

*chronology of the Khalifs*), is perhaps the most interesting of all, as it contains much useful information upon the history of the Arabs both in the East and West. The second chapter, especially, which is exclusively consecrated to the history of Spain, although rather concise, is in my opinion invaluable. I shall have occasion to quote from it in the course of these notes.

The MSS. in the Bodleian containing parts of this work, which in its original state could not be composed of much less than ten folio volumes, are *Laud.* 292, *Marsh.* 59, 320, and 321. Many of these copies, however, being only repetitions of the same volume, the work is incomplete.

The life of Abú 'Amer Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi may be read in the *Mattmahu-l-anfus*, by Al-fat'h, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 142, *verso*), as well as in the *Jadhwa-l-muktabis*, by Al-homaydí, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., *Hunt.* No. 464, fo. 43.) The last-mentioned writer states that he saw in Cordova a copy of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabihi's work divided into twenty books, and written by the author himself for the use of the Amír, Al-hakem, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. This agrees very well with what Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 425) says, no doubt borrowed from the same source; but how to reconcile the titles of the above books with those given by the Spanish translator I am at a loss to determine, being as follow: 'the sky, the stars, the first dawn of day, day, night, the bower, the cloud, love, repentance, the gazelle, &c.'!

<sup>39</sup> Abú Nasr Al-fat'h Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Obeyd-illah Ibn Khákán Al-kaysí is well known as the author of a work entitled *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán fi maháseni-l-a'yán* (gold chains in the laudable actions of the illustrious), being a biography of Spanish poets who were his contemporaries, with extracts from their poems. The work is divided into four parts; the first comprising the Kings, the second the Wizírs, the third the Kádís and theologians, and the fourth the poets not belonging to either of the above classes. Ibn Khákán wrote another work, entitled مطبخ النفس و مسبح الناس في ملح أهل الأندلس *Mattmahu-l-anfus wa masrahu-t-tánnus fi milhi ahli-l-andalusi*, 'spot of recreation of the eyes and the field for familiarity on the witty sayings of the people of Andalus.' These two works in themselves have little or no historical value, being mostly extracts from the works of eminent poets who were his contemporaries, preceded by short biographical accounts of their authors. Even these are almost entirely destitute of such data as might throw light on the history of the times. The birth-place, profession, and age of the poet, are often omitted, and the generality of the articles contain nothing but the most immoderate praises of the authors to whom they were consecrated. As literary productions, however, the works are considered by the best Arabian critics to possess undeniable merit. They are written throughout in rhymed prose, strewn with metaphorical expressions, which make their perusal a matter of great labour and difficulty. As it is, they may be of great assistance to those who wish to gain a knowledge of the state of Arabian literature in Spain during the fifth century of the Hijra; although, if we are to believe the historian As-sadfi, the merits of Ibn Khákán as a writer and a critic must be greatly reduced by the fact that his praises or his criticisms were often influenced by low motives: indeed, the above-mentioned historian, who wrote Ibn Khákán's life in his *Al-wáfi fi-l-wafiyát* (Arab. MS. in my possession), represents him as a man of immense talents and undisputed merit as a poet and a grammarian, but of dissipated life and low morals. He says that "when he had fixed upon the composition of the *Kaláyid*, he wrote to all the eminent poets, distinguished authors, and great men of his time, announcing to them his intention of writing a book, and begging them to send him some of their compositions; that all complied with his request, fearing his bad disposition, and sent along with them a present in money; by which means they ensured his praises. All those who did not openly bribe him he treated in the most severe manner."

Copies of the first of these two works are to be met with in almost every public library of any note in Europe. See *Bib. Reg. Paris. Catal.*, No. 734; *Bib. Bodl. Cat.* by Uri and Nicoll, No. 706; *Bib. Lugd. Bat.*, No. 1450; *Bib. Esc.*, No. 436. A splendid copy, beautifully executed in a clear, large Eastern hand, having the titles written in gold upon blue ground, and formerly in the possession of Sale, the translator of the Korán, is now preserved in the Radcliffe Lib. at Oxford, K. 2-24. It was transcribed A. H. seven hundred and twenty-seven (A. D. 1327), by Mohammed Ibn Sálík. The Library of the British Museum possesses likewise a copy of this excellent work, in fo. (No. 9599), bound together with a commentary on the *Makssúrah* of Ibn Házem. It is fairly executed in the Maghrebí character, and bears the date of Saturday, the sixth of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. one thousand one hundred and twenty-three (answering to the month of Feb. 1711). The name of the copyist is Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn Mohammed Al-warashán Al-makúdí, an inhabitant of Fez. There are two more MSS. in the Brit. Mus., bearing also the title of *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, one No. 7525 in quarto, the other No. 9580 in octavo; but although both are the work of Al-fat'h, their contents are quite different, as I have already remarked. (See Preface). The copy of this work which I have used in my quotations is one in my possession, written in the Maghrebí or Western hand, about the middle of the sixteenth century of our era. See *ibid.*

The life of Ibn Khákán occurs in most Arabian biographers of note; it is to be found in Ibn Khal-lekán (No. 536, *Tyd. Ind.*), in the *Zohru-r-riyádh*, in *As-sadfi*, and Abú-l-mahásen, Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 485, and Abú-l-faraj. See also Jones, *De Poes. Asiat.* p. 429. The first-mentioned writer makes him a native of Seville, but does not give the year of his birth.

Al-fat'h was put to death in Morocco at the beginning of five hundred and twenty-nine (Oct. A. D. 1134), or according to others in five hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1147-8), by order of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Táshfin, second Sultán of the Almoravides, to whose brother, Abú Is'hak Ibráhim, he had dedicated his *Kaláyid*.

<sup>40</sup> Instead of Khassál, I found, when it was too late, that the name of that poet was to be written thus, *Khissál*. He was a famous grammarian and rhetorician, who flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra. His entire name was Dhú-l-wizaráteyn Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí-l-khissál Al-gháfekí Ash-shektírí Al-jayyéní (of Jaen), so called because he was originally from Segura, a town in the neighbourhood, and belonged to the tribe of Gháfek. He left many works on various topics, some of which are preserved in the Library of the Escorial.

Treating on this author, Casiri made two great mistakes. He says (see vol. ii. p. 163 of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*) "*Eum originem traxisse a loco nomine بشقورة Vescara dicitur;*" (that he was originally from a place called Vescara.) I need not observe that there never was such a place in Spain; but Casiri thought that the letter ب formed part of the word, whereas it is a preposition annexed to the word شقورة *Shekúrah*, the town of his birth. He says also (see *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 335) that Ibn Abí-l-khissál flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra. This is an evident mistake: the historian Al-fat'h, who gave the life of that author in his *Al-kaláyid* (Ar. MS. in my possession), says that he was Wizír to one of the Almoravide Sultáns of Spain, and that he knew him in five hundred and fifteen of the Hijra (A. D. 1121-2). I further learn from Al-kodha'í (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14) that Ibn Abí-l-khissál died in Cordova in five hundred and forty of the Hijra (A. D. 1114-5), a statement which I find also confirmed by Ibnu-l-abbár in his biographical dictionary of illustrious men (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12).

The work here mentioned as being the composition of Ibn Abí-l-khissál—the *Tarsílah*—does not occur in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Index. There are in the Library of the British

Museum (see No. 9692) two short treatises by this writer; one, entitled ظل الغمامة و طوق الامامة (the shadow of the cloud and the power of precedence on the excellences of the companions), is a short biography of the companions of the Prophet. The other is a poem entitled معراج المناقب ومنهاج الثاقب للحسب في نسب رسول الله (the ladders of ascension and open path-ways to the knowledge of the genealogy of the Prophet). Both are in the Esc. Lib., Nos. 404 and 1787.

<sup>41</sup> The life of this poet occurs in Ibnu-l-khattib. His entire name was Abú-l-hasan Sahl Ibn Moham-med Ibn Málik. He was born at Granada in five hundred and fifty-nine (A.D. 1163-4), and distinguished himself by his verses. He died in that city in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah, six hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 1241). Abú-l-hasan exercised for some time the duties of preacher at the principal mosque of Granada, and made himself famous by his eloquent sermons.

<sup>42</sup> سبيدع يهب الالف مبتديا .: و بعد ذلك يلقي وهو يعتذر  
له يد كل جبار يقابله .: لو لانداه لقلنا انها الحجر

<sup>43</sup> Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Ammár المهري Al-mahri *Ash-shilbi* (of Silves) was, as his title *Dhú-l-wizaráteyn* sufficiently implies, the prime minister of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville. He at first served his master faithfully and commanded his armies in several expeditions, taking Silves from Mohammed Ibn Sa'id, and fighting successfully against the Christians. Having afterwards lost the favour of his monarch, Ibn 'Ammár fled the court and betook himself to Silves, where he revolted, and assumed the title of king. He however subsequently fell into the hands of Al-mu'atamed, by whose orders he was taken to Seville and beheaded in four hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 1084). The life of Ibn 'Ammár occurs in Ibn Khallekán (No. 680, *Tyd. Ind.*); in the *Kaláyidu-l-ikiyán*, by Al-fat'h; and in the *Mattmahu-l-anfus*, by the same (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 101). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 44, *et seq.*, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 34, 40, 50, 71, *et passim*, who calls him *Muhamad Aben Omar Ben Husein*, and places his death in four hundred and seventy-nine, no doubt by mistake.

<sup>44</sup> اثمرت رمحك من رموس ملوكهم .: لها رايت الغصن يعشق مثمراً  
و صبغت درعك من دماء كياتهم .: لها رايت الحسن يلبس احمرأ

<sup>45</sup> The life of Abú-l-walíd Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Zeydún Al-makhzúmi occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 56). The reader may also consult the learned memoir by M. Weyers, where the life of that celebrated poet is given, translated from the *Kaláyid* of Ibn Khákán, together with copious extracts from his poetical compositions. See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or. voc. Zeidoun*; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 103, 106, *et passim*; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 611. Al-fat'h, in his *Mattmahu-l-anfus* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 92, *verso, et seq.*), has also given the life of Ibn Zeydún, with numerous quotations from his poems. The most celebrated of Ibn Zeydún's poetical compositions is

a *risáleh* or epistle which he addressed to Waládah, daughter of the Sultán Al-mustakfí-billah Mohammed, who ascended the throne of Cordova in four hundred and fourteen (A.D. 1023). It was translated into Latin by Reiske, and printed, Lipsiæ, 1755, 4to., under this title, *Abi-l-walidi Ibn Zeiduni Epistola*; it has since been reprinted by Hirtius in his *Institutiones Linguae Arabicæ*, Jenæ, 1770, in 8vo.

46 كاننا لم نبت والوصل ثالثنا .: والسعد قد غض من اجفان واشينا  
سران في خاطر الظلماء يكتينا .: حتي يكاد لسان الصبح يفشينا

Instead of *واشينا* in the second hemistich of the first verse, my copy reads *وانا* which materially alters the meaning, thus, 'sleep fled from our wearied eyelids.'

47 الم تعلبي ان النواهر التوي .: وان موت العاجزين قبور  
وان خطرات الهالك ضمن .: لراكبها ان الجزاء خطير

48 Abú 'Omar Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Darráj Al-kasttalí (from Cazalla, a town at thirty miles from Cordova,) was one of the poets of the court of Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr. He was born, according to Ibn Khallekán (No. 55, *Tyd. Ind.*), in the month of Moharram, three hundred and forty-seven (Feb. or March, A. D. 958), and died in Jumádí II., four hundred and twenty-one (June or July, A. D. 1030). Al-homaydí, in his *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, (Arab. MS. in the Bod. Lib., *Hunt.* 464, fo. 49, *verso*.) places his death a year sooner, "close upon four hundred and twenty."

By referring to Ath-tha'álebí, in his *Yatímatu-d-dahri*, 'incomparable pearl of the times,' (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9578,) I find that he actually compares him to Al-mutennabí for the sweetness and cadence of his verses. See also Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 522.

49 Abú-l-mansúr 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Mohammed Ibn Isma'il Ath-tha'álebí An-nisabúrí left several works upon the lives of the Arabian poets and their writings; of which the principal is his *Al-yatímatu-d-dahri fí maháseni ahli-l-'asri*, 'the unique pearl of the age on the brilliant qualities of the people of this century,' copies of which are to be found in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus. (see No. 9578); in the Escorial Lib., Nos. 348-9; Bib. Lugd. Bat., Nos. 1691-92; Bib. Bodl., No. 805, and in most public libraries in Europe. The British Museum possesses besides two excellent works by this author which I have described elsewhere, (see Note 22, p. 331;) another, being a collection of apophthegms, has been lately translated and published (Vienna, 1829,) by Prof. Fluegel, who has given in a learned preface a list of the numerous works written by Ath-tha'álebí.

50 اصبحت شمساً و فوه مغرباً .: ويد الساقى الحى مشرقاً  
واذا ما غربت في فيه .: تركت في الخد منه شفقا

The name of this poet is entirely unknown to me.

- 51 و اغيد طاف بالكوس ضحي .: و حثها و الصباح قد وضحا  
 و الروض اهدي لنا شقايقه .: و اسه العنبري قد نفحا  
 قلنا و اين الاقح قال لنا .: ودعته ثغر من سقي القدحا  
 فظل ساقى المدام يججد ما .: قال فلما تبسم افتضحا
- 52 ادير علي هذا الروض المندا .: و حكم الصبح في الظلباء ماض  
 و كاس الراح تنظر عن حباب .: ينوب لنا عن الحدق البراض  
 و ما غربت نجوم الافق لكن .: نقلن من السماء الي الرياض
- 53 و رياض من الشقايق اضحت .: يتهادي بها نسيم الرياح  
 زرتها و الغمام يجلد منها .: زهرات تروق لون السراح  
 قلت ما ذنبها فقال مجيباً .: سرقت حمرة الحدود الملاح

<sup>54</sup> Yahya Ibn Yahya. There are various Spanish Arabs of this name. One is Yahya Ibn Yahya, of Cordova, surnamed *Ibnu-s-semínah* (the son of the fat woman), who travelled through the East, and returned to Cordova, where he died in three hundred and twenty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 936-7). He was a traditionist and a theologian, as well as a clever physician, according to Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who counts him among the Spaniards who followed that profession. (See *loco laudato*, p. 134). Another is Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibn Kásim, whom Casiri (*Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 454) asserts to have flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra. But I believe that the doctor here mentioned is no other than Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, a famous theologian, native of Cordova, who travelled to the East, where he remained long, profiting by the lessons of Málík Ibn Ans, whose religious opinions he chiefly contributed to establish on his return to his native land in two hundred and twelve (A.D. 827-8). See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 268.

<sup>55</sup> 'Abdu-l-málík Ibn Habíb is, no doubt, the same theologian already mentioned in Ash-shakandí's epistle, p. 37, and whose life Casiri has given at p. 138, vol. ii. of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, as translated from Adh-dhobí. Al-makkarí speaks of him in Book v. Part i. fo. 96, verso, where he gives the lives of the Andalusians who visited the East. In the number is that of 'Abdu-l-málík, who went to Mekka, where he remained a considerable time, profiting by the lessons of Málík Ibn Ans, and then returned to his native land, where he is said to have written no less than one thousand different works upon various topics, and to have been most instrumental in substituting the rite of his master for that of Al-aúz'á'ei, which was formerly practised. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 268). Ibn Habíb died at Cordova in two hundred and thirty-eight (A. D. 853).

'Abdu-l-málík was known by the surname of Abú Merwán and the patronymic As-solamí, because he belonged to the tribe of Solaym. Another Arab having the same name and surname, as well as the same patronymic, occurs in Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 107. He is said to have been a

native of *Huete*, a town in the neighbourhood of Granada, and to have died at Cordova in two hundred and eighty-nine (A. D. 901-2). But I am strongly inclined to believe that this is a mistake of Casiri, who, by reading incorrectly the date of Ibn Habíb's death, made two individuals of only one.

A volume, containing a history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, and some legal tracts, more or less connected with that subject, by 'Abdu-l-málík Ibn Habíb, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, No. cxxvii. (See Nicoll's Catalogue, fo. 119). I shall have occasion to refer to it in the course of these notes.

<sup>56</sup> The entire name of this poet is Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn *سارة* Sáraḥ or Sáraḥ Al-bekrí Ash-shantareyní (of Santarem). His life occurs in Ibn Khallékán (No. 353 in *Tyd. Ind.*), in the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán* by Al-fat'h, and in the *Mattmahu-l-anfus* by the same writer, fo. 185. Casiri, (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 105,) in transcribing the index of the poets whose lives are contained in Al-fat'h's work, wrote his name thus *ابن سارة* and made him a native of Valencia instead of Santarem. As I have not had it in my power to collate the original passage, I cannot tell whether Casiri committed a mistake or not, but I have no doubt that the copy he consulted read *ابن سارة* with a *س* for I find the name of this poet differently written in various MSS. My copy of the *Kaláyid* reads *ابن سارة* Ibn Sáraḥ; that of the Brit. Mus. (No. 7525, fo. 71, *verso*) *ابن صابرة* Ibn Sábiraḥ; the *Mattmah*, (*ib.* No. 9580, fo. 186,) *ابن سارة* I have followed the reading as above, not only as being the most probable, but because it is confirmed by Ibn Khallékán (see *ib.*), by Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), and by my MS. of Ibnu-l-khattáb, although I believe that *سارة* or *سارة* Sáraḥ, which was the name of this poet's mother, may be written both ways. Ibn Sáraḥ died in five hundred and nineteen (A. D. 1125-6).

<sup>57</sup> B. says that the infantry and cavalry together amounted to six hundred thousand.

<sup>58</sup> *الي ان يمشي فيها لضوء السراج المتصلة عشرة اميال* which leaves no doubt as to its meaning.

<sup>59</sup> *Canbániyyah*, from *campania* or *campiña*, a word used by the Spaniards to designate any extensive cultivated plain.

<sup>60</sup> Ambrosio Morales, in his *Antig. de España*, Alcalá de Henares, 1575, fo. 70, says that there was in his days a pass in the mountains close to Cordova, called *la senda del rosál* (the path of the rose-tree), owing to the innumerable rose-trees with which the sides of the mountain were planted.

A *roba'* (in Spanish *arroba*) is equivalent to five-and-twenty pounds weight. *Roba'*, in Arabic *ربع* means the fourth part of any thing, and, as applied to weight, the fourth of a *kintar* (in Spanish *quintal*), which is a hundred weight.

<sup>61</sup> This Abú Yahya must have held the government of Cordova only for a short time, since, according to the *Kartús* (see the Portug. transl. by Moura, p. 237), and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 391), he was put to death in five hundred and eighty-two (A. D. 1186) by his brother's orders.

<sup>62</sup> The expression which I have translated, perhaps rather freely, by 'the scalded cat dreads the fire,' is لا يلدغ المؤمن من حجر مرتين (the admonished does not bite twice of the same stone).

<sup>63</sup> At-tifáshí, a patronymic derived from a city called تيفاش Tifásh, in Africa proper, and placed at one day's march from Temedint, on the road from Cairwán to the castle of Abú Tawíl. Yákút, in his Geog. Dict. (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 928), as well as Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 48, verso, calls it تيفاش الظلمة *Tifáshu-dh-dhámah*, which M. de Quatremère (*Not. et Ext.* vol. xii. p. 506) has translated by *Tifasch l'injuste*, but which I think might be rendered as well and more properly by 'Tifásh, that of the darkness.'

<sup>64</sup> Ezija, or rather *Estejah*, from Astigi. The change of *st* into *z* is frequent in Spanish; so from *Basta*, *Castulo*, *Sarakosta*, *Castalla*, were made *Baza*, *Cazlona*, *Zaragoza*, *Cazalla*.

<sup>65</sup> بلكونا *Bolkúna*, which, pronounced as the Spanish Arabs did, will give *Bulkone*, is a corruption of *Obulco* or *Obulcone*, ὁ Βούλων of Strabo, the *Municipium Pontificense* of Pliny, now Porcuna, a city in the province of Cordova.

<sup>66</sup> غافق *Gháfek* was a castle in the jurisdiction of Cordova; it owed its foundation to the tribe of Gháfek, who built also in Africa a town of the same name. See Al-bekrí (*Memálek wa-l-mesálek*, fo. 34). There is at present no town of this name in Spain, but I find in Idrísí, Yákút, and other geographers, that there once stood on the road from Cordova to Calatrava a large castle called *Hisn Gháfek*. The distances given by the former writer are as follow: from Cordova, in a northern direction, to Arles eleven miles; to Dár Al-bakar six; to Petroches forty; to Gháfek seven; to Jebal-'A'mir thirty. Gháfek must therefore have stood seven miles north from the present village of los Pedroches.

<sup>67</sup> الدور that is, *Hisnu-l-mudawar* (the round castle), now Almodovar del Rio, fifteen miles from Cordova, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir.

<sup>68</sup> Estepa is written thus, اصطبة *Astabah*, which was its ancient name; Baena بيانة *Bayénah*; Lucena لسانة *Lusénah*, which I also find written sometimes thus, الياسنة *Al-yásénah*. Casiri always read incorrectly the name of this city, which he at times wrote *Eliosana*, and at others *Al-basana*, telling us, however, that both were the names for Lucena among the Spanish Arabs! (*Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 95, 126, *et passim.*) Its Roman name was evidently *Lucania*, from *Lucus*, owing to the extensive forests in the neighbourhood. القصير *Al-kosseyr* (the small castle), is a diminutive from *Al-kassr* (in Spanish *Alcazar*), 'a castle.' It may be either the present town of Alcozer, fourteen miles south of Cordova, or the village of Alcazarejos in the same neighbourhood.

<sup>69</sup> أغرناطة *A'gharnáttah* is for *Gharnáttah*, since it is not an uncommon thing for the Arabs to add a *hamza* before the first letter of foreign words, especially when these begin with a harsh letter; for instance, from *Kpêres* they made *Akritis*, from *Κλίμα* *Iklím*, from Græcus *Aghríki*, from *Γλυκὸν* *Iglíki*, &c.

Much obscurity prevails as to the etymology of the word Granada. Casiri, in his translation of

Ibnu-l-khattib (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 247), calls it a Phœnician colony, *Peregrinorum Colonia*, and says that such is the meaning of the word *Gharnáttah*. But the Arabian historian translated by him says no such thing; Casiri misunderstood his words, which are *غرناطة اسم أعجمي مدينة كورة البيرة و تسمي شام الاندلس* that is, 'Gharnáttah is the foreign or barbarous name for the capital of the province or district of Elvira, which was also called (by the Arabs) *Shámu-l-andalus*,' the 'Damascus of Andalus.'

The supposition that the city of Granada owes its name to the resemblance it bears to a ripe pomegranate (*granatum*), either in shape to the open halves of the fruit, or in the multitude of its houses lying close together like the seeds of that fruit, is scarcely admissible; for, supposing the comparison to be a just one as applied to that city in the times of its greatest splendour, it could by no means be so when speaking of a small town or castle, such as Granada is represented by all the Arabian writers before the fifth century of the Hijra. Nor is the conjecture given out by the antiquarian Pedraza (*Hist. Ecclesiastica de Granada*, Gran. 1638, fo. 21, *et seq.*) entitled to more credit, namely, that the city was so called from its being the spot where that fruit was first introduced from Africa; for I find in Ibnu-l-awam (see the Spanish translation by Banqueri, Mad. 1802, vol. i. fo. 273) that the pomegranate was originally brought from Syria to Spain during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., who had it planted first in his gardens at Cordova (towards A. H. 160), and then distributed the seed all over Spain, and long before that time the above-mentioned city bore the same name as at present. The fact of the author himself stating that the word *A'gharnáttah* meant a pomegranate in the language of the Christians cannot, for several reasons, be considered as adding any weight to the opinion that the city of Granada received the name of the pomegranate either from its founders, whoever they may be, or from the Africans under Habús, when that sovereign transferred to it the seat of his government: firstly, because, as I shall show hereafter, the ancient name for that city was not *A'gharnáttah*, nor *Gharnáttah*, but *كرناطة Karnáttah*; secondly, because it is evident that Al-makkari had no other authority for his statement than the words of some obscure writer, who caught at the resemblance between the two words—a thing, unluckily, of too frequent occurrence among his countrymen; and lastly, because, had any of the reasons above stated influenced the African settlers in choosing a name for their city, they would certainly have called it *رومن Roman*, (the name of the pomegranate in Arabic,) and by no means *A'gharnáttah*, from *granatum*. The same might be said of more ancient settlers.

Others incline to the belief that *Karnáttah* or *Gharnáttah* is a Phœnician word. Conde, in his notes to the description of Spain by the geographer Idrísí, (Mad. 1799, p. 188,) thought it a compound of two Phœnician words, *Ghár* and *náttah*, meaning 'the cave of the mountain,' and the same opinion is entertained by Aldrete (*Antig. de España y Africa*, Amberes, 1614, p. 85) and other estimable antiquarians. Marineo Siculo (*De las cosas memorables de España*, fo. Alcalá, 1530, p. 150), and Echevarria (*Paseos por Granada*, p. 17) go still further, since they assert, without the least authority, that those words mean 'the cave of *Náttah*,' from the name of a Goddess so called, whom the inhabitants used to worship in a subterranean temple.

Having disposed of my objections as to the origin assigned to its name, I shall now proceed to contradict the opinion of Marmol, and his followers Pedraza and Echevarria, who pretend that Granada was a foundation of the Arabs.

That a town called *كرناطة Karnáttah* existed before the Saracen invasion on the site now occupied by Granada cannot be doubted, for we are told by the Arabian writers that, before undertaking the conquest of Toledo, Tárik dispatched one of his lieutenants with a division of his army towards Malaga, Illiberis

(Elvira), and *Karnáttah*, which were speedily subdued. Ar-rázi, who wrote in the ninth century, in describing the territory round Elvira, says, "And in this district is the town of *Karnáttah*, called also "the city of the Jews, because peopled by them, and *Karnáttah* is the oldest town in all the district of "Elvira." Ibnu-l-khattib, the celebrated Wizir and historian, who treated with so much learning on the antiquities of his native city, joins in the opinion entertained by Ar-rázi. That this *Karnáttah* was a very inconsiderable town in the times that preceded the invasion is, on the other hand, to be inferred from the fact that its name is nowhere mentioned, either by the Roman geographers, or in the national councils of the Goths. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that a small town, called '*Karnáttah*,' stood not far from Elvira (Illiberis) previous to the Saracen invasion. See the Spanish translation of Rasis; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 251; Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. pp. 37, 51; and Marmol, *Reb. de los Moriscos*, fo. 5, 6, et seq.

As to its being a Phœnician colony, it seems probable enough. From time immemorial that enterprising nation had made settlements on the southern coast of Spain, and the names of Cartama, Carteia, Karchedone (Archidona), Cartajima, Cartaojan, and others, beginning (like *Karnáttah*) with *Kar* or *Karta*, כרתה meaning a city in the Phœnician language, give plausibility to the conjecture. Besides, I have already stated that the name of that town is invariably written by ancient authors thus, كرناطة *Karnáttah*, and I may add to this that a city of the same name is placed by Idrisi (see the French transl., vol. i. pp. 202, 226, et passim), Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 86-104, et passim, and Al-bekri, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, p. 85, verso,) in that part of Africa which faces the coast of Granada. Whether the word *Karnáttah* means the cave of the mountain or not I am unable to determine, as I am not of the number of those who believe that Phœnician words may be invariably interpreted by means of the Hebrew language; but think, on the contrary, that without a deep knowledge of the native dialects of Africa all etymological researches in that quarter must necessarily fail.

I ought to observe that Al-makkari being a mere compiler, and professing only to transcribe the narrative of historians of various ages and countries, it occurs frequently that the name of a town is spelt in three or four different ways in the same page. It is therefore not uncommon to find the name of this city written *Karnáttah*, *Karanáttah*, *Gharanáttah*, *Agharnáttah*, *Aghranáttah*, in the course of two or three pages. In such cases I have made it a point to preserve as much as possible the orthography of the different authors, lest, by attempting uniformity, I should destroy the historical evidence.

<sup>70</sup> غرناطة ما لها نظير                    : ما مصر ما الشام وما العراق  
ما هي الا العروس تجلي               : و تلك من جملة الصداق

From the word عرس *'aras*, which, in Arabic, means a wedding, the Spaniards have made *arras*, viz., thirteen pieces of money which the bridegroom gives to the bride, as a pledge, in the act of marriage.

The word الصداق *as-sidák*, which in the books of the Moriscos is written *acidaque*, means the dowry or sum of money assigned by a husband to his wife for her maintenance after his death, or in case of divorce. According to the ancient laws of Spain, which in this particular agreed with the Mohammedan code, the dowry granted to the wife could never exceed the tenth part of the husband's fortune.

<sup>71</sup> شنييل *Shenil*, which in older writers is written thus, شنييل *Shinwil*, is the *Singilis* of the Romans; without plunging, as some authors have done, into an ocean of conjecture, and supposing that it means

*el Río de San Gil*, the river of St. Giles. (See Pedraza, *Hist. Eccles. de Granada*, fo. 32, verso, and *Antig. de Granada*, fo. 11, verso.) Its present name is Xenil; it takes its rise amidst the snow hills of the Sierra Nevada, in the ravine called "*Barranco del infierno*;" it then descends to Guejar in the Vega of Granada, which, after receiving several small tributaries, it leaves at Loxa, and proceeds to the walls of Ezija, to mix its waters with those of the Guadalquivir near Palma.

As the western Arabs dispose their alphabet in a different order to that of the Orientals, so does the numerical value of their letters vary. Otherwise, the letter *shin* would mean three hundred. Miguel de Luna, the converted Moor, interpreter of Philip II., who in 1592 published a pretended translation of a history of Spain under the Arabs, must have had a vague notion of this, for he tells us (p. 310, ed. of Valencia, 1646,) that his countrymen called the Singilis *Saanil*, which in their language meant 'a second Nile, or an imitation of the Nile.'

<sup>72</sup> The Roman name for Darro, one of the rivers of Granada, was *Salon*. It was still called so in the tenth century, since the Spanish translation of Ar-rázi gives it no other name. In later times, however, it received that of Darro, which has been supposed to mean giving gold, quasi '*dat aurum*,' owing to the gold which has for ages been found in its sands. The etymology may not be true; it is at least ingenious. According to Pedraza, the city of Granada, in 1520, presented the Emperor Charles V. with a crown made entirely of the gold collected in this river. (Pedraza, *Antig. de Granada*, p. 33; Lucio Marineo Siculo, *Descrip. de Granada*.) I find the name of this river written thus  $\text{س, ا, د, ر}$  in Ibnu-l-khattib, and  $\text{س, ا, د, ر}$  *Hadároh* in more ancient writers, like Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát. (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., *Marsh*. No. 433.) Might not the word *Hadároh*, from  $\text{س, ا, د, ر}$  *Hadár*, which means 'the rapidity with which a swollen river comes down from the mountains,' be the origin of the word Darro?

<sup>73</sup> The travels of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-lawátí At-tanjí, known by the surname of Ibn Battúttah, have already been made known to the public by the extracts published in 1818 by Messrs. Apetz and Kosegarthen, and by the English translation of the epitome made by Professor Lee, of Cambridge, in 1829, and published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund. This would have rendered any further notice of this famous traveller or his writings superfluous, had I not a few years ago, and since the publication of the said translation, procured from Fez an ancient and beautifully written copy of the original travels, which I have almost entirely translated, and think of committing to the press.

It has long been thought, owing to a mistake of Mr. Burckhardt (see *Travels in Nubia*, p. 534), that Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí had written an epitome of the travels of Ibn Battúttah, which epitome had been further abridged by an author named Mohammed Ibn Fat'h-allah Al-baylúní: at least such is the opinion entertained by the learned translator of his travels. (See *The Travels of Ibn Batúta*, London, 1829, Pref. p. x.) The last mentioned work being in reality an abridgement of a book written by Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, who himself was a distinct man from the traveller, it was naturally supposed that Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí was only the epitomiser of the narrative of the traveller himself. But as this was nowhere to be found, and the supposed epitome itself was a book of the greatest rarity, the error was necessarily persevered in until we should find a copy of Ibn Jazzí's work. I now possess a very handsome copy of this MS., executed A. H. one thousand one hundred and thirty-nine (A. D. 1726-7). It is a large folio volume of about seven hundred closely-written pages, and contains twice as much matter as the epitome translated by Professor Lee, of Cambridge. The work is a narrative of the travels of Ibn Battúttah, not, indeed, written by himself,—for, like the famous traveller Marco Polo, he never sat down to commit to paper his

own narrative,—but taken down from his dictation, and from his notes, by Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yahya Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, a native of Granada, and who, according to Ibnu-l-khattíib, in his biography of illustrious men born in that city, died in seven hundred and fifty-eight (A. D. 1356-7).

Ibn Jazzí informs us in his preface that on the arrival of Ibn Battúttah at Fez, after returning from his travels in Súdán, so much curiosity was excited at court that the Sultán himself wished to hear his adventures, and after listening to him for several consecutive nights, ordered that the whole should be drawn up, and, after the necessary revision by the traveller, made into a book.

I ought to state that among my manuscripts I possess one attributed to Ibn Battúttah (see Preface). It is a small quarto of about two hundred pages, containing a history of Morocco, with this title, *الحلل الموشية في ذكر الاخبار البراكشية* (*variegated silken robes on the history of Morocco*). It begins with the foundation of the city of Morocco by Abú Bekr Ibn 'Omar, the first of the Lamtumnites or Almoravides, in the year four hundred and sixty-two (A. D. 1069-70), and after recounting the events of the various dynasties that ruled over *Maghribu-l-aksá*, ends with Abú Táshfín 'Abdu-r-rahmán, of the family of the Bení 'Abdu-l-hakk (or Merinites as they are afterwards called), son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, and grandson of Abú Sa'id, who reigned from A. D. 1398 to 1420. It is clear, from the inspection of this date, that the work could not have been written by Ibn Battúttah. That traveller having left Tangiers, his native city, in 1325, at the age of twenty-two, must have been fifty years old when he returned in 1353, after twenty-eight years' peregrination: if we add to this forty-five years till the accession of Abú Táshfín, he must have been at least ninety-five Arabian or ninety-two Christian years old when he wrote. As it is by no means an uncommon thing among Arabian booksellers to ascribe their books to some popular author, in order to enhance the value of their merchandize, I would not have mentioned this circumstance had I not seen in the Library at Paris a copy of the same work, marked No. 825, and the author of which is said to be one 'Abdullah Ibn Battúttah. See *Bib. Reg. Cat.*, vol. i. p. 187.

The passage here quoted, as well as others which will afterwards be given, is literally transcribed from his travels, with which I have carefully collated it.

<sup>74</sup> *عين الادمع 'aynu-l-admu'a*, or *عين الدماع 'aynu-d-dumá* (the fountain of the tears), preserves to this day its Arabic name, corrupted into *Dinamar* or *Adinamar*. It is a pleasant and much frequented spot close to Granada. It was celebrated among Arabian historians and geographers, and is mentioned in many of the Morisco romances.

<sup>75</sup> Instead of *منهاج Minháj*, I find in one of the copies *مناهج Mináhij*, in the plural form. Háji Khalfah, who gives the title of this work, and attributes it to Jemálu-d-dín Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím Al-watút *الوطوط Al-kotobi* (the bookseller) *Al-warrák* (the paper merchant), who died in seven hundred and eighteen (A. D. 1318-9), writes it in the latter way, thus, *مناهج الفكر و مباحج العبر* (*open paths for the mind, and places of recreation for the reason*). It is also to be found inverted. See voc. *Manáhij* and *Mabáhij*.

<sup>76</sup> From *Illiberis*, the name of a Roman town, situate at the foot of the mountain range of Sierra Nevada, about six miles from Granada, the Arabs made *البيرة Al-beyrah* or *Elvira*, which Marmol

(*Rebellion de los Moriscos*, fo. 4, c. ii.) mistook for an Arabic word meaning 'a sterile and unfruitful country.'

<sup>77</sup> It was not until the year four hundred and three of the Hijra, or thereabout, (A.D. 1012-3,) that the city of Granada acquired some importance. Before that time it is occasionally mentioned by Arabian historians, but always as a dependency of Elvira (Illiberis). During the civil wars between the Berbers and the Arabs, Zâwî Ibn Zeyrî Ibn Menâd As-senhâjî, an African chief, who held the government of the southern coast of Spain from Malaga to Almeria, declared himself independent, and transferred the seat of his empire from Elvira to Granada. Little by little the whole population migrated, so that when Ibnu-l-khattîb wrote, (A.H. 770,) Illiberis had dwindled into an insignificant village, and Granada risen to be a magnificent capital.

Marmol attributes the foundation of this *cassâbah* or citadel, which in his days was still called *kassâbah jadîdah* or *alcâzaba nueva*, to his successor, Habûs. See *Reb. de los Mor.* fo. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Bâdîs was not the son of Zâwî As-senhâjî, as here stated, for that prince left no sons, but was succeeded by his nephew Habûs Ibn Mâkesen, who, at his death in A.H. 429, was succeeded by his son Bâdîs. His name is sometimes written بادس Bâdîs, and at others باديس Bâdîs.

As the Arabian geographers and historians often do nothing more than copy each other without the least criticism, the mistake here made by Al-makkarî, and which he no doubt copied from an Eastern writer not well versed in the history of Spain, has, probably from the same source, been adopted by several geographers. See Ibnu-l-wardî (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9590, fo. 15, verso), and the 'Ajâyibu-l-makhlûkât (Arab. MS. ib., No. 7504, fo. 24).

<sup>79</sup> شليير *Sholayr* is the name given by the Arabs to that chain of mountains called by the ancients Orospeâ, (now *Sierra Nevada*.) and at the foot of which stood the Roman city of Illiberis. The range nearest to Granada is now called *Sierra de Elvira*.

The word *Sholayr*, written as above, conveys no meaning whatever in Arabic; but Pedraza, the Granadine antiquarian, with that characteristic aptness of his countrymen to distort the Arabic names of towns, rivers, and mountains, into a signification congenial with their theories, pretends that the word *Sholayr* is a compound of two Spanish words, *sol* and *aire* (sun and air), and that the mountains were so called by the Arabs, owing to their elevation! (*Antig. de Granada*, fo. 3, verso.) The Spanish translation of Ar-râzî says that the meaning of the word *Sholayr* is 'Monte de la elada' (the mountain of the snow). But, I repeat, the word *Sholayr* is not Arabic, and although it might be one of the many words introduced by the African settlers into the language of the Spanish Moslems, I know of no Berber dialect in which the word *Sholayr* means 'snow.' Ibnu-l-khattîb, in the extracts given by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 248), calls it جبل الثلج شليير viz., 'the snowy mountains (called) *Sholayr*,' whence I infer that the word *Sholayr* could never mean snow. The point, however, is well worth the investigation of the antiquarian, as it may lead us to discover the origin of the modern denomination of the entire range—*Sierra Nevada*.

<sup>80</sup> The word translated by 'watch-tower' is طليعة *Tali'ah*, a tower, or building, placed on an eminence, so as to command a great expanse of territory. From the plural طليع *Talaya*' the Spaniards made *Atalaya*.

<sup>81</sup> نجد *Nejd* is the high or mountainous part of Arabia, in opposition to تهامة *Tehámeh*, which means, on the contrary, the lower part. Hence, wherever they settled, the Arabs, who delighted in naming the spots they inhabited after those of their mother country, called a slightly undulating ground, like that in the neighbourhood of Granada, *Nejd*. This name was given to a particular district of great pleasantness in the territory round Granada. See Ibnu-l-khattáb's history of that city, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 252.

<sup>82</sup> نزهون *Nazhún*. I was long uncertain whether the name of this poetess was to be written as above, or ترهون *Tarhún*, as I find it constantly written in every copy of the present work; but having had recourse to Ibnu-l-khattáb's Biographical Dictionary, I not only found the name of this poetess written with a *nún* and a *zayn*, (*Nazhún*), but her biographical article classed among those of the poets whose names began with that letter. This decided me to adopt the former reading, especially as the transposition of one of the points was sufficient to produce that change.

"*Nazhún*," says Ibnu-l-khattáb, (*loco laudato*), "was the daughter of Abú Bekr Al-ghosání. She was "better known by her patronymic القلعية *Al-kal'aiyyeh* or *Al-kal'aiyyah*: she was an eloquent poetess, "well versed in history and literature, and flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra. Her principal "merit consisted in the beauty of the similes which she used in her poems." See also Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 102), who makes her a native of Seville.

<sup>83</sup> Instead of *Al-kal'aiyyah*, B. reads القلاعية *Al-kal'aiyyah*. Both are patronymics from *Al-kal'ah* (Alcalá la Real), near Granada. They might also be referred to the diminutive *Al-koleiyah* (Alcolea), in which case the patronymic ought to be pronounced القليعية *Al-koleiyyah*.

<sup>84</sup> Ibnu-l-khattáb has no separate article respecting Zeynab in his Biographical Dictionary, but he speaks of her under that of her sister Hamdah, who was also a famous poetess. He says that they were the daughters of Zeyád the bookseller, المكتب (*Al-muktib*), and that they inhabited وادي الجمّة *Wáda-l-jammah* (*Al-hama*?) near بادي *Bádí*, in the district of Guadix. Ibnu-l-abbár (*Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12*) says that both were good poetesses, besides being well versed in all the branches of literature; that they were very handsome, rich, amiable, and modest, only that their love of science threw them into the company of learned men: the author observes, however, that they associated with them with the greatest decency and composure, and without violating the strict rules of their sex.

<sup>85</sup> Hafsah was the daughter of the Hájí (not Al-hejjáj, as in the text,) Ar-rakúni. She was a native of Granada, and died at Morocco towards the end of five hundred and eighty, or the beginning of the ensuing year (A.D. 1184-5). Her life occurs in Ibnu-l-khattáb's Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians. She is likewise mentioned by Ibnu-l-abbár in his *Tahfatu-l-kádim*. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 102.

<sup>86</sup> Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Sa'id was the son of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'id, Lord of *Kal'at Sa'id* (now Alcalá la Real), between Cordova and Granada, and the grandfather of Abú-l-hasan Ibn

Sa'id, the author of the *Mugh'rib*. He was Wizir to Abú Sa'id Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, ruler of Granada. His life will be given at length in another part of the present work.

رعي الله ليلاً لم يرح يذمم .: عشية وارانا بحور مومل  
وقد خفقت من نحو نجد اريجة .: اذا نفخت هبت بريح القرنفل  
و غرد قهري علي الدوح وانثني .: قضيب من الريحان من فوق جدول

These verses are given with some variations in my MS. of Ibnu-l-khattib at the life of Hafsah Ar-rakúniyyah. The first reads thus :

رعي الله ليلاً لم يرع ليدمم .: رعاناً وارانا بحور مومل

which rather alters the meaning—

' God has given us a happy night, such as He never gives to the vicious and low; He has pre-  
' served us, and shown us the cypress trees, &c.'

Instead of *خفقت* in the second verse I read *نفخت* There is likewise one verse more in my MS.

يسري الروض مسروراً بما قد .: بدا له عذان و ضم و ارتشاف مقبل

' The laughing stream winds loosely across the plain, and yet (its close banks) look like the  
' contracted lips of a kissing mouth.'

لعبرك ما سرّ الرياض بوصلنا .: ولكنك ابدنا لنا الغل والحسد  
ولا صفق النهر ارتياحاً لقربنا .: ولا صدح القميري الا لسا وجد  
فلا تحسن الظن الذي انت اهله .: فما هو في كل المواطن بالرشد  
فما خلت هذا الافق ابدأ نجومه .: الامر سوي كيا تكون لنا رصد

The third verse is altogether wanting in Al-makkari. I have supplied it from my copy of Ibnu-l-khattib. The translation is as follows :

' Thy thoughts even have not taken the right course; for they are not always properly  
' directed.'

The last verse presents also a different reading, which considerably alters the meaning—

' Heaven has not deprived itself of its stars, except to let us observe it more freely.'

*Maumal* was a district in the meadow of Granada, so called from the name of Maumel or Maumal, an African, who was the Wizir of Bádís Ibn Habús, Sultán of Granada, and who, among other useful and ornamental works executed in that capital or its neighbourhood, made a public walk, planted with cypress trees, and called after him *Hawar Maumal*, ' the cypress plantation of Maumal.'

*dauh* is, according to Jauhari, the name of certain large trees, for a description of which I have looked in vain in Ibnu-l-awam, Ibnu-l-beyttar, and other Arabian writers *de re rustica*.

Instead of Abú Merwán I think that Ibn Abí Merwán, *i. e.* the son of Abú Merwán, ought to be read, since there can be no doubt that Abú Ja'far is the individual intended.

<sup>87</sup> لوشة Loxa is a city fifteen miles east of Granada, the birth-place of the celebrated historian and Wizír whose life is the subject of Al-makkari's work. باغة Beghah is a large town in the same province. Casiri was strangely mistaken when he translated *Beghah* by the Vega de Granada. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 253.

Beghah was a town not far from Jaen, on the road to Granada. Ibn Iyás describes it in the following words:—" *Beghah*," he says, "is a handsome city, abounding in running waters, and full of gardens and orchards, where the olive tree and the vine thrive in a wonderful manner. Its territory, which is excessively fertile, is comprised within the limits of the province of Jaen." This statement is confirmed by Yákút in his Geographical Dictionary, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., Oxford, No. 909, voc. *Beghah*.) Idrísí, in his Geography, calls it *Beyghah*; he places it at a short march from *Al-ghoydék* or *Al-ghaydék*, (Alcaudete?) in the district of Jaen.

<sup>88</sup> وادي الاشات *Wáda-l-eshat* or *Wáda-l-eshet*. It is now called the river of Guadix, a corruption from *Wáda* (river), and *Acci* (the name of the town under the Romans), وادي اش Marmol was wrong in supposing that the word *Guadix* meant 'the river of life.' See *Rebellion de los Moriscos*, Malaga, 1600, book iv. fo. 87, verso.

<sup>89</sup> Abú-l-hasan Ibn Nasr was a poet, born at Guadix in five hundred and seventy-two (A. D. 1176-7). He resided in Granada, where he held command under the Almohades. See Ibnu-l-khattíb's history of Granada.

<sup>90</sup> وادي الاشات يهيج وجدي كلما  
 له ظلك للهجير مسلط  
 والشمس ترغب ان تفوز بلخطه  
 والنهر يبسم بالحباب كانه  
 فلذلك محذره الغصون فيلها  
 اذكرت ما افضت بك النعماء  
 قد بردت نجاته الانداء  
 منه فتطرق طرفها الافياء  
 سلخ نضته حية رقطاء  
 ابدأ علي جنباته ايباء

<sup>91</sup> The territory about Guadix was and is still famous for its medicinal plants. Ibnu-l-beyttar, who alludes to it often in his Botanical Dictionary, says that it was much frequented by physicians and naturalists in his days. Long after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain it continued still to be the scene of their rambles. As late as the end of the last century one of these wandering physicians, a native of Fez, used to come regularly every year, during the summer season, and, after herborizing for about a fortnight in the neighbouring mountains, return to Africa with a plentiful supply of plants.

<sup>92</sup> جليانة *Hisn Jaliánah*. This seems to be the same village which Marmol Carvajal mentions as still existing in his time under the name of *Julina*. It then belonged to the *Taa* or district of Luchar. (See *Rebellion de los Moriscos*, p. 81.) I ought to observe that the word *Taa*, meaning 'a district or jurisdictional territory of a city,' is Arabic, and comes from طاعة *tá'h*, which means 'obedience.' The word قرية *Qariyah*, too, which I have translated by village, has been preserved in the Spanish *Alqueriá*, which means

a hamlet, and more properly a cluster of agricultural buildings or farm-houses. There is a province in Spain still called *Alcarria*, since the time of the Arabs, owing to the great number of farm-houses that were scattered over its surface.

<sup>93</sup> Ibnu Jazzí-l-kelbí is here called *الذي رتب رحالة ابن بطوطة* 'the editor of Ibn Battúttah's travels.' The life of this writer occurs in my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb's history. His entire name was Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí. He was a native of Granada, but his family were originally from *وَلِيَّة*, Huelma, a village in the Alpuxarras. Ibnu Jazzí died in seven hundred and forty-one (A. D. 1340-1).

A son of his, named Ahmed, was still living, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*), in seven hundred and sixty-three (A. D. 1361-2), filling the duties of Kádí of the principal mosque at Granada, and preacher at that of the royal palace of the Al-hamrah in that city.

<sup>94</sup> *البشرة* *Al-busherah*, that is, place of pasturage, from *basherah*, which means 'grass;' at least such appears to be the probable etymology of this word, which Marmol Carvajal thought to mean 'the quarrelsome' (*ابو شرقة* I suppose), because, says that author, long after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, the Christians held out a long time in the mountain passes for which that district is famous. (*Rebel. de los Mor.* p. 16.) Pedraza, the Granadian antiquarian, with his usual perspicuity, says that the Alpuxarras were so called from Abraham Abuxarra, one of Tarif's officers, who subdued them! I need not show the extravagance of such etymology, which Pedraza borrowed from that amusing romance, *La perdida de España*, ed. of Valencia, 1646, p. 54. See *Hist. Eccles.* p. 89.

<sup>95</sup> *Al-munékab*, or rather *Al-mandáki*, is the plural of *منقبة* *Mankabah*, which means a 'gorge, a pass in the mountains,'—an etymology which agrees well with the situation of that town,—without plunging, like Conde, into an ocean of conjectures, and supposing the word Almuñecar to be a corruption of *Al-mune-caria*, which that author pretends means a garrison town, forgetting that the Arabs never prefix the adjective to the substantive. (*Geog. del Nub.* p. 224.) The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (fo. 157, verso) writes it thus, *المنكب* *Al-munnekkab*, which accounts for the Spaniards adopting the letter *n* in the pronunciation of that word. It was there that 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. landed from Africa when he came to the conquest of Spain.

Almuñecar is the same town which the Roman geographers designate often by the names of *Exi*, *Firmum Julium Sexi*, *Municipium Exitanum*.

<sup>96</sup> I have already observed (see Note 69) that, owing to the system adopted by Al-makkari in writing history, namely, transcribing the narrative of writers of various ages and countries, there must be considerable difference in the mode of spelling. For instance, the word *Toletalah*, which at times is written thus, *طَلَّطَلَة* is now distinctly written and pointed thus, *طَلَّيْطَلَة* *Toleytolah*, or rather *Toletolah*, as the Arabs pronounced it. The same word is written *طَلَّيْطَلَة* *Toleytilah* by the author of the '*Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát*, 'the wonders of the creation' (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7504, fo. 26, verso).

<sup>97</sup> The family of the Dhí-l-nún, or rather Dhí-n-nún, occupied the throne of Toledo from A. H. four

hundred and seven to four hundred and seventy-eight (A.D. 1016 to 1085). Al-makkari was therefore wrong in saying the sixth instead of the fifth century.

<sup>98</sup> It is not easy to guess what the author means by the word ليطة; *Zaleytah*, (ذليطة *Dhaleytah* in another copy,) which he translates into Arabic by أنت فارح 'thou art content,' especially as, the word not being pointed, it is impossible to say how it is to be pronounced. If the word be spelt as I have written it, it may perhaps be meant for the Latin word *delectas*; if, however, the first letter has a *dhamma*, thus—*dhuleytah*, it may easily be converted into *tu leta* or *tu letus*, which is a close translation of *enta farihon*. The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* says that *dhaleytah* or *dhuleytah* mean أنت فارغ 'thou art finishing or ending,' but as the copyist may easily have mistaken the غ for خ I believe the former reading to be the right one. Of all people in the world the Arabs are the most fond of giving sense to foreign words. It is a propensity in which Spanish historians have also most freely indulged. The *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that Toledo was founded by the Carthaginians, العبالقة 'Amalékah or Amalekites, as the Arabs called them, *loco laudato*, p. 25, *verso*.

<sup>99</sup> أضحت طليطلة معطلة      ∴      من أهلها في قبضة الصقر  
تركت بلا أهل توسلها      ∴      مهاجرة الاكفاف كالقبر  
ما كان يبقي الله قنطرة      ∴      نصبت لحمل كتائب الكفر

The author of these verses, 'Abbás Ibn Firnás, was a general of Mohammed I., son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., Sultán of Cordova. After a siege of six years, Mohammed took the city of Toledo (A.D. 859) from the rebels who, since his father's time, had strengthened themselves in it. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 291.

The last hemistich of the last verse, which I have translated by 'through which the inhabitants held communication with the infidels,' might also be translated 'which served for the passage of the Christian troops,' for the word كتائب *katáyib*, plural of *katíbah*, means 'letters,' and 'bodies of cavalry;' and it is not unlikely that the inhabitants of Toledo sought and obtained the assistance of the Christians on this occasion. The verb نصبت too, seems to imply that a bridge of light materials had been thrown across the river for that purpose.

<sup>100</sup> زادت طليطلة علي ما حدثوا      ∴      بلد عليه نضرة و نعيم  
الله زينته فوشح حصرة      ∴      نهر المجرة و الغصون نجوم

I find this second verse differently written in a collection of poems formed by 'Ala Ibn Mohammed Ibn Kháled Al-belátanisí, entitled *Nozhatu-l-abssár wa bahjatu-l-afkár*. It stands thus :

الله زينته فوشح حصرة      ∴      نهر المجرة و الغصون نجوم

'God has ornamented it, and given it the walls for a girdle, (while) the river is the milky way, and the branches of the trees (on its banks) look like the stars.'

Immediately after these verses there follow, in the principal manuscript, several odes, and other poetical compositions, of unusual length, touching more or less upon Spain, and praising in general terms its mild temperature, salubrious air, natural productions, fertility of the soil, &c. As the reader could not derive much information from the translation of these poems, some of which occupy many closely-written pages in the original, and have but a slight connexion with the main object of this work, I have thought myself authorized to suppress them, taking care to give here the names of their authors, with such accounts of them and their works as I have been able to collect elsewhere.

Abú I'shák Ibn Khafájah, a poet of the fifth century, and whose life has been given by Al-fat'h, both in his *Kaláyid*, fo. 71, and in his *Mattmahu-l-anfus*, fo. 174, verso; Ibnu-l-khattib (see Note 11, p. 306); 'Abdu-l-málik Ar-ro'ayní, Ibnu Sa'íd, father and son (see Note 1, p. 309), &c. There is also a very long epistle, full of rhetorical beauties, containing a poetical description of some of the Spanish cities, addressed to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of the Sultán Yúsuf, and grandson of 'Abdu-l-múmen. The author is Abú Bahr Sefwán Ibn Idrís. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 97, 598.

<sup>101</sup> *Ka'at-Rabáh* (the castle of Rabáh), which Conde (see notes to the description of Spain by the geographer Idrísí, fo. 211) translated by 'a capacious or roomy castle,' was so called from the name of its founder 'Alí Ibn Rabáh Al-lakhmí, an illustrious Arab, who is supposed by some to have been one of the followers of the Prophet who entered Spain with Músa.

<sup>102</sup> It appears evident that Malaga and the surrounding districts were called by the Arabian settlers راية, *Rayah*, from the name of a city and province in Persia called راي, *Rayya*, much in the same manner as Jaen was called *Kennesrín*; Seville, *Hems* (Emesa); Granada, *Shám* (Damascus); Murcia, *Misr*, &c., after similar cities in the East. *Rayya* is the name of a district of Persia, whence, according to Ar-rázi, who was originally from it, numerous settlers came to Spain, who, at the division of the lands among the Arabs, obtained for their share the country round Malaga. Adh-dhobí, in his *Bigh'yatu-l-multamis* (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14, p. 160), says that part of the territory of Malaga was peopled by settlers from Al-urdán (Jordan), who gave it the name of their country, and called it *Al-urdán*. However, although Malaga and its territory may have been called *Rayya*, there must have been besides in the neighbourhood of that city another town, perhaps founded by the same settlers, and which received also from them the name of *Rayya*, for Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 103), in translating an article from Ibnu-l-khattib, speaks of a town called *Raya*, belonging to the district of Archidona (Καρχιδών). This I believe stood on the site now occupied by the hamlet of Zafarraya, (the fields of *Rayya*?) eighteen miles from Archidona and twenty-five from Malaga, unless it be the town of Arrayate, which is at a few miles from the former city. Conde was wrong in supposing that *Raya* was Rute. See notes to Idrísí, p. 187.

<sup>103</sup> All the copies read تيش but I know of no place on the coast of Malaga answering this description. Perhaps بالش *Bélesh* or بلش *Velez*, twelve miles east of Malaga, is meant. Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 63) speaks of a sea-port called بالش *Bálish* or *Bélish*, which stood opposite to Malaga on the African coast, and settlers from which founded in all probability the Spanish town.

<sup>104</sup> One of the signs of royalty among the Arabs, Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún says, consisted in having their names and surnames woven into the skirt of their robes. Rich men were also allowed to use stuffs into which were woven passages of the Korán, or some favourite prayers. The stuffs thus prepared were

called طراز *tiráz*, a word meaning the skirt of a robe, and from which the Spaniards have derived *traza*, which signifies the edge of cloth. Upon the *tiráz*, and the use made of it by the Arabs, the reader may consult De Sacy's *Chrest. Arab.* vol. ii. p. 287, where he has given a translation of the passage of Ibnu Khaldún concerning this and other signs of royalty among the Arabs.

105 مألقة حيت باتينها .: الهلك من اجلك ياتينها  
نهى طبيبي عنه في علتي .: ما لطبيب عن حياتي نها

106 و حص لاتنسي لها تينها .: و اذكر مع التين زياتها

The first hemistich is differently written in some copies : ولا تنس تين اشبيلية

107 رطل *ratl* or *retl* is a pound of twelve ounces. The old Spanish words *arrel* and *arrelde* are derived from it. The word *retal*, a remnant of cloth, seems to have the same origin.

108 The Arabs call Canopus *Sohayl*. It is not improbable that in the mountains of Ronda, which are a continuation of the Sierra Nevada, and some of which have an elevation of nine thousand feet above the surface of the sea, that constellation may be visible.

109 بلش is the present city of Velez-Malaga. I think it was so called to distinguish it from another town also called Bélesh, which Al-bekri places on the coast of Africa, opposite to the former. See Note 103, p. 356.

110 Nerja, which in the sixteenth century was called *Nárija*, (see Marmol, *loco laudato*, fo. 68,) is a sea-port between Velez and Almuñecar.

111 *Al-hamah* derives its name from the hot springs in the neighbourhood; *Al-hammah*, in Arabic, meaning 'hot springs' or 'therma.' There is another town of the same name in the district of Almeria on the banks of the river Gergal, which is called *Al-hama la seca* (the dry) to distinguish it from the former.

112 *Kheyrán* was a Sclavonian eunuch and confidential servant of the famous Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who, in reward for his services, conferred on him the government of the province of Almeria. On the death of his master, and during the civil wars that arose between the Africans and the Spanish Arabs, *Kheyrán* naturally embraced the party of the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah, and, like the other generals of Al-mansúr, proclaimed himself independent in his government. He seems, however, not to have assumed the title of king, but to have contented himself with that of *Hájib* or prime minister, for, like the other rebels, he pretended to administer his possessions in the absence only of the legitimate sovereign of the house of Umeyyah. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. pp. 593, 599, *et seq.* and vol. ii. p. 10. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 206, c. 2, *et passim*.

<sup>113</sup> There is a small river, or rather a mountain torrent, at Berja, which discharges its waters into the river of Adra, eight or nine miles before reaching the sea.

<sup>114</sup> Dock-yard in Arabic is *دار صنعة* *dar-san'ah*, that is, 'house of construction,' a name which the Spanish Arabs applied not only to the dock-yards where ships were built or careened, but also to the magazines where weapons and other warlike implements were either manufactured or stored. From *dar-san'ah* the Spaniards have since made the word *atarazana*, which conveys the same meaning. The same word was further corrupted into *darsena* (a place in a harbour to repair ships), and *arsenal* (a dock-yard), which has also passed into French and Italian. There are still in some of the sea-ports of Spain buildings of this kind constructed by the Arabs, or erected by the Christians on their model, as the *atarazanas* of Malaga, Seville, Barcelona, Tarragona, &c.

Almeria was, during the empire of the Bení Umeyyah, the principal dock-yard on the coast of the Mediterranean. See Appendix B. at the end of this volume, where the reader will find, in a passage translated from Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún, much that is interesting upon the navy and maritime forces of the western Arabs.

<sup>115</sup> *ديباج* *dibáj* is a generic word for all sorts of silken stuff dyed of various colours. The Spaniards have made from it the words *dibujo* and *dibujar*, which mean 'a drawing' and 'to draw.'

<sup>116</sup> The meaning of the word *tiráz* has already been explained. Both Ibnu-l-wardí (*loco laudato*, fo. 15, verso) and the author of the '*Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát* (fo. 24, verso) praise the city of Almeria for its manufactures of these royal dresses.

<sup>117</sup> *حُلل* *holol*, or rather *holal*, the plural of *hillah*, means a species of silken robe worked in stripes.

<sup>118</sup> A. reads *اسقاطون* *askátún*; B. more correctly *اسقلطون* *askalatún*, which means *scarlet*. That word seems to be the origin of the word *scarlatum*, which, according to Ducange (see *Gloss.* vol. vi. p. 202), was used in Low Latin. Spanish, *escarlata*; French, *écarlate*; Italian, *scarlatto*.

<sup>119</sup> Instead of *عتابي* '*Atábí*, or '*Itábí*, the principal MS. reads *عذابي* '*Anábí*, but I believe the former to be the correct reading, for I find in Ibn Bashkúwál that there was in Baghdád a street called *عتاب* '*Atáb*, in which there were several manufactures of silken stuffs, and it is likely that these were thus denominated from the spot of their fabrication.

The author of the '*Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát* (fo. 24, verso) adds that there were at Almeria fabrics of candied fruits, of which a considerable exportation took place every year for the ports of Africa and Egypt; he adds also that at one time the number of baths and inns, *fondák*, (Italian, *fondaco*, Spanish, *fonda*), amounted to one thousand, including only in this number those that had shutting doors *مغلق*.

<sup>120</sup> Abú Ja'far Ibn *خاتمة* *Khatimah* (but more correctly *خاتمة* *Khátimah*) is the author of a history of Almeria, which is often quoted by Ibnu-l-khattíib in his *Kitábu-l-aháttati fí táríkhí Gharnáttati* (Arab. MS. in my possession), and the title of which is as follows: *الهيئة المبرية علي غيرها من البلاد الاندلسية* (*advantages of Almeria over the other districts of Andalus*).