

I ought to observe that the word <sup>ع</sup>اليسع Alisa', a synonyme for Elias, is pointed as above, instead of *Al-yasa'*, as it is generally written and pronounced.

<sup>29</sup> The name of this city is differently written by the Arabian geographers. Some have <sup>ة</sup>أريوناه Ariúnah, others <sup>ة</sup>أربوناه Arbúnah, and now and then it is to be found thus <sup>ة</sup>نربوناه *Narbúnah*, or, as pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, *Narbónah*, its true name. The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7505, fo. 36,) writes <sup>ة</sup>أربوناه *Orbúnah*.

<sup>30</sup> *Al-hijárf*, or the native of Guadalaxara, <sup>ة</sup>وادي الحجارة *Wáda-l-hijár*, or <sup>ة</sup>الحجارة *Wáda-l-hajarah* (the river of the stones),—the *Amnis Lapidum* of Rodericus Toletanus,—a large town in the province of Toledo. (See *Hist. Arabum, apud Erpenium*, fol. 32.) The entire name of the author is Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhim Al-hijárf. Casiri has spoken of him in two different places of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* (vol. ii. p. 120, and *ib.* p. 128). But his account is so full of contradictions as to make one suppose that he meant two different individuals. He makes him sometimes a native of *Cangiar* or *Cangera*, which he says is a town in the district of Guadalaxara, and at others of *Canger*, which he places thirty miles from Almeria, on the road to Malaga!

Al-hijárf, who is likewise called Ibnu-l-hijárf, because his father was also a native of Guadalaxara, was born in five hundred of the Hijra (A.D. 1106-7). His death is placed by Ibnu-l-khattáb and Ibnu-l-abbár (see Casiri, *loco laudato*, pp. 120, 128,) in five hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 1194-5), which would make him eighty-eight years of age at the time of his death.

Among other works Al-hijárf wrote a history of Spain from the earliest times down to his days, entitled <sup>ة</sup>كتاب السبب في فضائل أهل المغرب *Kitábu-l-mas'hab fi' fadháyl ahli-l-maghreb* (the book of the gossip on the excellences of the *Maghrebís*) (Western people), for the Arabian writers often comprise Africa and Spain under the general denomination of *Maghreb* (West). Hájí Khalfah mentions this work in different places of his *Bibliog. Dict.* See voc. *Tárikh Maghreb*, and *Mas'hab*.

<sup>31</sup> <sup>ة</sup>الحاجز that is, the divider, from the verb <sup>ة</sup>حجز which means to divide, to separate. The Pyrenees are not unfrequently called so by Hispano-Arabic authors.

The nearest point of the isthmus which joins Spain to the continent is between Tarragona and St. Jean de Luz, not, as the author states, between Bourdeaux and Narbonne, where the distance is greater. However, the width of the isthmus is nowhere so little as forty miles, as stated, but upwards of two hundred.

<sup>32</sup> All the copies read south-east instead of north-east. The error is copied from the geographer Idrísí, who himself borrowed it from the Greek writers, who say, "that the Pyrenees extend in chains "from south to north," when it is on the contrary from east to west, inclining a little towards the north, (see Strabo's *Geography*.) I have not hesitated in substituting north-east for south-east.

<sup>33</sup> <sup>ة</sup>بوردال *Bordhil*; others write <sup>ة</sup>بوردال *Bordhál*, a corruption from Burdigallia, now Bourdeaux.

<sup>34</sup> وادي زلقطو according to A. My copy reads زلقطو; thus pointed. This must be some place in Catalonia. The word *Wádí* or *Wáda*, prefixed to it, admits of two meanings,—a river, or a deep valley among the mountains.

<sup>35</sup> That the passes cut by nature at various spots of the Pyrenean range were the work of art seems to have been generally believed by the writers of Mohammedan Spain, who undoubtedly borrowed this and other notions from their Christian neighbours. In the *Cronica General*, written by order of Alfonso, Zamora, 1541, fo. 8, *verso*, as well as in the *Cronica General de España* of Florian de Ocampo, republished by Ambrosio de Morales at Alcalá de Henares in 1574, vol. i. fo. 85, both works which, for the early times, can scarcely be called histories, but a mere repository of popular traditions, the Pyrenees are said to have taken their name from an accidental conflagration, which cleared their forests, opened passages in the sides of the mountains and through the masses of rock, and melted the metals hidden in the bowels of the earth. Others say that a king named Pyrrhus cut roads through them, after which the mountains were called by his name. Livy (book *xxi.* chap. 37) speaks of similar means being put into practice by Annibal, in order to force his passage through those formidable bulwarks of nature. The Arabs, improving, as usual, upon tradition, assert that a Grecian king having caused the rocks to be previously softened by means of vinegar and fire, opened four passes to serve as communications between France and Spain. See the *Audhahu-l-mesálek*, fo. 25, Abú-l-fedá, Idrísí, Ibnu-l-wardí, and the generality of Arabian geographers.

<sup>36</sup> عجم البحرين Such is the reading of all the MSS. I am, nevertheless, inclined to believe that مجمع البحرين *Majma'u-l-bahreyn* ought to be substituted, inasmuch as the alteration in the letters is but trifling, and the former two words convey no meaning whatever; while the second, 'the meeting of the two seas,' might easily have been given to a long isthmus or promontory, such as that upon which the Roman tower called *Torre de Hercules* still stands at Coruña.

<sup>37</sup> This word is differently written in the various copies of this work consulted by me. It is written thus جبل الاغر *Jebal Al-aghar* in A.; my copy reads الاغر *Al-a'z*; B. الاغر *Al-aghaz*; but I have not hesitated in following the former reading, or more correctly الغار *Jebal Al-ghár*, which means 'the mountain of the cave,' now Cape Trafalgar (*Taraf-al-ghár*) from *Taraf*, a mountain, or promontory, and *ghár*, a cave.

<sup>38</sup> The town here mentioned is *Santa Maria Bení Razín*, so called from Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Razín, its founder. There was in Portugal another town called also *Santa Maria*, to which the Arabs added the epithet *al-gharbí* (that is, of the West), that it might be distinguished from this, which is in the eastern part of Spain, on the very same spot now occupied by the town of Albarracin, a corruption of *Aben-razín*.

<sup>39</sup> بحر طرين is, perhaps, the *Tyrrhenum Mare*, or Sea of Tuscany, of the ancients, although, by the description given by the author, the Mediterranean seems intended. Another MS. reads تيران

<sup>40</sup> I have said elsewhere (Note 10) that the Spanish translation of *Ar-rázi*, attributed to a Moor

of the name of Mahamad, and to a Portuguese priest who was chaplain to King Dionis of Portugal (1279-1325), far from being, as Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Escur.* vol. ii. p. 329, *et seq.*) and Conde (*Hist. de la Dominacion*, vol. i. Prol. p. ix.) have imagined, a complete forgery—a confused mass of traditional stories current among Christians and Moslems—not only was a real version from a work written by Ar-rází, but, as far as I can judge, as faithfully executed as most of those made during the middle ages from Arabic writings. There are no doubt in it several passages, such as the chronology of the Gothic kings, which must be interpolations made by the translators, or by subsequent copyists, but the geographical description of Spain, and the account of its conquest by the Arabs, are given in a manner which leaves no doubt as to their authenticity. The attentive perusal of a very ancient copy (perhaps the original), which is kept in the library of the Cathedral of Toledo, had long ago made me suspect that the judgment hazarded by the two above-mentioned authors, and in which they seemed supported by the opinions of the best European critics, was rather hasty. However, not having the means of verifying my conjecture, I was obliged to postpone my judgment until I should be enabled to collate the words of Ar-rází with those of his translators. I will now transcribe from my own copy, made by me from the MS. of Toledo, the oldest in all Spain, the passage on the territorial division of the country, in order that my readers may judge if what I have advanced is correct or not.

“ Las Españas son dos porque se parten por los movimientos de los aires, los giros de las nubes, e por el corrimiento de los rios que van á una mar ó á otra. Eay España de Levante, e España de Poniente. E España de Poniente es aquella que yace contra Oriente, e corren sus rrios contra la mar grande que cerca todo el mundo e lluebe ay con vientos de Poniente, e comiençase en la sierra del collado ó Tajada que nace contra Septentrion yendo para Cantabria, e subiendo al termino de Astorga ayuntasse con la tierra de Biscaya, e decende para Agrite que es a par de Toledo, e biene por Algarçir e es a par del mar menudo que viene en derecho de Carthagera, e va a par de la billa de Lorca. E la España de Levante do el sol viene lluebe ay con biento solano, e con otros vientos que nacen de contra al Levante, e comiença en la Sierra de Roncesvalles e deciente por el rio Hébro a Santa Maria por entre dos rios de los cuales el uno dellos es Ebro que ba a caer en el mar redondo contra Meridiano donde es el mar de Zocac de que corre el mar de Xem aquel que parte la tierra e este mar a nombre el mar de çiran porque parte la rueda de la tierra e muchos le llaman mar grande.”

Let it be understood that the passage of Ar-rází to which Al-makkarí here alludes is not a literal translation from the work of that historian, but merely the substance of his words; and then let the reader judge for himself whether the Spanish version is a forgery or not. The expressions *Mar de Zocac*, meaning the *Bahru-z-zokák* or Strait of Gibraltar; *Mar de Xem*, meaning *Bahru-sh-shám* (*i. e.* Sea of Syria or Mediterranean); and *Mar de Ciran*, for *Bahr Tirren*, are very remarkable, and prove sufficiently of themselves the truth of the version.

<sup>41</sup> ابن النظام (the son of the stringer of pearls?) I have not been able to ascertain the age, country, or writings, of this historian, who is occasionally mentioned by Al-makkarí. The surname of *Ibnu-n-nadhhdám* might have been given to him either from his father's trade or from his being a very eloquent writer, for it is not unfrequent among the Arabian writers to give that appellation to eminent poets and rhetoricians, who are elegantly said to “have strung together the pearls of speech.”

<sup>42</sup> The mountains here alluded to are a branch of the Pyrenean range; they traverse Spain, which they divide into two halves, from north-east to west. These mountains are designated by the Arabian

geographers who have described the Peninsula under the collective name of *Jebál-ash-sherrát* جبال الشرات.

<sup>43</sup> الجوف *Al-jauf*, and not *Al-júf*, as in the translation. The Arabian geographers make use of this word to designate generally the north-west, sometimes the north. It is always that point of the compass opposed to the *kiblah*, and as this varies according to the geographical position of the countries with respect to the *Ka'bah*, (square house at Mekka,) so does the *jauf*. The word *kiblah*, in its origin, meant that part of a mosque which faces the *Ka'bah*, and as this, in most Mohammedan countries of Asia, was to the south, the word *kiblah* was used as a synonymous expression for *south*. The same might be said of the word *jauf*, which means *concavity, interior, darkness*; and hence the body of a mosque, or all that part which is not the *kiblah*, and is opposed to it. *Kiblah*, therefore, meaning the south, the word *jauf* was employed to designate the north, or that part facing the south. But as the *kiblah* of Mohammedan temples, both in Spain and in Africa, was considerably inclined towards the south-east, in which sense the word *kiblah* is frequently used by Western geographers, so will the word *jauf* be also found occasionally used to designate the north-west. The Arabian geographers and historians of Spain are careful enough in making this distinction; they call Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, اقطار الجوف *Akttáru-l-jauf* (the north-western districts), while they designate Aragon and Catalonia by بلاد الشمال *Beládu-sh-shamál* (the country of the north); and Al-bekrí, in his geographical description of Africa, often uses the word in such a way as not to leave any doubt as to its real meaning. The same might be said of Ibnu Khaldún (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 97, *et passim*).

<sup>44</sup> This dissipates all doubts concerning the etymology of the word 'Andalus,' by which all Mohammedan writers designate Spain. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 327, *et seq.*) laboured hard to show that the word Andalus was of Arabic, not of Latin, origin, by pretending that it was derived from حندلس *Handalis*, a word meaning "a land of darkness,—*regio vespertina et tenebrosa atque Occidentis*" "finis." But the nature even of the word ought to have shown the learned author that it was of foreign importation and not Arabic.

The Arabs, more than any other nation, corrupted proper names by accommodating them to the genius of their language; whenever a letter was of difficult pronunciation they suppressed it, especially if commencing the word. The V of *Vandalocii* was therefore omitted, as well as the last two letters, which made the word too long; they being averse to words of many syllables. I may allege, besides, as a proof that the word Andalus is only a corruption from *Vandalucia*, that it is not uncommon to find in Spanish MSS., even of the fifteenth century, the words *Vandalocia* and *Vandalicia* employed to designate that portion of Spain which was still in the hands of the Moors. Andrés Bernaldez, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and who wrote a chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella, still inedited (*Bib. Eg.* in Brit. Mus., No. 306, fol. 784), says, "Y el adelantado "de *Vandalucia con gran caballeria salió á recibir à los Reyes à la Peña de los enamorados,*" (and the commander of the frontier troops of *Vandalucia* went out to meet the king and queen as far as the Lover's rock.)

I must observe that the word *Andalus* will always be used in this translation, *per synecdochen*, for the whole Peninsula, or at least for that part of it which obeyed the rule of Islám, whatever may be its dimensions.

<sup>45</sup> An account of this drought, which, according to Pedro de Medina (*Libro de las Grandezas de España*,

Sevilla, 1549, cap. vii.), is said to have taken place one thousand and seventy years before Christ, and to have entirely depopulated Spain, since those of its inhabitants who did not die under it fled for refuge across the Pyrenees, may be read at full length in the *Cronica de España por el Rey Don Alfonso*, as well as in the *Cronica General* by Florian de Ocampo, Medina del Campo, 1553, fol. lxxviii., whence it has been borrowed by Mariana Pellicer and other Spanish writers. It is unnecessary to add that this event, being unsupported by historical evidence of any sort, has been discarded by all critical writers.

<sup>46</sup> اشبان بن طيطس It is evident that the author has here confounded Ishbán or Hispan with Vespasianus, and made him, besides, the son, instead of the father, of Titus.

<sup>47</sup> ايلية or ايليا as may be read in the *Kámús*, by Fírúzabádí, was the name of Jerusalem among the ancient Arabs. It is a corruption of Ælia.

<sup>48</sup> I find بريان *Berián* or *Burián* in all the copies, but what king is intended it is not easy to say. In the Chronicle of Spain written by Florian de Ocampo, (Medina del Campo, 1553, f. 114,) Bokht-Nasr (or Nebuchodonosor) is represented, not indeed as the friend, but as the sworn enemy, of Spain, which he invaded and wasted, owing to certain reinforcements which the Spaniards had sent to the people of Tyre when that city was besieged by him. In the long list of fabulous kings which disfigures the best-written histories of the Peninsula, there are two whose names might easily be transformed into بريان with the alteration of one point; one is called *Teron*, who is said to have expelled the Almajuzes from Spain; the other *Tarraco*, an Ethiopian warrior, who conquered Spain, and became also in time King of Egypt. (See Florian de Ocampo, *loco laudato*, fol. ci. *et seq.*) The word *Majús* (from *μαγος*) means a fire-worshipper and an idolater. It was in time applied by the Arabs to all northern nations. The people here mentioned appear to be the same whom the *Cronica de Alfonso el Sabio*, fol. x., and the *Cron. Gen.* pp. 78, 80, *et pass.*, call *Almajuzes*, *Almózudes*, and *Almonides*.

<sup>49</sup> كتاب المقتبس *Kitabu-l-muktabis*, 'the book of the seeker of information' or 'the book of the fire-striking steel,'—for the word *Al-muktabis* is susceptible of both meanings,—is the title of one of the historical works written by Ibnu Hayyán, which is said to have been composed of ten volumes. See a preceding note (No. 3, p. 310).

<sup>50</sup> *Al-khadher* or *Al-khidhr* is a prophet whom some authors identify with Elias, while others suppose him to be the same as St. George. He is reported to have drunk of the fountain of life, and to have thereby become immortal. The Arabs think that he is still living, and that he will live until the day of judgment. According to others, *Al-khidhr* was a holy man who held the office of *Wizír* to *Ishkander Dhú-l-karneyn*. There is in the Library of the British Museum (No. 7366) a history of Alexander and his *Wizír Al-khidhr*, written by *Ibráhim Ibn Mufarraj As-súrí* (of Tyre).

It is singular enough that a legend similar to that here related should have been preserved in some of the ancient Spanish Chronicles,—not, indeed, as applied to a fabulous monarch, as *Ishbán* or *Hispan* undoubtedly was, but to one of the last Gothic kings. It is said in the *Cronica General*, fol. lxxvii., that after the death of *Receswind*, *St. Leo*, in compliance with the earnest wishes of the Goths, prayed that they might be divinely directed in the choice of a sovereign, which they were about to make, and that the Saint, being inspired by heaven, advised them to look in the West for a labourer named

Wamba. Soldiers were accordingly dispatched in search of the man described, whom they found on the confines of Portugal, busily employed in ploughing his field, and acquainted him with his elevation. Considering their message as a studied joke, Wamba answered ironically that he would accept the crown when the pole which he held in his hand should again flourish. To the astonishment of all present, the reply was scarcely returned when the dry wood was covered with verdure!

A story similar to this in every point is related of one of the sovereigns of Bohemia.

<sup>51</sup> I confess that I was greatly puzzled when I first met with this word, sometimes written *بشطلقات* at others *بشطولقات* intended to designate a nation that had conquered Spain. Had I had but one copy of the MS., I should certainly have given up all idea of finding a sense; but, as all the copies I consulted presented invariably the same reading, I was led to examine the matter more carefully, and to punctuate the above words in a variety of ways, so as to form a combination which might satisfy myself. In so doing I came to read *بِشَطْلِقَاتٍ Bishtilkát* or *بِشَطُولِقَاتٍ Bishtólkát*, by which the Visigoths or Visigoths are no doubt intended; the change of *r* into *l*, and *vice versa*, being frequent in words corrupted by the Arabs.

<sup>52</sup> *طلوبش بن بيطة* Talubush Ben Beytah, in A. My MS. reads *طلوبش Talúbush*; the epitome *طلويس Talúis*. The author means undoubtedly Ataulphus, brother-in-law of Alaric, King of the Visigoths, who in four hundred and fourteen entered Spain, and subdued it; but how can his expressions be reconciled with the words lower down, stating that this happened about the time of the resurrection of the Messiah? *وذلك زمن بعث المسيح بن مريام*

<sup>53</sup> I read in all the MSS. *خشدنس* except in mine, which has *خشدس Khashendus*. I have had no difficulty in adopting the former reading, *Khoshandinus* (Constantinus), although the greater number of Arab historians write the name of that emperor thus, *كسنتين Kosantín*.

<sup>54</sup> I find in A. *أتاناوبنوس Atánáubinús*; my copy has *أتاناوينوس Atánáuinús*; another MS. reads *أتانوينش Atanúinush*. It is by no means easy to determine who the king here mentioned is. It cannot be Athanagild, for he was not the first, but the fourth, monarch of Visigothic race who reigned in Spain. On the other hand, the author can hardly mean Athaulphus, who was the first, for I defy the most expert etymologist to show a combination by which that word could pass into *Atánáuinús*; besides, only a few lines higher he is called Talubush. The series of Gothic kings is said in one place to have been twenty-seven, in another thirty-six, and further down fifty-five, no doubt comprising the Suevic and Vandalic monarchs. Contradictions similar to these abound throughout this work, owing to the circumstances I have explained in the Preface. They are still more glaring when relating to the ancient history of the Peninsula, a subject with which the Arabs must necessarily have been but slightly acquainted.

However, Ibnu Hayyán's account is not far from truth,—Ataulphus was elected king in four hundred and eleven; he entered Spain in four hundred and fourteen; the number of Gothic kings was thirty-six, including Theodomir and Athanagild, and the duration of their empire three hundred and forty-two years likewise. One circumstance, however, is worthy of remark in the narrative of this historian,

namely, that he gives the right number of kings, although it is evident that he does not include in it either Theodomir or Athanagild, since he says that Roderic was the last monarch of his race.

<sup>55</sup> A. *فليس القيصري* *Filis, Cæsar*—my copy reads *قلبس Kalbus*, by the transposition of a point. I have printed *Filibus*, as in the epitome; but perhaps I am wrong, as it is difficult to guess in these matters. It is likely, however, that the author meant neither the one nor the other, but Claudius Constantinus, who was proclaimed emperor in A.D. four hundred and seven, and held part of the Roman empire conjointly with Honorius, under whose reign Ataulphus crossed the Pyrenees and established himself in Spain, in four hundred and twelve. But Claudius having been beheaded in four hundred and eleven, the duration of his reign was only four years; and therefore this event could not have taken place in the fifth year of his empire. Besides, the author, who has evidently mistaken here the era of Cæsar for that of Christ, ought to have said four hundred and forty-five of the era of Safar.

<sup>56</sup> The word *صفر Safar*, which in Arabic means bronze, or copper, (whence the Spanish word *Azofar*.) seems to be the translation of the Latin *Æra*. There has been much dispute about the origin and meaning of the word *Æra* or *Era*. St. Isidore, in his *Origines*, thinks that it arose from a certain tribute imposed by Augustus, and which was called *Æra*, that is, 'copper money;' Sepulveda is of opinion that the word *Æra* is a corruption of *Annus erat Augusti*; Resende that it came from *Ab exordio regni Augusti*, the initial letters of which compose the word *Æra*; Morales, Covarrubias, and Gibbon, follow a similar opinion; but the former is undoubtedly the true one. How singular that we should have to learn from the Arabs the meaning and the etymology of a Latin word!

However, the *Æra* is a date peculiar to Spain; it began thirty-eight years before the birth of Christ, under the empire of Octavius, and from it the Spanish writers computed until the middle of the fourteenth century, when it was superseded by the Christian.

<sup>57</sup> Roderic, or rather *Ludherik*, as the Arabs have it, by the change which occurs frequently of *R* into *L*, ascended the throne A.D. seven hundred and nine; the battle of Guadalete, in which he is supposed to have lost his life, was fought in seven hundred and eleven. If we add the thirty-eight years of the era of Cæsar, this makes exactly the date here given by the author.

<sup>58</sup> I have looked in vain, in the portion of Ibnu Khaldún's work which is preserved in the Library of the British Museum, No. 9575, for the passage here alluded to by the author. It is an important one, as there is nothing in it which is not to be perfectly reconciled with true history.

<sup>59</sup> The Gothic monarchs had no fixed place of residence; some residing in Toledo, others in Merida, Barcelona, Cordova, &c.,—some even, like Liuva I., in five hundred and sixty-seven, having fixed their court at Narbonne, the capital of Septimania.

<sup>60</sup> The same mistake was committed by Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other Spanish historians, who, thinking Roderic to be the title of the Gothic sovereigns, not the name of one of them, often designate by that name all the kings of Asturias. As to *جرجيز Jerjiz*, it seems to be a corruption for Georgius, who might, for aught I know, have been the Greek governor of Sicily at the time of its conquest by the Arabs; but I think it more probable that it is meant for *جرجير Jeregori* or Gregorius, a Greek, who, according to Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fol. 48), governed the Greek

possessions in Africa at the time of the invasion of that country by the Arabs, and held his court at <sup>سبیطلة</sup> Subeytalah. An account of the defeat and death of Gregorius, by Abdullah Ibn Sa'd, the Mohammedan governor of Eastern Africa, will be found in the Appendix B., No. II., as translated from Ibnu Khaldún's history of Africa. See also Retrospect of Mohammedan History, by Major David Price, vol. i. p. 157, and Isidori Pacensis Chronicon, *apud* Florez, *Esp. Sag.* vol. viii., under Æra DCXC. As Sicily was a dependency of Africa, Gregorius is probably meant.

<sup>61</sup> The Mohammedans believe that there are seven worlds, as well as seven heavens, and that the world we inhabit occupies the top, so that by digging deeply one may discover the crests of the mountains of that which is underneath us.

<sup>62</sup> The word I have translated by wharf is <sup>صيف</sup> *rassif*, which means a paved road, a mole built of masonry, and corresponds exactly in all its meanings with the Spanish *arrecife*, derived from it. It is generally used by the Eastern Arabs to designate a Roman causeway. See Lord Lindsay's Letters on Egypt.

<sup>63</sup> By the two islands the author no doubt intends Algesiras and Tarifa, which were thus called by the Arabs, owing either to one small island, which each of those cities has at the entrance of its port, or to their peninsular shape, for the Arabs made no distinction between an island and a peninsula. The same expression is used by Idrísí. See the translation by Jaubert, vol. i. p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> All this account of Alexander's visit to Spain, and the works he raised there, is to be met with in almost every Arabian geographer who lived after Idrísí; but, as far as I am aware, in none who preceded him. Neither Ibn Khordádbah, (Bodl. Lib., No. 963,) nor Ibn Haukal, (*ibid.*, No. 993,) nor Al-beládhori, (Brit. Mus., No. 7496,) nor the famous historian Mes'údí, who collected with the greatest care all the popular traditions current among the inhabitants of the subdued nations, mentions a word of it. I am inclined to believe that this fable, like many others of the same stamp, had its origin among the Christian inhabitants of Spain, for in the history which Alfonso *el Sabio* ordered to be compiled in the thirteenth century, and which was printed for the first time at Zamora in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-one, as well as in the *Cronica General de España*, by Florian de Ocampo, (*Medina del Campo*, 1553, vol. i. p. 191,) it is said that the Spaniards sent an embassy to Alexander, offering him the sovereignty of the land, and begging him to deliver them from the attacks of the Africans. See also Mariana, *Hist. Gen.* book i. chap. v., and Morales, both of whom borrowed it from Paulus Orosius.

## CHAPTER II.

<sup>1</sup> It is evident that Al-makkarí borrowed this account from a writer later than the fifth century of the Hijra; since up to that period no division like that described by the author could possibly have taken place.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>الجسر</sup> *Jesr* and not *jezr*, as printed by mistake, means bridge. It is a synonyme for <sup>القنطرة</sup> *al-kanttar*, whence the Spanish word *alcantarilla* is derived. De Sacy (*Chrest. Arab.* vol. i. p. 69) thought that the word *jesr* meant a wooden bridge, and *al-kanttar* a stone one, but this is contradicted by

a passage of Ibn Sáhebi-s-salát, the author of a history of the Almoravides (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. *Marsh.* 433), where the author, speaking of the bridge of boats thrown across the Guadalquivir at Seville, makes use of the word *al-kanitar*; besides, the word *jesr* could not mean in this case a wooden bridge, since that alluded to is a stone one.

<sup>3</sup> This governor was, according to some, As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, who ruled Spain in the Khalif's name from A. H. one hundred to one hundred and two. Others pretend that the bridge was not built until the days of his successor, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí, but of this more will be said in the course of this work.

The verses translated read as follow:—

منهن فنطرة الوادي وجامعها	∴	باربع فاقت الامصار قرطبة
و العلم اعظم شي و هو رابعها	∴	هاتان ننتان و الزهراء ثالثه

<sup>4</sup> Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, surnamed Abú Yúsuf, the third Sultán of the dýnasty of the Almohades, who reigned from A. H. five hundred and eighty to five hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1184-99) over Spain and Africa. He was the son of Yúsuf Abú Ya'kúb, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the founder of the dýnasty.

<sup>5</sup> There may be in the three words here mentioned more meaning than I am able to discover; *Shammám*, from *shamma*, to smell, means any thing fragrant, and a species of small odoriferous melon; *Kommám*, from *kamma*, to sweep, to gather, means things gathered or plucked with the hand, such as fruits, flowers, &c.; and *Modám*, from *dáma*, to last, means a thing which is everlasting, and wine. Taking the first for the smell, the second for the food, and the third for the drink, the author's idea is easily understood.

<sup>6</sup> Abú 'Omrán Músa Ibn Sa'id Al-'ansí was the father of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'id, the author of the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib* (see note 1, p. 309), from which frequent quotations will be introduced in the course of this work. He was governor of Seville and of the province of Algesiras on different occasions. He left Spain for the East, where he died at Alexandria in six hundred and forty of the Hijra (A. D. 1242). The word 'Omrán might be pronounced also 'Amrán, but being, like most of the proper names in the present work, devoid of vowels, I cannot determine its true reading.

<sup>7</sup> The entire name and surnames of this historian are Abú-l-kásim Khalf Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Mes'úd Ibn Músa Ibn Bashkúwál Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Dáhilah (or Dáhah) Al-anssári. He was born A. H. four hundred and ninety-four (A. D. 1101), at Cordova, where he died in five hundred and seventy-eight (A. D. 1183). His life, together with a list of his writings, may be read in Ibn Khallekán (see *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 216). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 140, 167, *et passim*, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. Prol. *et passim*. He wrote, among other things, an historical dictionary, or biography of illustrious men, entitled *As-silah*, from which Conde and Casiri made considerable extracts. Ibnu Bashkúwál is rightly considered one of the best historians of Mohammedan Spain. His information, especially that relating to his own times, is full, and generally correct; he does not display much criticism, but this is a quality with which few, if any, among the Arabian writers, are endowed. One volume of his work is in the Esc. Lib., No. 1672.

<sup>8</sup> Abú Bekr Ibn سعادة Sa'ádeh was a theologian and poet, who flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra. He was a native of Granada, where, according to Ibnu-l-khattáb, he gave lessons on the various modes of reading the Korán.

As to Abú Bekr Al-makhzúmí, I find no mention of him in Casiri, but he is mentioned, although incidentally, in my MS. of Ibnu-l-khattáb. He was 'blind from his birth, notwithstanding which he was deeply versed in all branches of literature, and considered a very ingenious poet. He died after five hundred and forty of the Hijra. Ibnu-l-khattáb does not give all his names and surnames, but I think they were—Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn Sufyán Al-makhzúmí Al-kortobí.

The verses are as follow :

اقرطبة العزآء هل لي اوبة .: اليك وهل يدنوا لنا ذلك العهد  
سقي الجانب الغربي منك غمامة .: وقعت في ساحات دوحتك الرعد  
لياليك اشجار وارضك روضة .: وتربك في استشاقها عنبر ورد

<sup>9</sup> The following account of Ash-shakandí is given by Al-makkari in the fifth book of the present work. "Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl Ibn Mohammed was a native of شقندة Shakandah, a town close to Cordova, on "the southern bank of the Guadalquivir, and which in after times formed part of the capital, with "which it was connected by the continuance of the buildings along the river."

"Ash-shakandí," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "lived in great intimacy with my father. He wrote a *risáleh* on "the excellence of his native country, in opposition to one which Abú Yahya composed in praise of "Africa. He was learned in all branches of science, and especially in historical traditions and anecdotes "of authors and poets, which he collected with uncommon avidity wherever he went. He was highly "distinguished by the Sultán Ya'kúb Ibn Yúsuf Al-mansúr, who gave him a seat in his *mejles* (or "sitting-room), and appointed him to the charge of Kádí at Baeza, and then at Lorca. Ash-shakandí led "an exemplary life, and died, universally regretted, in A. H. six hundred and twenty-nine." (A. D. 1231-2.)

This epistle of Ash-shakandí occurs twice in some manuscripts of Al-makkari which I have consulted. It is to be found, somewhat abridged, in the first book, containing the topographical description of Spain, and placed under the heads of the cities and towns which the author there describes; and it is also to be found entire in the seventh book, treating on the brilliant qualities, extent of genius, and literary accomplishments, of the Andalusians. (See fo. 225, *verso*, and following in 7334, fo. 69, and following in 9592, and 147, *verso*, in 9591.) In collating the various extracts introduced by the author in the first book, as making part of Ash-shakandí's *risáleh*, with the treatise in its entire state in the seventh, I found that all the historical and geographical information which the said production contains had been embodied by Al-makkari in that part of his work of which the present is a translation. This makes it unnecessary for me to translate the whole *risáleh*, which,—besides being very long, and being strewn with difficulties of no ordinary nature,—contains, as is the custom among Arabian writers, many poetical extracts and much uninteresting detail, which would annoy rather than instruct those who look for information respecting the history of Mohammedan Spain.

I ought to add that Al-makkari (Part I. Book vi. fo. 99) quotes a biographical work by Ash-shakandí, entitled كتاب الطرف (*the book of the extremities?*), of which I find no mention whatever in Hájí Khalfah.

<sup>10</sup> ولا يضل من تاه في تلك after which B. adds تلك من تاه في تلك "and since those who lose their way in those (perilous) tracts cannot well be charged with error' (owing to the difficulty of the subject they treated).

<sup>11</sup> يوم علينا و يوم لنا .: و يوم نساء و يوم نسر

At the time when Ash-shakandí wrote his *risáleh*, the whole of Africa and Spain obeyed the rule of Ya'kúb Ibn Yúsuf, the third Sultán of the dynasty of the Almohades, who held his court at Morocco.

<sup>12</sup> و اني من قوم كرام اعزة .: لاقدامهم صيغت رموس البناير  
خليفة في الاسلام في الشرك قادة .: بهم و اليهم فخر كل مفاخر

The first hemistich of the second verse might also be translated 'Khalifs in the times of Islám; chiefs in the times of idolatry;' since the family of Umeyyah enjoyed considerable power before the times of Mohammed. But I prefer the sense as given in the text, inasmuch as had the poet intended it he might have used, without destroying the measure, the word *جبل* by which the state of idolatry in which the Arabs lived before Mohammed is generally expressed. Instead of *صيغت* one of the MS. reads *ضيقت*.

<sup>13</sup> السنا بني مروان كيف تبدلت .: بنا الحال او دارت علينا الدواير  
اذا ولد البولود منهم تهللت .: له الارض و اهتازت اليه البناير

<sup>14</sup> وسار مسير الشمس في كل بلدة .: وهب هبوب الريح في البر والبحر

<sup>15</sup> ان الخلافة فيكم لم يزل نسقاً .: كالعقد منظومة فيه فرايد

<sup>16</sup> جبال في الارض كانوا في الحياة وهم .: بعد الميات جبال الكتب والسير

<sup>17</sup> و انما البر حديت بعده .: فكن حديثا حسنا لمن وعي

<sup>16</sup> The Arabs call that part of the ocean which washes the north-western coast of Spain *Bahru-l-akhðhar* (green sea). Ibnu Khaldún, in his history of the Berbers, (No. 9575 in the Brit. Mus., fol. 43, verso,) says that the *Bahru-l-muhít* (ocean) was called also *Bahru-l-akhðhar*, (i. e. green sea,) owing to the colour of its waters, and *Bahru-dh-dholamát* (the sea of darkness), because of its watering regions where days were very short.

<sup>19</sup> اثاره تنبيك عن اوصافه .: حتي كانك بالعيان تراه  
تالله لا ياتي الزمان بمثله .: ابداً ولا يحيي الثغور سواه

This epitaph has been admirably translated into Spanish verse by the late distinguished poet, Don Leandro

Fernandez de Moratin, who wrote it by desire of Conde. It is inserted in the first vol. of Conde's *Hist. de la Dom.* p. 548.

<sup>20</sup> The Arabian writers call them *molúku-t-tawdyif*, kings of parties or bands of men, from *táyifah* (in Spanish *taifa*), which means a body or party of men.

The same denomination is applied by the Persians to the successors of Alexander, and in this sense the comparison is correct; for after the death of Al-mansúr, the greatest conqueror that the Moslems of Spain ever had, the governors of the provinces, and the generals of the army, like those of Alexander, shared among them his vast dominions.

<sup>21</sup> I omit giving here an account of all these petty dynasties, which will be more fully described in a succeeding portion of this work.

<sup>22</sup> البراض *Al-barrádh*. According to the *Nozhatu-l-albáb* (Arab. MS. on Genealogy in the Brit. Mus., No. 7351, fo. 9), Al-barrádh is the surname of two Arabs who lived before Mohammed: one called Al-hareth Ibn Dáús Al-ayadí, the other Rafi' Ibn Kays Ibn Rafi'. But in consulting the *Thamaru-l-kolúb*, by Ath-tha'álebí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9598, fo. 21), I find not only the right name of this individual, (which is there written Al-barrádh, with a *teshdid* upon the *ra*,) but likewise a curious account of the origin of the expression elegantly used by Ash-shakandí. I here translate the passage: فنكة البراض *Fatakatu-l-barrádh* (an attack like that of Al-barrádh). The origin of this proverbial expression is as follows: "Al-barrádh, son of Kays Al-kenání, (of the tribe of Kenánah,) " was one of the Arabian warriors whose prowess and courage have become proverbial; such as " Al-háreth Ibn Dhálim, 'Amrú Ibn Kolshúm, Al-hojáf Ibn Hakím, &c. One of the " greatest exploits recounted of this Al-barrádh is the following:—He was a man very unsettled in " his habits, and extremely fond of adventure: having at various times committed infractions against " the laws of his tribe, they decided to get rid of him, and he was accordingly cast away and deprived " of all his rights as an individual of it. After this Al-barrádh went to Mekka, and placed himself " under the protection of Harb Ibn Umeyyah, to whom he swore fidelity; but after staying for some " time at Mekka, he became tired of his new residence, so that, leaving Hejjáz, he travelled to 'Irák, " and arrived at the court of An-no'mán, son of Al-mundhir, where he fixed his residence.

" It was the custom of An-no'mán to send every year to the fair of 'Okádh some loads of drugs and " silken stuffs, to be sold there on his account. When the time for the expedition arrived, as An-no'mán " was one day sitting in his council hall, thinking whom he would send forward with his goods, his eyes " chanced to rest upon Al-barrádh and another man called 'Orwah Ibn Ghanímah Ar-rahhá, who " happened to be present at the time. 'To whom,' said An-no'mán, 'shall I intrust my merchandize " this year, that he may take it to 'Okádh and dispose of it at the fair?' and Al-barrádh replied, 'May " thy words be blessed! I am the proper man to take thy goods to the tribe of Kenánah, for I am " authorized by them to that effect.' 'Yes,' replied An-no'mán, 'but what I want is a person who can " take them not only to Hírah of Kenánah, but to Hírah of Kays also.' Hearing which, 'Orwah Ar- " rahhá rose and said, 'May thy words be blessed! How dares this vagabond, this outcast from his " tribe, offer himself to convey the king's merchandize? I am the fit man, since I am authorized to sell " goods among the inhabitants of شيخ Sheih and قيصوم Kayssúm from Nejd and Tehámeh.' 'Thine are " the goods,' exclaimed An-no'mán. Upon which 'Orwah took them and departed for the fair. But

“ Al-barrádh followed his steps, until they came to a spot where he knew he was under the wings (protection) of his tribe, when he lay in ambush, and, rushing upon him with his sword, killed him with one blow in the midst of his followers. This attack of Al-barrádh passed afterwards into a proverb.

“ The poet Abú Temám has said

والفتي من تعرفنه الليالي      و الفياي كالحية النضاض  
كل يوم له بصرف اليالي      فتكة مثل فتكة البراض

‘ This is the youth whom nights know well ; as likewise the deserts, as dangerous as the deadly snakes :

‘ For every day, on the return of night, he has to withstand an attack as formidable as those of Al-barrádh.’

“ They say that the memorable attacks فتكات of the times before Mohammed were three in number ; those posterior to Islám two. The former are :—1st. The attack made by Al-barrádh upon ‘Orwah, which we have just recounted. 2nd. The attack of Al-háreth Ibn Dhálim, who not only killed his adversary, Kháled Ibn Ja’far Keláb, in the presence of and quite close to the Sultán Al-aswad, son of Al-mundhir, but afterwards escaped the vengeance of that monarch. 3rd. The attack of Amrú Ibn Kollthúm upon ‘Amru Ibn ‘Abdi-l-malek, whom he killed in the capital of his states, between Hírah and Forat (the Euphrates), and after dispersing his horsemen, and seizing upon his camels and treasures, returned to Syria laden with plunder, having achieved the adventure alone, and without the assistance of his friends, from whom he concealed his intentions.

“ These are the three famous attacks made before the times of Islám ; those made afterwards are :—1st. That of ‘Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán on ‘Amrú Ibn Sa’id Ibni-l-’áss, upon which there is that verse which says—

كان بني مروان إذ يقتلونه      بغاث من الطير اجتمعن علي صقر<sup>g</sup>

“ ‘ Certainly when the Bení Merwán killed him, it was like the assembling of the *bogháth* against the ‘sagr.’ 2nd. The attack of Al-mansúr on Abú Moslem. 3rd. The attack of Al-mansúr upon Abí Moslemah.”

The volume from which the preceding extract has been made being hitherto unknown, I shall perhaps be excused if I here give a slight description of it. It is a good-sized folio volume, containing two hundred and sixty closely-written pages, in a handsome Eastern hand. The copy was executed by Ibráhím Al-khalúti, and finished in the month of Jumádi II., A. H. one thousand one hundred and fourteen, corresponding to December, A. D. 1731. The title of the work is ثمار القلوب في الزفاف<sup>h</sup> والنسوب *Thamaru-l-kolúb fi-l-mudhaf wa-l-mansúb*, or the ‘fruits of the heart on the attributive and the relative ;’ and it contains, as the author himself states in his preface, an explanation of such proverbial

<sup>g</sup> *bogháth* and *sagr* are two species of falcons ; with this difference, that the former is not used in hunting, owing to its slow flight and its bad qualities, whilst the latter is most esteemed.

<sup>h</sup> According to the grammatical system of the Arabs *al-mudhaf* means properly the first term of a proposition ; *mansúb* is the complement of the same proposition ; for instance, *Ghoráb Núh* (the crow of Noah) ; *Ghoráb* is the *mudhaf*, *Núh* the *mansúb*.

expressions as occur in the writings of orators and poets, such as Noah's crow, Abraham's fire, Yosef's wolf, Moses' rod, Solomon's seal, the cloak of the prophet Mohammed, the promises of 'Arkúb, the reward of Shamán, the palaces of Kosroes, the throwing of Bahrám, the excellence of 'Alí, the mildness of Al-ahnaf, the abstinence of Al-hasan, &c. It is divided into sixty-one chapters, under each of which the proverbial expressions are arranged alphabetically, and according to the class to which they belong:—for instance, Chap. I. contains all those substantive nouns which are used in connexion with the name of God. Chap. II. Those referring to the Prophets. Chap. III. The angels, jinn, devils, &c. Chap. IV. The first centuries of the world after its creation. Chap. V. The Companions and Followers of the Prophet, &c. It may easily be imagined what assistance a work like this may afford to the scholar who has to read without commentaries the works of Arabian orators and poets. I have often had recourse to it in this translation, and have always met with a solution of the difficulties, otherwise insurmountable, with which the present epistle and many other rhetorical pieces in this volume are filled.

The Library of the Brit. Mus. possesses another very useful volume, the composition of the same author. It is a small quarto, written in rather a good hand; were it not that the character, which is slightly approaching to *ta'lik*, and the almost general want of diacritical points, render its reading extremely difficult. Otherwise it is correct, and may be about two hundred years old. The title is *نوادير الحكم و جوامع الكلم* *Nawádiru-l-hikam wa jawámi'u-l-kalam*, (the memorable sayings of the wise and the collections of speech;) it is, as the title sufficiently implies, a collection of apophthegms arranged under four heads:—namely, I. The memorable sayings of Prophets: II. Those of Khalifs and Kings: III. Those of Wizirs and Secretaries: IV. Those of Philosophers, Theologians, Judges, and learned men.

The author of both these works, and of many more equally useful and precious, is Abú-l-mansúr 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ath-tha'álebí An-nísabúrí, who, according to Ibn Khallekán, who has given his life (No. 391, *Tyd. Ind.*), was born in three hundred and fifty of the Hijra (A.D. 961-2), and died in four hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 1037-8).

<sup>23</sup> Abú Ghálib, the rhetorician. Ibn Khallekán (No. 123 in *Tyd. Ind.*) has given the life of this individual, who was a native of Cordova, and whose entire name was Abú Ghálib Temám Ibn Ghálib Ibn 'Omar. He died in Almeria, in A.H. four hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 1044). He has also mentioned the anecdote here related, and says that the work which Abú Ghálib was thus requested to dedicate to Mujáhid was entitled *تلقيح العين* *Talkhu-l-'ayn*, and treated of rhetoric. See a preceding note, p. 310, note 2.

<sup>24</sup> *ان يجعل الكتاب باسمه* says one of the copies; literally, 'that he should put the work in his name,' that he should dedicate it to him, or say that it was written at his desire.

<sup>25</sup> The Bení Hamdán were a powerful family of Arabs, the descendants from Hamdán Ibn Tha'leb. They became, in the fourth century of the Hijra, the masters of great part of Syria and Mesopotamia. Seyfu-d-daulah, one of these princes, who held his court at Aleppo, was a very good poet, and a liberal patron of literature. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Hamadan*; De Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* vol. ii. pp. 104, 119, 144, *et passim*; Al-makin, *apud* Erpen. pp. 223, 225, *et passim*; and Freytag's *Regnum Saaduldaulae in oppido Halebo*, Bonn, 1820.

The allusion which occurs a few lines higher as applied to the Bení 'Abbád, namely, "in them reside "fruit, palm, and pomegranate," is taken from the fifty-fifth chapter of the Korán, called *Ar-rahmah*,

eleven verses from the end, where it says *فيها فاكهة و نخل و رمان* "in both (gardens) are fruits, and palm, and pomegranate."

<sup>26</sup> The name of this *Hájib* (or prime minister) is differently written in the various copies. A. has *سقبوت* B. *سقوت* The word is a Berber one, like *Tálút*, *Tomrúrt*, *Lafút*, and others. I find in *Ibnu Khaldún* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 83), an account of this individual, whose real name was *سكوت* *Sakút*. When young he had been taken in war by the *Baragh'wáttah*, and sold to a man of the name of *Haddád*, who sold him to 'Alí Ibn *Hamúd*, Sultán of Cordova. On the death of his master *Sakút* was liberated; but continued to serve faithfully his son *Yahya*, and to share the fate of the other princes of the *Bení Hamúd*, distinguishing himself in their wars with the Andalusians and Africans. In four hundred and fifty-five, when the Almoravides began to spread their conquests over Africa, *Sakút* was governor of *Ceuta* and *Tangiers* under *Hasan Ibn Yahya Ibn Hamúd*, King of *Malaga*; he valiantly defended the territories intrusted to his care, until he was at last killed in battle by the troops of *Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín* in four hundred and seventy-one. *Sakút* left a son called *Dhiyáu-d-dín*, who succeeded him in his government.

<sup>27</sup> This *Sáleh* was the son of *Taríf*, founder of the dynasty and religious sect of the *Baragh'wáttah*, who reigned about *Támesná*, and the coast of the ocean along *Salé*, *Azamór*, &c., from the beginning of the second to the middle of the fourth century of the *Hijra*. See *Al-bekrí*, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 90,) and the French extracts by *Quatremère* in the *Not. et Ex.* vol. xii. p. 582, *et seq.* *Ibnu Khaldún*, who transcribes almost literally the narrative of *Al-bekrí*, adds many interesting details, and corrects besides many mistakes into which that author fell. Among other things he says as follows:—"Several authors have made great mistakes while treating on the origin of the

*Baragh'wáttah*, some counting them among the *Zenátah*, while others pretend that they draw their genealogy from *Sáleh*, son of *Taríf*, a Jew, who was the son of *Simeon*, son of *Ya'kúb*. This *Taríf*, they say, was born and educated at *Barbátt*; he travelled to the East, where he took lessons from 'Abdullah, the *Motá'zelite*, and learnt magic and other sciences; after which he came to *Maghreb*, and settled at *Támesná*, where he found some Berber tribes in a state of ignorance. These he taught the principles of abstinence, and succeeded in enchanting by the charms of his speech, until they flocked to him from all parts, and became his followers. He then assumed the title of *Prophet*. The same authors add that this *Taríf* was called *Barbáttí*, from the place of his birth, viz. *Barbátt*, a river in the plain of *Xerez*, a city of *Andalus*; and that this patronymic *Barbáttí*, having been accommodated to the genius of the Arabic language, was changed into *Baragh'wáttí*. Such is at least the explanation given of this word by the author of the *Nadhamu-l-jauhar* (the string of jewels), and other writers on the history and genealogy of the Berber tribes, such as *Al-bekrí* and others. But all this is a manifest error, since it is well known that the *Baragh'wáttah* did not belong to the tribe of *Zenátah*, but are a tribe of themselves, having a well-known residence in the neighbourhood of their brethren, the *Masmúdah*, among whom *Sáleh Ibn Taríf* is well known."

I ought to observe that the name of this tribe has been written *Barghawatah* by *Quatremère*, and *Barguati* by *Gräberg*, but there can be no doubt that its real spelling is that given by *Ibnu Khaldún*, since not only the copy of *Al-bekrí* is preserved in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, but the history of *Morocco*, attributed to *Ibn Battúttah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), and the *Karítás*, present the same reading.

The author of the latter work (*Al-karttás*) describes these people in nearly the same words as Al-bekrí and Ibnu Khaldún; but Moura, the translator, has *Barnata* and *Barnati* instead of *Barbat* and *Barbatí*, p. 139.

28 بنتم و بنا فيما ابتلت جوانحنا .: شوقاً اليكم و لاجفت ماء قينا  
حالت لفقديكم ايامنا فعدت .: سواداً و كانت بكم بيضاً لياينا

<sup>29</sup> Al-'abbás Ibnu-l-akháf الإخاف instead of which my MS. reads *Al-akh'af*. But I think neither reading is correct, and that *Ahnaf* ought to be substituted. *Ahnaf* means he who is bow-legged, and is applied to several Arabs who preceded Mohammed. As-sam'ání (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7352, fo. 19) speaks of a poet who flourished before the time of Mohammed, and whose name was Al-'abbás Ibnu-l-ahnaf. Al-júzi, in his *Kitábu-n-nikáb 'ani-l-asmá wa-l-alkáb* (a treatise on Arabic names and surnames, in Dr. Lee's collection), says that Ahnaf was the surname of Adh-dhahhák, son of Kays, and that it was also that of 'Okayl Ibn Mohammed. See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 463.

By having recourse, however, to Ath-tha'álebí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9558, fo. 17, verso), I find not only the names and surnames of this individual, but also the meaning of the proverbial expression here introduced. "Ahnaf, son of Kays, a king of certain districts of Arabia in "the times preceding Islám, was greatly renowned for his amiable disposition, forbearance, and "tenderness of soul. The following expression حلم الإحنف (the meekness of Al-ahnaf) is much "used by poets. Al-jáhedh says it is customary among Arabian poets to speak about حلم لقيان "the tenderness of soul of Lokmán, or that of Lokaym, son of Lokmán; they mention also for the "said purpose Kays Ibn 'A'ssem, and Suwwábah صوابه Ibn Abí Sufyán, and several other men; but we "never saw this expression used so frequently, and with so much propriety, as when applied to Al-ahnaf, "son of Kays, who, notwithstanding that civil war and discord raged through the greatest part of "his dominions, was nevertheless the mildest man that ever lived, so much so that neither noble nor "plebeian, nor woman, nor pious man, nor ancient hero, nor any of the four Khalifs who, owing to their "virtues, were called *Al-murashshidín* (directed), nor any of the great conquerors, nor any man, in fine, "in his time or after his days, will be found to have equalled him in those qualities, &c."

The author, therefore, means ironically that had 'Abbás Ibnu-l-ahnaf been living he might have found in Yúsuf his superior in tenderness of soul, and mildness of disposition, since he could write to a friend in so tender a strain.

<sup>30</sup> All the copies make the name of the son to be Abú-l-walíd, like that of his father; but I believe it to be a mistake of the author. Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd (better known during the middle ages by the name of Averroes) had a son named Abú Mohammed 'Abdallah Ibn Roshd, the same who is here meant.

As Ibn Roshd was a famous physician, besides being an eminent jurisconsult, and theologian, his life has been given at full length by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, p. 146, verso). This life, together with those of other eminent physicians, natives of Spain, the reader will find translated in Appendix A.

<sup>31</sup> Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sa'id Ibn Hazm, commonly called Ibnu Hazm, from the name of one of his ancestors, was of Persian origin, but born at Cordova in three hundred and eighty-four of

the Hijra (A. D. 994). He was the descendant of Ghálib, son of Sáleh, son of Khalf, son of Ma'dán, son of Sufyán, son of Yezíd, a freedman of Abú Sufyán. His ancestor Khalf, who was the first of his family who entered Spain, arrived during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán *Ad-dákkhel*, the first of the Bení Umeyyah, and settled at Cordova. His father, Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Házim, was Wizír to Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and died in four hundred and two, when his son succeeded him in his charge. The life of this writer may be read in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 459), who places his death in Sha'bán, in four hundred and fifty-six (A. D. 1064). He is sometimes designated by the patronymic of الظاهري Adh-dháherí, because he followed the religious opinions of the Dháherites, or disciples of Abú Suleymán Dáúd Ibn 'Alí Ibn Khalf Adh-dháherí Al-isfahání. See Abú-l-faraj, *Hist. Dyn.* p. 171; Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Arab.* pp. 29, 299, as well as Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 261.

<sup>32</sup> دتوني من احراق رق وكاغد .: و قولوا بعلم كي يري الناس من يدري  
فان تحرقوا القرطاس لا تحرقوا الذي .: تضمنه القرطاس بل هو في صدري

The second hemistich of the first verse presents a different reading in the various manuscripts. As it is, its literal translation is as follows:—'Tell me of a science by which those who are ignorant may be 'instructed.' The end of the second verse is different in A. لوحى في صدري but the sense is the same, and the measure is not altered.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sídah سيدة and not Seyrah, as Casiri has it (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 167, c. 2), was a famous grammarian, who flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra. His entire name was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Isma'íl; he was a native of Murcia, where he lived, and died in four hundred and fifty-eight (A. D. 1065-6), at the age of sixty. He wrote a large dictionary of the Arabic language, some volumes of which are preserved in the Library of the Escorial. See *Cat.*, No. 575.

The life of Ibn Sídah occurs in Ibn Khallekán (No. 460, *Tyd. Ind.*). See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mos.* vol. iv. p. 208, and D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or. voc. Seydah.*

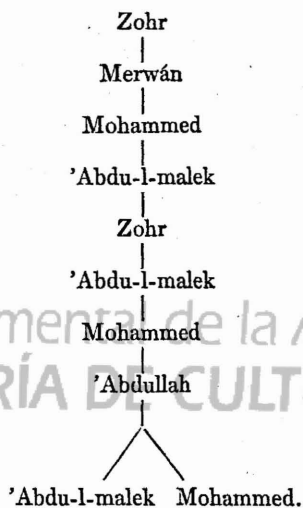
<sup>34</sup> Al-muktadir Ibn Húd succeeded to the throne of his father Al-musta'in Ibn Húd in four hundred and thirty-eight (A. D. 1046-7). He died in four hundred and seventy-four (A. D. 1081-2).

<sup>35</sup> The life of Ibn Tofayl does not occur among those of the Arabian physicians of Spain collected by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, but I find an account of his life and writings in the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattíb. His entire name was Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Tofayl Al-kaysí. He was originally from Guadix, a city in the province of Granada, but resided most of his life in that capital, where he fulfilled the duties of secretary to the governor. He was a great physician and philosopher, and excelled above all in his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy. His death happened at Morocco, in five hundred and eighty-one (A. D. 1185-6). Among his works Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions the epistle of Hayyi Ibn Yokttán, the same that was first published in Arabic and Latin, by Pococke, Oxon. 1671, reprinted in 1700, and then translated into English, with excellent remarks, by Simon Ockley, London, 1708.

According to the author of the *Karttás*, Ibn Tofayl was chief physician at the court of Yúsusf, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the second Sultán of the Almohades. See the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, p. 226, and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 369), who calls him *Ben Tafail*, by mistake. Casiri, in his *Bib.*

*Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, mentions him twice; once (vol. i. p. 203) under the name of *Abu Baker ben Thophail*, and again (*ib.* p. 98) calling him *Abu Bekr Mohamad Ben Abdelmalek Ben Thophil*. All these statements leave no doubt as to Ibn Tofayl's surname being Abú Bekr, and not Abú Ja'far, as Pococke and those who followed him have erroneously stated. The death of this physician has also been advanced ten years by Rossi, *Dizionario Storico*, voc. *Tofail*, p. 188. The Escorial Library possesses a work on philosophy by this writer. See *Cat.*, No. 693.

<sup>36</sup> As there are no less than seven Arabian physicians natives of Spain, and known by their family name of Ibn or Ibnu Zohr (Avenzoar)—and these have frequently been mistaken, owing to the similarity of their names—I think it right to give here such accounts of them as I have been able to gather from the writings of the Arabs. I shall begin by drawing the genealogical tree of the family of Ibn Zohr, as I find it in my copy of Ibnu-l-khattib's history of Granada.



1. Mohammed Ibn Merwán Ibn Zohr الإيادي Al-ayádí Al-ishbílí, surnamed Abú Bekr, was the first of his family who practised medicine; he was the grandson of Zohr, a Jew, converted to the Mohammedan religion. He lived at Seville, but died at Talavera in four hundred and twenty-two (A. D. 1030-1), at the age of eighty-six.

I ought to observe that the name of the head or founder of this family, so illustrious in the republic of letters, ought to be written *Zohr*—not *Zahr*, as Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 132, c. 2) wrote, nor *Zohar*, as D'Herb. (*Bib. Or. voc. Abdalmalek Zohar*)—nor *Zohir*, as Mr. Nicoll has it in his *Bib. Bodl. Cat.* p. 589. Both Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 683), and the author of the *Zohru-r-riyádh* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7349, fo. 232), who point the word, write it thus, زهر; *Zohr*.

2. 'Abdu-l-malek, son of the preceding, and surnamed Abú Merwán, followed his father's profession, but in order to acquire greater proficiency in it he left his native city (Seville), and visited Baghdád, Cairo, and Cairwán, in all which places he practised as a physician, and gained great reputation. On his return to Spain he settled at Denia, then the court of Mujáhid, the Slavonian. According to Ibn Khallekán, 'Abdu-l-malek died in this city, but Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who wrote his life, as well as those of four other eminent physicians, places his death at Seville. Neither biographer, however, gives the year of it; but as Mujáhid, King of Denia, died, according to Adh-dhobi, (Arab. MS. in the Nat.

Lib. Madrid, Gg. 14.) in four hundred and thirty-six of the Hijra (A. D. 1044-5), we may be justified in inferring that 'Abdu-l-malek died towards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra.

3. Zohr, surnamed Abú-l-ála, learnt medicine under his father, and became chief physician and Wizír to Abú 'Amrú 'Abbád Al-mu'atadhed-billah, King of Seville. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 143) says that he died before five hundred and twenty-six; Ibn Khallekán that he died at Cordova in five hundred and twenty-five (A. D. 1130-1), from an abscess between his shoulders.

4. 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed Abú Merwán, was also an eminent physician. He learnt medicine under his father, and entered, when still young, the household of Ibráhím Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, the last of the Almoravide Sultáns, after whose death he passed to the service of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the first of the Almuwáhedún or Almohades who ruled Spain. He was highly distinguished by the latter sovereign, who appointed him his Wizír. See Moura's *Karttás*, p. 226; D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Taiassir, Zohar, &c.*; and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 132, *et passim*. However, both D'Herbelot and Casiri were wrong in supposing that he professed the Jewish religion.

This 'Abdu-l-malek is the author of several medical treatises, held in much esteem during the middle ages, and the most important of which is *تيسير* Teysír, or 'introduction to medicine,' which he dedicated to his master, the Sultán Ibráhím Ibn Yúsuf, and a Latin translation of which, made from an intermediate Hebrew version, has been printed repeatedly, and for the first time at Venice, in 1490, by Joannes and Gregorius de Forlivio.

'Abdu-l-malek died at Seville in five hundred and fifty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 1162). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 132, c. 2; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 179, and Leo Africanus, *De viris illustribus, apud Hottinger, Bibliot. Quadrip.* p. 252.

5. Mohammed, surnamed Abú Bekr, son of the preceding, is generally called by biographers *الحفيد* Al-hafídh (*i. e.* the descendant, or the great grandson), to distinguish him from his great grandfather, who had the same name and surname. Like his ancestors, Mohammed followed the profession of medicine, but he was also a distinguished theologian and an excellent poet, and is justly held by the Arabian biographers as the most eminent individual of this family. His life may be read in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 683), as well as in the *Zohru-r-riyádh*, another biographical dictionary (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7349, fo. 232). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 128, c. 2; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 179; Leo Africanus, *De viris illustribus, apud Hottinger, Bibliot. Quadrip.* p. 252; D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Taiassir, Abdalmalek, Aben Zohar, &c.*

There are various opinions upon the year of Mohammed Ibn Zohr's death. It has been fixed by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 144) in the year five hundred and ninety-six (A. D. 1199-1200). Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 369), and Moura, in his transl. of the *Karttás*, place it in the twenty-first day of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, five hundred and ninety-five (14th Oct. A. D. 1199). Ibn Khallekán, quoting an Andalusian writer, named Ibn Dihyah, says that he died at Morocco in five hundred and ninety-five, at the age of ninety-four; but this must be a mistake, since, if he was born in five hundred and seven (A. D. 1113-4), as is generally admitted, he could not be so old when he died.

Mohammed has been frequently mistaken for his father, 'Abdu-l-malek, by European as well as Eastern biographers, who have attributed to one only the actions and works of the two, so that the celebrated Avenzoar of the middle ages is, as it were, an imaginary personification of the two. In order, then, to throw greater light on this important topic, and afford materials for the literary history of the Spanish Arabs, I have translated elsewhere, from Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (see App. A. at the end of the vol.), the lives of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, and his son, Mohammed Ibn Zohr.

6. 'Abdullah, surnamed Abú Mohammed, and *Ibnu-l-hafídh* also, to distinguish him from the other members of his family, was the sixth eminent physician of the Zohr family. His life occurs in Ibn Abí

Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 146), as well as in the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattib. The former writer, who places the birth of 'Abdullah at Seville in five hundred and seventy-seven (A. D. 1181-2), says that he died from the effects of poison at Salé, in Africa, in the year six hundred and two of the Hijra (A. D. 1205-6), at the age of twenty-five.

7. 'Abdullah left two sons; one was named Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek, the other Abú-l-'ala Moham-med. Both practised medicine. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 146, *verso*) mentions them both; but the former and elder, 'Abdu-l-malek, seems to have distinguished himself the most, since I find his life in Ibnu-l-khattib (Arab. MS. in my possession), as well as in Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13). He appears to have gained great reputation for his writings, as well as in his art. He inhabited Seville and Granada, but the year of his death is nowhere mentioned.

<sup>37</sup> *المتين* *Al-matin* (that is, 'the solid,') is the title of Ibnu Hayyán's large historical work. All the manuscript copies of Háji Khalfah that I have consulted read *المبين* *Al-mubeyn*, by mistake. See a preceding note, p. 310.

<sup>38</sup> Abú 'Amer ('Omar or 'Amru) Ahmed, son of Mohammed, and surnamed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi (the servant of his Lord), was born in Cordova in Ramadhán, two hundred and forty-six (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 860). Both Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 45) and Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 411) place his death in the year three hundred and twenty-eight (A. D. 939-40), but Háji Khalfah, (voc. '*ikd*'), no doubt by mistake, refers it to the year three hundred and sixty-five. Casiri, who calls him *Abdrabboh* (see *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 157, and vol. ii. p. 134), and Conde, (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 425,) confirm the former statement.

The work here alluded to is thus described by Háji Khalfah. "*Al-'ikd* (the necklace) is the title of a work by Abú 'Amru Ahmed Ibn Mohammed, known by the surname of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi, a native of Cordova, who died in three hundred and sixty-five (read 328). The author says in his preface that the reason why he entitled his work *Al-'ikd* (the necklace) was its containing many of the inestimable jewels of speech, forming, as it were, a string. The work is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is subdivided into two, thus making in all fifty books, to each of which he gave the name of one of the jewels composing a necklace; for instance, the first part he called *اللؤلؤ* *Al-lúlu* (great pearl), &c.

"After Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi's death, his work was abridged by Abú Is'hák Ibráhím Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-kaysi, of Guadix, who died in five hundred and seventy (A. D. 1174-5), as well as by Jemálu-d-dín Abú-l-fadhl Mohammed Ibn Mukarram Al-khazrají, who died in seven hundred and eleven (A. D. 1311-2), and who is well known besides as the author of a very elaborate composition, entitled "*Lisánu-l-'arab* (the language of the Arabs)."

The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses many volumes of this excellent work, which I shall describe briefly. It is a sort of Cyclopædia, containing various treatises upon history, genealogy, the science of government, eloquence, justice, liberality, courage, magnanimity, women and their good qualities, military science, weapons, horses, stratagems, hostages, encampments, &c. The work is divided into twenty-five books, each of which has two chapters, thus making in all fifty. Each of the books is named after one of the twenty-five pearls composing a necklace, for in Arabic either every one of them has its particular name, or the author chose to give it, which is more probable; for instance, the centre one he called *الواسطة* *Al-wásitah*, the next to the right *اللؤلؤ* *Al-lúlu*, that to the left *الفريدة* *Al-farídah*, the next in order to the right *الزبرجدة* *Az-zabarjadah*, the corresponding one on the other side *الجمانة* *Al-jumánah*, &c., all words which mean a pearl. The fifteenth book, entitled *كتاب العسجة في الخلفاء وابائهم و تواريخهم* (*the book of the pearl called 'Osjadah on the history and*