

punishing crimes against the public morals, or the civil regulations of the city or district intrusted to his care. The inspection of public works was also occasionally given to him, and it is not uncommon to see the name of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* commemorated on inscriptions; for instance, in one existing at Ezija, on an aqueduct built in the year three hundred and sixty-seven, under Hishám II., Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Músa is said to have been the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* under whose inspection the work was erected. The celebrated historian Abú Merwán Khalf Ibn Hayyán (see a preceding note, p. 310, No. 3) was *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* of Cordova.

<sup>31</sup> The reader will find an interesting passage translated from Ibn Khaldún respecting this office. See Appendix B.

<sup>32</sup> *محتسب* *Mohtesib* or *Mohtaseb*, whence the Spaniards have derived their word *Almotazen*, by changing the final *b* into *n*, a change of frequent occurrence in Spanish words. Strange to say, this office is still in existence in Spain,—especially in the southern and eastern provinces, where the Arabs and Moors made a longer stay,—and, what is still more extraordinary, the officer charged with it exercises the very same functions here described. It is now called *Fiel Almotazen de pesos y medidas* (i. e. officer having care of the weights and measures).

<sup>33</sup> The sale of bread, meat, oil, and most of the articles of food, is still subject in Spain to the inspection of government, which fixes, by means of its delegates, the prices at which they are to be sold. The office of *Mohtesib* exists at present in Turkey, and its holder is called *Mohtesib Agá*. Its duties consist in inspecting the shops of the city, and punishing all defaulters, according to the quality of the offence, either with imprisonment and torture, or by covering their heads with the entrails of beasts, or nailing their ears and noses to a plank, &c. See *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the seventeenth century*, by *Euliya Effendí*, translated from the Turkish by Hammer, London, 1834.

<sup>34</sup> Why these watchmen should be called in the East *أصحاب الأرباع* *As'hab-arbá'*, or *أصحاب الأربع* *As'hábu-l-arbu'*, I have been unable to ascertain. I have, it is true, met once or twice in Al-jera'í's history of Damascus with an allusion to these watchmen, but nowhere is the origin or the meaning of the name given to their office explained. In the absence of any positive fact I may, perhaps, be allowed to hazard a conjecture. The word *أربع* *arbu'* is the plural of *ربع* *rab'u*, which means 'a house' or habitation of any kind; and it is not improbable that these watchmen had small watch-houses or sentry-boxes appropriated for their use, whence they might sally at night to make their rounds, or whenever their presence was required in any quarter of the city. Hence these people in the East might have been called, according to the genius of the Arabic language, 'the people or the masters of the watch-houses,' in the same manner as they were styled in Spain 'the gate-keepers,' because of their taking care of the various gates or wards which connected the different quarters of Mohammedan cities one with another in the day time, and separated them at night,—a custom since observed in Spain, where Cordova, Seville, Granada, and other Moorish capitals, preserve to this day evident traces of this internal division.

<sup>35</sup> *قائد الأساطيل* *Káyidu-l-asátíl*, (the commander of the fleet.) An interesting chapter, detailing

the duties of this officer in Africa and Spain, and giving, besides, a concise account of the origin, rise, and decay of the Mohammedan navy in the western settlements of the Arabs, will be found in the Appendix B., as translated from the work of Ibnu Khaldún.

<sup>36</sup> This was Al-hakem II., surnamed *Al-mustanser-billah* (he who implores the aid of God), ninth Sultán of Cordova. Conde, in his *Hist. de la Dom.* (vol. i. p. 466), says that the order was actually carried into execution throughout the Mohammedan dominions of Spain, leaving only one-third of the vines for the sake of the fruit, and in order to make the species of sweetmeat called by the Arabs *ar-rob*, and by the Spaniards *arrope*.

<sup>37</sup> Al-hakem I., the third Sultán of Cordova, was surnamed *Ar-rabadhí* (he of the suburb), owing to a rebellion stirred up during his reign by the inhabitants of the southern suburb of Cordova, and which he quelled with a severity of which but few instances occur in history, since he not only put thousands of the inhabitants to the sword, but razed the suburb to the ground, and expelled from his dominions the remainder of the population, eighty thousand in number. Casiri, who did not understand the meaning of the word الربادي *rabadhí*, read instead الرضي *ar-radhí*, which means 'the benevolent or the mild,' thus giving Al-hakem an epithet which his tyranny and cruel disposition belie, and which is in direct contradiction to the nickname given him by his oppressed subjects, أبو العصى *Abú-l-'asi*, (i. e. the father of cruelty.)

<sup>38</sup> Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí is the same eminent theologian alluded to elsewhere. See p. 40, and p. 343, Note 54.

<sup>39</sup> 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb; the epitome adds السلمي *As-solamí*, which, as I have said elsewhere, was his true patronymic. See Note 55, p. 343.

<sup>40</sup> 'The executors of a will;' الوصايا *al-wasáyá*, a word which has been preserved in the Spanish *albacea*.

<sup>41</sup> وابناء البلوك خضارم سادة .: صغيرهم عند الانام كبير

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Haukal, at least in the copy consulted by me (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 963), says no such thing. That geographer, treating of the revenues of Spain in general, estimates those of 'Abdu-rahmán An-nássir lidín-illah, the Sultán under whose reign he visited that country, but nowhere does he allude to those of 'Abdu-rahmán I., as stated by Al-makkarí; besides, Ibn Haukal's statement is so different from that here attributed to him by our author, that I doubt whether Al-makkarí ever possessed a copy of his work: his words are as follow: وما يدل بالقليل منه الي كثيره ان سكة دار ضربة: علي الدنانير و الدراهم دخلها في كل سنة مايتي الف دينار تكون عن صرف سبعة عشر درهماً ثلاثة الف الف درهم و اربع مائة الف درهم هذا الي صدقات البلد و جباياته و خراجته و

اعشاره وضماناته و الاموال البرسومة علي المراكب الواردة و الصادرة و الجوالي و الرسم علي بيع الاسواق .

“ And to give an idea of the amount of their revenue, judging of the much by the little, I shall say that every year two hundred thousand dinárs enter the royal mint for the purpose of coinage, which, calculated at seventeen dirhems for each dinár, make three millions and four hundred thousand dirhems; this being part of the produce of the alms, the land taxes, the tributes, the tithe, the duties imposed upon goods imported or exported by sea, the tolls, the sums raised from the sale of articles of food, &c.”

The same author (Ibn Haukal), a little lower down the page, estimates the revenues of Cairwán at eight millions of dinárs. It is, therefore, quite absurd to suppose that he could ever make so low a computation respecting those of Spain, a country which far outstripped Africa in point of resources and civilisation.

زكاة *zakah* (in Spanish *azaque*) means, properly speaking, ‘that part of his property which every true believer offers to God.’ The only legal tax to which a Moslem was by law subjected was the صدقة *sadakah* (alms). This consisted, 1st. In the tithe of the products of the land. 2nd. In the payment of one out of forty from cattle, sheep, &c. 3rd. In a toll levied on goods imported and exported, amounting generally to a duty of two and a half per cent. on the value of the merchandize. Ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones were exempt by law from the payment of tithe, if used in swords, spears, and other weapons, horse furniture, books, or the bracelets and rings worn by women on their wedding; all other property was subjected to the payment of the tithe.

<sup>43</sup> الأوسط *al-awsatt*, meaning ‘the middle one,’ is the epithet under which ‘Abdu-r-rahman II., son of Al-hakem I., fourth Sultán of Cordova, is generally designated.

<sup>44</sup> My copy of Ibn Khallekán estimates the revenues of ‘Abdu-r-rahmán III. at fifteen millions (not five, as here stated,) four hundred and eighty thousand dinárs. It may be a mistake of the copyist, for all the copies of Al-makkarí consulted by me read distinctly five millions. If we calculate the dinár at about ten shillings of English money, this branch only of the revenue will be found to amount to nearly three millions sterling, an enormous sum of money for the times.

<sup>45</sup> As Ibnu Khaldún observes, the splendour with which the Khalifs surrounded their court, the necessity of keeping considerable armies on foot to resist the attacks of the Christians, the creation of a navy, and other exigences of the state, rendered it necessary for the Sultáns of Cordova to tax their Moslem subjects beyond the limits marked by their religious code. New contributions were established, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few strict theologians who inveighed bitterly against this open violation of the text of the law, whenever the capitation tax imposed on Christians and Jews was found insufficient to cover the public expenses and to maintain the costly household of the Khalifs, the Moslems were oppressed and taxed either by direct taxation or by duties imposed upon the sale of articles of food. These illegal modes of raising money were comprised under the general denomination of المستخلص *al-mostkhaláss*, a word meaning ‘illegal exaction,’ or جبايا *jabáyá*, ‘tribute.’

In a chapter of his *Historical Prolegomena* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 165), treating

of the legal and other taxes paid by the Moslems, Ibnu Khaldún states the amount of the revenue collected under several dynasties of Africa, such as the 'Obeydites, the Bení Hafs, the Bení Merín, &c., but he gives no details as to the amount of taxes levied in Spain under the Bení Umeyyah, although, strange to say, he calculates the revenue of a Christian sovereign, Alfonso XI. of Castile, son of Ferdinand IV. I here translate the passage, which is exceedingly curious. "I once met a Jew who was tax-collector to Alfonso, the Christian king, in whose hands is now the greatest part of Andalus, and he told me what the amount of his collection was. The Jew being a man on whose statement I can place implicit reliance, I hesitate not in reproducing it. He said to me that his master's revenue at the time he spoke to me, namely, the middle of the eighth century of the Hijra, amounted to sixty-five *komt* <sup>و</sup>قبط (cuentos), each *komt* among them being five *kintars* (or hundred weights) of gold, that is to say, nearly two hundred *kintars*."



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

## BOOK II.

## CHAP. I.

<sup>1</sup> Abú 'Amru 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Amru Ibn Mohammed Al-auzá'ei was born in Ba'lbek in the year eighty-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 706-7), others say in ninety-three (A. D. 711-2). He was deeply versed in traditions, which he held from the mouth of the most illustrious among the companions of the Prophet, and his doctrines were generally followed in Syria, whence they were introduced into Spain by the Arabs of Damascus, continuing in full vigour until, as stated here, they were superseded by those of Málík Ibn Ans. Al-auzá'ei died, according to Ibn Khallekán, on a Sunday, the 29th of Safar of the year one hundred and fifty-seven of the Hijra (Jan. A. D. 774); or, according to other authorities, in the month of Rabi' I. (February, *ejusd. an.*), in the city of Beyrút. See Ibn Khallekán's Lives, and D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. voc. Auzai.*

<sup>2</sup> The author of an historical work entitled كتاب نبد المختصر من كتاب مرآت الزمان في تواريخ الاعيان 'small particles extracted from the (book called) mirror of the times on the history of the illustrious,' (see Hájí Khalfah, *voc. marát.*) relates this event differently. He says, under the year one hundred and seventy-one of the Hijra, fo. 251, *verso*, "in this year died 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah Ad-dákhel, King of Andalus, who introduced into his dominions the sect of Málík Ibn Ans, for before his time the Andalusians followed that of Al-auzá'ei. The cause which induced 'Abdu-rahmán to take this determination is thus related by Ibnu-l-'askár. They say that Málík once asked an Andalusian doctor what were 'Abdu-r-rahmán's habits and mode of living, and that the doctor answered him, 'Abdu-r-rahmán wears woollen cloth, eats rye-bread, and fights for the cause of God;' and that he then began to enumerate his other good qualities, upon which Málík was so much pleased that he exclaimed, ان زين حرمنا به 'May the Almighty God ornament our harem with him!' (make him one of our sect;) and that when this wish of Málík was communicated to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he expressed great satisfaction, and ordered that the religious opinions of Málík should be admitted and observed throughout his dominions, whence they afterwards spread into Africa, Sicily, and other countries conquered by the Moslems."

However, notwithstanding what this author says, I do not think it probable that the sect of Málík Ibn Ans was introduced and followed in Spain before the reign of Hishám I., the son and successor of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Málík Ibn Ans was contemporary with 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., whose death, according to Ibn Shihnah (Arab. MS. in Dr. Lee's collection), happened eight years after that of that theologian. See also Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Ar. ed. nov.*, p. 288; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* tom. ii. p. 66, and *Not. Hist.* 68, 69, *et passim*; D'Herb. *voc. Malek ben Ans, Maoutha*, et alibi.

<sup>3</sup> The three theologians here mentioned lived in the days of Al-hakem I., and played a considerable part in the affairs of the time. Of the first two some account has already been given (p. 343, Notes 54 and 55). The third was called Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Zeyád Al-lakhmí, better known by the surname of شبطون *Shabatún*. He is said, in another part of this work (fo. 100, verso), to have been the first theologian who introduced into Andalus the sect of Málík Ibn Ans. A more ample notice of these doctors will be given in the course of this translation.

<sup>4</sup> The دروازة *darwázah*, from *daraza*, 'to patch,' or perhaps from the Persian دروش *durúsh*, 'a piece of cloth,' is a sort of garment generally worn by faquirs and derwishes in the East.

<sup>5</sup> Ar-rá'ii, whose entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl, and who received in the East the honourable surname of *Shemsu-d-dín* (sun of religion), was born in Granada in the year seven hundred and eighty-two (A.D. 1380-1), or thereabout. He quitted his native country for the East when still young, and arrived in Cairo in eight hundred and twenty (A.D. 1417-8). He wrote several works on rhetoric and grammar, which were very much commended and admired by the learned of his time. According to Al-makkarí, who gives his life, he died in eight hundred and fifty-three (A.D. 1449-50), at his dwelling in that quarter of the city of Cairo called الصالحيية *As-sálehiyyah*. The same writer (book vi. part i. fo. 200) attributes to this Ar-rá'ii several works on various topics, and among others the work here alluded to, كتاب الفتح البدير في بعض ما يحتج إليه الفقير — Casiri calls him *Mohamad Ben Mohamad Alansari*; (see vol. i. p. 37.) He wrote also a commentary on the grammatical work entitled *Ajrúmiyyah*, of which there is in the Esc. Lib., No. 161, a copy made in the lifetime of the author. The text of this work was published at Rome in 1592.

<sup>6</sup> The name of this individual, who is said to have been Kádí-l-kodá of Granada, is not correctly given by Al-makkarí. He was called Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-hasaní As-sebtí. His life, together with that of his two sons, Abú-l-ma'álí and Abú-l-'abbás, occurs in my manuscript of Ibnu-l-khattáb, whose preceptor he was. That author places his birth in six hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 1297-8), and his death in seven hundred and sixty (A.D. 1358-9), although it is there remarked that التسميتاني *Al-kasmítani*, in his work entitled 'obituary of illustrious men,' places this event one year later. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Makssúrah*) followed the former statement. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 300.

<sup>7</sup> خزرجية *Khazrajíyah*, or more correctly *Khazrajíyyah*, is the title of a poem so named after its author, Dhiyáu-d-dín Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed *Al-khazrají* Al-málíkí Al-andalusí. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Kassídah*) gives the title of this poem, as well as those of three commentaries upon it, but that of Abú-l-kásim, quoted by Al-makkarí, was unknown to the Arabian bibliographer. A copy of the *Khazrajíyyah*, with a very full and learned commentary by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Abí Bekr Ibn 'Omar Al-makhzúmí, is in the Esc. Lib., No. 408. The subject of this poem, which I find also mentioned by Khayr Ibn Khalífah in his Bibliographical Repertory (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), is the rules of prosody.

The مقصورة *Makssúrah* is also the title of a poem by Abú-l-hasan Házem Ibn Mohammed Ibn Hasan Ibn Házem Al-ansári Al-kartajení, of Carthagená. There are in the Escorial Library two copies of this poem, marked 380 and 452. They have, however, been badly described by Casiri, who strangely

mistook their contents. He says (see *Cat.* vol. i. p. 132) that No. 452 is a poem in praise of Abú Temim Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Egypt, to whom the work was dedicated by that poet, without considering that only a few pages before (*ib.* p. 112) he describes the very same work (No. 380) as having been dedicated by its author to Abú 'Abdillah Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Africa and Spain, who lived nearly two centuries after. It happens that in the introduction or preface to the work the former of those sovereigns, who reigned in Egypt from A.H. 427 to 487, is incidentally mentioned by the commentator; but the late Librarian of the Escorial, who, as I shall have more than one opportunity of showing in the course of these notes, was not too scrupulous in his descriptions of works and authors, did not hesitate to pronounce the work to be dedicated by its author to a sovereign who preceded him by two hundred years. The fact is that the poem was written in praise of, and dedicated to, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Al-hafsi, surnamed Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Africa, son of Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Abí Mohammed 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Abí Hafsi, who reigned from A.H. 647 to 675.

A very handsome and carefully written copy of this commentary on the *Makssúrah* (so called from the fact of all its verses ending in a short *elif*) exists in the Library of the British Museum, marked 9579. It is bound together with the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán* by Al-fat'h, with the *Lámiyyatu-l-'arab*, and with a short poem by the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattáb, the celebrated Granadian writer whose life forms the subject of the book from which the present is a translation, the whole being transcribed in a very neat Maghrebi hand, in the month of Ramadhán, A.H. 1122, corresponding to February, 1710, of our era, by Ahmed Ibnu-l-hasan Ibn Mohammed Al-warshán Al-mekúdí Al-fási.

I ought to observe that the expression "the people of this world and of the world to come" is of frequent use among Mohammedans, who by the former term mean all those who, practising the duties of religion, find, nevertheless, a pleasure in enjoying the comforts of life, while they apply the latter to men of austere habits, who lead a life of penance and privation in the hope of deserving the rewards promised in future life.

زاوية البحرورق<sup>8</sup> This was, according to Ibnu-l-khattáb, a convent or religious house in the neighbourhood of Granada. Monastic institutions were frequent among the Spanish Moslems, especially in later times, and, with a few exceptions, their rules and interior arrangement were similar to those of the religious orders of Christendom. I translate here, from a manuscript in my possession, an account of one of these religious communities near Malaga, as described by an African traveller who visited Spain in the fourteenth century of our era. "I saw on a mountain close to this city (Malaga) *زاوية*; convent, which was the residence of several religious men living in community, and subject to certain rules which I shall now specify. They are generally men of piety and learning, fully conversant with the principles of *Súfism*; they have a superior to preside over them, and one or more servants to attend to their wants. Their internal regulations are really admirable; each faquir lives separately in a cell of his own, and meets his comrades only at meals, or prayers, &c. Every morning at day-break the servants of the community go round to each faquir, and inquire of him what provisions he wishes to have for his daily consumption; these are procured and dressed, and then each faquir goes down into a refectory, where he is provided with a loaf and some food in a dish, to every man his ration, so that two may not eat out of the same plate: they are served in this way with two meals a day. Their dress consists of a coarse woollen frock, two being allowed yearly to each man, one for winter, another for summer. Each faquir is furnished, likewise, with a regular allowance of sugar, soap to wash his clothes, oil for his lamp, and a small sum of money to attend the bath, all these articles being distributed to them every Friday. They are, likewise, provided from the funds of the establish-

“ment with a yearly income to defray their personal expenses, varying from twenty to thirty dirhems. Most of the faquirs are bachelors, a few only are married. These live with their wives in a separate part of the building, but are subject to the same rule, which consists in attending the five daily prayers, sleeping at the convent, and meeting together in a lofty vaulted chamber, where they perform certain devotions, each of them squatting on a mat in the spot allotted to him. For instance, in the morning each faquir takes his Korán, and reads the first chapter, then that of the *king*; and when the reading is over, a Korán, previously divided into (*hizbah*) sections, is brought in for each man to read in turn until the lecture of the whole is completed. After this, they converse together on the subject of their lecture, and finish by reading the Korán in the eastern fashion. On Fridays and other festivals these faquirs are obliged to go to the mosque in a body, preceded by their superior. The servants of the convent go early in the morning and take the kneeling-mats of the community, which they place in a particular spot of the mosque, one by the side of the other, so that when their owners arrive they may find them all ready. After the service is over, and the people gone, the faquirs stay for a while reading the Korán in the manner above described, and return to the convent, preceded, as before, by their superior. They are often visited by guests, whom they entertain for a length of time, supplying them with food and other necessaries: the formalities observed with them are as follow. If a stranger present himself at the door of the convent in the garb of a faquir, namely, with a girdle round his waist, his kneeling-mat suspended between his shoulders, his staff in his right hand, and his drinking vessel in his left, the porter of the convent comes up to him immediately, and asks what country he comes from, what convent he has resided in, or entered on the road, who was the superior of it, and other similar particulars, to ascertain that the visitor is not an impostor. If he find that his answers bear the stamp of truth, he opens the gate, admits him into the interior, and points out to him the place where he may spread his carpet at prayer time and perform his ablutions. This done, the visitor goes to the station allotted to him, spreads his carpet, unlooses his drawers, and prays two *reka's*; after which, he goes and shakes hands with the superior and the rest of the community who may be present at the time; he then sits down, and takes part in the conversation.

“This convent was plentifully endowed with rents for the support of its inmates, for, besides the considerable revenue in lands with which it was provided by its founder, a wealthy citizen of Malaga, who had been governor of that city under the Almohades, pious men were continually adding to the general fund, either by bequests in lands or by donations in money.”

<sup>9</sup> By *Al-búní* the author means, no doubt, Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Abí-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf Al-korayshí, a Mahommedan divine of great repute, who wrote several treatises on the occult sciences, the art of divination, and the manner of constructing talismans. There is a work by him in the Escorial Library (No. 920), entitled *Shemsu-l-ma'arif*, treating of the names and attributes of Divinity, copies of which may be found in the Brit. Mus. There is besides a work by this author in the Bodleian (*Nic. Cat.* No. 55), entitled *اللغة النورانية في الاوراد الربانية*—*Al-búní* means ‘the native of Bónah,’ the *Hippo Regia* of the ancients; Bónah being nothing more than a corruption of *Hippone*. Treating of this city, Albekri (*loco laudato*, fo. 49) says, *ومدينة بونة هي ازلية وهي مدينة اثننتين العالم بدين النصرانية*. “Bónah is an ancient city, the residence of Augustin, the celebrated Christian divine.” Nos. 938, 939, 940, 941, and 976, in the Escorial Library, are also works by *Al-búní*, who died, according to Háji Khalfah (voc. *Muntekhab* and *Shems*), in 625 of the Hijra (A. D. 1227-8).

On the religious principles of the Súfis the reader may consult the lives of the Mohammedan Súfis by Jámí, translated by De Sacy in the twelfth volume of the *Notices et Extraits*, p. 287.

<sup>10</sup> The author means Abú 'Abdillah Ahmed Ibn Yúsf Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, a descendant of the royal family of the Bení Húd, which had occupied the throne of Saragossa for a period of upwards of a hundred years. This prince, who by the ruin of his family had been reduced to enter into private life, was living quietly at Escuriente, near Granada, when the Andalusians, who were anxious to shake off the heavy yoke of the Almohades, proclaimed him their king in six hundred and twenty-five (A. D. 1228), under the title of *Al-mutawakel-billah*. He, however, did not long enjoy the empire, for he was strangled in his bed in six hundred and thirty-six (A. D. 1238), by a treacherous governor, in whose castle he had been hospitably received and entertained.

This passage is very important, as it gives us the date of Ibnu Sa'id's work, which must have been written between six hundred and thirty-four of the Hijra (A. D. 1237),—the time of Ibn Húd's greatest power,—and the accession of his rival Ibnu-l-ahmar in six hundred and thirty-six or six hundred and thirty-seven (A. D. 1239-40). See Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 211, *et passim*; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. iii. pp. 4, 20, *et seq.*

At the time when Ibnu Sa'id wrote it was the fashion in Egypt for theologians and Kádís to wear very high turbans. Ibn Battúttah, in his original travels, speaks of a doctor named Fakhru-d-dín, whom he met in Alexandria, and who, he says, wore so high a turban that when sitting in the mosque, close to the *mihráb*, the top of it almost reached the ceiling of the place so called in the Mohammedan places of worship. The inhabitants of the eastern provinces of Spain, such as Valencia, Murcia, Catalonia, and part of Aragon, still go bare-headed. They use, instead of hats, a cotton kerchief, of gay colours, generally red or yellow, twisted round their heads in the shape of a turban.

<sup>11</sup> *طيلسان* *taylasán* means 'a sort of short cloak,' as it was used in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a little closer to the body and less ample than that which is at present used, and having, besides, a small cape or hood. I find in the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib fí tartíbi-l-mu'arib* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7438, p. 104), of which I possess also a copy, the following description of this dress. "*Taylasán* is a corruption from *تالشان* *táleshán*, a sort of dress used by the Persians; "it is generally black and cut round; hence the expression so common among the Arabs, *ya ibnu-t-taylasán*, (O son of the *taylasán*!) meaning a Persian, since the people of that nation, we repeat, "commonly wear it. *Taylasán* forms its plural thus, *طيلسانة* *tiyálishah*." Ibnu-t-taylasán is also the surname of a famous Cordovan historian who flourished in the sixth century, and whose entire name was 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmed Ibn Suleymán Al-ansári. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 129, c. 2. See also a learned note of M. De Sacy, in vol. ii. of his *Chr. Arab.* p. 269.

In Spain, it appears, it was principally worn by theologians and faquirs, and the same happened in the East. Two copies of a small treatise containing the history and description of this dress, and entitled *الاحاديث الحسنان في فضل الطيلسان* 'entertaining anecdotes on the excellence of the *taylasán*,' are to be found in the Esc. Lib. under the Nos. 1787, 1809.

<sup>12</sup> This passage may be found in the extracts given by Casiri (vol. ii. of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 257), taken from the history of Granada by Ibnu-l-khattífb. But as the text printed by Casiri is full of faults, and the translation incorrect, I have deemed it necessary to reproduce this passage, after collating it with a copy of the same work in my possession. It reads thus: *و جندهم صنفان اندلسي و بربري والاندلسي منها يقودهم رايس من القراية او خصيا من شيوخ المالك و زيهم*

في القديم شبه بزّي اقتالهم واضدادهم من جيرانهم الفرنج اسباغ الدروع و تعلين الترسة وجفا البيضات و اتخاذا عراض الاسنة و بشاعة قرابس السروج و استركاب حيلة الرايات خلفه [خلفهم] كل منهم بصفة [بسمة] تختص سلاحه و شهرة يعرف بها ثم عدلوا الان عن هذا الذي ذكرناه الي الجواشن المختصرة و البيضات المرهفة والسروج العربية و البيت اللطيفة والاسل اللطيفة

" And their army (the author is speaking of the Kings of Granada) is of two kinds, Andalusian and Berber. The Andalusian is generally commanded by a prince of the blood, or by some noble of the kingdom who is in favour with the court. Their dress and accoutrements in ancient times were similar to those of their neighbours and foes among the Franks; they were clad in complete mail, they wore the shield slung at the back, steel helmets, huge spears with broad ends, and saddles rudely constructed and projecting very much in front and behind. The riders rode with pennons fluttering behind them, each man in his rank being known by his arms, or some other distinction about his person. However, in our days military men have left off these customs, and, returning to their old practices, have taken short and slender breast-plates, light head-pieces, the Arabian saddle, leather bucklers called *lamattí*,<sup>a</sup> and long and slender spears."

<sup>13</sup> ابن بصال Ibn Bassál, according to A.—B. reads ابن بطال Ibn Battál. I know of no writer of this name on agriculture. Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 345) mentions the death of a theologian named *Abu-l-hakem ben Batal*, who might be the individual here alluded to.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *muwashahát* I think *muwashshahát* is intended. The text simply says اخترعوا البوشحات 'they invented or found the use of the *muwashshahát*,' without explaining whether that word is applied to a new metre, or to a poetical composition. On the other hand, I have looked in vain in Arabic dictionaries, manuscript as well as printed, for the real meaning of the word موشحة which cannot but be correctly written, since it not only occurs very frequently in this MS., but is to be found alike in all the copies of the same work which I have consulted. I find also that there is in the Escorial Library (see No. 432 in Casiri's catalogue) a volume represented to be a collection of poems, called *Muwashshahát*; and Ibn Khallékán, in the life of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Zohr (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 683), quotes the words of an Andalusian writer (Ibn Dih'yah), who says: و الذي انقرد به شيخنا و انقادت لحيلة طباعه و صارت النباء فيه حوله و اتباعه البوشحات وهي زيد الشعر و نجيبه و خلاصة جوهرة و صفوته و هو من الفنون التي اعزمت به اهل المغرب علي اهل المشرق و ظهوروا فيها كالشمس الطالعة و الضياء المشرق

" But the art in which our Sheikh (Ibn Zohr) most distinguished himself, and in which he shone most conspicuously, becoming the centre of the most illustrious poets of his age, was the composition of

<sup>a</sup> These shields were manufactured from the skin of a species of antelope, called *lamat* or *lamt* in the dialect of the natives, and found at Dar'ah and other places of Africa bordering on Súdán. The author of the *Kitábu-l-ja'rafyyah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), from whom the preceding information is borrowed, adds that "shields covered with one or two skins of this quadruped proved impenetrable to either spear, arrow, or sword." However, Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., fo. 52) says that Lamtah is the name of a tribe of the great family of Senhájah, and that these shields were so called from their being manufactured in the country which they occupied.

“*muwashshahát*, which are an addition and an improvement to poetry, being among its brightest and most esteemed jewels; an art in which the people of the West always surpassed those of the East, “shining in it like a rising sun, or like the rays of that luminary in its apogee.” Lastly, Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iv. p. 493) mentions a poet named Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Baka, who became famous for his proficiency in the *muwashshahát*, a word which Reiske translated by *variegata striis et orbiculis carmina*.

The verb *washshaha*, in the second form, means, according to Jeuharí in Golius, to put on the swathe called *washáh*. Now the word *وشاح*, according to the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib fí tartíbi-l-mu'arib fí-l-loghah* (an Arab. Dict. in my possession), signifies ‘a girdle made of leather, ornamented with studs.’ The writer adds that, “according to Al-leyth, the *washáh* is an ornament used by women, and consists of “two bracelets made out of two strings of pearls and precious stones, placed in opposite ways, one of the “two strings being inclined towards the other; the verb *washshaha* is therefore used to express the action “of wearing the above-mentioned ornament.”

ذكر الليث ان الوشاح من حلية النساء كرسن اي  
نظمان من لولو و جواهر مخالف بينها معطوف احدها علي اخر تتوشح به المرأة . . .

I may now, perhaps, hazard a conjecture. It is well known that the Arabs call poetry in general *nidham*, that is, a string of pearls, and that to write poetry is called among them to ‘string together the pearls of speech.’ The word *موشحة* *muwashshahah*, which is a feminine adjective, meaning ‘a woman or thing ornamented with bracelets set in pearls and jewels,’ might well have been applied to a species of descriptive poem (*kassidah*), such as those appear to be that received that name. As far as my own observation goes, the few instances that I have met with of poems so called resemble in every respect the *kassidah*, only that they are generally descriptive of heroes, women, fruits, slave-boys, love, &c. But this, I repeat, is merely a conjecture of mine, and unless the explanation of this word be found in some work hitherto unpublished, the doubt must always exist. The Arabic dictionaries that we possess are, generally speaking, insufficient, but when used in the translation of works written in Spain, where the language was so much altered as to become almost strange to Arabs newly arrived from Syria or Yemen, they are indeed of little or no assistance, being all written in the East. It is only by means of dictionaries written in Spain or Africa, of which there are several in the Escorial, that difficulties like this can be surmounted.

<sup>15</sup> Ibnu Sa'id being in Africa when he wrote the work from which the present extracts are taken used the expression *في هذه العدوة* ‘on these shores.’ I ought to observe here that the word *عدوة* *'idwah*, which means ‘a shore,’ ‘the bank of a river,’ ‘any thing diametrically opposed to another,’ and hence the coasts of Spain and Africa, has not been properly translated either by Casiri or Conde, who mistook it for *عدوة* *aduwwah*, the ‘enemy's country.’ It is essential to know that for writers residing in Africa the word *'idwah* always meant the opposite coast, that is, Spain, and *vice versa* for those who lived in the latter country. I find this word used by Al-bekrí (*Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus. fo. 77, et passim*), and by other ancient writers; it agrees exactly with the words *aquende* and *allende*, so often used in a similar sense by Spanish writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the former designating Spain, the latter Africa.

What Ibnu Sa'íd relates here of the superior culture of the Andalusians who settled in Africa is confirmed by the author of the *Kartás* (fo. 54, *et seq.*), as well as by Marmol, Leo Africanus, and other writers.

<sup>16</sup> Water-mills are called in Arabic *ná'úr* or *nawá'ír*, both plurals of *ناعورة ná'úrah*, in Spanish *anoria*.

<sup>17</sup> الحق احق ان يطبع literally 'truth is the truer (path) if followed.' I find in the collection of proverbs by Al-meydání, *Jámi'u-l-amthál* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7289, p. 97), الحق خير ما قيل 'truth is the best thing that is said.'

<sup>18</sup> و لو ابصروا ليلي اقروا بحسنها . . . وقالوا بانني في الثناء مقصر

<sup>19</sup> Abú Zakariyyá Yahya, the second Sultán of the dynasty of the Bení Hafs, succeeded his father, Abú Fáris, on the throne of Túnis, the capital of that part of Africa called by the ancients *Carthaginensis*, or *Marmarica*, and *Ifrikiyyah* (or Africa proper) by the Arabs. This monarch was very fond of building. See Leo Afric. *apud* Ramusium, lib. v. fo. 216, and Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 226.

CHAPTER II.

<sup>1</sup> Zaryáb is the surname of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Náfi', a celebrated musician. Al-makkarí has given his life in the fifth book of the first part of his work, counting him in the number of those who came from the East to settle in Andalus. I translate the passage entire, as it is very interesting: "Zaryáb " was formerly a freedman of the Khalif Mahdí, the 'Abbassí. According to the author of the *Muktabis* " (Ibnu Hayyán) Zaryáb was an appellation given to Abú-l-hasan by the people of his native town, owing " to his dark complexion, the eloquence and suavity of his speech, and the amiability of his temper; " *zaryáb* being the name for a very rare and valuable bird,<sup>b</sup> of dark plumage, which is to be found in " that country, and has a very sweet note. He was likewise an excellent poet, for nature had also " favoured him with talents for poetry, and he composed in the most tender strains; he had a son named " Ahmed, who inherited from his father the taste for poetry." The occasion of his coming to Andalus

<sup>b</sup> Ad-demírí, in his *Hayyátu-l-haywán*, describes this bird, but he does not say how the word زرياب is to be spelt; I am not sure, therefore, of having written it right, as it might as well be pronounced *Zoryáb*, *Zeryáb*, or *Zariyáb*. Indeed Cardonne, who mentions this musician and relates an anecdote which happened to him with Ar-rashíd (*Hist. de l'Afr.* vol. i. p. 283), calls him *Zeriab*. As to the bird itself, Ad-demírí mentions it, but his description is so obscure and unsatisfactory that it is by no means easy to determine to what family it belongs. The words of that naturalist are as follow:

" The *zaryáb* is said in the work entitled *Mintaku-t-teyránah* (the language of the birds) to be the same as the أبو زريق *abú zorreyk*, (another copy says 'as the *zorreyk*.) It is a bird of very quick intellect and easy to teach, surpassing even " the parrot in memory and clearness of enunciation, so much so that when well trained it will talk so distinctly as to " make those who hear it believe that they are listening to a man."

is thus related: "Zaryáb was the pupil of Is'hák, of Maussal, the famous musician, who lived in Baghdad during the reign of Hárún Ar-rashíd. Under the tuition of this celebrated professor Zaryáb learnt music and singing; but he soon made such progress in that science, and displayed so fine a voice, united to a good ear and exquisite taste, that he shortly surpassed his own master, and all the people of Baghdad gave his songs the preference over those of Al-maussalí. However, his master remained long unconscious of his pupil's superiority, until Ar-rashíd having once sent for him asked him, as is well known, to make him acquainted with a fine singer and good performer, whose name should not be known to him; when Al-maussalí mentioned Zaryáb, his pupil, and added—'He is a freedman of thy family; I once heard him sing in so tender a strain, and with so much soul, that I did not hesitate to take him with me, and make him my disciple; he has since very much improved, and whatever he knows he owes to me, who found out his talents, and brought them to light: so great has been his improvement under my discipline, that I have predicted that he will live to be a famous musician.' Ar-rashíd then answered, 'That is the very man I want; bring him here to me, and I will tell him what I want him for.' Zaryáb accordingly appeared before Ar-rashíd, who began to converse with him, and was very much struck with the sweet melody of his voice and his excellent pronunciation. He then asked him, 'What are thy performances in music? Dost thou know how to sing a song?' 'Yes, O prince of the believers!' answered Zaryáb, 'I approve of what people like; but I like many songs which the people do not approve of. I feel confident, however, that thou wilt like them, and if thou give me leave to sing thee one which I have reserved for thee, and which no ears have ever yet heard, I am sure thou wilt be pleased.' Immediately Is'hák's lute was sent for; but when presented to him Zaryáb said, 'Pardon me, O prince of the believers! but I have a lute of my own, constructed with my own hands, and finished according to my method, and I never play on any other instrument; if thou allow me I will send for it; it will be found at the door of thy palace.' This request being readily complied with, Zaryáb's own lute was produced; but no sooner did Ar-rashíd cast his eyes on the instrument, than, seeing it entirely like that which Zaryáb had refused, he could not help remarking, 'What made thee refuse to play on thy master's lute?' 'Please your highness,' replied Zaryáb, 'had the prince of the believers desired me to sing one of my master's songs I would have made use of his instrument; but since it was my lord's pleasure that I should sing one of my own composition I had no choice but to play on my own lute.'—'What difference is there,' said Ar-rashíd, 'between thy instrument and thy master's? for me, I see none; they seem to me perfectly alike.'—'So they are, in appearance, O prince of the believers!' replied Zaryáb, 'but they are very different in voice; for although mine is equal in size, and made of the same wood, yet the weight of it is greater by nearly one-third, and the strings are made of silk, not spun with hot water procured by a woman,<sup>c</sup> while the second, the third, and the fourth strings<sup>d</sup> are made of the entrails of a young lion, which are known to be far superior to those of any other animal in point of strength, deepness of tone, and clearness of sound; besides, they will bear much longer pulsation without being injured, and are not so easily affected by the changes of temperature.' Ar-rashíd was delighted with Zaryáb's explanation of his instrument; he ordered him to sing, and, having tuned his instrument, Zaryáb tried it, and began the following song:—

'O thou fortunate king, born under a happy star! men come to thee morning and evening.'

و اوتاري من حرير لم يغزل بيا سجن يكسبها اناثة

و رخاوة و which conveys no sense whatever. I have substituted و ثنائها و ثنائها  
ثناءها و ثنائها

“ No sooner had Zaryáb finished this first verse than he was interrupted by Ar-rashíd, who began to repeat the air, and said to Is'hák, ‘ By Allah ! were it not that I consider thee a veracious man, and believe that the talents of this youth were entirely unknown to thee ; were it not for his protestations that thou hast never heard this song from him, I would have thee punished immediately for not acquainting me with his abilities ; I order thee to take him under thy special direction, and give him all the instruction thou art capable of, and I shall be the judge of his progress.’ When Is'hák heard the Khalif utter these words he was greatly vexed, and he repented that he had ever mentioned his name,—envy lodged in his heart, and he hated Zaryáb. Some time after the adventure we have just related, Is'hák closeted himself up with his disciple, and addressed him in the following terms : ‘ O Abú-l-hasan ! hear my words. Envy is one of the basest vices, and yet one of the most common in this world, and principally among people following the same profession. It is in vain that men struggle against it ; they never can conquer it. I cannot but confess that I am myself the victim of its attacks ; I feel envious of thy talents, and the high estimation in which thou art held by the Khalif ; and I see no way to free myself from it unless it be by depreciating thee and denying thy abilities ; but in a short time hence thy reputation will increase, and mine will gradually vanish, until thou art considered my superior by every body. This, by Allah ! I will never suffer even from my own son, much less be the instrument of it. On the other side, thou art aware that if thou possess any abilities, it is all owing to my having taken care of thy education, and fostered thy talents ; had I not taught thee all my secrets, thou wouldst never have arrived by thyself at thy present eminence. I have, therefore, to propose to thee two expedients,—either to leave this country immediately and go and settle in distant lands, whence the fame of thy name may never arrive here,—or to remain in this city against my will, living upon thy own resources, having me for thy implacable enemy, and being in perpetual fear and anguish at my enmity. If thou decide for the first, and engage thy word never to return to this country as long as I am alive, I promise to provide thee with every necessary for thy journey, and give thee, besides, whatever sum of money and other articles thou mayest ask from me ; if, on the contrary, thou resolve upon staying, beware ! I shall not cease one moment attacking and harassing thee with all my might, and I shall spare no trouble or expense to obtain thy perdition ; nay, I will risk my life and my property to ensure it. Now consider, and choose.’ Zaryáb left the room, and, having weighed attentively in his mind the reasons given by his master, returned soon afterwards and determined upon leaving the country. Is'hák then kept his word ; he provided Zaryáb with every necessary for the journey, gave him, besides, a very considerable sum of money, and, thus provided with feathers to his wings, Zaryáb took his flight, and left his master, who felt thereby relieved of a great oppression on his heart.

“ However, it happened that Ar-rashíd one day, after hearing Is'hák sing, remembered Zaryáb, and earnestly inquired about him : Is'hák then said, without appearing at all disconcerted, ‘ Whom does the prince of the believers mean ? that insane youth who pretends to hold conversation with the Jinn, and to learn his songs from them ? who thinks that he has not his equal in this world, and that the gifts of the Khalif are to be poured profusely upon his head ? Well, some time ago he took it into his head to forsake the path which promised him so many advantages ; he conceived a dislike to his profession, he began to despise that which would have been a source of honour to him, and he quitted me without telling me whither he was going ; and this I consider quite providential for the prince of the believers, since he was of late subject to attacks of insanity, during which his expressions were exceedingly furious, and his manner so violent that he terrified all those who looked at him.’ Ar-rashíd seemed satisfied with this explanation, and never afterwards inquired about Zaryáb.”

<sup>2</sup> بلاط حميد *Balát Hamíd*. This place is entirely unknown to me. The words I have translated 'in the furthest frontier' may also be rendered by 'the upper end of Aragon;' since the word *Thagher* is, as I have remarked elsewhere (Note 11, p. 314), susceptible of both meanings, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. and his predecessor made considerable conquests on the other side of the Pyrenees.

The passage here quoted from Al-bekrî may be found in the copy of his *Kitábu-l-memálek wa-l-mesálek* in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 87, *verso*, in the chapter treating about the Bení Idrís, which, although extremely interesting, does not appear in the extracts published in French by M. de Quatremère (see the 12th vol. *des Not. et Ext. du MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*), and will be found translated in the Appendix to the second volume of this translation.

<sup>3</sup> كُنا في ترقيب السلطان say both copies, as well as the original, which seems to imply that they were flying from his anger.

<sup>4</sup> كساک الغليظة that is, 'thy rough or thick coat;' instead of which I read in my copy *بردة burdah*, a word which means the same thing, and whence the Spaniards have derived the words *burdo* and *burda*, adjectives given to a cloak made of very coarse cloth, and to the cloth itself.

<sup>5</sup> Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn مردنیش Mardanîsh was the name of an independent chieftain who rose in the eastern districts of Andalus during the civil wars between the Almoravides and Almohades. He embraced the party of the former. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 54, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 280, 299, 373, *et passim*.

<sup>6</sup> ان اكر علي الكتيبة لا ابالي . احتفي كان فيها او سواها  
Instead of الكتيبة B. reads الكتيبة which changes neither the meaning nor the measure.

<sup>7</sup> This anecdote is related by Ibnu-l-khattîb in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians (Arab. MS. in my possession), in the life of Hâtim Ibn Sa'id, uncle of Ibnu Sa'id, the author of the *Al-mugh'rib*, who is there mentioned as the person to whom these words were addressed by Ibn Mardanîsh. It is said to have happened in A.H. 560, at the battle of الجلاب *Al-jelâb*, in which the troops of Ibn Mardanîsh were defeated by the Almohades. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 372.

<sup>8</sup> The name of this warrior is differently written in the various copies. A. reads Abú 'Abdillah Ibn كادوس *Kadús*; B. كادوس *Kádús*; my copy كادس *Kádís*. I find no mention of him either in Casiri or Conde, nor, as far as I know, in any of the old Spanish chronicles. But looking some time ago over a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (No. 105 in Nicoll's Catalogue), entitled سراج الملوك (*lamp of the kings*), and treating of the science of government, the raising of armies, and every thing connected with war, I was not a little surprised to find this and the following anecdotes word for word.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup> The hero is there called ابن قيجون *Ibn Kayjún*, and said to have been one of the generals of Al-muktadir Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, who, knowing his merit, used to reward him with five hundred gold dinárs for every great battle he fought with the Christians.

As the author of the said work, Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-walíd Al-fehrí At-tortoshí (of Tortosa), lived before Ibnu Sa'íd, and even before Ibn Ghálib, there can be no doubt that he was the authority for this and other anecdotes which, together with many more of the same kind, may be read in his very interesting work. The copy in the Bodleian is a small octavo of about four hundred pages, badly written in a large, careless, *neskhi* hand; diacritical points are often wanting, and the numerous blunders which, at every step, meet the eye, show that the copyist was one of those illiterate transcribers with whom the East has at all times been infested, to the utter discomfiture of the Oriental scholar. The life of the author is to be found in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 616). His entire name was Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-walíd Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khalf Ibn Suleymán Ibn Ayúb Al-korayshí Al-fehrí At-tortoshí Al-andalusí. He was also known by the surname of *زندقة ابن* *زندقة* Ibn Zendakah, which that biographer says is a Frank word, meaning *زند تَعْلِي* 'he has denied the Omnipotent,' but which, in all probability, is nothing more than the feminine of the word *zendik*, and means 'the son of the fire-worshipper, or unbeliever.' At-tortoshí was born in four hundred and forty-five, or, as in other copies, in four hundred and fifty-one (A.D. 1053-9); he died at Alexandria, in five hundred and twenty-one (A.D. 1126-7).

<sup>9</sup> Haríz Ibn Hakem Ibn *عكاشة* 'Okkáshah (the son of the spider) was a general of Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo. His life occurs in the *Kitábu-l-hollati-s-seyrá* (or silken vest), a biography of illustrious Moslems, by Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1654, and also in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12). He is represented as a warrior of undaunted courage and great abilities, and a man of great physical strength, colossal size, and uncommon dexterity in handling all the weapons of war. He made his first campaign under Abú-l-walíd Ibn Jehwar, Wizír of Cordova, whose party he followed during the civil wars which distracted that kingdom towards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra. "When Cordova was taken by treachery by the troops of Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, (A.H. 435,) Haríz was seized, with other Cordovan chiefs who were obnoxious to the usurpers, and cast into prison, but he contrived some time afterwards to make his escape. He took refuge at the court of Al-mámún, King of Toledo, whence he soon returned to Cordova at the head of a powerful army, besieged that city, and killed Seráju-d-daulah Ibn 'Abbád, son of the King of Seville. Haríz continued to govern Cordova until the death of Al-mámún, King of Toledo (A.H. 469), when Al-mu'atamed, anxious to revenge the death of his son, appeared again in sight of Cordova with a considerable camp, and pressed the siege with great ardour. After a most obstinate defence of several months, Haríz was at last obliged, through the want of provisions, to abandon the city. He accordingly sallied out at the head of a few followers by the gate of Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, while the victorious troops of Al-mu'atamed were making their way into the town by that of Algesiras; but, being closely pursued by Al-mu'atamed, who thirsted for revenge, he was overtaken, and transfixed by a lance which the King of Seville thrust at him: his head was then severed from his body, paraded through the streets of Cordova, and, at last, nailed by the side of a dog to a wooden plank, where it was left exposed to wild beasts and the birds of prey.

"Haríz left one son, named Ahmed, who inherited his courage and military talents, and whom Yahya, son of Al-mámún, King of Toledo, appointed to be governor of Calatrava, in consideration of his father's services. Ahmed, however, was not long in sharing his father's fate; he was assassinated in the year four hundred and eighty (A.D. 1087-8), by the order of Al-mu'atamed." See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 45; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 38, et seq.

The last-mentioned writer, with his usual negligence, calls this general at times *Hariz ben Alhakem Alcasha* (see p. 38), at others *Haris Ben Alhakem* (see p. 27), and *Hariz Ben Okeisa* (p. 56).

<sup>10</sup> *ادفونش Adfonsh*, or *Adefonsh*, from *Adefonsus*,—as this word was written and pronounced in the middle ages,—was the name of several Kings of Castile and Leon. The present can be no other than Alfonso VI., who, after the assassination of his brother, Sancho II. of Castile, before the walls of Zamora, in 1072 of our era, united on his head the crowns of Castile and Leon; the same king who, some years afterwards, assisted Al-mámún in his wars against Al-mu'atamed, and who, after the death of the former Sultán, snatched from his son Yahya the city of Toledo in 1085.

<sup>11</sup> The word *رهن rehn*, in Spanish *rehen*, means 'a hostage.' That which I have translated by 'noblemen' is *ملوك molúk*, which is often used by Arabian writers to designate 'feudal lords.'

<sup>12</sup> *قلعة رباح Kal'at Rabáh* (now *Calatrava la vieja*) is a town situate on the southern bank of the river Guadiana, four leagues N. E. of Ciudad Real, the capital of La Mancha, and about fifty miles south of Toledo. It was called also 'the white city,' *Medínatu-l-baydhá*, no doubt owing to the quality of the ground on which it stands,—a sort of whitish clay. It was built by Rabáh, one of the captains who came with Músa Ibn Nosseyr to the conquest of Spain. In 1158 it became the possession of the famous military order of that name, to which it was intrusted for defence.

<sup>13</sup> *براز baráz* is an enclosed field prepared for tournaments, races, and other military sports. It means also 'an arena, or spot for single combat;' *báraz* means 'to go out of the ranks to fight an enemy in presence of the army.'

<sup>14</sup> *Kal'at Haríz* (the castle of Haríz), no doubt because it owed either its foundation or its restoration to the above-mentioned general. There is in Spain a town called Castro-Xeriz, which might well be the same here intended, as the words *Castro-Xeriz* are but a translation of *Kal'at Haríz*, since Castro, from the Latin *Castrum* (whence the modern words *Castillo*, *Castiel*, *Castin*, *Castelar*, *Castril*, *Castillon*, *Castillejo*, so common on the map of Spain), means 'a castle or fortress;' but being in the province of Burgos, and on the limits of that of Valencia, a country which had then long ceased to belong to the Arabs, the conjecture cannot be admitted.

There is another town south-west of Toledo, in the province now called Estremadura, named Xerez de los Caballeros (Xerez of the knights), to distinguish it from the city of the same name close to Cadiz, and which may be the place intended.

<sup>15</sup>

و هلاً في العيان	∴	يا فريداً دون ثان
مثل دهن البليسان	∴	عدم الراج فصارت

<sup>16</sup>

بين انباء الزمان	∴	يا فريداً لا يجاري
جاده صوب البيان	∴	جاء من شعرك روض
كسايك الحسان	∴	فبعثناها سلفاً

<sup>17</sup> The Christian monarch here alluded to can be no other than Sancho Ramirez, son of Ramiro I., King of Aragon, who was killed at the siege of Huesca, in A.D. 1094. The manner of his death is, however, differently related by the Christian chroniclers, who all say that having approached too near the walls, with the view of reconnoitring, he was, while raising his hand to show a point where the assault might be made, mortally wounded by an arrow in his right side.

<sup>18</sup> This is the same writer I have mentioned at Note 30, p. 319. The anecdote here related is also given by Ibnu-l-khattib in the life of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'id, who was then feudal lord of the castle of Yahseb, and who is represented as having been so much pleased with the interview that he contracted an intimate friendship with Al-hijári, and called upon him to write the *Mas'hab*, that historical work which 'Abdu-l-málik himself, and other members of his family, continued after his death. A fuller account of the family of the Bení Sa'id will be given in another part of this work.

<sup>19</sup> The Bení Sa'id were lords of a certain castle called *يَحْصَب* *Yahseb*, or, according to other authorities, *يَحْصَب* *Yohseb*, and *يَحْصَب* *Yahsob* (now Alcalá la Real), in the territory of Granada. Ibnu-l-khattib, in his description of the districts surrounding that capital, says, *واقليم قلعة يحصب* و اقليم قلعة يحصب 'the district of *Kal'at Yahseb*, to the north-west of Elbira, at a distance of twenty miles.' It was also called *Al-kal'ah Bení Sa'id* (the castle of the Bení Sa'id), as appears from an ancient Spanish romance :

"Alcalá de Abençayde

"Que aora real se llama."

I find also mention of this castle in another work by Ibnu-l-khattib, being the narrative of a journey made to Africa through the Mohammedan dominions in Spain (Arab. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1750).

"The castle of the Bení Sa'id," says that illustrious writer, "was in former times called *شطير* *Shattir* ? owing to a fountain of this name in the neighbourhood. It was afterwards called *Kal'at Yahseb*, from the name of an Arabian tribe who settled in it soon after the conquest, and it is now denominated "after the Bení Sa'id, who were Lords of it."

20

عليك احالني الذكر بجميل

<sup>21</sup> 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín Ibn Bádís Ibn Habús was the last Sultán of the Zeyri dynasty who reigned at Granada. He was dispossessed of his states by Yúsuf Ibn Táshfin, Sultán of the Al-murábetin (Almoravides), and sent in irons to Africa in four hundred and eighty-three of the Hijra (A. D. 1090-1). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 256.

<sup>22</sup> Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-hamíd Ibn Ghánim was Wizír to the Sultán Mohammed, the fourth sovereign of the family of Umeyyah. He also commanded his armies. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 39; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 302.

<sup>23</sup> Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Abú Kháled was, according to Ibnu-l-abbár, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 36), Wizír and commander of the forces under Mohammed. After the death of this Sultán, his son and successor, Al-mundhir, continued him in office, but, being displeased with him,

he put him in prison, confiscated his property, and soon afterwards condemned him to be beheaded on Sunday the twenty-sixth of Shawwāl of the year two hundred and seventy-three of the Hijra (April, A. D. 887).

<sup>24</sup> صاحب الدرة *Sāhibu-d-darkah* (shield-bearer). The word *darkah*, whence the Spanish *adarga*, means 'a short light shield, target, or buckler,' made of a buffalo's hide.

<sup>25</sup> 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn فطيس *Foteys* was no doubt a Slavonian eunuch, to whom the name of 'Abdu-r-rahmán was given after his conversion. All the Slavonians who composed the body-guard of the Khalifs, or who filled offices in the palace, were previously made Moslems. However, the name of *Fatís* or *Foteys* is not uncommon among Spanish Arabs. I may quote as an example *Abū 'Abdillāh Mohammed Ibn Fatís* (or *Foteys*) *Al-gháfekí Al-elbírí* (from *Elvira*), who is counted by *Ibnu-l-khattāb* in the number of the illustrious men who were born or resided in *Granada*.

<sup>26</sup> *Abū Yahya Mohammed Ibn صَادِح Samádeh*, surnamed *Al-mu'atasseb-billah*, succeeded his father, *Abū-l-ahwas Ma'n*, King of *Almeria*, in the year four hundred and forty-three of the Hijra (A. D. 1051-2). He occupied the throne until four hundred and eighty-four. *Conde* calls him *Almutasim Ebn Somide*, (see *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 157;) *Moura*, (see p. 162 of his translation,) *Damadad*.

The palace here called '*Samádehiyyah*,' after that monarch's name, must have been called by the Arabs *medínat*, i. e. 'a city;' perhaps, like the *Medínatu-z-zahrá*, near *Cordova*, it was more of a town than a palace, for I find that *Ibn Khallekán* calls *Al-mu'atasseb* "King of *Almeria*, *Bejénah*, and *Samádehiyyah*." See *Ibn Khallekán's lives*, No. 698, *Tyd. Ind.*

<sup>27</sup> The word ساقية *sákiyyah*, whence the Spanish *azequia* is derived, means 'an artificial rivulet in a garden, or a canal for the purpose of irrigation.'

<sup>28</sup> A quotation from the *Korán*, 38th chapter, verse 22. See *Sale's translation*, edit. 1734, p. 373.

<sup>29</sup> *Abū 'Amir الارقم Ibnu-l-arkam* was a distinguished poet, and a *Wizír* of *Al-mu'atasseb Ibn Samádeh*, King of *Almeria*. His life may be read in my copy of the *Kaláyid*, by *Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán*, although not to be found in that of the *Escorial*, the index of which was given by *Casiri*, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 103.

<sup>30</sup> اباد ابن عباد البربرا . . . و افن بن معن دجاج القرري

<sup>31</sup> *Ibn Ma'n* being the name of one of *Al-mu'atasseb's* ancestors, all the princes of his family who reigned at *Almeria* are simply designated by the Arabian historians under the generic appellation of "*Ibnu Ma'n*" (the descendant of *Ma'n*).

<sup>32</sup> If by *Al-mundhir* the writer means the sixth Sultán of the family of *Umeyyah*, he was not the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., (as our author here insinuates by mistake,) but of *Mohammed*, whom he succeeded on the throne in the year two hundred and seventy-three of the Hijra (A. D. 886). However,

he may have been one of the sons of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., although no mention of him occurs either in the extracts given by Casiri, or in Conde's history, or in any of the Arabian historians whom I have had opportunity to consult. The same might be said of his brother Ya'kúb, who is mentioned a little lower.

### CHAPTER III.

<sup>1</sup> The reign of Al-hakem II. has deservedly been called the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain. That Sultán, himself a lover of letters, which he cultivated with success, had numerous agents in the East constantly employed in purchasing scarce and curious books, and no work of any note was written of which a copy was not immediately sent to him. By these means, as well as by his liberality and encouragement of literature at home, he succeeded in amassing a collection of books, the unfinished catalogue of which, in the words of Ibnu-l-abbár, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 202), reached forty-four volumes. Even admitting that the number of volumes is greatly exaggerated, the fact of a public library of such magnitude being formed in Europe in the tenth century of our era is more than sufficient to establish, in the absence of other proofs, the superior culture and civilisation of the Spanish Arabs. In the Appendix C. at the end of the volume the reader will find some curious information upon this library.

<sup>2</sup> A sale by auction is called in Arabic *المناداة* *al-munádah*, whence the Spanish *almoneda*. The crier or auctioneer was called *نَادٍ* *nád* and also *سَوَّاقٍ* *sawwák*, whence the Spaniards have made *zaguacador*, a sort of market broker still employed in the markets and fairs of Africa. See Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion de Africa*, fo. 87, verso; and Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium.

<sup>3</sup> *انه يعطي من لا له سنن* This seems to be the origin of the Spanish proverbs—"Da Dios havas á quien no tiene quixadas"—"Da Dios almendras á quien no tiene muelas"—"Da Dios nuezes á quien no tiene dientes"—that is to say, "God gives beans to those who have no jaws; he gives almonds to those who have no double teeth; he gives walnuts to those who have no front teeth." Mr. Shakspeare, who has introduced this anecdote in his description of Cordova, translated from Al-makkari, (see *Hist. of the Moh. Emp. in Spain*, p. 164,) has understood this proverb differently, and rendered it by "He gives away the nut who has no teeth;" but the reading in my manuscript being as above leaves no doubt as to which is the true meaning.

<sup>4</sup> *زنديق* *zindik* (more correctly *zendík*, which forms its plural *زنادقة* *zanádikah*), is the word by which the Arabs generally designate all heretics of the numerous sects which have at various times sprung up among them. The word, in its origin, meant a follower of the Magian sect, or a fire-worshipper, a Saducean, a man who is neither a Christian, nor a Jew, nor a Mohammedan, and who professes no religion whatever. The word is thus explained in the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib*, an Arabic dictionary in my possession. *الزنديق معروف وزندقته انه لا يؤمن بالآخرة و وحدانية الخالق و عن ثعلب*