

ليس زنديق ولا فرزين من كلام العرب قال و معناه علي ما يقوله العامة ملحد و دُهْرِي و عن ابن دريد انه فارسي معرب واصله زنده اي يقول بدوام بقاء الدهر و في مفاتيح العلوم الزنادقة هم الهانوية و كان المزدكية يُسمون بذلك و مزدك هو الذي ظهر في ايام قباد و زعم ان الاموال الحرام مشتركة و اظهر كتاباً سماه زنداً و هو كتاب المجوس الذي جاء به زردشت الذي يزعمون انه نبي فنسب اصحاب مزدك الي زند و عرّبت الكلمة فقليل زنديق

"*Zendik* is a well-known epithet generally applied to those who deny a future life, the immortality of the soul, and the unity of God. Tha'leb says that the word *zendik*, like the word *firzán*, is not Arabic, and that its meaning is 'a heretic, an impious man.' Ibn Dureyd thinks that it is a Persian word introduced into the Arabic language; that it takes its origin from the word '*zendah*,' meaning 'the everlasting duration of time.' In the work entitled *Mafátiḥu-l-'olím* (keys to the sciences) it is said that the *zanádikah* are the same as the followers of Mání (Manichæans), and that the Mazdakís were also called *zanádikah*. Mazdak was a man who appeared in the days of Kobád, and who preached that all property, which is by law considered as sacred and private, should be held in common, and brought out a book entitled *Zendá*, the same book which Zardasht (Zoroaster), the pretended prophet and founder of the Magian sect, gave to the world. It is said that the followers of Mazdak took their name from this book, and were called *Ahlez-zend* (the people of the *Zend*), which word was afterwards Arabicised, and corrupted into *Zendik*."

Mazdak and Mání were two impostors who agitated Persia. The former flourished under Kobád, the father of Kosroes Núshirwán. Mání lived in the times of Shapor, son of Ardeshir Babegán. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Mani*, *Mazdak*, *Zendik*.

On the action attributed a little lower down to Al-mansúr the reader may consult the Appendix C. at the end of this volume.

⁵ Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Khalíl Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Amrah Ibn Temím Al-faráhídí, one of the most famous grammarians that the Arabs ever had, died, according to Ibn Khallekán (see *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 219), in the year 130 of the Hijra. Casiri (vol. i. p. 166) says in the year 75, which is a mistake.

⁶ *Sibauyeh* is the surname of the famous grammarian Abú Bashár 'Amrú Ibn 'Othmán Al-farsí (the Persian), whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (No. 515 in *Tyd. Ind.*) According to this author the word سيبوية may be pronounced either *Sibúyeh*, which means, in Persian, 'the scent of an apple,' from سيب (apple), and بوي (scent), or سيبوية *Sibauyeh*. The same author adds that Abú Bashár was so called from his having rosy cheeks: he died towards the end of the eighth century of our era. See Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mos.* vol. ii. p. 72, *et seq.*; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Sibouieh*; and De Sacy, *Relat. de l'Egypte*, p. 482, note 36.

⁷ This passage is important, inasmuch as it settles the long contested point about the etymology of the

Spanish word *mozárabe*, which has no other origin than the Arabic مستعرب *musta'rab*, meaning a man who tries to imitate or to become an Arab, in his manners and language, and who, though he may know Arabic, speaks it like a foreigner. Under this denomination the Spanish Arabs comprised all the Christians living in Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and other large cities, in the exercise of their laws and religion; and in this sense the word is frequently used by Ibnu-l-khattāb, Ibnu Bashkūwāl, and other Arabian writers. The origin which most Spanish historians, with the exception of Casiri (see *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 18), have given to this word is not only inadmissible, but ridiculous. They say that the *Mozárabes* of Toledo were called so (*Musa Arabes*) from the fact of their having capitulated with Músa Ibn Nosseyr; but, firstly, Toledo was not taken by Músa, but by his freedman Tárík, who preceded him; secondly, no capitulation was granted to the Christians of that city, who, according both to Christian and Arabian authorities, fled to the mountains of Asturias with such valuables as they could save from the hands of the conquerors; and thirdly, had the Christian population of Toledo been called after the name of their conqueror, they would have been styled *Musa-gothi*, or some such name, but by no means *Arabes*.

Others, again, derive it from *Mixti-Arabes*; but is it likely, I ask, that the Arabs should use two Latin words to denominate a nation living under their sway and in the midst of their cities? As to the conjecture of an English writer, Mr. Weston, in his 'Remains of Arabic in the Spanish and Portuguese Languages,' London, 1810, namely, that the "Christians were called *Mozárabes*, that is, *Mesechee-Arabes* " or Arabs of the Messiah, because they retained their own religious worship," it is both ridiculous and absurd.

The Muzarabs of Toledo having been the first Christians of any large Mohammedan capital to be redeemed from their yoke by the arms of Alfonso VI., in the year 1085 of our era, and the Visigothic liturgy having been in use among them, as well as among the Christians of other considerable towns of Spain, the missal which contained their religious rites was called from them *el officio Muzárabe* (the Muzarabic ritual).

⁸ Most of the MSS. in the Escorial Library are written in a sort of hand generally used in Spain from the third to the eighth century of the Hijra. Casiri, mistaking it for the Kúfí, or the system of writing used by the people of Kúfah, described all the manuscripts of this kind as '*Cuphícis litteris exarati*,' an error since adopted by most of the writers who have blindly compiled or borrowed from his works, without having the practical knowledge requisite to detect his mistakes. It is true that the character in which three or four of the oldest manuscripts in that library are written very much resembles the Kúfí in the size and form of the letters, which are almost square, but even these bear the distinctive mark of the Western hand-writing, namely, the point under, instead of over, the *fa*, and only one upon the *kof*. I should have thought, and it is generally believed to be so, that the hand-writing used in Spain in the fourth and fifth centuries — and of which there are numerous specimens in the Escorial — was originally from Africa, whence it passed into Spain; but, according to Ibnu Khaldún (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 127), the contrary seems to have happened. That eminent author says that during the great emigration of the fifth century of the Hijra the Spanish Arabs introduced their hand-writing into Eastern Africa, when it entirely superseded that which was generally in use there, so as to leave no traces whatever of it except in the *Beládu-l-jeríd*.

⁹ I am not quite sure of having well understood this passage, which is of some importance: فما تجد
له في القلب و اللحظ من القبول فمسلم له

¹⁰ Thus in A. كتاب المسالك و النحال في اخبار ابي الحلبي. Another MS. reads و السالك و الهلبي. Neither title, however, is to be found in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Index; that writer being but slightly versed in the literature of the Spanish Moslems, it is seldom that he gives the titles of works written in Mohammedan Spain. I have also looked in vain in Ibnu-l-khattib's Biographical Dictionary for the life of the author. Instead of ابو الحلبي Abú-l-halyi, as I have spelt this word, it might be written Abú-l-holí, or Abú-l-hilí, but the word 'mahállí,' with which it is no doubt intended to rhyme, has decided me to adopt the former reading. I have omitted an uninteresting story told of this doctor, who once found a cat of his dipping her paw in flour and feeding herself with it, &c.

¹¹ Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár (or Mokhtár) Ar-ro'ayní. Ibnu-l-khattib, in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians, mentions various Andalusian authors who took the patronymic Ar-ro'ayní, because of their being the descendants of Dhú-ro'ayn. Of this number were Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wálí Al-'awád (the lute player), who died in six hundred and fifty (A. D. 1252-3); Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wálí, a brother of the preceding, who died in six hundred and eighty (1281-2); Abú-l-kásim Ibn Abí-l-kásim, of Xativa (see p. 67 of this transl.), who died in four hundred and twenty-nine (A. D. 1037-8); and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-l-bar Ar-ro'ayní, who died in seven hundred and thirty-nine (A. D. 1338-9). Lastly, Al-makkarí counts in the number of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain to travel in the East one whose name was 'Isa Ibn Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ar-ro'ayní. Conde also mentions one whose name was Mohammed (see vol. i. p. 624). But of this Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár, who no doubt belonged to the family, I have been unable to obtain any particulars.

¹² Zohayr Al-'amirí, a Slavonian eunuch of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, succeeded another Slavonian eunuch of the name of خيران Kheyrán on the throne of Almeria, in the year four hundred and nineteen of the Hijra (A. D. 1028-9). Like his predecessor, he seems to have exercised royalty, but without assuming either the name or the insignia, contenting himself with the modest title of 'Hájib of the Bení Umeyyah,' for whom, and in whose name, he professed to hold his dominions during the usurpation of the Bení Hamúd. He was killed while defending his capital, Almeria, against 'Alí Ibn Hamúd. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 108, 206, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 598.

¹³ من شرطك — the *shorat*, plural of *shortah*, were a body of soldiers attached to the person of a governor or civil magistrate of a town. They were also the executioners of his sentences. (See a preceding note, p. 398, No. 30.) During the minority of Hishám II., his Hájib, Al-mansúr, who usurped the authority, and assumed all the insignia of royalty, had a body-guard of this sort attached to his person. See p. 134.

¹⁴ الزهري Az-zahrí, which may likewise be pronounced Az-zohrí. Adh-dhobí, in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious men (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. of Mad., Gg. 14), gives the life of a preacher and Kádí of Seville whose name was Abú-l-hasan Az-zohrí, and who might very well be the person here intended.

¹⁵ I find no account of this individual in any of the biographical dictionaries to which I have had access.

¹⁶ ذُو الرِّمَّةِ *Dhú-r-rommah* is the surname of a famous poet, called Abú-l-hareth Ghaylán Ibn 'Okbah, who flourished in the second century of the Hijra: his life may be read in Ibn Khallekán (No. 534 in *Tyd. Ind.*). Casiri wrote his name *Ramah*, but it is an error, for I find in the *Kitábu-l-muntekhab fi-l-loghah*, by Ibn Koteybah, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7525, fo. 21, verso,) that *rommah* means 'a rope, the threads of which are worn out,' الرِّمَّةُ الجبل البالي, and Ibn Khallekán adds that he was thus called from the circumstance of his having written an ode which began thus: اشعت باقي رمة التقييد. It is probable that the word *maroma*, which in Spanish means 'a cable,' comes from the same root.

The expression "the book having been but recently published" must be applied to some commentary on the poems of Dhú-r-rommah, for the works of that poet, one of the most ancient among the Arabs, had been published and commented upon by Spanish Moslems long before the time here alluded to. (See Háji Khalfah, voc. *Díwán Dhí-rommah*.) Ibn Khallekán says of Ibn Zohr (Abú-l-'ala Ibn Zohr) that he knew the poems of Dhú-r-rommah by heart.

¹⁷ The meaning of the word *muwashshahah* has already been explained (see Note 14, p. 408); it is, like *kassidah* and *zajalah*, a species of poem.

¹⁸ That is, by Abú Merwán Al-báji, a rebel who got possession of Seville in A. H. 620. See a preceding note, p. 397.

¹⁹ Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 135) mentions an historian named Abú 'Omar Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah الظلمكي At-talamankí (of Salamanca), where he was born in three hundred and forty of the Hijra (A. D. 991-2). He wrote a Biographical Dictionary containing the lives of eminent Spanish historians, and died in four hundred and thirty of the Hijra (A. D. 1038-9).

²⁰ ان يسعوا علي الغريب البصنف may also be translated 'to hear marvellous anecdotes of authors,' but I prefer the version in the text, especially as I find in Háji Khalfah that *Gharibu-l-musannif* is the title of a work by Abú 'Amru Is'hák Ibn Marár Ash-sheybaní, who died in the year two hundred and six (A. D. 821-2), the same that was commented upon by several writers, and, among others, by Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed, of Murcia, who died close upon four hundred and sixty (A. D. 1067).

²¹ The life of this grammarian occurs in Ibnu-l-abbár (*loco laudato*), as well as in Ibn Khallekán (No. 460, *Tyd. Ind.*) I here translate the account of the last mentioned biographer. "Abú-l-hasan "Alí Ibn Isma'íl, known by the surname of Ibnu-s-sidah, was the prince of his time in the "science of language and rhetoric, as well as in memory. He wrote several books on grammar and "lexicography, such as كتاب الحكم في اللغة *Kitábu-l-muhkami* (or rather *muhkamu*) *fi-l-loghati* " (the book of the foundations of the language), which is a voluminous work embracing all matters "connected with the language; كتاب المخصص في اللغة *Kitábu-l-mukhassass fi-l-loghati* (the book "of the properties of the language), also an extensive work; and كتاب الايق في شرح الحماسة *Kitábu-l-anik fi sharhi-l-hamásah* (the book of beauty on the commentary of the Hamásah), in six "volumes; with many more of the same kind and equal merits. Abú-l-hasan was born blind, as

“also his father and grandfather, but this did not prevent him from becoming the most profound rhetorician and grammarian of his age. He first received lessons from his father, then from Abú-l-'ala Sá'id, of Baghdád, and lastly from Abú 'Omar, of Salamanca. The last mentioned author relates an anecdote which occurred to him,” &c. (the same that the author has just recounted). De Sacy has also treated of this author in several of his works. See *Chr. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 103, and *Journ. des Savans*, 1819, p. 726. See also p. 37 of this translation, and p. 335, Note 33.

²² Both the original and the epitome place Ibnu-s-sídah's death in the year 401, but Ibn Khallekán says that he died at Denia, on the evening of Sunday the 26th of Rabi' ii. of the year 458, or, according to other authorities, 448, at the age of sixty or thereabout. Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iv. p. 208) partakes of the same opinion. (See also D'Herb. voc. *Seidah*, and Rossi, *Dizionario Storico*, voc. *Seira*.) Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 168) says that he flourished towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra, which agrees better with the date given by Al-makkari. However, if Ibnu-s-sídah received lessons, as Ibnu-l-abbár and Ibn Khallekán seem to insinuate, from Abú 'Omar At-talamankí (of Salamanca), who died in 430, the date fixed by the above writers for the death of Ibnu-s-sídah, viz. four hundred and fifty-eight (A.D. 1065-6), seems the most probable.

The *Kitábu-l-mukhassass*, mentioned by Ibn Khallekán, is an Arabic dictionary composed of twenty-four volumes, or parts, two of which, the sixteenth and seventeenth, written in the city of Murcia, the birth-place of the author, about a century after his death, are preserved in the Escorial Library under No. 575. Parts of this dictionary may also be found in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., as also in the Medicean Library. (See their respective catalogues.) I ought to observe that the surname of this writer (Ibn Sídah or Ibnu-s-sídah) has been incorrectly written *Seydah* by almost every Oriental scholar. Casiri calls him sometimes *Ibn Seyra*, and at others *Sada*; D'Herbelot, *Seidah*; Reiske, *Seida*; Hamacker, *Seyidah*. (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i.) His real surname, as I find it in Ibn Khallekán, is *ابن سيد* *Ibnu-s-sídah* (the son of the she-wolf, or lioness), for the word *sídah*, the feminine of *síd*, partakes of both meanings.

²³ The life of this writer (who is no other than the *Avempace* of the middle ages) will be found in the Appendix A. at the end of this volume, as translated from Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah. Casiri, who also gives an account of that philosopher translated from Ibnu-l-khattíb, calls him at times Abú-l-hasan 'Alí (see vol. ii. p. 110), and at others Abú Bekr Yahya (see vol. i. p. 178).

²⁴ Instead of Granada the MS. A. reads Cordova. I have chosen the former reading, as it appears by Ibnu-l-khattíb that Ibn Bájeħ resided mostly in Granada and Seville.

²⁵ Abú Hayyán the grammarian: Al-makkari has treated of this writer at considerable length in various parts of his work, but especially in Part I. Book v., where he speaks about the illustrious Andalusians who left their country to travel to the East. As Abú Hayyán has not unfrequently been mistaken for Ibnu Hayyán, of Cordova, an historian who preceded him by nearly two centuries, I have thought it necessary to give here some extracts from his life, which occupies the fo. 174 and following in A., and 142-160 in B. “His entire name was Abú Hayyán Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí Ibn ‘Yúsuf Ibn Hayyán *الفري* [Al-nefezi?] Al-athíri, of Granada; he became the prince of Western grammarians, and acquired the greatest reputation by his works both in Andalus and in Egypt, where he resided a long time, inhabiting the college called after Al-mansúr, in Alexandria, to which he was

“ appointed lecturer on the science of the interpretation of the Korán. He there received the honorary
 “ appellation of Athíru-d-dín (the chosen friend of religion), by which he is generally known among the
 “ learned. Ibn Marzúk, from whose work the preceding is an abridgement, makes him a native of
 “ Granada, but Ibn Jábir, of Guadix, in his ‘ Eastern Travels,’ gives him the patronymic of Al-jayení (of
 “ Jaen), and says that he was born in the town of مطحشارس Mattakhasháres, near Jaen, towards the
 “ end of Shawwál of the year six hundred and fifty-four (Nov. A.D. 1256). If, however, we follow
 “ Ar-ro’ayní’s opinion, Abú Hayyán was born in the district of Granada. But this may be easily
 “ reconciled, as most of the territory of Jaen was then a dependency of Granada.

“ Abú Hayyán, when still young, quitted his native place in order to repair to the East. He first
 “ visited Granada, Malaga, Velez, Almeria, and Bejénah, in Andalus; after this he saw Túnis and
 “ Alexandria, Cairo, Damietta; from thence he went to الرحلة Mahlah, نهرمس [Nahrmes?], and
 “ Jízze; then to Minyat-Khassíb, Dashna, Kana, Kúss, Belbís, and ‘Aydhab, in the land of the blacks:
 “ he also went to Mekka and Medína, and in every one of these places he never failed to converse with
 “ learned men, and to gather the most precious information respecting the history of their respective
 “ countries, and anecdotes of illustrious individuals.

“ The cause of Abú Hayyán’s departure for the East is thus related by Ibn Rájih. They say that
 “ enmity arose between him and one of his preceptors, whose name was Ahmed Ibn ‘Alí Ibnu-t-tabá’,
 “ owing to Ibnu Hayyán having composed a work which he entitled الاباع في فساد اجازة ابن الطباع
 “ (the shining of the stars on the bad method of teaching followed by Ibnu-t-tabá’), and that the
 “ injured man having made a complaint to the Amír Mohammed Ibn Nasr, Abú Hayyán, fearing his
 “ revenge, left his native town in the year six hundred and seventy-nine of the Hijra (A.D. 1280-1).
 “ However, as we have already observed, Abú Hayyán quitted Andalus, and travelled to Africa proper,
 “ Egypt, Syria, and Hejáz, collecting every where the valuable information, which, like so many
 “ inestimable pearls, he afterwards scattered through his writings. All authors agree in designating him
 “ as the king of his age in grammar أمير الروميين في النحو and as one who knew no rival as long
 “ as he lived. He was, likewise, an excellent poet, as his works sufficiently testify: as to his attainments
 “ in the science of traditions, his commentaries on the Korán, his deep acquaintance with civil law, and
 “ his profound learning in history, and anecdotes of illustrious men, chiefly Western Arabs, it will be in
 “ vain for any author of future ages to attempt to equal them. He distinguished himself above all
 “ things in that science which has for its object the spelling of proper names, since those of the
 “ Andalusians, owing to their proximity to the country of Afranj (France), and their constant commerce
 “ and intermixture with the Christians, are well known to partake mostly of a construction entirely
 “ contrary to the rules of Arabic grammar.

“ Abú Hayyán was a great favourite with Seyfu-d-dín Arghún, (see D’Herb. *voc.* Arghoun,) the
 “ superintendent of the slaves of كافل الممالك Al-malek An-nássir Mohammed, Sultán of Egypt.
 “ He lived with him on terms of the greatest friendship, dwelling at his castle of الجبل Al-habl. When
 “ Abú Hayyán’s daughter, Nadhár, died, Arghún interceded with the Sultán to grant the disconsolate
 “ father permission to bury her at his own house in Cairo, in the quarter of that city called Barkiyyah.
 “ The permission was granted, and Abú Hayyán accordingly deposited the remains of his beloved
 “ daughter in his house in that city.

“ Abú Hayyán (continues Ibn Rájih) was a rather tall man, he had a noble forehead, a fine and rosy
 “ complexion. When I saw him last his hair was scanty and grey, but he still wore it loose and long;
 “ he had a beautiful and thick-set beard; his manners were elegant, and his conversation exceedingly

“eloquent and agreeable, only that he spoke the dialect used in Andalus, and pronounced Arabic according to the fashion of his own native country; for instance, the letter ق he always uttered with a sound very much resembling the ك so as to make almost no distinction when he was reading the Korán, and I heard him once say, ‘The people of this country do not know how to pronounce the letter ق’—This eminent man (may God show him mercy!) died at his dwelling, out of Cairo and close to the *Bábu-l-bahr* (the gate of the sea), on a Saturday the twenty-eighth of Safar of seven hundred and forty-five (July, A.D. 1344), after the hour of evening prayers, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of the Sáfis, out of the *Bábu-n-nasr* (the gate of Nasser). When the news of his death reached Damascus, the sorrow was universal, and public prayers were read for him in the great mosque.”—Fos. 174-84.

The author then gives a catalogue of Abú Hayyán’s numerous works, the items of which I omit for the sake of brevity.

²⁶ Hájí Khalfah, who, as I shall have occasion to show hereafter, derived most of his literary information concerning Spain from the work of Al-makkarí, has nearly the same words. (See *Kashfu-dh-dhanún*, voc. *Tárikhu-l-andalus*.) But neither in the work by that bibliographer, nor in a similar one by Kheyr Ibn Khalifah (Arab. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), have I found a satisfactory description of this important work. It must have been exceedingly scarce, even in Spain, for I have never met in the course of my historical investigations with any quotation or extract from it; nor is there in the Escorial Library, nor, as far as I know, in any public library in Europe, a single volume of the fifty of which the work is said to have consisted. Perhaps, like many other literary productions of its royal author, it perished in the lamentable catastrophe which put an end to the life of the last sovereign of that dynasty, and which will be fully detailed in another part of this translation.

²⁷ البتين *Al-matín*, that is, ‘the firm, the solid.’ I have already remarked (see Note 37, p. 338) that some copies of Hájí Khalfah read المبين *Al-mubeyn*. Such is the reading in the copy belonging to the British Museum, as well as in those consulted by Prof. Fluegel for his edition. See Hájí Khalfah, *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopædicum*, vol. ii. p. 116.

²⁸ I have been unable to obtain any information concerning this lexicographer, except that his entire name was Ahmed Ibn Ibán Ibn Seyíd, and that he died in three hundred and eighty-three (A. D. 993-4). See Hájí Khalfah’s *Bib. Ind.* voc. ‘*A’lim*. I find his name also mentioned by the historian Al-homaydí (Bodl. Lib., *Hunt.* 464,) but that writer gives no account of his life or writings. The word ابان which I have spelt *Ibán*, might also be pronounced *Abbán*.

²⁹ Abú Honeyfah Ad-dinawári was a famous theologian and naturalist, whose works are often quoted by Ibnu-l-beyttar, Ad-demírí, Kazwíní, Ibnu-l-awam, and other Arabian writers on botany and agriculture. He died in two hundred and ninety of the Hijra (A. D. 902-3). See the preface to the translation of Ibnu-l-awam, by Banqueri, Mad. 1802.

³⁰ Instead of Abú-l-abbás Kásim, Abú-l-kásim ‘Abbás is intended. ابن فرناس Ibn Firnás (the son of the lion) is a metaphorical expression to designate a brave and strong man. I have found no mention whatever of this author in the Biographical Dictionaries of Ibnu-l-khattíb, Ibnu-l-abbár, Ibnu-

Bashkúwál, and others, nor is his name in the list of Spanish physicians given by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah; but Conde, in his *Hist. de la Dom.* (vol. i. p. 328), speaks of a poet named *Abés Ben Firnas Abul-casim*, who died in Cordova in two hundred and seventy-five (A. D. 888-9), and who, consequently, must have flourished under the reigns of Mohammed and Al-mundhir, Sultáns of Cordova. He is, probably, the individual here intended, and the author of a distich on the taking of Toledo by Mohammed, which I have translated elsewhere under the head of that city. See p. 47.

³¹ من استنبط الزجاج من الحجارة ³¹ Thus in all the MSS., which, literally translated, means 'who extracted glass out of stones.'

³² Khalíl Ibn Ahmed,—the same famous grammarian and philologist mentioned in p. 142, and Note 5, p. 419,—passes among the Arabs as the inventor of the rules of prosody. Ibn Khallekán says in his life,

وهو الذي استنبط علم العروض و اخرجته الي السجود وحصر اقسامه في خمسة دواير
يستخرج منها خمسة عشر مجرا ثم زاد فيه الاخفش بجزء اخر سباه الخفيف .:

"He was the first who invented the science of prosody, and reduced it to the present state. He divided "it into five دواير *circles*, from which issued fifteen branches. After him the poet Akhfash added "another *branch*, which he denominated *khafif*, 'thin.'" *Circles* and *branch* are terms used in Arabic prosody. See Clerk's *Prosody*, p. 7, *et passim*.

³³ The instrument here described must have been similar to the modern invention called "metronome." I here give the entire passage: اول من يعمل الله يقال له النقلة ليعرف الاوقات علي غير رسم: ومثال واحتيال في تطبير جثانه وكسي نفسه الريش ومد له جناحين و طار في الجوء مسافة بعيدة ولكنه لم يحسن الاحتيال في وقوعه فتاذي موخرة ولم يدر ان الطائر انما يقع علي زمكته ولم يعمل له ذنبا .:

I ought to observe that from the word زمكة *zakah*, which means 'the root of the tail' in a bird, the Spaniards have made *zanca*, which signifies the hind leg of an animal.

³⁴ يطم علي العنقاء في طيرانها .: اذا ماكسي جثانه ربيع فشعم

Múmen Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ibráhim was a poet of the court of Mohammed I., Sultán of Cordova. Aththa'álebí, in his *Yatímatu-d-dahr* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9578, fo. 130), gives copious extracts from his verses.

³⁵ سباء عباس الاديب ابي القاسم .: ناهيك حسن رايقها
اما ضراط استه فراعدها .: فليت شعري ما لبح بارقها
لقد تمنيت حين دونها .: فكري بالبصق في استخالقها

The reading of these verses, as they appear in A., is very incorrect. However, by comparing it

with that of B., the epitome, and my copy, I have been able to give it as above. Instead of *أبي القاسم* in the first hemistich of the first verse, A. reads *أبي القاسم* the word *قاسم* being divided into two; *أبي البقا* ending the first hemistich, and *سم* forming the beginning of the second. Instead of *فليت* in the second verse, B. reads *فليت*—while the third is so disfigured in A. as to present no meaning whatever.

لقد تصنيت حين دوماها . . . فكري بالبضو في است بامقها

36 رايث امير السومنين محدا . . . و في وجهه بدر الحجة يثمر

Literally 'and the full moon of benevolence flourished on his countenance;' the word *ثمر* partaking of both meanings.

³⁷ There is a certain Moslem or Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majeritti (from Madrid) mentioned in Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 378, c. 2, 399, c. 2, and vol. ii. p. 147, c. 2), but his surname was Abú-l-kásim, not Abú 'Obeydah. However, as the Arabs not unfrequently denominate themselves after one or more of their sons, he may have had both appellatives, Abú-l-kásim and Abú 'Obeydah, and therefore be the individual here intended, especially as the account of his life given by Casiri (vol. i. p. 378, c. 2), as translated from the *Arabica Philosophorum Bibliotheca*, agrees with the present.

The *kiblah*, in Mohammedan temples, is that part of the building showing the point of the horizon where Mekka stands, in order that the faithful may turn towards it in their prayers. In Asia it looked towards the south; in Spain mosques were at first built with the *kiblah* turned also to the south, but in course of time, when astronomy made progress, there were not wanting Moslems, like Abú-l-kásim, who condemned the received practice, and pretended that the faithful ought to turn towards the east in their prayers. This Moslem or Moslemah, who was a consummate astronomer and mathematician, was probably one of the first to denounce the practice, and hence the surname given to him of *Sáhibu-l-kiblata-sh-sharkiyyah* (the master of the *kiblah* turned to the east). The life of this astronomer, who was likewise a skilful physician, occurs in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 7340, fo. 139, verso.

³⁸ *الهدني* *Al-mudhaní* in A.—B. reads *الهدني* *Al-muzaní*. The epitome and my copy *الهدني* *Al-madani*. I am therefore unable to fix the true reading, nor is it easy to ascertain, without any further data, to whom the patronymic is applied.

³⁹ Yahya Ibn Yahya, of Cordova, known by the surname of *ابن السيدة* Ibn Samínah (the son of the fat woman), was a follower of the sect of the Mo'tazelites; he travelled to the East and returned to Spain, where he died in three hundred and twenty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 936-7). His life may be read in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 134.

There is in the Escorial Library (No. 1061) a work on jurisprudence by an author named Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibn Kásim, also a native of Cordova, and who is said to have flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra. He may have been the same as the one mentioned here.

Mr. Nicoll, in his catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., read wrongly the name of this mathematician, whom he called *ابن سهدنة* 'Ibn Sehínah,' instead of 'Ibn Samínah.'

⁴⁰ Abú-l-kásim Asbagh Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-samh *Al-muhandas*, or the geometrician, a native of Granada, flourished in the times of Al-hakem II., Sultán of Cordova. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who gives his life (*loco laudato*, fo. 135), has preserved also a catalogue of his works, amounting to several volumes, on medicine, astronomy, geometry, &c., and among which is the كتاب الإدخال في الهندسة here mentioned. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 244) mentions an Arabian philosopher, also named Ibnu-s-samh, and who is reported to have written a commentary on the works of Alexander Aphrodisæus. According to Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, Abú-l-kásim died at Granada, then the court of the King Habús Ibn Mákesen Ibn Zeyrí Ibn Menád As-senhájí, on a Tuesday, the eighteenth of Rejeb of the year four hundred and twenty-six, at the age of fifty-six, (19th May, A. D. 1035.)

⁴¹ *Sind-Hind* (the school of Sind-Hind). It is now an ascertained fact that the Arabs received their first knowledge of Algebra from the Hindús, who furnished them with the decimal notation of numerals, and with various important points of mathematical and astronomical observation. Hence the newly imported science was at first called *Madh'heb Sind-Hind*. See the Algebra of Mohammed Ben Músa, by Prof. Rosen, London, 1831.

⁴² Of Abú-l-kásim ابن الصفار Ibnu-s-saffár (the son of the copper-smith) Casiri has given a short notice in his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 140. His entire name was Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí. He was a profound mathematician, and died in the year four hundred and twenty-six of the Hijra (A. D. 1034-5).

Another mathematician, also named Abú-l-kásim Ibnu-s-saffár, is mentioned by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah in his Biographical Dictionary of the Arabian physicians, fo. 134, *verso*. He calls him Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Omar, and says that he was learned in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; that he settled in Cordova, where he gave lectures upon those sciences, and published also some astronomical tables according to the Indian doctrines, and a treatise on the manner of making astrolabes. He adds that Ibnu-s-saffár quitted Cordova in the midst of the civil wars which wasted that city (A. H. 400-8), and retired to Denia, the court of Mujáhid Al-'ámírí, where he died. They are no doubt the same person.

⁴³ "Abú Is'hák or Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Suleymán Az-zahráwí," says Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 134, *verso*), "was learned in arithmetic and geometry, but he excelled above all things in medicine. He wrote among other works a very useful one on the mechanical arts, accompanied by examples, which he entitled كتاب الأركان (the book of the angles). Abú-l-hasan had learnt mathematics under Abú-l-kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majerittí (of Madrid), and his disciples."

The patronymic Az-zahráwí seems to indicate that Abú-l-hasan was born either in Az-zahrá, the celebrated seat of the Khalifs close to Cordova, or in some other town of the many that bore that name in Spain during the Moslem domination.

⁴⁴ All the copies read ألف في المعاملات علي طريق البرهان—The word معاملة may however admit of another interpretation. It may also mean 'dealing, money transaction.' Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, treating of Ibn As-samh (see above, Note 40), says that his work on arithmetic entitled *Thimáru-l-'adíd* (the fruit of the numbers) was likewise known under the title of المعاملات (the dealings).

⁴⁵ Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 128, c. 2) has given the life of this mathematician, translated from the *Arabica Philosophorum Bibliotheca*. His entire name was Abú-l-hakem 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-rahmán Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Al-karmání. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 134, verso) adds that he inhabited Cordova, but was a native of Malaga; that he left Andalus when still young, visited the East, where he learnt medicine, geometry, and natural philosophy, and, on his return to Andalus, settled at Saragossa, where he died in the year 458, at the age of upwards of seventy.

⁴⁶ حَرَّان Harrán is a city of Mesopotamia, supposed to be the ancient *Carrhæ*, the scene of the defeat of Crassus.

⁴⁷ اصحاب الصفاء *As'hábu-s-safá*, or اخوان الصفاء *Ekhwanu-s-safá*, or ارباب الصفاء *Arbábu-s-safá*, as they are called elsewhere, are supposed to be the authors of various treatises upon moral and political subjects, forming together a sort of Cyclopædia. See Pococke, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 369, ed. nov.; De Sacy, *Not. et Ext.* vol. ix. p. 407; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Ekhwan*.

I believe the author to be wrong in his statement that this individual was the first who introduced into Spain the collection of philosophical treatises known by the title of *Rasáyil arbábi-s-safá*. Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, in his Bibliographical Index (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), states that Abú-l-kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majerittí (see a preceding note, p. 427) was the first who brought them to Spain from the East, and this fact is further strengthened by the circumstance that the copies of this work preserved in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon. (see Nicoll's Cat. p. 189) and in the Escorial (No. 923) are all attributed to Al-majerittí, although they are the production of well-known Eastern authors. (See Háji Khalífah, voc. *Rasáyil*.) One of these treatises was printed in 1812 at Calcutta.

⁴⁸ This is no doubt the same person erroneously designated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 134 of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*) under the name of *Mohamad Ben Abdalla Ben Moslama Abu Amerus Hispalensis*, who is there said to have been a Wizír, and to have composed a treatise *De Hortorum Cultu* (on the cultivation of gardens). Casiri, however, committed an unpardonable blunder in translating the word رِيَاضَة by *gardens*, رياضات, meaning 'the mathematical sciences in general.'

Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 135) gives the life of the father or the uncle of this Ibn Khaldún, whose name was also Abú Moslem. His words are as follow: "Abú Moslem 'Amr Ibn Ahmed Ibn Khaldún Al-hadhramí was one of the principal citizens of Seville. He died in four hundred and forty-nine of the Hijra (A. D. 1057-8), leaving several eminent disciples, as *Abú Moslem Ibn Khaldún*, Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah, known by the surname of *As-saffár*, and Abú-l-kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed." I need scarcely observe that both the Abú Moslem mentioned in the text, and the one spoken of by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, belonged to the illustrious stock of the Bení Khaldún, whence the celebrated historian Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún was descended.

⁴⁹ ابن بَرغوث (the son of the flea). The entire name of this mathematician was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar.

⁵⁰ This Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár Ar-ro'ayní appears to be the same individual who is mentioned at p. 144, and Note 11, p. 421, and is described as Kádí of Almeria under Zohayr.

⁵¹ I think Al-leythí is to be substituted for Al-leyth; if so, his entire name was Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí. He is counted by Al-makkarí in the number of the Spanish Moslems who left their native country for the East. That author says of him, in the fifth book of the first part of his work, fo. 115, *verso*, " Mohammed quitted Andalus for the East; on his way to Mekka he met in Africa " Sahnún Ibn Sa'id, and took lessons from him. He also met in Cairo a doctor who had been a friend " and a disciple of Málik Ibn Ans, and profited by his lessons. Mohammed became famous for his " modesty and his abstinence; he published several works on jurisprudence which acquired him an " immense reputation, and died in Mekka, where he had established himself." He was the son of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, the famous Cordovan traditionist mentioned at p. 343, Note 54.

⁵² ابن حي Ibn Hayyí, of Cordova. Al-makkarí, in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 170, *verso*, which, as elsewhere stated, contains the lives of illustrious Moslems, natives of Spain, who travelled to the East, gives that of Al-huseyn Ibn Ahmed Ibni-l-huseyn Ibn Hayyí An-najíbí النجيبى (perhaps التجبى *At-tojibí* through the omission of one point) in the following words: " He learnt arithmetic and geometry " from Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar, known by the surname of Ibnu-l-borghúth; he excelled " above all things in the science of levelling or trigonometry علم التعديل and in the construction of " astronomical tables. The Kádí Sá'id, of Toledo, who, in his 'Biographical Dictionary of learned men,' " gives his genealogy and a list of his works, states that Ibn Hayyí left Andalus for the East in the " year four hundred and forty-two of the Hijra (A.D. 1050-1), and that he arrived thither after suffering " great privations, and being exposed to great dangers in his way by sea and land."

After relating his arrival in Yemen, his intimacy with the king of those districts, and his embassy to Al-káyem, in nearly the same words, Al-makkarí adds that " Ibn Hayyí died in the year four hundred " and fifty-six" (A. D. 1063-4). I find in Ibnu-l-khattáb that Ibn Hayyí (the son of the snake) was so called from his having been, when a child, bit by a venomous snake, حية—From the feminine حية the Spaniards have formed the word *haya*, meaning all kinds of venomous reptiles.

⁵³ A marginal note in one of the MSS. adds بال ابن مرداش صاحب حلب—that is, 'Bamál, son of Mardásh, governor of Aleppo.' But this is evidently an error, for although Al-makín (*Hist. Sar.* fo. 272) and D'Herb. (*Bib. Or. voc. Moezz*) speak of a rebel called بال Bamál, son of Sáleh, son of Mardásh, surnamed Mo'ezzu-d-daulah, who was governor of Aleppo, and one of the actors in a rebellion which deprived Al-káyem biamr-illahi 'Abdullah Abú Ja'far (the twenty-sixth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás) of his throne in the year four hundred and fifty of the Hijra (A.D. 1058), and by which Al-mustanser-billah, the 'Obeydite, Sultán of Egypt, became the ruler of all the Mohammedan empire in Asia, he cannot be the same individual here intended, since his estates were in Syria, not in Yemen. I am therefore inclined to believe that the individual here alluded to is no other than Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí As-solayhí, who declared himself independent in Yemen (between 422 and 440), doing homage for his states to Al-mustanser, Sultán of Egypt, and maintained himself in his possessions until he was assassinated in four hundred and seventy-three (A. D. 1080-1). His life may be read in Ibn Khallekán (No. 495, *Tyd. Ind.*)

⁵⁴ Instead of الوكشي Al-wakshí, B. reads الوشقي Al-washkí, a patronymic formed from Huesca, a

town in the province of Aragon. But I have followed the reading in A., as I learn from Ibnu Bashkúwál (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13) that the Bení Wakash الوكاشيون were a family of noble Arabs from the tribe of Kenánah, who settled in Toledo and its environs.

⁵⁵ Abú-l-walíd Hishám Al-washkí. Of this author Casiri has given a short notice extracted from the Biographical Dictionary of Ibnu Bashkúwál. (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 456, c. 1, and vol. ii. p. 147, c. 2, and p. 148, c. 1.) The first volume of a work of his on canonical law is also preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1067. Ibnu-l-abbár calls him الفيلسوف 'the philosopher,' and adds that he was Kádí of Toledo.

⁵⁶ آراء الحكماء—instead of which B. reads مذاهب الحكماء which is nearly the same, unless we take the latter for the schools, and the former for the philosophical writings, of the ancients.

⁵⁷ صناعة كتابة I have translated these two words by 'the functions of a secretary,' taking the word صناعة for the trade or occupation, and كتابة for the office of a Kátib or secretary.

⁵⁸ وكان من العلوم مجيد يقضي له في كل فن بالجميع

⁵⁹ Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn شهيد Shahíd, 'the son of the martyr.' I am not certain, however, whether this word is to be pronounced *Shahíd* or *Shoheyd*, (which latter is the diminutive, and means 'the little martyr,') since instances of both names are very frequent in the history of the Spanish Arabs, engaged as they were in continual war with the Christians. Ibn Khallekán gives the life of a famous Wizír and poet, whose name was Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Shoheyd, and who was the son of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Shoheyd, one of the Wizírs of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.; and Casiri speaks also of a certain *Ahmad Ben Abdelmalek Abu Amer Ben Shahid*, who, he says, was a good physician, *medicus non contemnendus* (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 135, c. 1). It is not improbable, therefore, that he was the father or the grandfather of the individual here mentioned, in which case *Shoheyd* is to be substituted for *Shahíd*.

⁶⁰ Ibnu-l-beyttar, or 'the son of the farrier.' The word بيطر *Beyttar* (in Sp. *albeytar*, meaning 'a horse-doctor') is the surname of a famous naturalist, a native of Malaga, whose entire name was Dhiyáu-d-dín 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmed Ibnu-l-beyttar, who flourished in the seventh century of the Hijra. Al-makkarí gives, together with some interesting details, the life of Ibnu-l-beyttar in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 198, *verso*. But as Casiri (vol. i. p. 276, c. 2) has also given his life, translated from Abú-l-fedá and Leo Africanus, I forbear adding any more on the subject.

⁶¹ Al-merwání is the general patronymic of the Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah or Merwán who reigned in Spain. The sovereign here alluded to must be either Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the ninth Sultán of that family, or his son, Hishám II., since Abú Mansúr نزار Nazár 'Azíz-billah, son of Mo'ezz-billah, the sixth Khalif of the dynasty of the 'Obeydites or Fátimites of Egypt, began to reign in three hundred and sixty-five of the Hijra (A. D. 975-6). Nazár having died in Belbís in the year three hundred and eighty-six (A. D. 996-7), his contemporaries in Spain could be no others than Al-hakem,

who died in 336, and Hishám II. during his minority. See D'Herb. (voc. *Aziz*), who calls him, by mistake, *Barar* instead of *Nazár*, his real name, as may be seen in Ibn Khallekán (No. 769 in *Tyd. Ind.*), Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iv. p. 525, Al-makín, p. 243, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 194.

⁶² These verses are the same as those given at Note 13, p. 329, with some slight difference.

⁶³ This individual was the son of a celebrated poet mentioned by Casiri in vol. ii. p. 45 of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, under the name of *Abu Amerus Alpharagius Dulvazratin*. Ibn Dhí-n-nún being the collective or family name for all the kings of Toledo, it is not easy to determine to which of them Ibn Abí 'A'mir filled the office of Wizír; for although Casiri says that his father flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra, the three kings who ruled in Toledo lived within the same century.

⁶⁴ ابعث بها مثل ودك : . ارق من ماء خدك
شقيقة النفس فانصم : . بها حوي ابني وعبدك

⁶⁵ There was no Sultán of Valencia called Merwán, much less Merwán Ibn 'Abdillah, as the author asserts (see p. 66). The only two independent governors of that city were 'Abdi-l-'azíz, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and grandson of the celebrated Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr, and his son and successor 'Abdu-l-málik, surnamed Al-mudhfer, who was dispossessed by his father-in-law Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo, as here stated. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 215, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* pp. 43, 50, *et passim*.

⁶⁶ ولا غرو بعدي من يسود معشر : . فيضحي لهم يوم وليس لهم امس
كذلك نجوم الجوء تبدوا زواهراً : . اذاما توارت في مغاربها الشمس

Such is the reading of these verses in all the copies to which I have had access. However, since the above was printed I have found this distich in a collection of poems made at Granada by an anonymous writer of that city, and dedicated to the Sultán Abú-l-hejáj Yúsof, of the family of Nasser, who reigned from A. H. 733 to 755. The MS., which is in my possession, is a small quarto of about four hundred pages, entitled *حدائق الزاهر Hadáyiku-l-azáhir* (flowery gardens). The verses are there given as the composition of the governor of Valencia, who is said to have uttered them extempore on receiving the intelligence of his removal and the appointment of his successor. The reading, too, is exactly the same, with the exception of the word *من* in the first hemistich of the first verse, which is there replaced by *ان*—a circumstance which, in my opinion, considerably alters the meaning of the first verse, thus,—

' No wonder if after I am gone the people of this place remain in the dark. The day dawned
' for them, but they shall have no evening.

' The new governor will be like the stars in heaven, which never begin to brighten until the sun
' is quite hidden in the West.'

I believe this translation to be more correct than that which I have given, since this comparison of himself to the sun, and his successor to the stars, renders it probable that the word *يسود yasúd* means

here 'to be in the dark,' and not 'to govern,' a meaning of which it equally partakes, and which I had in the first instance adopted.

67 نذير لجسي بانهدام بنايه .: ولها رايث الشيب ايقنت انه
 دليل علي استحصاده و فنايه .: اذا ابيض مخضر النبات فانه

68 السير As-samír means 'he who holds nightly confabulations.' I have been unable to find an account of this poet.

69 ابا البرية ان الناس قد حكوا .: رايث ادم في نومي فقلت له
 اذا حوا طالقة ان كان ما زعموا .: ان البرابر نسل منك قال

It must be observed that during the middle period of Arabian domination in Spain, that is, from the taking of Cordova by the Berbers in four hundred and three to the arrival of the Almoravides in four hundred and eighty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 1012-1094), almost the whole of that country was ruled by independent chieftains, most of them Africans, who had served under Al-mansúr, and who, at the extinction of the Khalifate, shared among themselves the dominions of the Bení Umeyyah. Sprung from a race which the Arabs despised, the rulers of Andalus became the subject of many a satirical poem, and the public animadversion was every where excited against them. When, in the course of time, the Lamtúnah, the Senhájah, the Bení Merín, and other African tribes bordering upon the deserts of Súdán, were called upon to prop up the falling empire of the Arabs, and, crossing the Strait, inundated Spain, they were considered rather as conquerors than as friends, the shafts of satire were bitterly exercised against them, and many a poet paid with his head a few witty or sarcastic expressions. See App. A., p. xx.

70 كانه دودة الحرير .: يبني علي نفسه سقفا

The author of the *Kartás*, who gives also this verse, adds the following:

دعوه يبني فسوف يدري .: اذا اتت قدره القدير

'Let him build it as strong as he likes, the hand of faté will nevertheless reach him.'

'Abdullah Ibn Balkín Ibn Bádís Ibn Habús, the last Sultán of the Zeyrí dynasty in Granada, was a Berber of the Senhájah tribe.

71 خيرني المعتصم وهو بقصدي اعلم
 وهو اذا يجمع لي امنا و منا اكرم

72 Mohammed Abú Yahya Ibn Samádeh, surnamed Al-mu'atasse-billah (he who relies on God), was not, properly speaking, deprived of his kingdom as here asserted, but died during the siege of his capital by the Almoravides, in A. H. four hundred and eighty-four (A. D. 1091). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 40, 214; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 172.

⁷³ The life of this author is to be found in Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13). His words are as follow :—“ Abú-l-kásim, or Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibnu-l-khattíb Abí Mohammed 'Abdillah Ibni-l-khattíb Abí 'Amr Ahmed Ibn Abí-l-hasan Asbagh Ibn Huseyn Ibn سعدون Sa'dún Ibn Redwán Ibn Fatúh, one of the conquerors of Andalus. Such was the genealogy of the Imám “ As-sohaylí Al-khath'amí, according to Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Dih'yah, who held it from the mouth “ of the author himself. As-sohaylí is well known as the author of several excellent works, among “ which are numbered the روض الانف ‘untouched garden,’ being a commentary on the life and “ actions of our Prophet Mohammed; كتاب التعريف و الاعلام ببا اہم في القرآن من الاسماء الاعلام “ the book of the acquaintance with and explanation of the proper names contained in the Korán, “ which are still obscure; نتایج الفكر ‘the conceptions of the mind,’ with several others. According “ to the above-mentioned writer (Ibn Dih'yah) As-sohaylí showed great talents for poetry, until his “ fame reaching the Sultán of Morocco, he was by him invited to come to his court, where he was “ much distinguished and loaded with presents. He died in that city in the year 581 of the Hijra, “ on a Thursday, the twenty-sixth of Sha'bán. His birth took place in Malaga in the year 508. “ Towards the end of his life As-sohaylí entirely lost the use of his eyes.”

Ibnu-l-abbár adds that الخثعبي Al-khath'amí, written and pronounced as above, was the patronymic of those who derive their genealogy from the tribe of Khath'am Ibn Ammár. The life of As-sohaylí is to be found, in nearly the same terms, in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.* 379), and in the *Hayyátu-l-haywán* by Ad-demirí, voc. *Anúk*. The latter author, however, adds another to the list of As-sohaylí's productions given by Ibnu-l-abbár and Ibn Khallekán, the title of which, كتاب الاوائل ‘the book of the premises of the garden,’ is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Dictionary.

⁷⁴ Considering the age of As-sohaylí this must allude to an incursion which Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, made into the very heart of the Moslem dominions some time previous to the taking of that city, and which the author of the *Kartás* describes thus. “ In this year, (A. H. 474,) Alfonso (whom may God “ curse!) moved on at the head of innumerable forces of the Rúm, Basques, and Galicians, together “ with other nations of Christians, intent upon the destruction and subjection of the entire Moslem “ territory. In order to accomplish his aim he divided his army into several bodies, and these “ he dispatched under the command of trusty generals to lay waste and destroy a given portion of “ the country held by the believers. He himself, at the head of his best bands, plunged far into the “ districts surrounding Seville, and began to burn and destroy the crops, to set on fire the villages “ and towns, to kill or carry into captivity their inhabitants, and to commit all sorts of depredations : “ in this way he marched until he appeared in sight of Seville, and remained three days wasting the “ fields in the neighbourhood of that city, and destroying and setting on fire *several towns and villages east of that capital*. He then went to Shídhúnah and did the same; they further relate that, having “ advanced as far as Jezírah-Tarif (Tarifa), he spurred his horse into the waves of the Mediter- “ ranean, and exclaimed, ‘This is the extremity of Andalus, and my feet have trampled the whole of “ its surface.’ ”

No account of this expedition, which took place four years before the conquest of Toledo, is to be found in Conde.

- ⁷⁵ يا دار اين البيض والأرم .∴ أم اين جيران علي كرام
 راب المحب عن منازل أنه .∴ حي فلم يرجع اليه سلام
 لها اجابتنني الصدا عنهم ولم .∴ يلج المسامح للحبيب كلام
 طارحت ورق حمامها مترنياً .∴ بمقل صب والدموع سجام
 يا دار ما فعلت بك الايام .∴ ضامتك و الايام ليس تضام

⁷⁶ The opinion here expressed, and which has already been recorded elsewhere (see p. 50, and Note 108, p. 357), is also entertained by Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), as well as by Ibn Khallekán in the life of As-sohaylí (No. 379, *Tyd. Ind.*), as stated by the author.

There is now no town of this name in the neighbourhood of Malaga, although one must have existed as late as the end of the fourteenth century, since it is mentioned by Ibnu-l-khattáb in his itinerary. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 161, c. 1.

⁷⁷ *Shantobús* شنتوبوس in all the copies. There is, however, no village of this name now on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Idrísí speaks occasionally of a town called *Shanbosh* شنبوش or *Shanabúsh* شنبوش, but he places it near Silves, in Portugal, and far from the Guadalquivir. *ar-rihán* الریحان is 'sweet basil,' in Sp. *ar-rayán*. The verses are as follow :

خلين من واد و من قوارب .∴ و من تراها في شنتوبوس
 غرس الحبق الذي في داري .∴ احب عندي من الفردوس

⁷⁸ *الجبانة* means 'a woman who makes cheese,' from *jaban* (cheese). The Spaniards call certain cakes made of cheese and honey *al-mojabanas*. See p. 367, Note 20.

⁷⁹ *رابطة العبار*, 'the monastery of the dust.' This Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn 'Alí Al-málakí is the same individual mentioned at p. 50, in the description of Malaga.

- ⁸⁰ غضبوا الصباح فقسوا خدوداً .∴ واستوعبوا قصب الاراك قدوداً
 و راوا حصي الياقوت دون نكورهم .∴ فيقلدوا شهب النجوم عقوداً
 لم يكفاهم حد الاسنة والظب .∴ حتي استعروا اعينا و خدوداً

⁸¹ Instead of *الطراوة* At-taráwah, B. reads *الطراقة*

يشربها الشيخ و امثاله .∴ و كان من تحبده افعاله
 و البكر ان لم يستطع صوله .∴ يلقي علي البادل اثقاله

⁸² This is the same individual mentioned at p. 38, and Note 40, p. 340. I read in Ibnu-l-khattib, who gives his life, that his entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mōhammed Ibn Mes'ūd Ibn Khalsah Ibn Faraj Ibn Mujāhid Ibn Abí-l-khissál. He was born at Burgaley (Burgalet), in the district of Segura and province of Jaen, in four hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 1072-3), and died at the taking of Cordova by Ibn Ghániyyah, in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, A.H. five hundred and forty (July, A.D. 1146).

There is here a *jeu de mots* in the word عصي which admits of a double meaning, namely, 'the stalk of a bunch of grapes,' and 'an unruly or disobedient slave.'

⁸³ Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-monkhol is mentioned in Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 94. البُخْلُ Al-monkhol means 'a sieve.' As to Abú Bekr الملاح Al-malláh, I believe him to be no other than the poet *Abu Bekr Al-molh*, mentioned by Al-fat'h, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 104; the difference in their names arising merely from the various ways of writing or pronouncing the same word. My copy of the *Kaláyid* has, like the one in the Escorial Library, الملمح Al-molh; that in the British Museum, No. 9579, fo. 48, which is no doubt more correctly written than either of the two, reads الملمح Al-molj; the copy of the *Matmah*, also in the British Museum, No. 9580, fo. 69, *verso*, الملمح Al-maleh; but as all the copies of Al-makkarí have الملاح 'the salt-merchant,' I have not hesitated to write *Al-malláh*. A salt-pit is still called in Andalusia *Maleha*, and among the states granted by Ferdinand to the last King of Granada, after the surrender of that city, one was the salt-pits of *la Maleha*. See Marmol, *Reb. de los Mor.* p. 19.

⁸⁴ البادي اظلم—literally 'he who begins is wrong.'

⁸⁵ The whole merit of this dialogue consists in the answers being uttered so as to agree with the questions both in measure and in rhyme. Exercises of this kind were very much to the taste of the Arabs, and are even now not uncommonly practised by the Spaniards, whose language is very well suited, by its richness and flexibility, for all sorts of poetical composition :

بنو اللاح في النادي	∴	كان تفتيق مَقولها
إذا اجتمعوا علي زاري	∴	و تصت مثل صيتهم
ولا غيت للبرتادي	∴	لا غوت للبلهوف

∴	لم اري ملهي لذي اقتناص
∴	كمثل خطر ذات جيد
∴	كالقوس في شكلها ولكن
∴	ان اتخذت انفسها دليلاً
∴	لو انها تشتشير برقاً

These verses are printed somewhat different to what they are in the principal MS., the reading of which I have corrected by means of the other copies. The name of the poet is written thus, الميزري

⁸⁷ A volume containing the collection of poems of this Ibráhím Ibn Sahl, who was also named Abú Is'hák, is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 379. His name might also be written سهل Sohl.

⁸⁸ كان محيأك له بهجة .: حتي اذا جاءك ما حيي الجبال
اصبحت كالشعبة لها خبا منها .: الضياء اسود فيها الذبال

Abú Hayyán, the grammarian, named a few lines lower, is Athíru-d-dín Abú Hayyán Mohammed, whose life I have given elsewhere (see Note 25, p. 423), translated from Al-makkarí.

Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Al-fat'h Al-kaysí is the same as Ibn Khákán, the author of the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, so often quoted by the author in the course of his narrative.

⁸⁹ The title of this itinerary in Arabic is كتاب ملاء العيبة فيما جمع بطول الغيبة في الوجهة which, literally translated, means 'the filling of the knapsack with information collected during a long absence spent in a holy peregrination to the blessed spots of Mekka and Medina.' Only the fifth volume, out of many which composed the work, is preserved in the Escorial Library, No. 1680. Casiri, who gave the life of the author, translated from Ibnu-l-khattíb, called him sometimes *Ben Roshd* (see vol. ii. p. 86), and at others *Ben Rashid* (see *ib.*, pp. 151, 334, 339). His true name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Rashíd, a native of Ceuta, where he was born in six hundred and fifty-seven (A. D. 1258-9); he died at Fez, in Moharram, A. H. seven hundred and twenty-one (February, A. D. 1231). Besides the above volume of travels, there are in the Esc. Lib. two more works by this author, marked 1780 and 1803.

⁹⁰ Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Marzúk At-telemsáni. The entire name of this individual, who was one of the masters of Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, son of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn Marzúk العجيسي Al-'ajísí. Al-makkarí treats of him in the third book of the second part, relative to the masters and tutors of Ibnu-l-khattíb. He wrote several works on various subjects. (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 82, 179, 188, 524, 531.) He died at Fez in seven hundred and eighty-one of the Hijra (A. D. 1379-80).

⁹¹ للناس ما ظهر .: ولله ما استتر

⁹² تسليت عن موسى بحب محمد .: هديت ولولا الله ما كنت اهتدي
و ما عن قلبي قد كان ذلك و انبا .: شريعة موسى عطلت بحمد

⁹³ This is the same author mentioned at p. 114, and Note 5, p. 404.

⁹⁴ Az-zamakhsharí is the patronymic of one of the most celebrated Mohammedan divines and

commentators on the Korán, whose entire name was Abú-l-kásim Mahmúd Ibn 'Omar Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Az-zamakhsharí. According to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.* 721) he followed at first the religious opinions of the Mo'tazelís or Mo'tazelites, but towards the end of his life he became orthodox and embraced the sect of Abú Hanífah. See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* tom. iii, p. 488, *et seq.*; Schultens in *Pref. ad Nawabig.*; Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Ar.* p. 354; D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Zamakschari.*

⁹⁵ العز Al-'azz. I think this individual is the same whom Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions, although incidentally, in his history of Granada, as having made a collection of lyric poems, with copious notices of their authors. He flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra, but his surnames, patronymic, and birth-place, are not stated.

⁹⁶ Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, speaks of an author whose name and description answer to those of the individual here mentioned. His entire name was Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím Ibnu-l-faraj, known by the surname of Ibnu-d-dabbágh (the son of the dyer). He resided the greatest part of his life in Granada, where he made himself conspicuous by his learning and the works which he wrote. He was a native of Ronda, where he died on a Friday, the first day of the month of Shawwál of the year 668, at the hour of prayers, just as the people were going out of the mosque.

Casiri, who translated the life of this author, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 82, committed a serious mistake, which I think it necessary to rectify. He first of all made Ibnu-d-dabbágh a native of Seville, of which the MS. says nothing, and then he called him a professor of theology and jurisprudence to the Royal College of Granada, and to another which he denominates 'the college of the son of Azrah' (*in Regio Granatensi Collegio jurisprudentiam, theologiam vero in Collegio Azra Filii dicto prælegit*). The passage stands thus in Ibnu-l-khattíb:

و اقرايه . . . اقرا بالجامع غرناطة الاكابر عليها الفقه واصوله : اقرا بالجامع العامة و اقرا بالجامع باب الفخارين و بمسجد عذرة و غيره و اقرا به . . .

"His readings: he read in the principal mosque of Granada upon jurisprudence and the foundations of law, the higher sources of tradition, and the principal articles of faith, and his lessons were attended by the principal inhabitants of Granada. He also gave lectures in the mosque *jámi'*, close to the gate of the potters, and in the mosque of 'Adhrah, and in other places." Passages like this, loosely or badly translated, have given rise to several mistakes on the part of most of the compilers on Hispano-Arabic history; and if the Royal College, literary institutions, and universities of Granada, of which M. de Viardot speaks with so much enthusiasm in his *Précis de l'histoire des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne*, Paris, 1833, had no other foundation to stand upon than the loose records of Casiri and his mis-translations, we should be obliged a little to reduce the high ideas we entertain of the extent of education among the Arabs.

⁹⁷ حضرة الادفنش لا برحت . . . غادة ايامها عرس
فاخلع النعلين تكرمه . . . في تراها انها قدس

Instead of عرس (which makes its plural اعراس) 'a wedding' and 'wedlock,' whence the Spanish *arras* is derived, B. reads غدس which has no meaning. I have never met with the name of this poet, الفخار *Al-fakhhár*, whence the Spanish *alfaharero*, meaning 'a potter.'