. D. 715), as above stated.

Ibnu Bashkúwál also mentions his death as having taken place at Wáda-l-korá in the said year, and adds, that his military science and talents for government were sufficiently established by his conquests, as well as by the fact of his being appointed in perilous times to the command of those Moslem settlements beyond Egypt, and along the shores of the ocean between the country of the Berbers and the country of Andalus ; and that, respecting his literary accomplishments, some of his writings, in prose as well as in verse, were reckoned to be very good, and of sufficient merit to class their author among those writers who have strung together the pearls of speech. Ibnu Hayyán says that he was eloquent, and a master of the Arabic language, and gives as a proof his conversation with Ibnu-l-mahlab, and the answer he sent to the Khalif Al-walíd. But let us hear Ibnu Sa'íd's opinion on the subject.

That eminent writer, after recording the different opinions entertained by the

historians concerning Músa's origin and early position in life,—some saying that he belonged to the tribe of Lakhm, and was therefore of noble descent,—others, on the contrary, that he was a Berber, and of mixed blood,—expresses himself in the following words. “ Most of the historians of this country seem to entertain “ the opinion that Músa belonged to the tribe of Lakhm; but whether he was “ born an individual of it, or became a *mauli* in time, seems to be a very contro- “ verted point. There can be no doubt, however, that he was a *mauli* of 'Abdu-l- “ 'azíz Ibn Merwán, the Khalif's brother, and that his father, Nosseyr, had filled “ charges of some trust under their predecessors of the house of Umeyyah. His “ posterity, however, were famous for the command they held in their hands, so “ much so as to have raised the suspicions of the Khalif; for by Músa's appointing “ his sons to the command of his conquests the whole of the Moslem dominions of “ Africa and Andalus came to be divided among them,—'Abdu-l-'azíz governing the “ latter country; 'Abdullah, Africa proper; and 'Abdu-l-malek, Western Africa.”

As to his freedmen, Taríf and Tárik, who undertook the conquest by his orders, and the illustrious Arabs who accompanied him in his expedition to Andalus, enough will be said of them in another part of the present work to satisfy the curiosity of the reader and increase his information.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

## NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

### NOTES TO THE PREFACE.

<sup>1</sup> Of the four patronymics of the author, the first, <sup>مَقْرِي</sup> *Al-makkari*, is derived from <sup>مَقْرَة</sup> *Makkarah*, a town in Africa proper (see Idrísí, translated by Jaubert, vol. i. p. 202, and Al-bekrí, translated by Quatremère, p. 504). The second, Al-málekí, is indicative of the sect followed by the author, who, like most western Arabs, professed the doctrines of Málik Ibn Ans. The third is the general appellative of all the Moslem inhabitants of Africa and Egypt; and the fourth—which in two out of the three MSS. which I have consulted is pointed thus <sup>الاشعري</sup> *(Al-isha'ri)*—may be either that of a tribe, or that of a religious sect whose founder was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Isma'íl Al-ash'arí, who belonged to the same tribe (see D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or. voce Ascharium*). The tribe of Isha'r, which, according to Kalkashandí (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 7353), may be written also <sup>اشعري</sup> *Ash'ar* was a branch of the noble stock of the Bení Kahttán, and settled early in Spain, for Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, entitled *Kitábu-l-aháttah fí táríkhi Gharnáttah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), mentions it among those that had their domicile in or about the city of Granada; and Casiri, in his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 262, gives the name of an illustrious Arab, a Kádí-l-kodá in that city, whose name was Abú-l-hasan Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Rabi' Al-isha'rí.

I am, however, inclined to believe that the word *Isha'ri* or *Ash'ari* designates the sect, not the family, of the author; my reasons for supposing so are—1st. That it is not uncommon to find African doctors professing the sect of Málik, and following, besides, the religious opinions of Ash'arí: 2nd. That one of the author's ancestors used the patronymic Al-korayshí, denoting an origin with which the tribe of Ash'ar is in no way connected. I shall conclude by observing that As-sam'ání, in his genealogical treatise entitled *Kitábu-l-ansáb* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7352, fos. 12 and 40), writes this patronymic thus, *Al-ash'arí*, and derives it from *Ash'ar*, which means "a man whose body is covered with hair," a surname which was given to the eldest son of Odad, the head of the tribe.

The patronymic *Al-makkari*, which former writers (see Fluegel's transl. of Hájí Khalfah, vol. ii. p. 115, and Shakspear's *Hist. of the Moham. Emp. in Spain*, p. 31.) have erroneously written *Al-mokri* and *Al-mukry* (meaning a reader of the Korán in a Mosque), may be written either *Al-makkari* or *Al-makri*, as the author himself informs us in that part of the manuscript which I have left untranslated (Part II. Book iii. fo. 414). "The patronymic surname of our family has been variously written by various authors, some,

"like Ibn Marzúk, writing it thus, <sup>المقري</sup> *Al-makri*, while others, and those the greater number, will

“ have it to be <sup>المكّري</sup> *Al-makkarí*. Ibn Marzúk may be right, for, having written the life of one  
 “ of my ancestors under this title, <sup>النور البدرى في تعريف الفقيه البكري</sup> (*the light of the moon*  
 “ *on the declaration of the life of the faquih Al-makrî,*) he must have seriously investigated the  
 “ subject, and his opinion is therefore entitled to some credit; but we follow the majority,—in which  
 “ may be counted authors of the greatest repute,—who always spell it thus, *Al-makkarí*. It is in  
 “ either case a relative adjective derived from Makkarah (or Makrah, as others will have it),<sup>a</sup> a small  
 “ town in the country called *Ifrikiyyah* (Africa proper).”

In the same page the author acquaints us with some circumstances respecting his family. He tells us that one of his ancestors had the honour of being the preceptor of the famous Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb (whose life forms the subject of the present work), and that his grateful disciple consecrated to him an article in his Biographical Dictionary, which he copies at length. Indeed, looking into the biography of illustrious men who lived at Granada, written by Ibnu-l-khattíb (Ar. MS. in my possession), I find the following notice of him, which I have translated entirely, as it abounds in curious information, and may serve to illustrate the writer's narrative.

“ One of the instructors of my youth, and to whom I am mostly indebted for whatever knowledge I  
 “ possess, is the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn Yahya  
 “ Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn 'Alí Al-korayshí At-telemsání, *Kádú-l-jamá'h* (or supreme judge)  
 “ at Fez. The following notice of his ancestors I hold from him :—‘ The first of my family who fixed his  
 “ residence at Makkarah was the Sheikh 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn 'Alí Al-makkarí, the disciple  
 “ and companion of the famous Sheikh Abú Medín. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the father of five children,  
 “ and I, Mohammed, am the son of Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Abí Bekr, son of Yahya, son of  
 “ the said 'Abdu-r-rahmán. From time immemorial my family had exercised the profession of commerce  
 “ in the countries where they settled, deriving no small share of influence and riches from it. They  
 “ furrowed the sands of the desert in all directions, they dug wells, and facilitated travelling in the  
 “ Sahrá, thus affording security to merchants and travellers; they took a drum, and marched always  
 “ preceded by a banner, and headed the numerous caravans which from time to time penetrated into the  
 “ country of the blacks. Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, being dead, his five sons, Abú Bekr, Mo-  
 “ hammed, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Abdu-l-wahíd, and 'Alí, determined upon forming a partnership, carrying on  
 “ the trade conjointly, and dividing between themselves the profits of their mercantile speculations. They  
 “ accordingly threw together in a common fund all their father's inheritance, and, having held a  
 “ consultation together as to the means of carrying on the trade to the greatest advantage of the  
 “ community, it was agreed that Abú Bekr and Mohammed, the two eldest, and the principal branches of  
 “ my genealogical tree on the male and female side, should remain and establish themselves at Telemsán;  
 “ that 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the eldest of the three remaining brothers by another wife, should fix his resi-  
 “ dence at Sijilmásah; and, lastly, that 'Abdu-l-wahíd and 'Alí should go to Aywalátin <sup>أبي ولاتين</sup> in the

<sup>a</sup> It is evident that this difference in the spelling originated from the Berber name of the town. *Makrah*, in Berber, means *great*, and *Amukrán* means a great man, a chief. Al-bekrî says that in the dialect spoken by the Masmúdís *Makrah yákosh* means “ God is great.” He, however, writes the name of this town *Makrah*, not *Makkarah*. See Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 47. M. Jaubert, in his French translation of Idrísí, Paris, 1836, vol. i. pp. 202, 241, reads *Mokra*, as well as Hartmann, (see *Edrisii Africa*, Gotting. 1795, pp. 77, 117, 132, *et passim*); M. de Quatremère has *Makarrah*. See transl. of Al-bekrî, p. 504.

<sup>b</sup> Aywalátin, which Professor Lee writes *Abú Látin* by mistake, (see his transl. of the Travels of Ibn Battúta, p. 235), is a town on the road from Sijilmásah to Ghánah.

“ desert. It was done as agreed between them ; each reached the place of his destination, settled there, married, and had a family, and they began to conduct their trade in the following manner :—those in Telemsán sent to their partners in the desert such goods and commodities as were wanted in those districts, while these supplied them in return with skins, ivory, and goroo nuts? جوزة. In the meanwhile ‘Abdu-r-rahmán, the one stationed at Sijilmásah, was like the tongue of the balance between the two, since, being placed at a convenient distance between Telemsán and the desert, he took care to acquaint the respective parties with the fluctuations of the trade, the amount of losses sustained by traders, the overstock of the markets, or the great demand for certain articles ; and, in short, to inform them of the secret designs of other merchants engaged in the same trade, as well as of the political events which might in any way influence it. By these means they were enabled to carry on their speculations with the greatest success, their wealth increased, and their importance waxed every day greater. However, their establishment in the desert was once on the verge of ruin ; the people of Tekrúr تكروور having invaded the territory of Aywalátin, and taken possession of that city, the Arab residents were placed in great danger, and their property was on the point of passing into the hands of the conqueror, as happened to that of the natives. But my ancestors, being men of great courage and determination, would not consent to witness their ruin,—they assembled all their servants and dependents, and such traders as happened to be in Aywalátin at the time, and, having distributed arms among them, they shut themselves up in their warehouse and decided to fight, if necessary, for the defence of their goods and chattels. ‘Abdu-l-wahíd then went to see the king of the Tekrúr,<sup>e</sup> to petition him for the preservation of their property, and acquaint him with their determination not to submit tamely to the oppression, and to resist any attacks directed against them. The king received him with the greatest affability and kindness ; he ordered him to be well lodged and hospitably entertained, and, his esteem and affection for him increasing, he distinguished him above the rest of the merchants residing in or trading with his country, giving him in conversation and in his letters the appellation of ‘sincerest friend’ and ‘dearest relative.’ Not satisfied with these marks of friendship, the king of the Tekrúr often wrote to the partners of Telemsán, applying directly for such goods as he wanted for his own consumption, or such as were most sought for in his dominions, and the language and expressions used in his letters were equally flattering and significative of the greatest affection and esteem. This I can prove by his letters, as well as by those of other sovereigns in Maghreb, which I now have in my possession. The moment my ancestors perceived that they could trust and rely on kings, such difficulties as might have existed before were speedily removed ; the countries through which they travelled appeared to them as if ornamented with the gayest colours, the desert and its dangers seemed no longer the scene of death and misery, and they began to frequent its most lonely and dangerous tracts ; their wealth thereby increasing so rapidly that it almost surpassed the limits of computation. Nor were these the only advantages arising from their enterprise ; the nations with whom they traded were considerably benefited by it, for it must be understood that the trade with the desert was in the most deplorable state before the people of Makkarah<sup>d</sup> engaged in it ; merchants totally unacquainted with the real wants of the inhabitants carried thither articles which were either of no use, or no value to them, taking in exchange objects which were to them a source of profit and wealth. This even went so far

<sup>e</sup> Tekrúr is sometimes written with the article, meaning no doubt the people or nation so called ; at other times without, and is then to be applied to the country inhabited by them. On these people the reader may consult the translation of Al-bekrí by Quatremère, p. 638, *et seq.* ; Idrísí, *apud* Hartmann and Jaubert, and Sacy, *Chr. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 73, *et seq.*

<sup>d</sup> Instead of مقرة my manuscript of Ibnu-l-khattáb reads مصر (Misr), which is decidedly an error.

“ that an African sovereign was once heard to say, ‘ Were it not that I consider it a bad action, I would, by God, prevent these Súdán traders from stopping in my dominions; for thither they go with the most paltry merchandize, and bring in return the gold تَدْبِر which conquers the world.’ However, when my ancestors had once established a direct trade with those countries the scene changed, and the blacks were better and more abundantly provided with such articles as they stood most in need of; they also were furnished with goods which they had never seen before, and they obtained a better price for their returns; by which means my illustrious forefathers became highly respected in the districts of Súdán, and were enabled to amass immense wealth. But, alas! this wise conduct was not imitated by their sons and descendants; for instead of trying to increase their inheritance by trade, as their fathers had done, they began to spend it right and left; they were involved in political troubles and civil wars, became the victims of tyrannical Sultáns and rapacious governors, and their patrimony went on diminishing until it was reduced to a mere nothing; since I, who descend in a right line from Abú Bekr, the eldest brother, have only inherited from my father an extensive library, and some notes and papers in his own hand-writing, proving that he devoted most of his life to the study of science, &c.’ ”

Ibnu-l-khattíb continues:—“ I am unable to fix the year of my learned master’s birth: I once heard him say that it happened under the reign of Abú Hamu Músa Ibn ‘Othmán Ibn Yaghmarasán يَغْمَرَسَان Ibn Zeyán.<sup>e</sup> He studied at Telemsán, under the direction of his father, and afterwards in Fez. He performed a pilgrimage to Mekka, and travelled through the East, where he met many illustrious individuals and eminent authors, from whom he derived great knowledge. He then returned to his native city, where he resided for some years, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. When the sovereignty of Maghreb devolved upon the Sultán Abú ‘Anán (or ‘Inán), that monarch, who was a friend to literature and the learned, distinguished him and appointed him to be Kádí-l-kodá (or supreme judge) at Fez. After this he came to Andalus, on a mission from his sovereign to ours, and having landed at Malaga at the beginning of *Jumádí-l-awál* of the year seven hundred and fifty-seven, (in the first days of Nov. A. D. 1356), he soon after reached Granada, where, during his long stay, I profited by his lessons. He wrote, among other works, one entitled كِتَابُ الْحَقَائِقِ وَالذَّقَائِقِ (*the book of truths and subtilties*). ”

<sup>2</sup> The Preface, such as I have given it, is not a literal translation of that contained in the original, which would, of itself, have filled a moderate-sized volume, with matter, too, for the most part, totally unconnected with the general subject of the work. I have followed the reading of the epitome, where the bulky prologue has been judiciously compressed within a few pages.

The two verses here inserted read in all the manuscripts as follows:

الجِرْ صَعْبُ الْهَرَامِ جَدًّا      ::      لَا جَعَلْتُ حَاجَتِي عَلَيْهِ  
الْيَسَّ مَاءٌ وَنَحْنُ طِينٌ      ::      فَمَا عَسَى صَبْرُنَا عَلَيْهِ

I must state, before I proceed any further, that I have not always translated the numerous poetical quotations (some of which number no less than four hundred lines) with which the present work abounds; I have avoided it as much as possible, unless when the verses had an historical or geographical

<sup>e</sup> This sovereign was the third of the Bení Zeyán. He was dethroned by his son ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Abú Táshfín in seven hundred and eighteen of the Hijra (A. D. 1318-9). See Ibnu-l-khattíb, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 229—279, *et passim*.

interest, or were so connected with the narrative as to make their suppression incongruous. In such cases I have constantly given the original text of the principal manuscript, along with the various readings afforded by the others, in order to authenticate my translation, which in many instances may not be correct, owing to the difficulties of the language and the variability of the text, written entirely without vowels, and presenting different readings.

<sup>3</sup> ثلاثة ليس لها امان :: البحر و السلطان و الزمان

<sup>4</sup> Instead of "Dhí-l-ka'dah" my manuscript reads "Dhí-l-hijjah," which is evidently an error, as the first is the month in which pilgrims generally resort to Medína.

حدث مرادي ان بلغت مرادي :: بام القري مستمسكاً بعمادي  
ومذرويت من ماء زمزم غلتي :: فلست بحتاج لها ثادي

The epitome reads شادي which is not an Arabic word. I have substituted ثادي from ثاد meaning the water remaining at the bottom of the skins after a long march.

<sup>6</sup> تزيد علي مر الزمان طلاوة :: دمشق التي راتت بحسان البشارب  
لها في اقاليم البلاد مشارق :: منزهة اقبارها عن مغازب

My copy reads قاليم and تبرد which are decidedly errors.

<sup>7</sup> The mosque of Damascus, called *Al-amawi*, was built by Walid Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, the sixth Sultán of the family of Umeyyah, who reigned from eighty-six to ninety-six of the Hijra.

<sup>8</sup> An-no'mán is the name of Abú Hanifah Ibn Thábit, the founder of the sect of the Hanefites, considered orthodox among Mohammedans.

The individual here mentioned as being the son of the *Sheikhu-l-islám* (Mufti or head of the law) at Mekka is 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed 'Ommádu-d-dín Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Ommádi-d-dín Al-'ommadí Al-hanefí Al-dimashkí, who, according to Al-jera'í, in his history of Damascus, was Mufti of the Hanefites in Syria. His birth is placed on Tuesday, the fourteenth of the month of Rabi' II., A. H. nine hundred and seventy-eight (Sept. A. D. 1570), and his death on Sunday, the seventeenth of Jumádi II., A. H. one thousand and fifty-one (Sept. A. D. 1641).

<sup>9</sup> الهت بنا اوصافيم فامتلا الفضا :: عبيراً واضحي نوره متالقاً  
وقد كان هذا من سماع حديثهم :: بلاغاً فصح النقل اذ حصل اللقاء

<sup>10</sup> Ahmed Ibn Sháhín شاهين Effendi. I find a notice of this distinguished personage in the history of Damascus by Al-jera'í, a beautiful copy of which has been kindly lent to me by my friend the Rev. G. C. Renouard. " Ahmed Ibn Sháhín was originally from the island of Cyprus," (which the author observes ought to be written thus قبرس and not قبرص as usually written.) " At the conquest of that island by the

“ Moslems, his father, Sháhín, was made prisoner, and sold as a slave with the rest of the inhabitants.  
 “ He was bought by one of the principal officers of the invading army, who took him with him to  
 “ Damascus, his native place, converted him to the true religion, adopted him as his son, enlisted him in  
 “ the army, and had him promoted and advanced, so that, when his master and benefactor died, Sháhín  
 “ held a high rank in the Syrian army.

“ His son, Ahmed, also entered the army, and distinguished himself by his valour and military talents,  
 “ attaining by his merits the highest posts; but when 'Alí, son of Jénbúládh جانبولان revolted, and  
 “ the Syrian army marched against him, the rebel succeeded in defeating the royal troops, leaving many  
 “ dead on the field, and taking thousands of prisoners, among whom Ahmed Ibn Sháhín was one. After  
 “ this he was set at liberty, but from that moment he conceived a dislike towards the profession of arms,  
 “ and resolved upon exchanging the spear and the sword for the paper and the pen. He then devoted  
 “ himself entirely to the study of literature, and, under the tuition of the best masters, became conspicuous  
 “ in poetry, rhetoric, the science of tradition, theology, jurisprudence, history, &c.; he was also an adept  
 “ in alchymy. He wrote several *risáleh*, or treatises upon various subjects, he made an abridgment of the  
 “ *Kámús*, adding also much of his own, and composed very fine poetry. He filled at Damascus the  
 “ situation of Vicar to the Kádí, and was himself Kádí to the Caravan which started from Damascus for  
 “ Mekka in the year one thousand and thirty (A.D. 1620-1). He was also appointed director to the  
 “ college called *Al-jakmakí*, after the death of Bostán the Greek, an inhabitant of Damascus, and when  
 “ the Háfedh Ahmed Al-makkari arrived at Damascus, he gave him rooms in the said college, and  
 “ contracted a most intimate friendship with him.

“ Ahmed Ibn Sháhín was immensely rich, so much so as to lead the people of Damascus to believe that  
 “ he owed his riches to his knowledge of the science of alchymy; he also acquired such reputation by his  
 “ unbounded generosity towards the learned, and by his writings, that he became the subject of books  
 “ and poems, and especially of one entitled *الرياض اللينة في الأشعار الرقيقة* (*the beautiful gardens on the*  
 “ *charming verses*).”

Ahmed Ibn Sháhín Ash-sháhíní died at Damascus in Shawwál, A. H. one thousand and fifty-three (A. D. 1643-4); he was born in A. H. nine hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1586-7).

<sup>11</sup> The Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattáb As-salmání, السَّلْمَانِي whose life forms the subject of the present work, was the son of 'Abdullah, son of Sa'íd. He was named Mohammed, and through his acquirements in theology and law acquired the surname of لسان الدين *Lisánu-d-dín* (the tongue of religion). He descended from an ancient Syrian family established at Loxa, a fine city at about thirty miles from Granada. His birth happened in A. H. seven hundred and thirteen (A. D. 1313). Promoted by the favour of several kings of the family of Nasser, he occupied the highest offices in the state for many years, and was at last invested with that of chief Wizír by Yúsuf Abú-l-hejáj, the seventh monarch of the dynasty of the Bení Al-ahmar, otherwise called Nasserites, after whose death he was confirmed in it by his son Mohammed V. This charge he filled with the greatest satisfaction on the part both of his

<sup>f</sup> The same writer from whom the above particulars are extracted gives the life of this rebel: he says, “ After the execution of Huseyn, Páshá of Aleppo, by the Wizír Jaffál جفال his nephew, 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jénbúládh, who was *Amíru-l-líwa'* (or keeper of the banners) of the Kurd troops, revolted, and, after defeating in several encounters Yúsuf Ibn Seyfa' سيفاً Páshá, Generalissimo of the Syrian armies, succeeded in reducing Aleppo, Tripoli, and other principal cities. He was at last betrayed and beheaded in the year one thousand and twenty (A. D. 1611-2).

sovereign and the subjects, but, having towards the close of his life been accused of high treason, he was cast into a dungeon, and soon after strangled by the orders of that Sultán, A.H. seven hundred and seventy-six (A.D. 1374). He left behind him numerous proofs of his learning and talents; indeed, his acquisitions in the sciences seem to have been almost universal, for in the list of works (forty-nine in number, and some of them consisting of several volumes,) which Casiri has given (*Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 72) there is scarcely any topic in the useful or elegant arts which he left untouched. History, medicine, music, theology, astronomy, rhetoric, and poetry, alike exercised his prolific pen, and among his works many may be pointed out which by their titles, or their apparent contents, make us deeply regret their loss. As it is, the Library of the Escorial exhibits some which sufficiently prove his vast learning; his history of Granada, entitled *اللمحة البدرية في الدولة النصرية* (*the shining rays of the full moon on the dynasty of the Beni Nasser*), (Bib. Esc., No. 1771), and his chronology of the Khalifs and Kings of Africa, bearing the lofty appellation of *silken embroidered vests* *الجلل المرقومة* (Arab. MSS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1771),—of both which works Casiri has given very full extracts in the second volume of his Catalogue,—are more than sufficient to establish his reputation as a writer of history, a branch of science for which he possessed the highest qualifications. A biography of illustrious men born at Granada (Arab. MSS. in the Esc. Lib., Nos. 1668 and 1669),—the itinerary of his travels through Spain and Africa (Nos. 1750 and 1811),—a collection of his official letters to the sovereigns of Africa (No. 1820),—and a short treatise on the plague which ravaged the city of Granada, A.H. seven hundred and forty-nine (A.D. 1348-9), with prescriptions for those who might again be attacked (No. 1780),—are among the literary productions of this eminent writer preserved in the Escorial Library. Nos. 453 and 551, in the same Library, are likewise productions of this author.

<sup>12</sup> “More scarce than the griffin:” *أعز من العنقا* an expression very much used by the Arabian writers to intimate that a thing cannot be procured. Ad-demiri, in his *Hayátu-l-haywán* (Arab. MS. in my possession), *voc. عنقا* says that “there are three things which cannot be found, viz., virtue, a ghúl (a “sort of devil or malevolent spirit), and the griffin.”

الاجود والغول والعنقا ثلاثة  
اسماء اشياء لم توجد ولم تكن

The Arabs call the griffin *'anká-l-maghreb* (the griffin of the West), from a belief that this fabulous bird is only to be met with in the extreme West.

<sup>13</sup> This, the author says in another part of his book, happened in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year one thousand and thirty-seven (June, A. D. 1628). In Part II. Book iii. p. 587, after quoting numerous poetical compositions in praise of Telemsán, his native city, he says, “In that city “I was born, as were likewise my father, grandfathers, and great grandfathers. There I received my first “education, and passed the greatest part of my youth, until the year one thousand and nine (A.D. 1600-1), “when I removed to Fez. However, after a year's stay I quitted that capital, and returned to my “native land. Again, in one thousand and thirteen (A.D. 1604-5), being impelled by a strong desire to “travel to distant countries, and perform my pilgrimage, I started for the court of Fez, where I resided “until the moment of my departure for the East, which took place at the end of the month of Ramadhán “of the year one thousand and twenty-seven (Sept. A.D. 1618); I arrived in Cairo in Rejeb of one “thousand and twenty-eight (May, A.D. 1619); I was at Damascus in Sha'bán of one thousand and

" thirty-seven (May, A.D. 1628), and returned to Cairo in the month of Shawwāl of the same year, when, " in the following month of Dhi-l-ka'dah, I fixed upon and began the writing of the present work."

<sup>14</sup> Out of the eight chapters into which the first part of this work is divided, only the first, second, third, fourth, and eighth have (as I have observed elsewhere) been translated entire. I have, nevertheless, borrowed considerably from the fifth and sixth, which are chiefly biographical, as well as from the seventh, which is entirely devoted to quotations and extracts from Moslem authors born in Spain. I have also made use, for the latter times of the Mohammedan power in Spain, or the history of the kingdom of Granada, of such valuable historical information as is contained in the second part of the work.

<sup>15</sup> كتاب العرف الطيب في التعريف بالوزير ابن الخطيب which, literally translated, means *the book of the fragrant odour (exhaling) from the information (respecting) the Wizir Ibnu-l-khattib.*

Instead of العرف two of the manuscripts read العرق which is evidently an error. I have not given the division of the second part, viz., that which contains the life of the Wizir Lisānu-d-dīn, because, not having translated it, it might appear superfluous. It is divided (like the first) into eight books. The first treats of his ancestors and his birth. The second of his youth, education, the charges he obtained, and trusts he filled, with an account of his private and public life, until the time of his death. Third, of his masters. Fourth, of the letters and dispatches which he addressed to various sovereigns in the name of the Kings whose Wizir he was. Fifth, some quotations from his poems. Sixth, an account of his numerous works on the various departments of science. Seventh, an account of his disciples. Eighth, of his sons and posterity.

<sup>16</sup> نغم الطيب من غصن الاندلس رطيب و تاريخ لسان الدين ابن الخطيب or *fragrant odour from the fresh and tender shoots of Andalus, and the history of the Wizir Lisānu-d-dīn Ibnu-l-khattib.*

## BOOK I.

## CHAP. I.

<sup>1</sup> Ibnu Sa'id being an historian whom the author has consulted at large, I have thought it necessary to give some account of his life and writings, borrowed from the same work I am now translating (Part I. Book vi. fo. 131, verso). His entire name was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'id. He was born at Granada, of illustrious parents, on the first day of Shawwál of the year six hundred and ten (Feb. A. D. 1214). His ancestor, 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'id, distinguished himself in the wars between the Almoravides and Almohades. Being governor of a certain castle called

قلعة يحصب Kal'at Yahseb (now Alcalá la Real), he declared himself against the Almohades, and contrived for some time to maintain his independence. At last, on the subjection of Spain by the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen, he was, like the other chieftains, obliged to acknowledge their sway, although, as a reward for his ready submission, he was allowed to continue in the government of his castle.

Abú-l-hasan was educated at Seville, where he passed his early youth. He quitted his country for the East, visited Cairo, Damascus, Mausal, and Baghdád, where he was in six hundred and forty-eight (A. D. 1250-1); from thence he went to Basrah and performed his pilgrimage, which being done, he returned to the West. He died in Túnis in the year six hundred and eighty-five (A. D. 1286-7). Among the many works which he wrote, especially biographical and historical, the principal are the following: 1st. كتاب فلك الادب المحيط بحلي لسان العرب (*the book of the sphere of literature, comprehending the whole language of the Arabs*), which he divided into two distinct and separate parts, viz.,

كتاب البشرك في حلي المغرب (*the eloquent speaker on the beauties of the West*), and كتاب البشرك في حلي المشرق (*the shining like the rising sun on the beauties of the East*). 2ndly, A history of his family, with this title الطالع السعيد في تاريخ بني سعيد (*the propitious constellation in the history of the Bení Sa'id*), and other historical and geographical works, from which Al-makkarí made ample quotations, and which will be duly noticed in the ensuing notes.

Ibnu Sa'id is often quoted by Abú-l-fedá, Makrízí, Ibnu Khaldún, Ibn Khallekán, and other writers of note who have treated on the history and geography of Africa. Casiri has given a short notice of him (fo. 110. vol. ii. of his *Bibl. Ar. Hisp. Esc*). He agrees with our author in the year of his death, which he places at Túnis in six hundred and eighty-five, but he makes him a native of Kal'at Yahseb (Alcalá), instead of Granada, and says that he died at the age of eighty, when he was only seventy-five. D'Herbelot, in his *Bib. Or. voc. Tarikh*, mentions an author called 'Alí Ibn Sa'id, who, he says, wrote the *Kitábu-l-gharáyib* (book of wonders). See also Háji Khalfah in the *Kashafu-dh-dhamún*, under the

words *Tárikh Ibn Sa'id* and *Tauárikhu-l-maghreb*, where his death is placed in six hundred and seventy-three, which must be an error.

<sup>2</sup> Who this Ibnu Ghálib is I am unable to decide. Háji Khalfah, *voc.* فرجة speaks of an author named Ibn Ghálib, who wrote a work entitled فرجة الانفس في فضلا العمي من اهل الاندلس (*contentment of the soul in the history of illustrious blind men born in Andalus*), but the copy I have consulted does not state the age of the writer, nor what were his other names.

Ibn Khallekán gives likewise the life of an author, a native of Cordova, whose entire name was Abú Ghálib Temám Ibn Ghálib, and who died in Jumádí II., A. H. four hundred and thirty-six (Dec. 1044). See *Specimen Philologicum exhibens conspectum operis Ibn Chalicani*; or, an index of the illustrious men contained in the biographical work of Ibn Khallekán, by Tydenham, *Lugd. Bat.* 1809. Abú Ghálib is there classed under No. 123.

However, as it is elsewhere stated by Al-makkarí (see p. 77) that the author here mentioned wrote a work entitled فرجة الانفس للاثر الاولية التي في الاندلس (*contentment of the soul in the contemplation of primeval remains in Andalus*),—a title which very much resembles that given by Háji Khalfah,—I am inclined to believe that the Ibnu Ghálib of that bibliographer, the individual described by Ibn Khallekán, and the author here quoted, are the same person, and that the title given by Háji Khalfah is either that of a distinct work, or that of a portion of the composition referred to by Al-makkarí.

<sup>3</sup> Ibnu Hayyán. Casiri mentions him often under the names of *Ibn Haian* and *Abú Merwán* (vol. ii. pp. 30, 153), but gives no information whatever as to the time of his birth, that of his death, or his writings. I borrow from Ibnu Bashkúwál, in the *Kitábu-s-silah* (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Madrid, marked Gg. 29), the following particulars:—“Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Huseyn Ibn Hayyán was born at Cordova in “the year three hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 1006-7). His ancestor, Hayyán, had been a *mauli* of “’Abdu-r-rahmán I., King of Cordova. He was an eloquent, learned, and judicious writer; he composed “a history of Andalus under this title كتاب الھتيس في اخبار الاندلس (*the book of the seeker of “information respecting the history of Andalus*), in ten large volumes; besides that large historical work “of his which every body admires, and which counts no less than sixty volumes, entitled الھتين “في اخبار الاندلس (*the book of solid information on the history of Andalus*). He also wrote poetry, “and various theological tracts. Ibnu Hayyán died on a Sunday, three days before the end of Rab’ I. “of the year four hundred and sixty-nine (Oct. 30, A.D. 1076), and was buried the next day, after the “prayer of ’Assar, in the cemetery of the suburb. Al-ghosání says that Ibnu Hayyán was of the tribe “of Sadf; but authors are at variance on this particular.”

There is nothing in common, as De Sacy’s conjecture would lead us to suppose (see *Chr. Ar.* vol. i. p. 408), between this Ibnu Hayyán and another mentioned by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 153), who was a native of Ceuta, flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra, and wrote a history of the *tábi’s* or followers of the Prophet. Nor is there the least analogy, as D’Herbelot seems to indicate (*Bib. Or.* *voc.* *Abú Haian*), between the Cordovan historian and the famous grammarian Athíru-d-dín Mohammed, surnamed Abú Hayyán, who died in Cairo in seven hundred and forty-five of the Hijra (A.D. 1344-5).

Ibn Khallekán, in his biographical dictionary (*Tyd. Ind.* 209), gives the life of this historian in nearly the same terms as Ibnu Bashkúwál. Háji Khalfah also mentions him in his bibliographical index; see *voc.* *Tárikh Ibn Hayyán* and *Tárikh Andalus*.

<sup>4</sup> Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khaldún. De Sacy has alluded frequently to this historian, and translated some of his writings. (See *Chr. Ar.* vols. i. and ii., and *Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 509-524). He was born in Túnis, on the first day of the month of Ramadhán of the year seven hundred and thirty-two of the Hijra (May 26, A.D. 1332), and died, according to Abú-l-mahásen, on the twenty-fifth day of Ramadhán of the year eight hundred and eight (March 15, A.D. 1406), at the age of seventy-six (Arabian or lunar) years.

To the details already given by M. De Sacy (*Chr. Arab.* vol. i. p. 393) upon the life and the writings of Ibnu Khaldún, I may add the following interesting anecdote which Al-makkari relates in Part i. Book vi. "While the Kádí-l-kodá Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún Al-hadhramí was in the service of the Sultán of Egypt, Farej Ibn Barkúk, the conqueror Timúr invaded Syria, defeated the Sultán's army, and obliged him to retreat upon Cairo. Among the prisoners who fell that day into his hands were the Kádís of the four sects of Egypt, several distinguished theologians, and Ibnu Khaldún himself. When the prisoners were about to be introduced to the conqueror's tent, Abú Zeyd said to them, 'Let me speak for you all, and perhaps I may save you, if God be pleased; if my speech produce no effect, each of you may then speak for himself.' They all agreed that he should be their spokesman. Abú Zeyd, who had on a dress in the western fashion, was then introduced to the presence of Timúr-lenk, who, seeing him thus arrayed, said to him, 'Art thou not a native of this country?' Upon which, Ibnu Khaldún told him how he was a native of the West, and that his name was so and so, and that he had come to the East for the purpose of performing pilgrimage, &c. Timúr-lenk then began to converse with him, Abú Zeyd answering him in his own language (Maghrebí), mixing, now and then, injurious expressions;" and it was an evident miracle of the Almighty that the trick was not discovered.

"After this, Abú Zeyd said to Timúr-lenk, 'I have composed a history of the world, and am thinking of ornamenting it with thy name.' Others say that it was Timúr who said to him, 'I am told that thou hast written a history of the world; what sayest thou of mentioning me in it, as thou hast done Bokht-Nasser, for both of us conquered the world.' To which Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún replied, 'Thy exploits, and those of Bokht-Nasser, are undoubtedly worthy of the attention of the historian.' This answer pleased Timúr-lenk, who not only spared Abú Zeyd, but admitted him to his privacy. Some time after this interview, they say that Abú Zeyd entered the presence of Timúr-lenk and said to him, 'O master! if there is any thing in my present condition to give me sorrow it is my having left in Cairo an historical work which I have written, and in the composition of which I have spent the best years of my life. Were I to die now, the light which I intended should be thrown upon thy actions and administration would be lost to mankind, for I am sure there is nobody in thy service who has laboured so assiduously to that end; if, on the contrary, thou allow me to go in search of it, I shall be back immediately to spend the remainder of my life in thy service,' or words to that effect. Timúr then granted him permission, but Ibnu Khaldún returned not as he had promised to do."

Ibnu Khaldún used the patronymics of *Ishbíli* اشبيلي and *Al-hadhramí* الحَضْرَمِي. The first, De Sacy (see *ib.*) thought, indicated that he was either a native or a resident of Seville, but that city having been taken by the Christians in the year six hundred and twenty-six of the Hijra, that is, nearly a century before Ibnu Khaldún's birth, this could not be the case. His family, indeed, was originally from Seville, for I find in the biographical dictionary of Arabian physicians, by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, fol. 135,) that there was in that city, in the fifth century of the Hijra, an individual

<sup>a</sup> I suppose using words with a double meaning, which, to an illiterate conqueror like Timúr, must have been unintelligible, especially as the dialect spoken by the western Arabs differed materially from that of Syria.

named Abú Moslem 'Omar Ibn Ahmed Ibn Khaldún; and Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 20, and vol. ii. p. 72) mentions individuals bearing the family name of *Khaldún*. As early as the year two hundred and ninety-eight of the Hijra, a certain Karibah Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khaldún, who was one of the principal citizens of that city, was put to death with two of his brothers for having revolted in Seville against 'Abdullah, Sultán of Cordova. See Casiri (*loco laudato*, vol. ii. p. 35), and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 337.

As to the second patronymic, *Al-hadhramí*, it was natural to suppose, as De Sacy did, that the family of Khaldún drew their origin from *Hadhra-maut*, a city in Syria. But such is not the case, for I read in Ibnu-l-abbár (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12) that the patronymic *Al-hadhramí*, so common among Spanish Arabs, especially among those domiciliated at Seville, was given to the descendants of *Hadhra-maut*, whom some genealogists make the son of Kahttán, and others the son of Kays, son of Mu'awiyah, son of Josham, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Al-ghauth, &c., all sprung from Himyar.

<sup>5</sup> <sup>انْدَلُشْ</sup> *Andalosh*, with a slight aspiration on the initial *a*, is a corruption for *Vandalocii*, as we find the Vandals were called. The Arabs could not well represent the sound of the *V* otherwise than by using a hamzah <sup>ء</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The passage here quoted is to be found in the introduction to the history of Granada by Mohammed Ibnu-l-khattáb, better known by the honorific surname of Lisánu-d-dín, an account of whom has been given at p. 307, note 11.

<sup>7</sup> Abú 'Obeyd-illah Al-bekrí. The greatest obscurity has hitherto prevailed respecting the age and the writings of this famous geographer. Even his names and surnames were but imperfectly known; for, although the works of Al-bekrí are repeatedly quoted by Arabian writers, and especially by those who have treated on the geography of Africa and Spain, he always appears designated by his patronymic, Al-bekrí. Ibnu Khaldún, who mentions him often, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fol. 92, *et passim*,) always calls him *Al-bekrí*; Ibnu Bashkúwál (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 29), *'Obeyd-illah Al-bekrí*; and Ibnu-l-khattáb, in his history of Granada, (Arab. MS. in my possession, fol. 50,) *'Obeyd Al-bekrí* simply. Ibn Khallekán does not mention him. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Mesálek*) gives only the year of his death. Even M. De Quatremère, who, with his usual criticism and learning, has lately published a translation of part of Al-bekrí's geographical work (see *Not. et Ext. des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roy*, vol. xii.), could obtain no satisfactory account of his life and writings.

Having from continual reference learnt to appreciate the merits of Al-bekrí's geographical work, which in most instances was literally copied by Idrísí, I was led to investigate the matter closely, to gain, if possible, some information upon the age in which that eminent writer lived, and the works which he left. I perused in vain several MSS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., containing the lives of illustrious men and authors born in Spain, and I had almost given up my laborious undertaking, when, to my great satisfaction, I found by chance in the *Bágh'yatu-l-multamisi fí táríkhí rejáli ahli-l-andalusi* (the object of the wishes for those who desire information on the history of the illustrious Andalusians), by Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14), the following notice of this distinguished writer. "Abú 'Obeyd-illah " 'Abdullah Al-kortobí was the son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Al-bekrí, Governor of Huelva and *Jezirah Shaltis* " (the island of Saltis), in the western part of Andalus, a valiant and experienced captain, who assisted " Al-mu'atamed, King of Seville, in his conquests. After the death of his father, which some place in " four hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 1063-4), and others in four hundred and fifty-eight (A.D. 1065-6), " Abú 'Obeyd-illah retired to the court of Mohammed Ibn Ma'n, King of Almeria, who not only received

“ him kindly, but appointed him his *Wizír*. Al-bekrî is well known, both as a geographer and as a poet. “ Besides his كتاب المسالك و الممالك (*book of routes and kingdoms*), he wrote another geographical work, entitled المعجم الكبير (*great dictionary*), in which he disposed in alphabetical order all the names of kingdoms, cities, rivers, and mountains, in the world. Al-bekrî died in the year four hundred and eighty-seven.” (A. D. 1094-5.)

To his attainments in geography and history Al-bekrî seems to have united those of medicine and natural history, for I find him repeatedly quoted in the writings of Ibnu-l-beyttar and other naturalists, as well as by Ibn Abî Ossaybi'ah, who, in his lives of Arabian physicians, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, fol. 147,) says that he was an excellent physician, well acquainted with the properties of plants, and that he wrote a work entitled كتاب اعيان النباتات و الشجريات الاندلسية (*a treatise on the principal plants and shrubs growing in Andalus*).

I ought to add that the author of the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyân fi maháseni-l-a'yân*, ‘gold necklaces on the brilliant actions of the illustrious,’ (a biographical dictionary of Spanish poets in my possession,) gives also a short notice of Al-bekrî, whom he says he knew at Seville when young. He was born in four hundred and thirty-two (A. D. 1040-1), and died, as stated above, in four hundred and eighty-seven (A. D. 1094-5). Al-bekrî is often mentioned by Conde in his *Hist. de la Dom.* (vol. i. pp. 395, 404), but that writer appears not to have seized the meaning of the patronymic البكري *Al-bekrî*, which he translates by *De Bejer*, thus making Abú 'Obeyd-illah a native of Bejer, a town of Estremadura, instead of a member of the tribe of Bekr. See *loco laudato*, vol. ii. p. 77.

The principal among Al-bekrî's works is his *Kitábu-l-mesálek wa-l-memálek*, divided into three parts. I have already stated in the Preface that I possessed an ancient copy of the first part. The second is in the British Museum, marked 9577. It wants some leaves at the beginning and at the end, and is described in the Catalogue of Additions for 1833 as containing the history of the conquest of Egypt by the Moslems, and as being the work of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakam Al-misrî; but I need not remark that the fact of the volume beginning with an account of the conquest of Misr by the Moslems, borrowed from the above-mentioned writer, whose name appears written in large letters on the beginning of the page, is the only circumstance which could have given rise to that mistake.

As it is, the copy in the British Museum is not only ancient but appears more correct than another of the same volume in the Royal Library at Paris, which M. De Quatremère used for his translation. It is in every respect a valuable manuscript, and I have made ample use of it in writing the present notes. There is also in the Escorial Library a copy of the second part.

<sup>8</sup> الاهواز Al-ahwáz is the name of a city and district of Khúzistán, one of the provinces of Persia. It is sometimes applied to the whole country. Idrísí (p. 381 of the French translation) says that the inhabitants of that country are very much annoyed by a sort of scorpion called الجرارح *al-jarrárah*, of a yellowish hue, and whose bite produces immediate death. Ibnu-l-wardí, in his *Kharídatu-l-'ajáyib* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9590, fol. 113, *verso*), in the chapter treating on the peculiarities of each country, confirms the statement. But, a few lines lower down, Al-makkarí quotes the words of another geographer who praises Spain for having few venomous reptiles. Contradictions like this are unavoidable, owing to the plan adopted by the author.

<sup>9</sup> Abú 'A'mir السلامي As-salámí. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 40) mentions an author

called *Abu Amer Al-salamita*, who was a native of Seville. The title of the historical work here alluded to is *در القلايد و غرر الفوايد*. It is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa الرّازي Ar-rázi derived his origin from the city or district of Ray, in Persia. According to Al-homaydí, quoted by Casiri, (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 329,) Ar-rázi wrote a very copious history of Spain, and a topographical description of Cordova, similar to that of Baghdád composed by Ahmed Ibn Abí Táhir.

The same author, Al-homaydí, (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxford, Hunt. 464,) says that he saw a genealogical history of the illustrious Arab families established in Spain, which was attributed to an author named also Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa, although he was unable to say if he was the same as Ar-rázi.

Of his life scarcely any account has been obtained. Al-makkari, in the sixth book (fo. 215, verso), treating on those illustrious Moslems who came from the East to settle in Spain, gives the life of the father of this Ar-rázi in the following terms:—"Mohammed Ibn Músa Ibn بشير Busheyr ابن جناد " Jenád Ibn Lekítt Al-kenání, surnamed Ar-rázi, owing to his being a native of Ray, a province of Persia, " was the father of the famous historian Ahmed Ar-rázi. He arrived in Spain from the East, as a " merchant, but being at the same time a man of learning and ability he met with encouragement from " the Sultáns of the family of Merwán, who then occupied the throne of Andalus, and he consequently " settled in Cordova, where he died on his return from an embassy to the city of Elvira, whither he had " been sent with a message for the Amír Al-mundhir Ibn Mohammed. His death took place in the " month of Rabi'-l-akhar, A. H. two hundred and seventy-three (Oct. A. D. 886), according to Ibnu " Hayyán in his *Muktabis*, from whom the preceding account is borrowed."

As to Ar-rázi himself, he appears to have flourished during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., that is to say, towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra and the beginning of the fifth. Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12) calls him التاريخي At-tárikhi, that is, the historian *par excellence*, and says that, among other works on the topography and history of Spain, he wrote a very voluminous one in which he described, with the greatest detail, the routes, sea-ports, and principal cities, as well as the various settlements formed by the Arabs of the six invading armies الاجناد (*al-ajnáð*) in its provinces; the peculiarities of each of them, the productions of the soil, mineral riches, industry, commerce, &c. This is no doubt the work to which Al-makkari frequently alludes, and from which he makes numerous quotations; and, to judge by the time in which Ar-rázi wrote, and the interesting details he gives, it is really a matter of great regret that this or some other work of this eminent historian should not be preserved entire in any of the public libraries of Europe. Casiri, indeed, with great boldness, in my opinion, attributed to this writer a precious historical fragment existing in the Library of the Escorial, which he translated at the end of the second volume of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*; but, as he was unassisted in his conjecture by any further proof than the name of Ahmed, (so common among Mohammedans,) which is also the initial name of Ar-rázi, having been placed at the head of the page, very little reliance can be placed on a statement resting upon so loose a foundation. Neither can much faith be placed in a semi-barbarous translation, bearing the title of *Historia del Moro Razis*, and which, notwithstanding Casiri's and Conde's opinions to the contrary, is undoubtedly a version from the writings of that Arabian historian, as I shall hereafter prove by a comparison of the translation with the original text.

<sup>11</sup> It is by no means easy to determine what part of Spain this word *التغر Ath-thagher* is here meant to

designate. Its real and primitive signification is a pass in the mountains, or a district contiguous to the enemy's territory, a line of frontier. In this sense it is often used by Al-makin, Abú-l-fedá, and other Eastern authors. In Spain it was given to those countries bordering on the Christian territory, but, as the limits of the Cordovan empire often changed in the course of a successful invasion, the word *Thagher* can only have conveyed a loose and indefinite idea; for instance, during the greatest splendour of the Khalifate, the frontiers of the Mohammedan empire were extended on one side as far as Navarre, on the other into the very heart of the kingdom of Leon. The former were designated under the name of الثغر الاعلى 'upper frontiers,' and the latter under that of الثغر الادنى 'lower frontiers.' In later times, when the Mohammedan power began to decline, and the Christians poured on all sides upon its defenceless provinces, Aragon was known under the former denomination, and Toledo and its district under the second. The former of these two countries having, by the natural strength of the soil, proved a more effectual barrier against the attacks of the Christians, and having remained longer attached to the Moslem state, retained the name of *Thagher* long after it had ceased to make part of the Moslem dominions, for Ibnu-l-khattib, in his *Kitábu-l-aháttati* (Arab. MS. in my possession), calls James II., King of Aragon, جاييس صاحب الثغر *Jaymes sáhibu-th-thagher*; and long after the reduction of Granada, the Moriscos inhabiting the towns and villages of Aragon were called by the Spaniards *Moros Tagarinos*, i. e. from the *Thagher*.

It will not perhaps be amiss to observe that the Zegrís, those knights of romance, who, by their deadly feuds with the Bení Serráj (Abencerrages), hastened the fall of Granada and the ruin of their country, were neither more nor less than certain powerful families who, after the taking of Saragossa and other cities in Aragon (*Thagher*), sought refuge in other Mohammedan states and settled for the most part in Granada, where they were known by the patronymic of *Theghriin* (Zegrís).

The spot here designated by the author might be Aragon, a province of Spain in which, owing to its northern position, all fruits of the earth are considered to be more backward.

<sup>12</sup> The following description of Andalus, by Ar-rázi, occurs at the bottom of the same page. As it is expressed in nearly the same words, I have suppressed it in the body of the work, to avoid repetition. "Andalus," he says, "is situate at the extremity of the fourth climate, one of the seven into which the whole of our inhabited globe has been divided by geographers. Thus placed in the midst of the earth, Andalus has delightful valleys and excellent lands, which many large rivers irrigate and fertilize; there are but few wild beasts and venomous reptiles; the temperature is excessively mild, and the seasons so temperate that the transition from one to another is almost imperceptible, and man has not to dread there, as in other countries, the passage from summer to winter, and *vice versa*."

<sup>13</sup> أرغون *Arghón* or Aragon. I have looked in vain in Idrísí for the passage here attributed to him. The substance may be the same, but the words are not. At the time when that distinguished geographer wrote his description of Spain (the twelfth century of our era), Aragon, being almost entirely in the hands of the Moslems, was still called *Thagher*, its present denomination being comparatively modern.

The MS. reads بلد ارغون التي في جنوبي برشلونة that is, 'the country of Aragon, at the southern extremity of which is situated the city of Barcelona,' as I have translated; but this is undoubtedly an error, for whatever limits are assigned to the kingdom of Aragon, Barcelona could never occupy a southern position with regard to it.

At the time when Ibnu Sa'id wrote (the latter end of the thirteenth century), the kingdom of Aragon

extended over nearly the same territory which it now comprises; namely, the whole of Catalonia, the province properly called Aragon, great part of Valencia, and the Balearic Islands besides.

The division of the earth into seven climates, or as many zones, is peculiar to the Arabian geographers. These are numbered from the equator towards the north pole, and measured by the increase of the duration of daylight at the summer solstice.

<sup>14</sup> كَشْتَالَة Kashtélah is for *Castella*, so named from *castrum*, castle, owing to the great number of fortresses which that district contained during the middle ages. The Arabian writers designate it generally under the name of أرض القلاع *Ardhu-l-kild'* (the land of castles).

<sup>15</sup> بَرْتَقَال Bortekál, the *Δουρραβία* of the Greeks, afterwards called *Porta Galla*. The word occurs in Idrísí (*Geog.* edit. of Rome, 1592, *clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), but not in Abú-l-fedá.

<sup>16</sup> *Alinkiterrah*. Although all the copies read القطرة I have not hesitated to substitute النقطارة *Alinkiterrah*, as may be read in the Arabic text of Idrísí. That geographer, who, as is well known, wrote his book in Sicily under the patronage of King Roger, undoubtedly derived his account of England from Italian navigators, who, to this day, call this country *Inghilterra*. It must however be observed that that name is seldom given to this country by the Arabian geographers who wrote after Idrísí, and never by those who preceded him, who generally call it جزيرة برطانية *Jezirah Birtániyyah* (the island of Britain), or أرض برطانية الكبيرة *Ardh Birtániyya-l-kebírah* (the land of great Britain). It is called *Britannia la mayor* in the *Cronica General*, Zamora, 1541, fo. 111, *verso*.

The following description of England occurs in the *Audhahu-l-mesdelek*, an Arabic geographical dictionary, compiled from Ibnu Sa'id, Abú-l-fedá, Kazwíní, Ibnu-l-wardí, 'Azízí, Al-bekrí, and other celebrated geographers (*Brit. Mus.*, No. 7505). "Inkiltérrah, also called Inkiltarrah, is a well-known island in a sea issuing from the sea of Rúm. Ibnu Sa'id says that the king of the island is called "الانكتار" *Alinkitár*, and that he holds his court at لندرس *Londres* (London). The length of the island "measured from south to north, with a slight deviation, is four hundred and thirty miles, and the width "about two hundred. It contains mines of gold, silver, and copper. Vines do not grow on its "soil, owing to the extreme coldness of its temperature, but the inhabitants procure wine from France "and the neighbouring countries by giving gold in return."

See also *Vita et res gestæ Saladini*, by Schultens, (*Lugd. Bat.* 1732, p. 160,) where Richard Cœur de Lion is named *Alinkitár*.

<sup>17</sup> أرض برجان *Berjân*, which others write *Burjân*, is, I believe, Denmark. The Arabian geographers say that it is a country placed in the extreme north, where days have only four hours and nights twenty. Ibn Iyás, in his *Nashaku-l-azhár fí gharáyibi-l-aktár* (*Arab. MS.* in the *Brit. Mus.*, No. 7503, fo. 127), adds that "the inhabitants are all idolaters (*Majús*), and make war upon the Slavonians, "who are a nation of Franks. They are very expert in navigation, and build beautiful ships." See also Idrísí, translated by Jaubert, pp. 7 and 392; and Abú-l-fedá, *apud* Koehler, fo. 54.

The word *Burjân* seems to me a corruption of *Burguziones* or *Burgundiones*, as the northern barbarians who settled in that part of France now called Burgundy were denominated by the Latin chroniclers of the middle ages.

<sup>18</sup> Al-beyhakí. There are several Arabian writers known by this patronymic, the most distinguished of whom is the Imám and Háfedh, Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn 'Alí Al-beyhakí, of the sect of Sháfe'i, who left several works upon jurisprudence and traditions, and died in four hundred and fifty-eight (A. D. 1065-6). See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Baihaki*, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Escur.* vol. i. p. 57. See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 206, and Ibn Khallekán's *Lives*, No. 27 in *Tyd. Ind.*

<sup>19</sup> تولى the *ultima Thule* of the ancients, supposed by some to be Iceland, by others Shetland. It is probably the latter, which Camden says was still called in his time *Thylensel* by the seamen. Makrízí, in his history of Egypt (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7317, fo. 98), calls it توطي *Túttí*, no doubt a mistake for تولى and says that it is an island in the sea of Britain, at the northern extremity of the inhabited globe. It is worthy of remark that in the *Cronica General de España*, which Alfonso X., surnamed *El Sabio*, either wrote himself or ordered to be written during his reign, and which is well known to be in most instances compiled from Arabic works, this island, which is called *Tile*, is said to be close to Norway. See edit. of Zamora, 1541, fo. 3, verso.

<sup>20</sup> الاجبال *Al-ajbál* (the island of the mountains). I have translated Norway, merely by guess, although the description which Ibn Iyás gives of it by no means answers for that country. He says, fo. 194, "According to Abú Hámid the Andalusian, the island (peninsula) of اجبال *Ajbál* is "an island covered with trees and fruits, in the centre of which rises a mountain of black mud, as dark as pitch; there is also, according to the said writer, a long opening (canal) that issues from it." The author of the *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib*, another geographical treatise in the Brit. Mus., No. 7504, fo. 10, verso, places it in the sea of Pontus (Pont. Euxin.), which, he asserts, comes from under the earth.

<sup>21</sup> جزيرة النساء *Jezíratu-n-nisá* (the island of the women). The Arabian geographers thought that there was an island so called in the "sea of darkness." Ibn Iyás (*loco laudato*, fo. 126, verso,) says that "it is inhabited by women, who cut off their right breast, ride on horseback, are possessed of much corporal strength, and make war upon each other."

<sup>22</sup> البُرت *Al-bort*. The Pyrenees were known to the Arabs under various denominations. They were called جبال البرتات *Jebál-al-bortát*, that is, 'the mountains of the gates,' from the Latin word *Portæ*, and جبال الابواب *Jebál-al-abwáb*, which means the same thing, owing to the four passes serving as communications between France and Spain. These were, according to Idrísí (*clim.* iv. sect. 1), 1st, بورت اشمره *Bort Ashmarah*, (now the pass of Ceret, or Puig-cerdá, in Catalonia;) 2nd, بورت جاقه *Bort Jákah*, (now the pass of Jaca, or *Puerto de Canfranc*, in Aragon;) 3rd, بورت شازر *Bort Shézar*, the gate of Cæsar, (the pass of Roncesvalles or that of Bastan, near Pampeluna;) and, 4th, بورت بيونته *Bort Bayúnnah*, (the pass of Behobia, near Bayonne.) The Latin word *Portæ*, corrupted into *Puerto*, is still used in Spain to designate a mountain pass.

<sup>23</sup> جزيرة الخضراء (the Green Island), the 'IOYA'IA 'ANOIKI'A of Strabo and the *Julia Transducta* of Pliny, is the modern Algesiras, opposite to Gibraltar. A small island immediately facing its port is still called by the Spaniards *La Isla Verde*.

<sup>24</sup> جزيرة طريف *Jezi'rah-Taríf*, or 'the Island of Taríf,' now the small peninsula of Tarifa, owes its present name to a Berber named طارق ابن مالك *Taríf Ibn Málik*, who was the first to land on it at the time of the invasion of Spain by the Arabs. Conde, in his notes to Idrísi, (see *Geografia del Nubiense*, Mad. 1802, p. 201,) committed an error by saying that *Jezi'rah-Taríf* meant the island of the promontory (*Isla del Puntal*). *Tarf*, and not *Taríf*, is the Arabic word for promontory, or cape.

<sup>25</sup> قصر مصودة *Kasr-Masmúdah* (the palace of Masmúdah) is also called by the historians قصر المجاز *Kasru-l-majáz* (the palace of the passage), owing to its becoming the spot where the armies of the Almohades used to embark to cross over to Spain. According to the author of the *Karttás* (Arab. MS. in my possession) the building of this city originated in a palace which Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, third Sultán of that dynasty, built at the narrowest part of the Strait of Gibraltar, between Ceuta and Tangiers, and from which he used to witness the embarkation of his troops. It was called *Kasr-Masmúdah* because of its being built in the territory of that tribe. See also the Portuguese translation by Moura, Lisboa, 1828, p. 240, Marmol, *Descripcion de Africa*, vol. ii. p. 125, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 392-396, *et passim*. It is occasionally called *Al-kasru-s-saghír* (the small palace), to distinguish it from another city built by the same monarch, and which retains to this day the name of *Al-kassar-al-kebír* (the great palace). On these two places the reader may consult the *Specchio Geografico, e Statistico dell' Impero di Marocco*, by the Chev. Gråberg di Hemsö, pp. 17, 44, 69, *et passim*.

<sup>26</sup> بحر الزقاق *Bahru-z-zokkúk*, literally 'the sea of narrowness,' which is always meant for the Straits of Gibraltar.

<sup>27</sup> The passage here alluded to by the author is to be found in the historical work entitled مروج الذهب *Murúju-dh-dhahab* (golden meadows), by the well-known author Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Huseyn Ibn 'Alí Al-mes'údí, an account of whose life may be read in Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 443, as well as in the eighth volume of the *Not. et Ext. des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*, pp. 132, 199, and *D'Herb. Bib. Or. voc. Moruj, Messoudi, &c.*

<sup>28</sup> ابن اليسع *Abn Al-Isa* His entire name was Alisa'-bn-'Isa Ibn Hazm Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Alisa' Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí. Al-makkari speaks of him among the Andalusians who left Spain for the East (see Part I. Book v. fo. 150). His words are as follow:—"Ibn Alisa' was born at Valencia, but his family were originally from Jaen. While in Spain he inhabited Malaga most of the time; he filled the charge of Kátib (secretary) to one of the kings of Eastern Andalus. He wrote an historical work with the following title *العرب في اخبار محاسن اهل المغرب Al-mu'arib fi akhbár mahásen ahli-l-maghreb*, (the speaker according to the rules of Arabic grammar on the history of the excellences of the people of the West,) which he compiled in Egypt by the orders of the Sultán Saláhu-d-dín (Saladin) Ibn Ayúb. Ibn Alisa' left Andalus for the East in the year five hundred and sixty (A.D. 1164-5); he never afterwards returned to his native country, for he died in the East on a Thursday, the 28th of Rejeb of five hundred and seventy-five." (Dec. 28, A. D. 1179.) See also Hájí Khalfah, (voc. *Mu'arib* and *Tárikh Maghreb*.)