

name for the British islands. However, Al-bekrî (*loco laudato*, fo. 78, and p. 578 of the French transl.) calls them *فرطاناتش Fortunátash*. Idrísí calls them also *Fortunátash*, and adds that the meaning of that word is the same as *Sa'idát* in Arabic. See edit. of Rome, *clim.* i. and ii.

The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek*, fo. 71, *verso*, quoting the geographer Ibnu Sa'id, says that the islands called *As-sa'údat* lie between the *Khálidát* and the coast of Africa.

⁵ *شلتس Shaltis* is the small peninsula formed by the confluence of the rivers Gibrleon and Tinto, where the town of Huelva stands, about sixty miles west of Seville, for although there is an island opposite to it called *San Francisco de la Rabida*, it is too small to have ever contained a city so populous as Shaltis is represented to have been by the Arabian geographers. (See Idrísí and the writers already quoted.) In old Spanish maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this peninsula is called *Saltes*. Conde, in his notes to Idrísí's Geography, pp. 180 and 205, says that *Shaltis* is for *Tarsis*, *Tartis*, or *Tartesia*, the country where Argantonio reigned, a fabulous King of Spain who is said to have lived one hundred and fifty years. I need not labour to show the unsoundness of such a conjecture. The reader will find in the work of Francis Carter, an English traveller who resided long in Spain, much that is really interesting and curious upon the Phœnician and Greek settlements along the south-western coast of the Peninsula: (A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga, Svo., London, 1772.) *Onóba* is now Gibrleon (*Jebal-'ayún*, or 'the mountain of the spring'); *Liblah* (now Niebla) is the ancient Ilipla.

⁶ There are two authors known by the surname of *Ibnu-l-labbánah* or *labbénah* (the son of the milkmaid) in Casiri's *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* One is *Abu Bekr Ebn Alabana*, from Denia, (see vol. i. p. 105); the other (*ib.* p. 128) is also called *Abu Bekr Ben Allabanat*, but Cordova is said to be the place of his birth or residence. They appear to me to be the same person, inasmuch as I find in the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, by Al-fat'h, (Arab. MS. in my possession,) that *Ibnu-l-labbánah* resided both at Cordova and at Denia. His entire name was *Abú Bekr 'Isa*, and he was known by the surname of *ابن اللبانة* *Ibnu-l-labbánah*: he filled the post of *Wizír* to *Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád*, King of Seville.

بلداعارته الحامة طوقها . . . وكساء حلة ريشه الطاوس

⁷ *يا بسة Yébisah*, from *Ebusa* or *Ebyssa*, the ancient name for one of the Balearic islands.

⁸ The island of Iviza being very woody, the principal industry of the inhabitants consists in making charcoal, which they ship to Barcelona and other ports of the Mediterranean. Close to it is a smaller island, called by the ancients *Ophiusa*, now Formentera. These islands, however, were known among the Greeks by the collective name of *Pytiusæ*, from *πῖτρος* (a pine tree).

⁹ *Barshelónah*, from *Barshenóna* (Barcinone). The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (*loco laudato*, p. 53) writes *Barshenona*, the alteration of *n* for *l*, and *vice versá*, being frequent among the Arabs. He says that it was the court of a king called *Barshelóní*, whose subjects were the *قطالان Kabtalán* (Catalonians).

¹⁰ Barcelona was taken from the Christians by *Al-mansúr* in three hundred and seventy-five (A.D. 984), but it was soon retaken by the Christians, and, with the greatest part of Catalonia, separated for ever from the Moslem dominions.

¹¹ *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib*, 'the book of the wonders,' is too common a title of Arabic geographies to decide with any degree of certitude on the work to which it belongs. 'The wonders of creation' is one by Abú Hámid Al-andalusí. (See Preface.) Ibn Jezzár or Ibnu-l-jezzár is also the author of a geographical work entitled '*Ajáyibu-l-ardh*, 'the wonders of the world,' and Hájí Khalfah, in his *Bibl. Ind.* (see voc. *ja'ráfiyyah* and '*ajáyib*'), gives the titles of many geographical works that begin with the word '*ajáyib*. However, I am inclined to believe that the latter is the one here intended, as I find the passage said to be borrowed from the *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib* in a geographical work entitled *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Arab. MS. in my possession), which I have already described in the Preface, and the author of which borrowed considerably from Ibnu-l-jezzár.

¹² This description of the dead lake of Galicia, which appears to be no other than the river *Lethe* of the ancients, is likewise found word for word in the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah*. I ought to observe here that among the *tábi's* (followers of the companions) of the Prophet who invaded Spain with Músa there was one named *طاووس* Tawús (peacock). This might have given origin to this popular tradition, in the same manner that the body of another *tábi'*, whose name was *Hansh* (snake), was believed to preserve Saragossa from venomous reptiles. See a preceding Note, p. 372, No. 3.

¹³ Ibráhím Ibnu-l-kásim Al-karáwí (from Cairwán), was a geographer of the fifth century of the Hijra. I find his name mentioned often by Ibnu Khaldún, and by the author of the *Kartús*.

¹⁴ Every thing tends to prove that this unnatural trade was carried to a great extent in France during the middle ages, for the object here specified by the writer. During the repeated and savage incursions of the Hungarians and other northern nations, such prisoners as remained in the hands of the Franks were taken to the Spanish frontier, and there sold to the Moslems, as we learn from the testimony of several Christian writers themselves. See Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrazins*, p. 236.

Once in Spain, these northern prisoners, whom the Arabian authors designate under the collective name of *Sakálíbah*, pl. of *Sikláb* (Sclavonians), were educated in the Mohammedan religion, and, like the Janisaries of the Turkish empire, formed the principal body-guard of the Khalífs. 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. is well known to have had several thousands of these northern barbarians, magnificently arrayed, to mount guard in his palace, and accompany him in his hunting and military expeditions. We see them occasionally playing a principal part in the affairs of Mohammedan Spain, and founding independent kingdoms, which they transmitted to their posterity. Zohayr and Kheyrán, both Kings of Almeria, were Sclavonians. Wadha and Naja, the former Wizír to Hishám II., Sultán of Cordova, and the latter the confidant and prime minister of Hasan Ibn Yahya Ibn Idrís, Sultán of Ceuta and Malaga, belonged to the same race.

The importation of slaves into Spain must at one time have been very considerable, since we are told by Ibn Haukal and other writers that it formed a great branch of exportation, and the principal staple of trade between Spain and other countries held by the Moslems. "The commodities," says that geographer (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 993, fo. 85), "which traders generally export from Andalus and bring to Maghreb, Egypt, and other Mohammedan countries, are amber, saffron, gold, silver, lead, iron, quicksilver, seal-skins, raw and manufactured silks, and, above all things, male and female slaves taken in war with the Franks and Galicians, besides Sclavonian eunuchs, who are very much esteemed. These are brought from the country of the Franks, where they are castrated, and bought by Jewish merchants."

I find a similar account in another ancient geographer, named Al-beládhori, who wrote a description

of the world, entitled *Kitábu-l-boldán* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7496). The passage may be found at fo. 23, towards the end, in a very interesting chapter treating about the commerce between Mohammedan Spain and Africa. The statement is likewise confirmed by Idrísí, Ibnu-l-wardí, and other geographers, who undoubtedly borrowed it from the work of Ibn Haukal.

CHAPTER VI.

¹ The aqueduct of Tarragona, constructed by the Romans, was repaired by the Arabs, and destined to the purposes for which it was first erected. The reader may consult Icart, *Grandezas de Tarragona*, Lerida, 1572, fo. 212, *et passim*; Cean Bermudez, *Antig. Rom. de Esp.*; and Laborde, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1807.

² ناحية الاصنام 'the district of the idols.' The word *sanam*, which I have generally translated by 'idol,' is, properly speaking, a statue, but among Mohammedans, who are averse to human figures, the word is synonymous with idol. By 'the district of the idols' the author no doubt means the site of the temple of Hercules, a rock at the mouth of the river Santi Petri, which, as late as the sixteenth century, was thickly strewn with fragments of statues, columns, and other vestiges of Phœnician and Roman domination, the whole of which were either washed away by the sea, or used afterwards for building the modern fortifications of Cadiz. (See Salazar, *Historia de Cadiz*, Cad. 1610, p. 177.) As late as 1773 some of the foundations of the temple were still visible at very low tides. See Bowles, *Introduccion à la Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1775, p. 67, *et seq.*, and *Cadiz ilustrada*, Cad. 1690.

³ According to Salazar this aqueduct took its waters from a spring close to Xerez, called *la Fuente de Tempul*. But this is hardly credible, the distance being upwards of thirty-three miles. However, there can be no doubt that the aqueduct passed over an estuary inundated by the sea at full tide. No traces of it are visible at the present day; but several of the connecting piers were still standing when the above-mentioned historian (Salazar) wrote his description of Cadiz. See *ib.* p. 127.

⁴ This military road, which connected Cordova with the sea shore, is still visible at intervals, and is used by muleteers. The part close to Cadiz is called by the country people *Calzada de Hercules*.

I must observe that the word حشر *Heshar* means 'one who is still-born,' and seems intended for Cæsar. It is, however, the first time that I meet with the name of the Roman emperor thus rendered. Idrísí calls him جاشر *Jéshar* (see *clim.* iv. *sect.* 2), but his usual name among the Arabs is *Kayssar*.

⁵ I have carefully collated the whole of this passage with the copy I possess of the *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib*, where the description of this tower, together with that of the aqueduct, said to have been built by a Grecian king, named *Santi Petri*, occupy nearly six quarto pages.

⁶ My MS. says twelve, instead of four.

⁷ If the face of the statue was turned towards the west, it is evident that the figure could not stand with his back to the north. My MS. says that he was turned to the west, with his finger pointing to the mouth of the Straits.

⁸ Mes'údí treats of this tower in the first volume of his *Morúju-dh-dhahab*, in the chapter entitled 'a description of the sea of Rúm, and the countries washed by it.'

⁹ *Al-jabbár* means 'a giant, demi-god, or hero of antiquity.' It is an epithet generally given by the Arabs to Hercules.

¹⁰ *Anfa*, written 'Anáfa' in the maps, is a sea-port on the western coast of Africa, at forty miles west from Rabát. It is the Anafe or Anf of Gråberg, *Specchio di Marocco*, p. 53. Idrísí, Leo, and Marmol call it *Anfa*; the natives, *Dáru-l-beydhá* (the white house).

¹¹ 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún. (See a preceding note, p. 360, No. 124). During the civil wars that broke out between the Almoravides and Almohades, this chief seized upon the port of Cadiz, where he ruled for a while independent.

¹² قراقرز *karákir* seems to be a plural of كركر *karkar*, a word which is not Arabic, and might easily be the *carica* used in Low Latin to signify the load or freight of a vessel; whence the Spanish words *cargar* (to load), and *carraca* (a ship), are no doubt derived.

¹³ The invasions of the Northmen appear, from the account of their historians, to have been periodical. See the History of the Expeditions of the Northmen, by Depping, vol. i. p. 96, an excellent work, to which I shall occasionally refer in the second volume of this translation.

¹⁴ Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 73, and p. 557 of the French translation) speaks of a port on the coast of Africa called *Mersa-l-majús*, as well as of a spot on the coast of Spain, close to Cape Trafalgar, where several of their vessels were cast on shore by a storm. The same geographer (fo. 77, and p. 569 of the French translation) says that the western extremity of the bay of Azilah was called in his time *Bábu-l-majús* (the gate of the Majús), owing to some of their vessels having been there dashed against the rocks.

¹⁵ There is, close to Cabra, a considerable town in the kingdom of Cordova, a large gap in the earth, supposed by naturalists to be an extinct volcano, but to which wonderful circumstances are attached by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

¹⁶ قلعة اوراد which means 'the castle of the halting,' from *warada*, 'to halt.' The modern name and situation of this place are entirely unknown to me.

¹⁷ Notwithstanding the author's objection, there seems to be some foundation for this tradition. Major David Price, in his *Chronological Retrospect of Mohammedan History*, London, 1811-21, vol. i. p. 157, mentions, on the authority of the *Habeibu-s-seyr*, an expedition made into Spain by the troops of Africa in the year twenty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 648), the result of which is said to have been the

entire subjection of southern Spain. The general who commanded the Moslems on this occasion is there called *Abdullah Rauffia*, but his real name was 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'd, as may be seen in Ibn Khaldún, the *Karttás*, and *Al-makín*. Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 262) likewise mentions an incursion made by the Arabs into Spain under the Khalifate of 'Othmán Ibn 'Affán, as here stated. I find also in Sebastianus Samalticensis (*apud Flores, España Sagrada*, vol. xiii) that during the reign of Wamba—a period answering to the epoch here fixed—a body of Arabs landed on the coast of Spain, and committed all sorts of depredations. (See also *Cronica General*, by Ambrosio Morales, Alcalá, 1577, vol. iii. p. 185.) Lastly, Isidorus Pacensis (or *De Beja*, as he is called by the Spaniards) not only confirms the statement, but adds that the invasion took place at the instigation of Count Ervigius, who succeeded Wamba on the throne of Spain. (See *Isidori Pacensis Chronicon*, *apud Flores*, vol. viii.) There is therefore every reason to believe that some piratical incursions upon the coasts of Spain preceded the great Saracen invasion. However, the author is right in condemning the notion that the expedition started from Cairwán, since it is evident that that city was not built until the time of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', during the Khalifate of Mu'awiyah. See Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, vol. i. p. 31, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 16.

I think proper to correct here a singular mistake committed by Erpenius in his translation of *Al-makín*. That author, treating of the conquests made by the Mohammedans in the year forty-six of the Hijra, mistook *Kastiliyyah*, a town in Africa, for *Castilla*, a province in Spain, and said 'Muslimi Hispaniam invadunt.' *Kastiliyyah* is the name of a district and city in Africa proper. (See *Al-bekrí, loco laudato*, fo. 47, verso; *Idrisí, Geog. clim.* ii. sect. 5; *Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afr.* vol. i. p. 119.) Quatremère, in his French translation of *Al-bekrí* (p. 509), read *Kastinah*, or *Constantina*, instead of *Kastiliyyah*.

¹⁸ Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of الزرقال *Az-zarkál*, was a famous astronomer of the fifth century of the Hijra. He is said to be the author of an hypothesis to account for the diminution of the sun's eccentricity which he thought had taken place since the days of Ptolemy, and the motion of the sun's apogee. (See *Lalande, Astronomie*, tom. i. pp. 120, 127.) He passes likewise as the inventor of an instrument much used in astronomical observations during the middle ages, and called *Zarcalla*, after his name. D'Herbelot (*Bib. Or. voc. Zarcallah*) gives to this eminent astronomer a different name and surname. He calls him *Aben Isac Ebn Iahia Annakashi Alandalousi*.

¹⁹ *Bábu-l-dabbághín* (the gate of the tanners), from *dabagha* (to tan or prepare skins). The Spanish word *adobar*, which in ancient writings is found thus, *adobgar*, is derived from it. Pisa, in his *Descripcion de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo*, Tol. 1617, (fo. 21, verso,) speaks of this gate, which he says was still called by its Arabic name, '*Puerta de Adabaquin*.'

The word which I have translated by 'water-clocks,' and which in one manuscript is written thus, البيئات *al-bíltán*, in another البيئات *al-bílathán*, and البيئات *al-bítán* in a third, is not to be found in dictionaries. But from the description here given of this artifice I have not hesitated in translating the said word as above, as there can be no doubt of its being the clepsydra, used by the Chaldeans and the Greeks to measure time, by the flowing of water, in astronomical observations. A contrivance of this kind was used in Europe, up to the time of Copernicus, by Tycho Brahé himself.

I find these tanks or reservoirs often mentioned by the historians of Toledo, who all give them the same origin. (See *Pisa, Descrip. de Toledo*, lib. i. c. 27; *Rojas, Hist. de Toledo*, part II. lib. iv.) There are still remaining, at a short distance from Toledo, and in the very spot here marked, on the right bank of the Tagus, the ruins of a building, called by some *Las Casas de la Reina* (the pleasure-gardens of

the Queen), and by others *Los Palacios de Galiana* (the palace of Galiana), where two tanks similar to those here described are still visible. Tradition has ascribed their building to a fabulous King of Toledo, named Galafre, who is supposed to have been a contemporary with Abdu-r-rahmán I., Sultán of Cordova, whose tributary he was. This Galafre, we are told, wishing to shake off the allegiance due to his sovereign, invited Charles Martel, others say Pepin, King of France, and Fruela, King of Asturias, to visit his dominions, and join him in an expedition against 'Abdu-r-rahmán; upon which the Christian kings, mustering their armies, traversed Spain without the least resistance on the part of the Moslems, and arrived at Toledo. While they were there, being splendidly entertained by their guest, Pepin is said to have fallen desperately in love with Galiana, the daughter of Galafre; and, after killing in single combat Bradamante, King of Guadalajara, who pretended likewise to the hand of the princess, to have espoused her with the consent of her father, who built them a sumptuous palace outside the walls of his capital. The adventures of Pepin, Galiana, and her father Galafre, form the subject of many a popular Spanish ballad, whence they were borrowed and improved upon by Ariosto. See Pisa, *Descripcion de Toledo*, fo. 27, verso; Rojas, *Hist. de Toledo*, p. 585; and Marmol, *Hist. de Africa*, vol. i. fo. 95.

I need not remark that the above account is wholly fabulous; Spain was not invaded either by Charles Martel or by Pepin, but by Charlemagne, who ravaged the northern provinces only, and did not cross the Ebro. There was no independent kingdom of Toledo at the time; the sons of Yúsus Al-fehrí, who rebelled against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and obtained a temporary possession of that city,—and one of whom has been identified with Galafre,—had names too dissimilar to render the corruption at all probable, one being called Mohammed, the other Kásim. And yet this fable has been countenanced by the best historians of Spain! See Marmol, *Hist. de Africa*, vol. i. fo. 95, *et seq.*; Garibay, *Hist. de España*, lib. xxxvii. c. 15; Morales, *Cronica General*, lib. xiii. c. 20.

As to the palace here described, it was a pleasure-house belonging to the kings of Toledo, of the family of Dhí-n-nún, and probably the same which, in another part of this work (see p. 239), is said to have been built by Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, who filled the throne of that city until four hundred and sixty-nine (A. D. 1076-7). After the taking of Toledo by Alfonso, the royal house, together with the adjoining gardens and lands, was given in the division to the city. It is now converted into a farm-house, the walls of which are still covered with Arabesque tracings of the most exquisite designs. I visited it in 1836, and found in the yard adjoining to it the two tanks here alluded to still visible, notwithstanding the heaps of rubbish which have been accumulating for centuries. There is also a subterranean vault leading from the house to the river, and some years ago a large quantity of leaden pipes, communicating with the tanks, were dug up by the present tenants of the farm-house.

As stated above, it is probable that these clepsydræ were built for the purpose of astronomical observations. Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo, is reported, both by the Arabian and Christian chroniclers, to have been a monarch much addicted to science, which he fostered and promoted in his states by inviting to his capital the learned of other countries. He seems to have bestowed all his care and attention upon the revival of the mathematical sciences, which, since the overthrow of the Cordovan Khalifate, had nearly been extinguished in Spain by the fanaticism and ignorance of the African conquerors. See the Appendix C. at the end of this volume. Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 45, 214, *et passim.* Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 46, 56, *et passim.* Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Esp.* vol. ii. p. 158.

²⁰ Alfonso VI., who conquered Toledo, never evinced a taste for the sciences. It is therefore probable that the author means Alfonso X., surnamed *el Sabio* ('the learned,' and not the *wise*, as he has been

improperly termed), who, by his astronomical tables, known by his name, and composed with the help of Jewish and Arabian astronomers, greatly advanced and facilitated the study of that science in Europe.

There is in the National Library at Madrid a manuscript marked L. 97, containing various treatises on astronomy and mathematics, translated from Arabic into Spanish for the use of Alfonso X., King of Toledo, the celebrated author of the Alfonsine tables. Among them is one containing the following treatises :

Fo. 175. *Modo de usar un instrumento que compuso Ali, hijo de Jalaf, para el Rey Maimon, dividido en cinco partes.* (A treatise, divided into five parts, upon the manner of using an instrument which 'Alí, son of Khalaf, made for the King Al-mámún.)

Fo. 275. *Libro del reloj del agua por Rabi Cag.* (The book of the *clepsydra* or water-clock, by Rabbí Zag.)

Fo. 299. *De como se debe hacer el palacio de las horas.* (How the palace or mansion of the hours is to be constructed.)

The following account of Az-zarkál occurs likewise at fo. 204. "Agora queremos hablar de laçafehaⁱ que fizo Aserquiel^k el sabio astrolabiano de Toledo a honrra del Rey Almemón que era entonces Señor de esta Cibdad, y nombrola por ende Almemonia, y despues fue a Sevilla e hizo esta açafeha en otra manera mas complida e mas acabada, e hizo otro si el libro de como se debe hazer, e de como deben obrar por ella e todo esto lo fizo a honrra del Rey Muhammad Aben Abet que era Señor desa Cibdad en dicho tiempo y nombrola por eso Alhabedia." (We are now going to treat about the *azafeha*, which the learned constructor of astrolabes, 'Az-zarkál, an inhabitant of Toledo, made for King Al-mámún, then ruler of this city, and which he named *Al-mámúniyyah*, in honour of the said monarch. After which he passed to Seville, and constructed another *azafeha* in a more finished and perfect manner, and wrote a treatise showing how it was to be made and used, which he entitled *Al-'abbádiyyah*, in honour of Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, then Sultán of Seville.)

²¹ There is here a contradiction of what precedes. Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, reigned from A. D. 1065 to 1109. The date (A. D. 1133-4) can therefore only be applied to Alfonso VIII., whose reign lasted from A. D. 1126 to 1157. It is thus impossible to determine which of the Alfonsos is here meant.

²² *حني* Honeyn, or Honayn, the Jew. I have looked in vain in Castro's *Biblioteca de Escritores Rabinos Españoles*, Mad. 1781-6, and Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinnica*, for the name of this individual. My copy of the *Kitābu-l-ja'rāfiyyah*, where the description of these *clepsydræ* occurs also word for word, reads differently the name of this Jew, who is there called *حميس بن زبره* Hamís Ibn Zabrah. What the author means by conveying all the baths or natural springs of hot water to Toledo I cannot guess; the text is as follows: *الذي جلب حمام الاندلس كلها لطيفة*

²³ Here again the author must allude to Alfonso IX., whose son, Ferdinand III., took Cordova (A. D. 1236) and Seville (A. D. 1248) from the Moslems.

ⁱ *Açafeha*, from *صفحة* *safhaḥ*, 'a brass plate.'

^k *Aserquiel* is Az-zarkál, or, as pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, Az-zarkél.

CHAPTER VII.

¹ The first Sultán of the Almoravides, also called *Al-mulaththamín* (i. e. the people of the veil), because they hid the lower part of their faces with a triangular piece of cloth, called *latham*, belonged to the tribe of *Masúfah*, one of the five divisions, according to Ibnu Khaldún, of the great Senhájah family. They inhabited the deserts bordering upon Súdán or Nigritia, where the traveller Ibn Battúttah found them still in the eighth century of the Híjra. Prof. Lee, who was not aware of this circumstance, read every where in his MSS. *اهل مسرفة* instead of *اهل مسرفة* thereby translating that expression by 'merchants,' instead of 'the people of Masúfah.' See *The Travels of Ibn Batúta*, London, 1829, p. 233.

This comparison of Spain to a bird is much in the taste of the Arabs. Some of their geographers have compared the world to an eagle, making China and India the head; Turkey and Tartary the right wing, and the territories of Gog and Magog the left; Syria, Asia Minor, and Hejáz, the breast; Western Europe and Africa the tail. See the *Kitábu-l-boldán*, by Al-beládhori, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7496, fo. 2.)

Conde inserted the above anecdote in the second volume of his *Hist. de la Dom.* p. 187, but he evidently misunderstood the text of the Arabian historian from whom he borrowed it. He likewise read *Musafah* instead of *Masúfah*, and called 'Alí 'prince of the believers,' instead of 'prince of the Moslems,' which is quite a different thing. (See *ib.* p. 99.) I may observe here that the Spanish translator did not always pay sufficient attention to the titles of *Amíru-l-múmenín* and *Amíru-l-moslemín*, assumed by the princes of the various dynasties that ruled over Spain and Africa, often mistaking one for the other, and making no distinction whatever between the two. It does not appear from history that Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, or any of his successors, ever took the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín*, which was reserved for the Khalif or Vicar of the Prophet in the East; they seem, on the contrary, to have contented themselves with the more modest title of *Amíru-l-moslemín*, 'prince of the Moslems' (of Africa and Spain). The Sultáns of Cordova themselves, though descended from the stock of the Bení Umeyyah, and so closely allied to the family of the Prophet, dared not assume that honorific title until the family of 'Abbás had nearly been extirpated in Asia by the Turks; even then the assumption was considered sacrilegious by some of the theologians in Cordova and other great cities of the Peninsula.

² See a preceding note (p. 309, No. 1). It is to be regretted that the work from which these extracts are taken is not known in Europe. To judge from the contents of this and the following chapter, which are mostly borrowed from it, our information on the state of manners and society, the civil and military regulations, the productions of the soil, and the extent of the revenue, of Mohammedan Spain, might have been considerably increased by the judicious remarks of a writer such as Ibnu Sa'id.

³ Ibnu-l-himárah, literally 'the son of the she-ass.' The name of this Wizír is Abú-l-huseyn 'Alí. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who speaks of him, says that he lived at Granada, and that he was the last philosopher of Andalus.

The verse is as follows :

لاحت قراها بين خضرة ابكها . . . كالدرب بين زبرجد مكنون

⁴ When Ibnu Sa'id wrote, the Christians were not only in possession of both Castiles, and the greatest

part of Estremadura and Aragon, but the capital of the Mohammedan empire, Cordova, had also fallen into their hands.

⁵ Thus in the text: حتى قيل ان عدد القري التي علي نهر اشبيلية اثنا عشرالف قرية:

Although the number of towns and villages said to have once lined the banks of the Guadalquivir is evidently much exaggerated, there can be no doubt that it must have been considerable, if we consider the fertility of the land which the Arabs occupied, their superior abilities in all the operations of husbandry, and, above all, the continual influx of population, either from Africa, or from the districts gradually reduced by the Christians.

The Frenchman, Cardonne, was, I think, the first who borrowed this statement from the Arabian writers. (*Hist. de l'Afrique*, tom. i. p. 338.) Incredible as it is, it has been blindly adopted by Viardot, Chenier, Aschbach, Dunham, and other European writers. Conde, who borrowed it from another writer, says that twelve thousand hamlets, farms, and castles, were scattered over the regions watered by the Guadalquivir. A modern writer, who to a most exquisite erudition unites a singular criticism,—I mean the author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain,—has lately remarked that “the length of “the Guadalquivir, not exceeding three hundred miles, would scarcely afford room for the same number “of farm-houses.” The observation is correct, but the text here admits of no other interpretation; it can only be said to be one of the many exaggerations of which Arabian writers, especially geographers, are so often guilty. Ibnu-l-wardi (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9590, fo. 13, *verso*) says that the district of Seville, now called *Azarafe*, which has been described elsewhere, (see pp. 56, 58, and Note 5, p. 363,) contained eight thousand towns, villages, and farms. But what shall we say when we find the Spanish writers themselves dealing in the same coin, and telling us that the same district contained twenty thousand! See Caro, *Antig. de Sevilla*, fo. 219; *Cronica General del Rey Don Alonso*; and Botero, *Relaciones universales del mundo*, Valladolid, 1603.

⁶ The sugar cane is one of the plants for the introduction of which Spain is indebted to the Arabs. (See Banqueri, *Agricultura*, vol. i. p. 392.) It is still cultivated at Motril, Nerja, and other places along the coast of Granada. The word سكر *sukkar*, whence the Latin *saccharum* is derived, has passed into the Spanish *azucar*, and found its way into every language of Europe. It comes no doubt from شكر *shakar*, a Persian word, unless it be from the Hebrew שכר 'an inebriating liquor distilled from the sugar cane.'

The fruit I have translated by 'banana' is موز in Spanish *moz*, *mussa*, or *mossa*, the Indian plantain, or *musa sapientium*. It was extensively cultivated in Spain. See Banqueri, *loco laudato*, vol. i. p. 394, and Idrisi, *apud* Hartmann, p. 74.

⁷ *Safari*. There is a species of pomegranate which the Spaniards to this day call *Granada çafari*. Ibnu-l-awam, in his treatise on agriculture, (Mad. 1802, vol. i. p. 273,) gives two reasons why it received that epithet; first, because it was first introduced into Malaga and Granada by a man named *Safar*, who procured the pip from the royal gardens at Cordova; and secondly, because the first pomegranate came from Syria, and was called سفري *safari*, 'the traveller.' Cavarrubias was therefore wrong in supposing that the word *çafari* meant a thing from Africa or Algiers. (See *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana*, vol. i. p. 178.) There is also a sort of fig called *higo çafari*. The author of the history of Africa entitled *Karttas* mentions this fruit among the productions of the soil about Fez. See the Portuguese translation, by Padre Moura, Lisbon, 1828, p. 43.

⁸ *Mahleb*. I find no mention of this plant either in Jeuharí or Fírúzábádí, but Ibnu-l-beyttar describes it in the following words: “*Mahleb*,—neither Dioscorides nor Galenus have described this plant. Abú Hanífah says that it is a shrub, rather dry in appearance, having a white blossom, and bearing a fruit “which is used as a perfume. According to the ‘Nabathæan Agriculture’ it grows to the height of a man, and its leaves are similar in shape to those of the apricot tree, although somewhat smaller. The branches spread considerably and support the fruit, a species of small nut, which has a very fragrant smell, and is used for the confection of several medicaments. Ibn Hossán says that it resembles a willow tree both in leaves and stem, only that the latter is a little shorter; that it abounds in Andalus; that its fruit is circular, and has a shell of a colour between red and black, which encloses another, very rough and hard. In the centre is the fruit, which tastes something like an egg, but rather bitter. It has, moreover, a very sweet smell. Ibn ‘Amrán says that the *mahleb* is of various kinds, white, black, and green,—the small-grained, and that having the seed of the size of a pea; the latter sort grows in Mesopotamia, the small-grained in Andalus. The most esteemed for its fragrantcy grows in Adharbiján.”

⁹ قصب الذريرة *kassabu-dh-dharírah*, literally, ‘the odoriferous reed,’ the *calamus aromaticus* or *acorus* of botanists. Ibnu-l-beyttar describes it in the words of Dioscorides and Galenus, which he translates without adding any new fact or stating in what countries it grows.

¹⁰ التولنج *at-tólaj* in all the MSS., for which I think الخولنج *al-khúlanj* ought to be substituted; if so, it is the *galanga* or *galangal*, an odoriferous root introduced into Europe by the Arabs, and which came originally from India. See Dr. Roxburgh’s *Flora Indica*, vol. i. p. 28, ed. Wall.

¹¹ قسط *kost* is the *costus* or *costmary*, an aromatic plant.

¹² The MS. reads اكشونية *Okshúniuh*, which, by the suppression of one point, is easily converted into *Oshunoba*, the *Ossonoba* of Pliny and Ptolemy, now Estombar, in Portugal. The name of that town during the Gothic domination was *Exonoba*. See Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. iv. p. 256.

¹³ Amber is one of the maritime productions of the Peninsula. It is to be found in large quantities all along the south-western coast, but especially between Cadiz and Gibraltar, as here described.

¹⁴ The passage here alluded to by the author is to be found in the *Muríju-dh-dhabab*, or ‘golden meadows,’ by Mes’údí, in the chapter treating about the seas.

¹⁵ Both Ptolemy and Strabo speak at length of the mineral riches of Spain. There is, however, reason to believe that they were very much exaggerated by the ancients. From the manner in which gold is here alluded to, and the spots where it is said to have been found, it seems evident that the Spanish Moslems extracted it, not from the mine itself, but from the sands of rivers.

I have collated this passage with a copy of the geographical work here quoted, in my possession, and have found it agree in every respect.

¹⁶ Both the Greeks and the Arabs believed that there were only seven species of metals, to each of

which they gave the name of one of the seven planets then known, and which were supposed to exercise an influence over them.

¹⁷ This *Al-hamah* is *Al-hama la seca*, not the town of the same name which is so celebrated for its hot springs, and still more for its towering ramparts, the scene of so much heroism and bloodshed during the eventful period of the last wars of Granada.

¹⁸ كرتاش *Kartásh*. There is no place of this name in the whole province of Cordova. At Guadalcanal, however, a district under the jurisdiction of that city, there are extensive silver mines, now worked, and in which traces of the works made by the Romans, and after them by the Arabs, are still visible. See Bowles, *Introduccion à la Hist. Nat. de Esp.* pp. 5, 7, *et seq.*

¹⁹ In the district here mentioned, *viz.*, the town of Estombar, in Portugal, there are, according to Ressende and Miñano, mines of tin and iron.

²⁰ Paterna is the name of a small town in the province of Granada. Among the mineral productions of that kingdom, its historian, Ibnu-l-khattáb, mentions the tutty, توتيا *tutiá*, (in Spanish *atucia*.) See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 248.

²¹ The name of *al-sofar*, or rather *as-sofar*, which means 'yellow,' and 'gold,' has been applied by the Arabs to a species of yellow metal, or brass, now called by the Spaniards *azófar*.

²² I believe that the word شباب *shobáb*, *shabáb*, or *shibáb*, means 'alum.' Al-bekrí and Idrísí mention it among the natural productions of Súdán.

²³ حضرة الورقة literally 'the verdant spot.' Perhaps there is a point wanting on the ح which would alter the meaning thus,—'the verdure of the leaves.'

²⁴ شجيران *Shaheyrán* in the principal MS. Another copy reads شخيران *Shakheyrán*. Taking away the initial ش *shin* it will give *Kheyrán*, the name of one of the Slavonian kings of Almeria. See a preceding note, p. 357.

²⁵ The Arabs call the beryl-stone بلور *al-ballaur*, a word sometimes used as a synonyme for glass or crystal. The Spanish *abalorio*, meaning 'glass beads,' appears to me to be derived from it.

²⁶ The author of a history of Malaga, entitled *Conversaciones Malagueñas*, Malaga, 1789-93, vol. i. p. 89, speaks of a mine of rubies in the neighbourhood of that city.

²⁷ The golden markasite was very much prized by the Arabs, who used it to ornament the pommels of their saddles, and the hilts and scabbards of their swords. It was also much used by women, who made necklaces and bracelets of it. It is to this day considered an ornament among the lower classes in Spain. It is called in Spanish *marquesita*, and *marquesita de oro* also, to distinguish it from another sort which seems to contain particles of silver, and is therefore styled *marquesita de plata*.

²⁸ The word *al-ma'tisisá*, thus written, الماعتيسيسا is not to be found in the dictionaries. I have also looked in vain for it in the *Kitábu-l-mughni fi-t-tab*, by Ibnu-l-beyttar (Arab. MS. in my possession), as well as in Ibnu-l-wardí, who, at the end of his geographical treatise, gives a list of the principal productions of nature in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.

²⁹ The meaning of the word *arrobes*, from the Arabic *raba'*, has already been explained; one of the MSS. reads one hundred and eighty, instead of eighty: I have adopted the latter reading as that which savours less of exaggeration.

³⁰ *Kariatu Násherah*, 'the hamlet of Násherah,' the Nixar of Marmol, a few miles from Almeria. See *Reb. de los Moriscos*, fo. 85, verso.

³¹ الناجادي *An-nájjadí*. I have looked in vain for this word in Ibnu-l-beyttar.

³² الشاذنة *Ash-shádenah*, or الشاذنة *Ash-sháddenah*, as written in another copy, is synonymous with the سارنج *saranj* or 'blood-stone.'

³³ I am not sure that I have seized the author's meaning; ذلك التذاهيب و يستعمل في ذلك literally 'and it is used or employed in the gilding.'

³⁴ By Jewish stone the Arabs mean the *lapis alagi*. See the Arabic text of Avicenna (Ibn Síná) Rome, 1493, p. 18.

³⁵ Niebla is the Ilipa or Ilipla of Pliny and Strabo, from which the Arabs made *Libla*. The change of *l* into *n*, and *vice versa*, is frequent in words corrupted either by the Arabs or the Spaniards; so from *Nebrissa* they made *Lebrixa*, and from *Liblah*, *Niebla*.

What the author calls زاج; 'glass' must be 'vitriol.' Not far from the spot here alluded to, at Cazalla, there is a mine of vitriol. See Bowles, *Introduccion*, &c. p. 66.

³⁶ It is not easy to say what is here meant by طفل *tafal*. The word is not to be found in any of the printed or manuscript dictionaries I have consulted. *Jeuaharí*, it is true, says that *tofál* means 'dry clay,' but the word is spelt differently, طفل. Besides, the expression نبت *nabata*, 'to grow as a plant,' which the author here uses, cannot be applied to earth or clay. I have likewise had recourse to my copy of Ibnu-l-beyttar's dictionary of plants and simples, as well as to a botanical dictionary by Ibn 'Abdún, also in my possession, but in vain. On the other hand, there is hardly an Arabian geographer among those who have described Spain who has not directly or indirectly treated of the *tofál* or *tafal*, which was to be procured at Toledo, and which all describe as a sort of eatable clay, very much used in medicine. The author of the '*Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát*, fo. 26, says, treating about Toledo, "close to this city is a very fine town " called مقام *Makám*, the soil of which is a species of clay which people eat, and which is considered as " one of the most precious specifics on the whole earth. It is exported in large quantities to all " countries." Ibn Iyás, fo. 12, says "the town of *Makám* is famous for a certain clay which people " are accustomed to eat to aid the digestion." Words to this effect may likewise be read in the

Tohfatu-l'ajáyib (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7497, fo. 48, *verso*), and in the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfyyah* (Arab. MS. in my possession).

For these reasons I am inclined to believe that *tafal* or *tofál* means that sort of earth known among the Greek physicians by the name of *terra sigillata* or *terra Lemnia*, and which Galen describes at length. The Arabian naturalists knew it also under the name of *طين مختوم* *tín makhtúm*, 'sealed clay.' See Ibnu-l-beyttar, *loco laudato*.

³⁷ The territory about Almeria is famous for its quarries of marbles of all qualities and hues. These are principally to be found in the neighbouring mountains called *Sierra de Gador* and *Sierra de Filabres*. Agates abound also, so as to have given a new name to the Charidemi Promontorium (now called *Cabo de Gata*), a corruption from *Cabo de Agathas*, or Cape of Agates. Bowles found granates and amethysts between Almeria and that cape. See *Introduccion à la Historia Natural y Geografía Física de España*, pp. 125, 132, *et passim*.

³⁸ From the Latin *lupus*, 'a wolf;' in Spanish *lobo*.

³⁹ The word which I have translated by 'jackal' is *ذئب* *dhíb*, in Spanish *adive*.

⁴⁰ The animal called *وَبْر* *wabr* by the Arabs is, I believe, an otter, but it might also be a seal; indeed, the descriptions given by Ad-demíri and other naturalists whom I have consulted are so contradictory, that it is impossible for me to say which of the two animals is meant. Ad-demíri, in his *Hayátu-l-haywán* (Arab. MS. in my possession), describes it in the following terms. "The *wabr* is a small quadruped of the feline species, of an ashy colour, has no tail, and builds habitations to live in. Such are the words of Jeaharí, but by that expression (he has no tail) the author undoubtedly meant that its tail was small; for it has one, although short, and exceedingly fat, like that of our young lambs. The *wabr* is likewise called by the vulgar *ghanam bení Isráyil* (the sheep of the sons of Israel); it resembles in many respects the hare, for, like that animal, it feeds upon plants and vegetables, owing to which its flesh is a delicious food." As far as this goes the beaver is meant, but, on the other hand, Ibnu-l-beyttar (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that it is a quadruped larger than a dog, and living mostly in the sea, although it now and then comes on shore.

⁴¹ A jacket made of sheep-skin is still called in Spain *zamarra*, a word which bears a strong resemblance to *سَمُور* *sammúr*, meaning in Arabic 'a weasel' or 'a marten,' and also the skin of that animal, but which, according to Ad-demíri, is a synonyme for the *jendu-bádastar* or beaver. Ibn Haukal, in his *Geography*, speaks of these *sammúr* as being found at Toledo. Sir William Ouseley translated that word by 'sables or martens.' See *Ibn Haukal's Oriental Geography*, p. 27.

⁴² The life of this physician occurs in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, fo. 139, *verso*). His entire name was Abú Bekr *حامد* *Hámid* (not Hamíd, as in Al-makkarí) *ابن سجون* *Ibn Samjún*: he was an excellent physician, and had great knowledge of all the simples employed in medicine. "His treatise on simple medicaments," says Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, "is considered to be a most elaborate and useful performance, since he not only described all the simples known before his time, and collected whatever information the ancients had given on them, but added much of his own. Abú Yahya Alisa' Ibn 'Isa Ibn Hazm Ibn Alisa', in his work entitled *Kitábu-l-mu'arib* (or *mu'rib*) 'an

“ *maháseni ahli-l-maghreb* (the book of the speaker according to the rules of grammar on the excellences of the western people), says that Ibn Samjún wrote the above work during the administration of the Hájb Mohammed Ibn Abi 'A'mir Al-mansúr, who, as is well known, died in the year three hundred and ninety-two (A. D. 1001-2), whence we conclude that he flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra. Besides the above treatise on the simples employed as medicaments, Ibn Samjún wrote a work entitled كتاب الاقرباديين 'the book of the antidotes.' ”

⁴³ A similar account is to be found in Strabo, as well as in the Greek physicians. The word *wabr* (seal or otter) is again used here, although it is evident that the beaver is meant. Whatever Al-makkari's accomplishments as a historian may be, it is evident that he was no naturalist, or else he would not have confounded, as he has done here, the seal, the otter, and the beaver.

⁴⁴ This quadruped is described by Ad-demíri in the following words. “ The *jendu-bádstar* is an animal resembling the dog, but not the sea-dog. It is only to be met with in the country of النخف 'An-nakhaf' and its environs. It is also called قنذر *kandar* and سمور *sammúr*, and resembles in shape a fox. Its colour is red; it has neither hands nor feet, but its head resembles that of a man, having a round face. It crawls like a reptile, and has four genitals, two inside and two out, from which the remedy called *jendu-bádstar* (castoreum) is extracted.

This is no doubt the beaver, whose inguinal gland, known under the name of *castoreum* to the ancients, was until very lately considered a specific in many diseases. According to Strabo (lib. iii.) Spain abounded at one time in beavers, which produced *castoreum*, although inferior to that of Pontus. They are not now found. The beaver lives on the banks of rivers and lakes, but not in salt water, as here expressed. The whole of this passage, indeed, is a tissue of error and contradiction. Ad-demíri himself, who, as I have already observed elsewhere, wrote a Zoological Dictionary, entitled حياة الحيوان (Ar. MS. in my possession), did very little else than collect together, and dispose in alphabetical order, all the absurd and superstitious notions, all the traditions, and all the wonderful accounts he could meet with in the writings of his countrymen, together with some indigested learning borrowed from the Greek writers.

⁴⁵ The word which I have translated by 'sashes' is شاشات *sháshát*, which, according to the *Kitábu-l-mughrib fi-l-loghat* (a MS. Arabic Dict. in my possession), means also 'a narrow and long stripe of muslin,' of various colours, which common people used to wind round their head in the shape of a turban. In Spain, where they are very much worn by the peasantry, they are called *fara*, from the Latin *fascia*.

⁴⁶ Tentálí. (See p. 69.) Another MS. reads تنطالي *Tentálí*, from Tentálah. No place of this name now exists in the province of Murcia.

⁴⁷ الملبد *al-mulabbad*, a verbal adjective from *labbada*, which means 'to stuff,' seems to be the name for certain stuffed gowns or pelisses which the Spanish Moslems used to wear in winter.

¹ Another copy reads النخاف *An-nak'háf*.

⁴⁸ A. has العاجر الهدهشة The epitome المعجز الهدهشة My copy المعجز الهدهشة Perhaps العاجر الهدهشة العقول is to be substituted, which would alter the meaning thus: ' turbans for women which were so beautiful that the fineness of their texture and the brightness of their colours made men lose their wits.'

⁴⁹ Several towns in the province of Murcia are still in possession of this branch of industry. At Albacete, especially, there are several manufactures of well-tempered scissors, daggers, and knives, which are reckoned the best of their kind in Spain, and which, by the shape and ornament of their blades and handles, betray their Moorish origin. Since the expulsion of the Moriscos the Spaniards have kept up this manufacture, but with so little variation and improvement that it is not uncommon to meet with daggers and knives manufactured at Albacete as late as the end of the last century, still bearing Arabic inscriptions and verses from the Korán, rudely burnt into the blade. I cannot account for this very curious circumstance otherwise than by supposing the Spanish manufacturer to have copied and reproduced the old models, either out of superstitious reverence, or more probably believing them to be ornamental designs, and forming as it were an inherent part of the article. I have seen in London one of these weapons, which on one side of the blade bears the following inscription: انا لاقتل عدايك ' I shall certainly kill thy enemies with the help of God;' and on the reverse, *Fabrica de Navajas de Antonio Gonzalez, Albacete, 1705* (manufacture of knives by Antonio Gonzalez, at Albacete, 1705).

⁵⁰ This word is differently written in every MS. A. and B. have المفضض *al-mufadhadh*. My copy المفضض *al-mufadh*. The epitome المفضص *al-mifssass* or *al-mufssass*. I have not hesitated to follow the latter reading, which means 'a spot strewn with (or a thing composed of) small pebbles or stones' (فصوص *fossús*), and hence a mosaic; which, as I shall have occasion to show in an ensuing note, is also called by the Arabs *foseyfasá*.

⁵¹ الزليج *uz-zulaj* is the Spanish *azulejo*, a sort of painted tile, which is very common all over Spain, and with which the floors of the Alhambra, at Granada, and the Alcazar, at Seville, are paved.

⁵² All the Arabian geographers describe the city of Bourdeaux, in France, as being famous for the manufacture of certain well-tempered swords called *al-bordheliat*, from *Bordhil* or *Bordhal*, the name of that city among the Arabs. Frequent allusions are made by the poets and historians of Mohammedan Spain to these blades, which seem to have been much esteemed by the Spanish Arabs. The author of a geographical work entitled *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), in a short description of France, mentions this fact. He adds that the city of Pisa was renowned for its manufactures of defensive and offensive weapons, which were imported into Spain. I here translate the passage, which is extremely curious:—

" Further to the east is the port of جنوة Genoa, whose inhabitants are very expert in navigation, as well as in the construction of ships, with which they furrow the seas from the coasts of Syria to the *Bábu-z-zokák* (Straits of Gibraltar). Close to them are the people of بيجة Pisa, who are the most enterprising sailors among the Franks, as well as the most skilful in geometry, and in the science of

“ navigation. They are very expert in the construction of منجنيق war-engines, أبراج wooden towers, “ and other warlike implements, and deeply versed in the stratagems of war; the various modes of “ fighting a ship, throwing with naphtha باللفظ الرمي and so forth. They have vessels of all sizes, “ which they build in their dock-yards, and are famous for their manufactures of every variety of “ weapons and steel armour, such as breast-plates, helmets, spears, bows, arrows, &c. It is from Pisa “ that we receive the famous blades called *al-biját*, (from Pisa,) which, although not so hard tempered “ as the Indian blades, cut full as well or better. They manufacture likewise armour for horses, and for “ the protection of every limb in a man’s body in time of war, so that when a horseman among them “ goes to battle he is completely clad in steel, as well as his charger, and the two look like a mountain “ of iron.”

CHAPTER VIII.

¹ الشهب الثاقبة في الانصاف بين البشارة والبخارية This appears to be the title of one of the chapters into which Ibnu Sa’id divided his great historical work, which will be more fully described hereafter.

² One of the copies reads ‘third century of the Hijra.’ But it is a mistake, since Ibn Haukal did not visit Spain until the time of ‘Abdu-r-rahmán III., who began to reign in three hundred of the Hijra (A. D. 912), and died in three hundred and fifty (A. D. 961).

³ The entire name of this geographer is Abú-l-kásim Ibn Haukal An-nassíbí. We have an English translation of his work made from the Persian by Sir William Ouseley, and published in 1800. But the Persian being only a version of an epitome, and the readings being particularly defective, it becomes indispensable that the original work (copies of which exist in the Bodleian and in the Royal Library at Paris) should be translated and illustrated with notes.

⁴ The unfavourable opinion expressed here by Ibn Haukal was evidently caused by the animosity which all Eastern writers seem to have borne towards Spain, owing to her separation from the mother country. At the time when Ibn Haukal visited Spain the throne of Cordova was occupied by ‘Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir lidín-illah, under whose able administration the affairs of the Spanish Moslems were as prosperous as ever; and although the Galicians and Leonese on one side, and the Navarrese and Catalonians on the other, repeatedly assailed his territory, they were unable, during the whole length of his reign, to detach a single foot of land from his dominions.

⁵ لسان الحال في الرد انطق من لسان البلاغة

⁶ Ibnu Sa’id, writing in the seventh century of the Hijra, or thirteenth of our era, must have been contemporary with the principal events of the wars of the Crusades.

⁷ During the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., the eighth Sultán of the house of Umeyyah (three hundred to three hundred and fifty of the Hijra), the Christians made little or no progress. It is true that Ordoño II. and Ramiro II., two of the ablest and most warlike monarchs that Gothic Spain ever had, sometimes contended successfully against his arms; that Ferran Gonzalez, first count of Castile, laid the foundations of a separate kingdom; that Zamora, Talavera, and other important cities were taken, and for a while held by the Christians; but these successes were more than balanced by similar incursions on the part of the Moslems, and their territory remained untouched during the whole of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's long reign.

⁸ بنو الخلايف 'the sons of the Khalifs,' no doubt because they were the descendants of the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah, who had long occupied the throne of the East.

⁹ أمراء أبناء الخلفاء 'Amírs, sons of the Khalifs.' The geographer Ibn Khordádbah (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon. No. 963, fo. 17) gives the same title to the sovereigns of the house of Idrís, who reigned in Mauritania from one hundred and seventy to three hundred and seventy five of the Hijra, and who were the descendants of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb.

¹⁰ *Mohúku-t-tawáyif*, 'kings of bands, parties, or small states.' See a preceding note, No. 20, p. 330, where the meaning of this expression has already been explained.

¹¹ The *khotbah* is a prayer for the reigning sovereign, which it is customary to read every Friday in Mohammedan mosques.

¹² Ibnu Rashík. There were in Africa two writers of this name, who took their patronymics from Cairwán. One was 'Abdullah Ibn Rashík, a native of Cordova, but who settled at Cairwán; he died at Cairo in A. H. 419, on the return from his pilgrimage. The other, Abú 'Alí Al-hasen Ibn Rashík, a native of Cairwán, who wrote the *أنودج في اللغة* and died in A. H. 459. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *annúdaj*.

The MS. A. adds also the following distich by Ibnu Rashík, alluding to what is said about the titles assumed by the rulers of independent states.

ما يزهديني في ارض اندلس .∴ اسماء معتبد فيها و معتصد
القاب مملكة في غير موضعها .∴ كالمهر يحكي انتقاخا صورة الاسد

'Nothing gives me a better idea of the names assumed by the people of Andalus than to hear there is a Mu'atamed and a Mu'atadhed:

'Both titles of kings whose estates were not in that country; and the present bearers of which resemble the cat in the tale, who tried to swell himself out to look like a lion.'

These verses are also quoted by Ibnu Khaldún in his prolegomena (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 115, *verso*), but are there attributed to a poet named Ibn Sherf.

¹³ Al-mu'atadhed-billah was the surname of the sixteenth Khalif of the house of 'Abbás, who succeeded Al-mu'atamed 'ala-illah in two hundred and seventy-nine of the Hijra.

¹⁴ The Bení Hamúd were originally from Africa, where their ancestors the Idrísites had long occupied the throne of Maghreb. They were the descendants of Hamúd, son of Maymún, son of Ahmed, son of

'Alí, son of Obeydullah, son of 'Omar, son of Idrís, who, having fled from Africa and taken refuge in Cordova during the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr, was well received by that general, who gave him a command in the armies of the Khalif Hishám. See Al-bekrí (Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 88, *et seq.*); Ibnu Khaldún (*ib.*, 9575, fo. 100, *verso, et seq.*); and D'Herb. (Bib. Or. voc. *Edressah.*)

¹⁵ *munshid* (from *nashada*, 'to recite extempore,') is a title given to a certain class of poets, who attended the courts of Mohammedan princes, and recited ancient poetry, or their own compositions, in their presence.

¹⁶ The author has here committed a mistake. Idrís, who reigned in Malaga from A. H. four hundred and seventeen to four hundred and thirty-one (A. D. 1026-1039), was not the son, but the brother, of Yahya. Both were the sons of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, the first king of that family who reigned in Cordova. After the death of their father, who was strangled while in the bath by two of his Slavonian eunuchs, their uncle, Al-kásim Al-mámún, usurped the Khalifate to their prejudice till four hundred and fourteen (A. D. 1023), when Yahya succeeded in dethroning him. Idrís, however, was only able to maintain himself in Malaga and the surrounding districts as far as Algeiras.

¹⁷ و كان الشمس لها اشرفت . . . فانثنت عنها عيون الناظرين
وجه ادريس بن يحيى بن علي . . . بين حمود امير الهمومنين
انظرونا و ناقتبس من نوركم . . . انه من نور رب العالمين

I may here make the same observation with regard to these verses which I have made in the note immediately preceding this. The poet was mistaken when he made Idrís the son, instead of the nephew, of Yahya. The contrary may be fully proved, on the authority of Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 89; Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 101; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 211; Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 8; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 87.

¹⁸ Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd, a descendant from the Tojibites, who held for some time the kingdom of Saragossa, raised the standard of revolt against the Almohades (A. D. 1228), and succeeded in establishing his rule in all the provinces of Mohammedan Spain. His reign, however, was of short duration; after a most turbulent life, spent in defending his states against the Christians, as well as against his Mohammedan foes, he was strangled in his bed in six hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1237-8). Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 440, *et seq.*, and vol. iii. pp. 4, 16, 20.

¹⁹ امور يضحك السفهاء منها . . . و يخشي من عواقبها اللبيب

Shakspeare has said, "Now this, overdone, or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve."—Hamlet, Act III. Scene ii.

²⁰ This alludes, no doubt, to a passage which Al-makkari did not insert. It is to be regretted that the whole of this valuable and interesting chapter should not have been preserved, for it exhibits a criticism and an erudition which are seldom found in Arabian writers, and the account in its original form might have afforded us much useful information upon the social and political condition of the Spanish Moslems. The work of Ibnu Sa'id, from which this is a quotation, may, for aught I know, lie unknown and unread

in some public library in Europe, for it is not always that printed catalogues give us an exact and correct idea of the nature and contents of Oriental works.

²¹ I believe the author means the same Ibn Húd mentioned in a previous note. We might also suspect an allusion to Ibn Mardanih (see Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 55), whose rebellion was attended with circumstances very similar to those here detailed, and whose rash conduct occasioned the death of several of his partisans, and, among others, of a relative of the author, Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'id (see p. 163, *et seq.* of this translation); but the expression 'in our times' renders this conjecture inadmissible, since the revolt of that chief took place sixty years before the birth of the author.

²² *حصن أرجونة* Hisn-Arjónah, or, as pronounced by English writers, *Arjónah*, now Arjona, is a town on the road between Cordova and Jaen.

²³ Abú Merwán Al-báji (from Beja) revolted against Ibn Húd, and obtained possession of Seville in six hundred and twenty-nine (A. D. 1231-2). Two years afterwards Ibnu-l-ahmar, (A. D. 1234,) having entered that city peaceably under the pretence of giving him his daughter in marriage, and assisting him in his rebellion against Ibn Húd, whose sworn enemy he was, slew Al-báji, and took possession of the city. This Abú Merwán Al-báji, whose name was Ahmed, must, however, not be confounded with the theologian mentioned at p. v. of the Appendix A., who had his same names and surnames.

²⁴ When Ibnu Sa'id wrote, (A. H. six hundred and sixty,) Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, the founder of the kingdom of Granada, reigned without a competitor over the whole of Mohammedan Spain.

²⁵ The author does not mean that the post of Wizir became hereditary in families, for this was never the case in Spain, although instances of it were not uncommon in the East, but that the title of Wizir was often conferred on several members of the same family, so as to render that dignity almost an inheritance in certain noble families who had influence at court. But it ought to be observed that the Wizirate, under the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah in Spain, was more an honorary title than an office, for, as the author himself explains a few lines lower down, the Wizirs were officers who had entrance into the council-room, a sort of councillors who took part in the deliberations, but who had no share whatever in the administration. The Wizirate appears to have been an honour conferred by the Mohammedan princes on all those who, either from the nature of their duties, or the favour in which they were held, had often occasion to enter the room in which the monarch sat. So it was that the chief physicians of the Almoravide and Almohade Sultáns were generally invested with that dignity. (See the lives of Ibn Roshd, Ibn Zohr, &c. in the Appendix A.) From the Arabic word *Al-wazir* the Spaniards have made *Alquazil*, by changing the *r* into *l*.

The reader will find in the Appendix B.; at the end of this volume, a chapter translated from the work of Ibnu Khaldún, in which the duties as well as prerogatives attached to the office of Wizir in Africa and Spain are circumstantially detailed.

²⁶ Many among the revolted Wális, who, after the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, shook off the yoke of the capital, and declared themselves independent in their governments, assumed the modest title of Hájb of the Bení Umeyyah, which they retained even long after they had been fully and firmly established in their kingdoms. Of this number were Zohayr, and his successor Kheyran, both Kings

of Almeria; Mohammed Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz; Habús Ibn Mákesan, King of Granada; 'Abdu-l-'azíz, King of Valencia, and many others.

²⁷ كتابة الذمام *kitábatu-dh-dhimám*: the Christians and Jews living under the dominion of the Moslems were called أهل الذمة *ahlu-dh-dhimmah* (the people of the patronage, or protection), because, by paying the customary tribute, *i. e.* the خراج *kharáj*, or land tax, and the جزية *jiz'yah*, or capitation tax, they became the clients of the Moslems. The *kátibu-dh-dhimám* was, therefore, an officer who had under his care the regulation of all affairs concerning the Christian and Jewish population living in Mohammedan cities.

كاتب الجهادية *kátibu-l-jihádheh*. According to De Sacy the word *jihádheh* is of Persian origin. It comes from كهنذ meaning a 'money-changer,' a 'banker,' a 'tax-collector.' See *Chrest. Ar.* tom. ii. p. 328, *et seq.*

²⁸ It is to be regretted that the author has not been more specific in describing the situation of the Christians under their Mohammedan conquerors, as the information we possess on the subject is but scanty.

²⁹ *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*. It was only by having recourse to Ibnu Khaldún, who has given a whole chapter on the duties of this officer, that I was enabled to determine the branch of the administration intrusted to his care, as the two words صاحب الاشغال *sáhibu-l-ashghál* have no definite sense in themselves, meaning only 'the master of the functions,' without determining what these functions were. I presume that originally there was an epithet affixed to *ashghál*, perhaps حسبانية *hasbániyyah*, a word which means any thing connected with the keeping of accounts or the collection of taxes, and that in time the adjective was suppressed to make the appellation shorter.

The functions of this officer, as defined by Ibnu Khaldún, will be found in the Appendix B.

³⁰ صاحب الشرطة *Sáhibu-sh-shartah* or *shortah* means, literally translated, 'the master or executioner of the law,' and also the captain of a certain guard called أهل شرطة generally attached to the head magistrate or governor of a city. Among the Eastern Khalifs it constituted a sort of body-guard, not numerous, but composed of liberated slaves, clients, and men entirely devoted to their master, and who executed with the greatest celerity his private orders, arresting and putting to death criminals, &c. The captain of this body-guard was named *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*. The office is very ancient, and existed among the first Khalifs after Mohammed. Nosséyr, the father of Músa, the conqueror of Spain, was *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* to Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, the first Khalif of the race of Umeyyah in the East. See Ibn Khallekán's life of Músa (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758).

In Spain the duties of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* seem at first to have been similar to those of that functionary in the East, and no material change took place under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. and his son Hishám I.; but when Al-hakem I. and his successors surrounded their persons with a splendid body-guard, composed of several thousand Slavonians and Berbers, the command of these forces was generally intrusted to a prince of the blood, who held the highest rank in the state. The office of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* was then converted from a civil charge into a military one; and instead of watching as before over the safety of the Khalif, the functions of the holder became those of a police magistrate, his duties consisting in detecting and