

⁹⁸ I suppose the author means Al-hakem II., surnamed Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Córdoba, but who the Alfonso here named, and whom Ibráhím calls his master, may be, is not easily determined. The author calls him, a few lines higher, the conqueror of Toledo, by which Alfonso VI. only can be intended; but, as Toledo was not taken until the year four hundred and seventy-eight of the Hijra (A.D. 1085), namely, one hundred and twelve years after the death of the Khalif Al-mustanser-billah Al-hakem, which happened in three hundred and sixty-six (A.D. 976), the conjecture is inadmissible. On the other hand, the only kings of Castile who were contemporaries with Al-hakem were Sancho *the fat* (from 955 to 967), and Ramiro III. (967 to 982). It is true that the last king of Saragossa, of the family of Húid, took likewise the title of Al-mustanser-billah, by which name he is generally designated by the historians of the time; but then the title of Khalif, which the author gives him, is misapplied, as it is ascertained never to have been assumed in Spain after the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah.

⁹⁹ The name of this Jewish poet is written thus in B. الياس ابن البدور—The verses are as follow :

لا تخذعنّ فيما تكون مودة .: ما بين مشتركين امرأ واحداً
أنظر الي القمرين حين تشاركا .: أبسأهما كان التلاقي واحداً

قمران 'the two moons' is here elegantly taken for the sun and moon.

¹⁰⁰ صاحب ذو بهجة قد قاتلت .: منها بظهر و استحلّت جرمها
كالشمس منها البدر يقبس نوره .: ابدأ ويكسف بعد ذلك جرمها

One of the MSS. reads instead منها قد قابلت .: which would considerably alter the meaning. The name of the poetess is قصونة There is a *jeu de mots* in the word جرم which, pronounced *jeram*, signifies 'a crime,' 'a sin,' and *jirm*, 'the body,' 'the colour,' or 'the sound of an object.'

¹⁰¹ The title of this work is التكملة لكتاب الصلة—that is, 'the supplement to the *Silah*.' The word صلة *silah* means 'a joint,' and also 'a gift,' but from the manner in which I have seen that word employed I rather incline to the former. Both works are preserved in the Esc. Lib. See Nos. 1670 and 1672 of Casiri's catalogue.

¹⁰² اخ الرجال من الابعاد .: و الاقارب لا تقارب
أن الاقارب كالعقارب .: او اشد من العقارب

The repetition of the words *akárib*, 'relations,' and '*akárib*, 'scorpions,' seems to be the only merit of these verses. *Akha-r-rejálu mina-l-abá'adi wa-l-akáribu lá takáraba. An al-akáriba kal'akáribi au ashadd mina-l-'akáribi.* '*Akrab*, whence the Spanish *alacran* is derived, means 'a scorpion.'

¹⁰³ كتاب البطرب في اشعار المغرب is the title of Ibn Dih'yah's work as given by Al-makkari, which might very well be translated 'the book of the seeker of amusement among the works of Western

poets.' But Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Muttrib*), and Ibn Khallekán in the author's life (*Tyd. Consp.*, No. 508), substitute من for في which renders the meaning clearer. M. Weyers, in his *Spec. crit. exhib. locos de Ibn Khacani*, Lug. Bat. 1831, p. 7, has read the word مطرب differently, thus, *Mattreb*, and translated the title of that work by *Musici loci e carminibus incolarum Maghrebi*. It is impossible, however, to decide which is the true reading; the former appears to me more natural.

Abú-l-khattáb 'Omar Ibn Dih'yah was born, according to Ibn Khallekán (*loco laudato*), in five hundred and forty-four (A. D. 1149-50), and died in six hundred and sixty-three (A. D. 1264-5), in Cairo. Ibnu-l-abbár, who has given a short account of him in his *Bagh'yatu-l-multamis* (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), says that Ibn Dih'yah was called ذو نسيتين *Dhú-nasibeyn*, viz., 'he of the two genealogies,' because he claimed on his father's and mother's side the descent from the Prophet.

¹⁰⁴ On Al-ghosániyyah the reader may consult Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 150. That writer, however, makes her a native of Seville, instead of *Bejénah*, a village close to Almeria, or forming part of that city, as I have already shown, Note 122, p. 359.

¹⁰⁵ The science of prosody is called by the Arabs علم العروض *'Ilmu-l-'arúdh*; hence the name of العروضية *Al-'arúdhíyyah*, which this poetess received.—الكامل في اللغة *Al-kámil fí-l-loghah* is the title of a voluminous work by the famous grammarian and poet Abú-l-'abbás Mohammed Ibn Yezíd Al-mubarrad, who died, according to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 647), in A. H. two hundred and eighty-five or two hundred and eighty-six (A. D. 898-9). See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 282, and De Sacy, *Relat. de l'Egypte*, &c., p. 481, note 31, as well as D'Herb. voc. *Mobarred*.—النوادير *An-nawádir* (novelties) is the title of a philological work by Abú 'Alí-l-kálí Isma'íl Ibnu-l-kásim, a famous Spanish rhetorician, who flourished towards the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra, under the reign of An-nássir lidín-illah, the seventh Sultán of the family of Umeyyah in Spain. (See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136, and D'Herb. voc. *Calí*.) A further notice of this writer will be given under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

¹⁰⁶ يا سيد الناس يا من : : يَوْمَلِ النَّاسِ رَفْدَةً
 امنن علي بطرس : : يكون للناس عداً
 تخط يمينك فيه : : بحمد لله وحده

Instead of للناس in the second verse, B. reads للدهر which neither alters the sense nor spoils the measure. This authoress is the same of whom mention has been made under the chapter on Granada. See p. 45, and Note 85, p. 351.

¹⁰⁷ Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'id was the paternal uncle of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Músa Ibn Sa'id, whose life I have given in Note 1 to the first chapter, p. 309. A very circumstantial and interesting account of both 'Abdu-l-málik and his son Ahmed is likewise to be read in the Biographical Dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattáb. I shall therefore translate here the account given by the Granadian historian of the two members of this distinguished family, taking care to suppress the numerous poetical quotations with which, according to the general fashion of Arabic biographers, the narrative is inter-

persed. " Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'id Ibn Khalf Ibn Sa'id Ibn Khalf Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Abdillah
 " Ibn Sa'id Ibn Al-hasan Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Ammár Ibn ياسر
 " Yásir, one of the companions of the Prophet, was an offspring of the noble stock of the Bení Sa'id of the
 " tribe of *عنس* 'Ans, who, as is well known, have been for many centuries established at *قلعة يصب*
 " *Kal'at Yahseb*, known also by the name of *Kal'at Bení Sa'id*, in the territory of this city (Granada).
 " The first individual of this illustrious family who left the East to settle in this country was 'Abdullah
 " Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Ammár Ibn Yásir, who occupied a distinguished place among the Yemení Arabs who
 " fixed their domicile in Cordova. His house, which stood near the bridge, was well known, and
 " among his posterity many obtained the charges of Wizírs, Kátibs, commanders of the forces, Kádís,
 " and governors of provinces, as we shall have opportunity to show hereafter.

" As to the distinguished individual whom we are now describing, he was, in the words of *البلّاحي*
 " Al-maláhi, one of the most eminent among the literati of his time, and his productions in prose as well as
 " in verse attracted the notice and brought forth the applause of all the learned among his contemporaries.
 " He is further described by his nephew, Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'id, in the history which he published
 " of his family, under the title of *اطالع السعيد في اخبار بني سعيد* *At-táli'u-s-sa'id fi akhbári-bení*
 " *Sa'id*, 'happy constellation on the history of the Bení Sa'id,' as having shown from his early youth
 " the greatest ardour in the acquisition of learning, and the most wonderful facility both in composing
 " verses and retaining by heart those of famous poets. His masters were *ابن خفاجة* Ibn Khafájah,
 " *ابن الرقاق* Ibnu-z-zakkák, and other eminent authors of his time. He had a most amiable disposition,
 " besides great tenderness of soul, and was very much attached to women, and especially to Hafsah,
 " the famous poetess who flourished in Granada in the sixth century of the Hijra, and whose adventures
 " we have related elsewhere.

" When the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen appointed his son Sídí Abú Sa'id to be governor of Granada,
 " the reputation of Ahmed, who was then residing in this capital, was so great, owing to his immense
 " learning, and his beautiful compositions in prose and verse, which were in the mouth of every one,
 " that the governor did not hesitate to raise him to the rank of Wizír and intrust him with the
 " administration of public affairs; but this high distinction was the immediate cause of his untimely
 " and disastrous death, for, as we have related in our history of Granada, entitled *اللمحة البدرية في*
 " *دولة النصرية* 'the rays of the full moon on the history of the Bení Nasser' (No. 1771 in the
 " Esc. Lib.), the governor, Abú Sa'id, having fallen passionately in love with Hafsah, the poetess,
 " she was persuaded to abandon her former lover, and to accept the gallantries of the governor,
 " who, from that moment, conceived a great dislike for Ahmed, deprived him of his honours and
 " dignities, and began to show him his enmity upon every occasion. However, Hafsah still continuing
 " to receive her old friend at her house, Ahmed said to her one day, 'What good canst thou expect
 " from that huge slave? (meaning the governor, who was of a dark olive complexion;) I can procure
 " thee a better one from the black slave-market for less than twenty dinárs.' These and similar
 " expressions which Ahmed was in the habit of uttering, to indulge in his satirical propensities, and
 " show his jealousy of the governor, having reached the ears of the latter, were the cause of his ruin,
 " as we shall presently see.

" The father and brothers of Ahmed, being all averse to the reigning dynasty of the Al-muwáhhedún
 " (Almohades), were the secret partisans of Ibn Mardanish, who had, some time previously, raised the
 " standard of revolt in the eastern districts of Andalus. They, therefore, began to solicit Ahmed

“ to join them in the undertaking. One day his brother Mohammed and his father 'Abdu-l-málik
 “ came up to him and said, ‘Thy verses, we are told, have been reported to the governor, who is
 “ highly indignant; they will, we have no doubt, be the cause of thy death, and of the ruin of all
 “ our family; and, by Allah! as long as this country is ruled by the people of that dynasty (meaning
 “ the Almohades) there is no security for us. Better die in the attempt to establish our independence
 “ than remain here exposed to continual danger under the paw of this lion.’ It was then agreed
 “ between them that Ahmed and his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán should repair to the family castle and
 “ there rise in favour of Ibn Mardanish, in which undertaking they were to be assisted by their
 “ relative حاتم Hátim Ibn Sa'id: this being determined upon, they wrote to that chief, and soon
 “ afterwards received an answer to their message, bidding them hasten to put their design into
 “ execution. But, unluckily for the Bení Sa'id, either the affair transpired, or they feared that it
 “ would; certain it is, that, before the time fixed for the outbreak, 'Abdu-r-rahmán and Hátim fled
 “ precipitately from Granada and took refuge in their castle, where, the enterprise meeting with
 “ entire success, they made preparations to defend it against their enemies. Ahmed, however, left
 “ Granada with his servants and slaves, but too late; he was closely pursued by the troops of the
 “ governor, so that, being unable to reach the castle in time, he changed his direction, and entered
 “ Malaga, where he hid himself, hoping to be able, when the storm had passed, to embark for Valencia
 “ and join the army of Ibn Mardanish. But all was in vain; he could not escape the searching eyes of
 “ the governor, who thirsted for revenge; he was discovered, seized, and soon afterwards executed.

“ His nephew, Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, says, ‘I was told by Al-hasan Ibn دويرة Duwayrah, who was in
 “ Malaga at the time of my uncle's arrest, that having obtained permission to visit him in prison he
 “ went to the place of his confinement, and could not help shedding abundant tears when he saw him
 “ with fetters on his hands and feet; and that my uncle, observing his grief, remarked to him, ‘Are those
 “ tears shed for my sake,—for me, who have enjoyed all the pleasures that this world could procure, who
 “ have fed upon the breasts of fowls, drunk out of crystal cups, rode on the best steeds, slept upon the
 “ softest couches, dressed in the finest silks and brocades, been lighted with tapers of the purest wax, and
 “ received the embraces of the fairest maidens? Here am I in the hands of justice, waiting for the
 “ punishment of offences which neither admit of excuse nor deserve pardon,—the necessary consequence
 “ of fate.’ To which Ibn Duwayrah replied, ‘How am I not to shed tears over one who is so eloquent
 “ as thou art, and of whom the world will soon be deprived?’ He then left him, and saw him no more,
 “ except on the cross in the hands of the executioner, (may God show him mercy!)’

“ It is related by Hátim Ibn Sa'id that he heard his relative, Ahmed, repeatedly say to Hafsah,
 “ during their intimacy, ‘by Allah! Hafsah, thou only wilt be the cause of my death.’ He says, also,
 “ that when the news of her lover's death was brought to her, she put on mourning clothes, showed
 “ great sorrow, and reproached herself as having been the cause of his death. The execution of Ahmed
 “ Ibn 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'id happened in the month of Jumádí 1. of the year five hundred and fifty-
 “ nine of the Hijra (April, A. D. 1164).”

Abú Ja'far was an excellent poet; he wrote also several works in prose. Conde, who calls him *Abu Giafar Ben Said de Ania*, instead of Al-'ansí, has given a translation of some of his verses. See *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 358.

¹⁰⁸ خيمة *khaymah*, in Spanish *aljuima*, is ‘a hut,’ such as men to whom the care of vineyards is intrusted erect all over Spain to this day. It is built with branches of trees, in a conical shape, with a hole on the top for the passage of the smoke.

- 109
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| من النعيم لذنا فيه باللهو و القنص | ∴ | و يوم تجلي الافق فيه بعنبر |
| من السكر تغربنا بينتهب القرص | ∴ | و قد بقيت فينا من الأمس فضلة |
| اصلاً وان كل شدا جليل رقص | ∴ | ركبنا له صباحاً و ليلاً و بعضنا |
| طيور يساغ اللهو ان شكت الغصص | ∴ | و شهب بزاة قد رجينا بشهبها |
| اذا وثقت ما قد تحرك او قبص | ∴ | و عن شفق تغري الصباح او الدحي |
| علي قنص اللذات و البرد قد قرص | ∴ | و ملنا و قد نلنا من الصيد سولنا |
| جسيم به من كان عذب قد خلص | ∴ | بخيمة ناطور توسط عذبا |
| دعته الي الكري فلم يجب الرخص | ∴ | ادرننا عليه مثلت ذهبية |
| بخدمته لا يجعل البار في القنص | ∴ | فقل لحريص ان تراني مقيداً |
| مطيعاً لمن عن شاء و فخري قد نقص | ∴ | و ما كنت الا اطوع نفسي فهل اري |

Instead of *القنص* *al-kafas*, 'a cage,' (whence the Spanish *alcahaz*, which has the same meaning,) two of the copies read *القنص* which is no doubt a mistake. These verses, as indeed most poetical extracts in this work, are given with considerable variety in the different copies. The expression which I have translated, perhaps too freely, by 'we were all broken down by the jolting trot of our steeds,' is *ان شدا جليل رقص* which literally means 'through the violent shaking of the horses' bells.' *Joljol* is a bell, (in Spanish *cencerro*,) which it was then the fashion to attach under the neck of a horse or mule. It is still a universal custom throughout Spain.

¹¹⁰ Ahmed Ibn Faraj, a distinguished poet of the court of Al-hakem II., of Cordova, wrote a collection of poems under the title of *الحدائق* 'enclosed gardens,' which he is said to have dedicated to that monarch. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 480.) The work was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

¹¹¹ The name of *زينب المرابية* Zeynab Al-murabiyah does not occur in Ibnu-l-khattáb, but I find that of his sister *حمدة* Hamdah, who is said to have been the daughter of Zeyád the scribe *الكتّاب* and born at *وادي الجمعة* Wáda-l-jummah, near the town of *بادي* Bádí, in the district of Guadix. That author does not give the year of her death, although he quotes some of her verses. Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13) calls her *حمزة* Hamzah, which might be an error of the copyist, as both Al-makkari, in all the copies, and Ibnu-l-khattáb, have Hamdah.

¹¹² Casiri has given an account of this poetess translated from Ibnu Bashkúwál. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 150.

113 عرفنا النصر والفتح المبينا .: لسيدنا امير المومنيننا
اذا كان الحديث عن العالي .: رايت حديثكم فيه شجونا

'Abdu-l-múmen, the founder of the dynasty of the Almohades in Spain, pretended to be descended from 'Ali Ibn Abí Tálib; the poetess therefore means, "that while engaged in recording or studying traditions " respecting the family of the Prophet she could not help thinking of him."

114 I am not sure that the name of this poetess is to be pronounced *Ummu-l-hiná*; it might as well be spelt *Ummu-l-haná*. There is mention made in Ibnu-l-khattáb of a certain Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn Abí-l-kásim Ibn عطية 'Attiyyah, who was secretary to Mohammed V., King of Granada, in seven hundred and fifty-six of the Hijra (A.D. 1355-6), but I am inclined to believe that the person here designated is no other than the famous Mohammedan divine 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn Ghálib Ibn 'Attiyyah, who was governor of Almeria, and wrote a commentary on the Korán in several volumes, of which the eighth is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1280. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 106.

115 This is no doubt the same poet whom Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 122) mentions under the name of *Abu Amer Ben Yanek Consul*, although what he means by *Consul* I cannot guess. His entire name was Abú 'A'mir Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Khalifah Ibn Yank, or Ibn Yanek, for I find this last name differently written in the various copies of the *Kaláyid*. Ibn Khákán, who gives his life in his *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, places him among those poets who obtained the rank of Wizír. He died in five hundred and forty-seven of the Hijra (A.D. 1152-3).

116 يا هند هل لك في زيارة قنية .: تبدوا الحكارم غير شرب السلسل
سبعوا البلايل قد شذوا فتقروا .: نغبات عودك في الثقل الاول

Instead of قنية I read فتية in A., and نبذوا instead of تبدوا. The epitome also reads شذوا فتذكروا instead of the reading I have adopted, and which I believe to be the most correct.

117 يا سيد احاز العلي عن سادة .: شم الانوف من الطراز الاول
حسبي من الاسراع نحوك انني .: كنت الجواب مع الرسول المقبل

118 The patronymic Ash-shelbiyyah is derived from شلب *Shelb* or *Shilb* (Silves), a town in Portugal.

119 This is the same poetess mentioned at p. 45, and Note 82, p. 351.

120 The name of this poetess بهجة Bahjah (beauty) is written مهجة *Mohjah* in one of the copies. Casiri speaks of a poetess of this name, but he makes her a native of Granada.

CHAPTER. IV.

The whole of chapters iv. and v. is, as the author himself states, transcribed from the *Kitābu-l-mugh'rib fi hokl-l-maghreb*, by Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'id, the author mentioned at Note 1, p. 309. Their contents will be found highly interesting, as conveying an idea of the extent and genius of the Hispano-Arabic literature at the period of its greatest splendour. The former, especially, which contains the account of works and authors from the conquest of Spain up to the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, is in itself invaluable, as it gives the titles of many interesting works, now, I fear, lost to the world, and which are in vain looked for in Háji Khalfah and other Arabian bibliographers. The additions made by Ibnu Sa'id have also their merit; but, unluckily, from the system of writing of the Arabs, the value of these two fragments is very much reduced; for if the scholar learns thereby the names of the authors, and the titles of many works, he is also left entirely in the dark as to their respective merits, or at least the judgments passed by the authors are not of a nature to remove the veil. He will have therefore to judge for himself whenever the opportunity presents itself. The first fragment, viz. the epistle of Ibnu-r-rabīb, and the answer by Ibn Hazm, are written in that florid and inflated style so much to the taste of the Arabs, and in a species of rhymed prose, similar to that of the Korán, or that of the *Makámát* of Harírí, and other rhetorical productions. Of the difficulties which such a style of composition—strewed as it is with the most extravagant metaphors—presents in translating, only Oriental scholars are able to judge. I shall, therefore, submit to their consideration such passages as are obscure, or differently written in the various copies of the work.

Respecting the writer of the epistle (Abú 'Alí-l-hasan Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn-r-rabīb Attemímí, of Cairwán,) I have been unable to obtain any information whatever, having perused in vain the biographical dictionaries of authors and illustrious men of the epoch in which he lived. The epistle is addressed to Abú-l-mugheyrah 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Sa'id Ibn Hazm, whose life occurs in the *Mattmah*, by Al-fat'h, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 53,) as well as in the *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, by Al-homaydí, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., *Hunt.* 464;) but, although addressed to him, the answer is not written by him, as I shall remark hereafter.

The title of the epistle of Ibn Hazm, written in answer to that of his antagonist, is not to be found in the copies of Háji Khalfah which I have consulted, but I learn from Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, the author of a bibliographical work (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667),—a production far more valuable than that of the former author in all that respects the literature of the Spanish Moslems,—that it was entitled *رسالة في فضائل الاندلس وذكر رجالها*, 'an epistle on the excellences of Andalus, and an account of its illustrious men.'

¹ *بُغَاث*—The *bogáth*, according to Golius, is an inferior kind of vulture. It is thus described by Ad-demírí, in his *Hayyátu-l-haywán*: "Bigáth or bogáth (for it may be written both ways) is a grey-coloured bird, somewhat larger than the *رَحْمَة* *rakhmah* (pelican?); it is slow in its flight, is considered of bad omen, and never chased by sportsmen."

² A. reads *وتتعين الخفاش*—B. *الحقاه*—I have followed the former reading. According to Ad-demírí (*loco laudato*) the *خَفَّاش* *khoffásh* is a bird "which flies about at night, has a most singular shape, very small eyes, and is very short-sighted."

³ All the copies read *يخاف ان صنف ان يعنف و ان الف ان يخالف ولا يوالف او تحطفه الطير* meaning, "if they gather determination enough to appear before the public, they consider themselves as if they had surmounted insuperable obstacles, or won a victory, &c."

⁴ That is to say, "he deserves to be compared in excellence with the vase of Ibn Mokbil." Instead of *one of the copies reads فح ابن مقبل* which is a mistake. The meaning of this proverbial expression is thus explained in the *Thamar* or *Thimáru-l-kolúb fi-l-mudháf wa-l-mansúb*, 'the fruits of the hearts on the adjectives and patronymics,' by Ath-th'álebí, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9558, fo. 32, verso,) a work whose merits and utility cannot be sufficiently extolled. (See a previous Note, p. 331.) "*Kadahu Ibn Mokbil* is a proverbial expression used to designate the height of virtue and excellence. They say that 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, the fifth Khalif of the family of Umeyyah, once wrote to his general, Al-hejáj, the following words: *ان ما اري لك مثلا الا قدح ابن مقبل* 'certainly I know nothing that can be compared to thee but the vase of Ibn Mokbil.' When Al-hejáj read the letter, he could not understand the meaning of this expression; so, not knowing whether it contained a praise or an injury, he was much grieved to see that he could not penetrate the real sense of the words. At last, having had a visit from Koteybah Ibn Moslem, who, as is well known, was an eminent poet, and knew by heart the best poems of the ancients, he told him the words of the Khalif, and asked him to explain them for him. No sooner had Koteybah heard the words than he exclaimed, 'Good news, O Amír! a better praise of thee could not be uttered. Didst thou never hear those verses of Ibn Mokbil, describing a vase of his?'

غدا و هو مجدول و راح كافة . من المس والتقليب بالفت اطمح
خروج من الغباء ان صك صكة . يدا و العيون المستكفة تلمح

'It is always full and overflowing in the morning; in the evening it is made pregnant with the touching and the passing from hand to hand.

'In going out through the roof, if a slight stroke is stricken, the hands are immediately stretched out, and the eyes on the alert.'

I have not met with this expression in Eastern writers, but it was very common among those of the West. Ibnu-l-khattib, in describing a poet named Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-haddád, of Guadix, says of him, *وضع في طريق المعارف و صوح الصبح البهليل و ضرب فيها* "He shone in the various paths of knowledge like the bright star of morning; and he reached in them the utmost pitch of excellence, so as to deserve to be compared with the vase of Ibn Mokbil." Ibnu Khákán Al-kaysí, in his lives of illustrious men, says, speaking of the Wizír Ibn Zeydún, *النظم والنثر* "He made the vase of Ibn Mokbil his own (he deserved to be compared with him) in prose and verse composition."

⁵ Ibn Moklah is the surname of the celebrated Abú 'Alí Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hasan, who was Wizír to Al-muktader-billah, the thirty-ninth Khalif of the house of 'Abbás. His life is in Ibn Khallekán,

Tyd. Ind., No. 708. Ibn Moklah passes among the Arabs for the inventor of the characters called *neskhi*, which he substituted for the *kúfi*; but De Sacy has lately shown that the characters given as an invention of Ibn Moklah were in use long before his time.

The penmanship of Ibn Moklah became proverbial among the Arabs. I find in the above-mentioned work, the *Thimáru-l-kolúb*, by Ath-th'álebí, fo. 35, the following passage, which I translate entirely, as it abounds with curious information. "The hand-writing of Ibn Moklah became proverbial among the Arabs, owing to its being the finest and clearest hand that ever was known, and one the like of which men had never seen in the past times. The sight of it almost produced the effects of enchantment: so when the Arabs now want to praise a scribe's hand-writing, they call it Ibn Moklah's hand. "The Sultán Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád has said in verse—

خط الوزير بن مقله . . . بستان قلب و مقله

'The hand-writing of the Wizír Ibn Moklah was the garden of the heart and the fruit of its palm trees.'

"Another poet has said—

سقي الله عيشا مضي و انقص . . . بلا رجعة ارتجيبها و نقله
كوجه الحبيب و قلب الاديب . . . و شعر الوليد بخط ابن مقله

'May God pour his mercy upon the tomb of this man, who has disappeared from among the living, and gone never to return again.

'Like the face of Habíb, the heart of Adib, the verses of Walid, or the hand-writing of Ibn Moklah.'

"This Ibn Moklah was the celebrated Abú 'Alí Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Al-hasan Ibn Moklah, who wrote with his own hand a truce between the Moslems and the Greeks, which is to this day held in great estimation by the infidels, and preserved by them in Constantinople in the great church called *بيروزرنه* (Pir-Rúzanah?) placing it in their most revered shrines, and taking it out in their processions, owing to the admirable manner in which it is executed. Ibn Moklah filled the situation of Wizír under three successive Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás, Al-muktader, Al-káhir, and Ar-rádhí, under whose reign he passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, until, by the order of the latter, he had his hand cut off;—what a pity that so precious a hand should have been severed from his body! It is related by Thábit Ibn Senán Ibn Thábit-korrah, the physician, that on the day in which the sentence was executed upon Ibn Moklah, and his hand cut off, he received an order from the Khalif Ar-rádhí to repair immediately to Ibn Moklah's residence, and attend him until he should be cured. 'I went to him,' says Thábit, 'and dressed his wound; he inquired about his son, Abú-l-huseyn, and I told him that he was safe, hearing which he appeared to gather strength and seemed delighted. After this he began to cry and said to me,—'With this hand have I served three Khalifs and written the Korán thrice over, and yet it has been cut off as if it were that of a thief. Dost thou remember when thou didst say to me, Thou art on the last stage of misery,—take courage, for pain is nearly over, and joy is at hand; well, thou seest to what state I have been reduced since.' 'Never mind,' said I to him, 'this cannot last much longer, for although it be true that thou hast been dealt with in such a manner as no man ever was treated before, yet calamity, like many other things, has its end, and when it has risen to such a pitch it cannot but abate its fury.' 'No, thou shalt not convince me,' replied Ibn Moklah; 'love has grasped me in a manner that will lead me step by step to utter perdition, in the same manner as the

“disease consumes an old ass, until it gradually causes its death.” He then recited this verse of a poet:

إذا مات بعضك فابك بعضا . . . فبعض الشيء من بعض قريب

‘If one of thy friends should happen to die thou mayest begin to lament another, for one thing always follows another.’

“And, by God! Ibn Moklah’s prophecy was speedily fulfilled, for, after a while, having been restored to the charge of Wizír, he entered into a correspondence with Hakem the Turk, who had been general of the armies of Al-káhir. Intelligence of this having reached Ibn Ráyik, who then commanded the troops of Ar-rádhí, he accused him of treason against his sovereign, and the Khalif ordered that Ibn Moklah’s left hand should be cut off, and some time afterwards that his tongue should be cut also; he was, besides, cast into a dungeon, where he remained a long time. But Ibn Moklah’s misfortunes did not end here; he was, while in prison, attacked with dysentery, and not having at hand any one to cure him or to take care of him, he was the most wretched and miserable of men; so much so that I was told by the gaoler that, in order to drink, he was obliged to hold a rope between his teeth and dip it in the waters of a well inside his prison, and then suck it with his mouth; in one word, his sufferings were almost inexpressible until death came to relieve him from his misfortunes. Ibn Moklah was first buried, like other criminals, in the court of the Sultán’s palace, close to the prison. After this his family implored the Khalif’s permission to disinter his body, and this being granted, his remains were removed to the dwelling of his son, Abú-l-huseyn, and there buried; at last Ibn Moklah’s widow, a freedwoman of the name of Dínariyyah, had him again disinterred and removed to her residence in the palace of Um-habíb. But the most extraordinary thing related of this Ibn Moklah is that, while in prison, after he had had his hand cut off, and before he had been deprived of his tongue, he used to write to the Khalif Ar-rádhí, asking him for certain sums of money he had promised him. His becoming lame of his right hand did not incapacitate Ibn Moklah from discharging the duties of the Wizírate, for he continued to write most beautifully with his left hand, or by using some other contrivance unknown to any one. The fact is, that a little before his last misfortune his son received a letter from him admirably executed, and which, he said, had been written either with the left hand, or with a *kalam* fixed on the stump of the right arm. It has been remarked of Ibn Moklah that he served three dynasties, copied thrice the Korán, performed three pilgrimages, and was buried the same number of times.”

⁶ Both the copies have *كظام* *kadhám*, which means ‘the dent or groove at the upper end of the arrow, where the feathers are placed.’ Dagfal Ibn Handhalah (see D’Herbelot, *loco laudato*,) was one of the companions of the Prophet, although he held no traditions from his mouth. He was killed at the battle of Doláb, by the people of ‘Irák, during the Khalifate of Mu’awiyah, the first of the Bení Umeyyah. The origin of this proverbial expression, which, like the preceding and following, must have an historical allusion, is unknown to me.

⁷ *ويصير شجي في حلق أبي العيثل* and he becomes a quinsey in the throat of Abú-l-ameythal; that is, ‘he makes Abú-l-ameythal uneasy by his competition or his talents.’

Abú-l-ameythal (the father of the lion) is the surname of ‘Abdullah Ibn Khalíd, (not *خليب* as in *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 351,) who was a *mauli* of Ja’far, son of Suleymán, son of Alí, son of ‘Abdullah.

son of 'Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet, and who died in two hundred and forty (A. D. 854-5). He was a famous orator and poet, and wrote several works on grammar. See Hájí Khalfah, *voc.* التَّشَابُه

⁸ The title of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi's work being عَقْدٌ 'ikd, that is, 'necklaces,' (see Note 38, p. 338,) there is a *jeu de mots* upon that word. In addition to what I have there said of this poet, I find in Ibnu Bashkúwál that he left a collection of poems. That biographer adds that he died from the result of a paralytic fit, with which he was struck some years before, on the 18th of Jumáda I., A. H. three hundred and twenty-eight (March, A. D. 940).

⁹ This is the same individual mentioned in p. 37, and Note 31, p. 334. His life, as well as that of his brother, Al-mugheyráh, occurs in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fols. 53 and 144.

¹⁰ I have already observed (see p. 445) that although both the individual to whom the epistle is addressed, and he who answers it, bear the name of Ibn or Ibnu Hazm, they are two distinct persons, and must not be confounded. They must have been brothers, since both are said to have been sons of Ahmed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Sa'id, son of Hazm. The text says, *الي رجل اندلسي لم* 'To an Andalusian whose name and genealogy are nowhere mentioned.' According to Ibnu Bashkúwál it was considered a breach of politeness not to mention in the body of the letter the name, titles, and genealogy of the person to whom it was addressed, as happens to be the case in the present.

¹¹ *حصن البونت* *Hisn-Al-bónt* or *Alpont* is, I believe, the town of Alpuente, in the province of Valencia. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 207) and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 618) have called this governor 'Abdullah Ibn Kásim, no doubt by mistake. They likewise read incorrectly the name of the place, which the former writes *Hosn-Albenta*, and the latter *Hasn-Albont*.

¹² *لا توازي قومه نومته ولا ينال حضرة هونياه* By this extraordinary metaphor the author means, no doubt, 'all those who prefer passing their nights in study and meditation to sleeping undisturbed by their neighbours, and watched by their family.'

¹³ *نار حباب* 'The fire of Hobahib' (read Hobáhib). Ad-demírí, in his *Hayátu-l-haywán*, gives thus the origin of this proverbial expression. "The word *Hobáhib*, which is formed like *hodáhid* (lappwing), is the name for an insect with two tails, like the fly, and which, at night, appears illumined as if it were fire; hence the Arabic proverb *اضعف من نار الحباب* 'weaker than the fire of the *Hobáhib*.' Others say that *Hobáhib* was the name of a man from the tribe of Mohárib Ibn Hafsah, who was celebrated for his avarice, and who kept always a very bad fire for fear people should come to ask him for hospitality." My copy adds here *وباني رضوي من مهيع القصد الاجب*

¹⁴ The word *جند* *jend*, plural *اجناد* *ajnad*, which I have translated by 'armies or bodies of Arabs,' is frequently used by the historians of Arabian Spain. It means, properly, the six divisions of Arabs who settled in Syria after the conquest, and which, in after times, furnished also settlers to Spain.

¹⁵ Ans Ibn Málík was one of the Ansári, or inhabitants of Medína who protected Mohammed against the people of Mekka at the time of his flight. See D'Herb. voc. *Ans ben Malek*.

¹⁶ M. Reinaud, in his *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris, 1830,—an excellent work,—says that Ummu-l-harám was the wife of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, who, in the year twenty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 647-8), landed in Cyprus with a considerable force, and took that island from the Greeks. But I think the learned writer is mistaken, for I find in a biographical dictionary of the companions of the Prophet, entitled *كتاب التجريد في اسماء الصحابة* 'clear exposition of the names of the companions,' by Adh-dhahebí, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7359, fo. 140.) that Ummu-l-harám was the wife of 'Obádah, as here stated, not of Mu'awiyah, who did not command the expedition in person.

¹⁷ The expedition here alluded to took place soon after Suleymán's accession to the throne. It was commanded by Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, brother to that Khalif. Huseyn Ad-diyárbekrí, the author of a voluminous history of the Khalifs in my possession, (see Preface,) says that it took place in the year 99, and that it was composed of land and sea forces, in which case Moslemah may have commanded the army, while Hobeyrah had the management of the fleet. A son of this general, named Abú-l-moththanna Ibn Hobeyrah, was governor of 'Irák under Yezíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek. See Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. pp. 78, 79, and Abú-l-faraj, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 205.

¹⁸ It is not easy to reconcile the accounts of this writer with those of Abú-l-fedá and the generality of the Arabian historians. According to them the island of Cyprus was not entirely subdued until the days of Hárún Ar-rashíd, A. H. 190. (See Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. p. 119.) However, as the word *fataha*, 'to enter, to invade, to conquer,' is so vague in its signification, the author may allude to the expedition against that island made during the Khalifate of 'Othmán; but even then this could not be the first maritime war carried on by the Arabs, since Ibnu Khaldún (see App. B., p. xxxiv.) speaks of another directed against the coast of 'Omán thirteen years before. Neither was Spain the second country invaded by sea, since shortly after their invasion of Africa the Arabs began to scour the neighbouring seas, and naval expeditions against Sicily, Mallorca, and other islands in the Mediterranean, were crowned with success even long before the conquest of Spain was dreamt of. (See App. B. and D.) The historian Nuwayrí mentions no less than four expeditions against Sicily, all of which started from the ports of Africa. The first, which was commanded by 'Abdullah Ibn Kays Al-fezári, took place as early as the year forty-five (A. D. 665). See the text of that historian published by Gregorio Rosario, Panormo, 1790.

The island of Sicily had likewise for many years been the theatre of these piratical incursions, when it was finally subdued under Ziyádatu-llah Ibn Ibráhím, Sultán of the dynasty of the Bení Aghlab, in the year two hundred and twelve of the Hijra (A. D. 827-8), as here stated. (See also Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 391.) Asad Ibnu-l-forát Ibn Senán, who commanded the fleet sent against Sicily, is the *Benfrat-el-Cadi* mentioned by Cardonne, *Hist. de l' Afrique*, vol. ii. p. 22. The word *صاحب* which I have rendered by 'friend,' may also mean 'disciple.'

¹⁹ A fuller account of this popular insurrection, which is differently related by the Arabian writers, will be given in the second volume of this translation. *Betroh*, thus written, بطروح is the modern town of *Los Pedroches*, at some distance from Cordova. *Fahsu-l-bolútt*, that is, 'the field of the oak trees,' (bolútt, in Spanish *bellota*, being the *quercus glandifera*.) was also a district in the neighbourhood

of that city. I find it mentioned by Idrísí, *Clim.* iv. sect. 1; Ibn Haukal, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxford, No. 963,) p. 26; Ibn Khordádbah, *ibid.*, No. 993.

²⁰ The island of Crete was retaken from the Arabs by Nicephorus Phocas, a general of Romanus.

²¹ *Sarra men rai* is the name of a city built close to Baghdád by Al-mu'atasseem, the eighth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás. It was also called Askár. (See Al-makín, *Hist. Sar.* apud Erpen. p. 143; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 221; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Asker* and *Serramenra*.) According to Ash-sheríf Al-gharnáttí, the commentator on the *Makssúrah* of Házem (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9579, fo. 166), the name of this city ought to be written thus, سَرَّ مَنَّ رَائِي *Sorra-men-rái* (I am the delight of those who look at me), which he says is a corruption of سامرا *Sámará*, its ancient name.

²² Instead of العَرَبِ *Al-mu'arrib*, or *Al-mu'rib*, (not *Al-mu'arrib*, as in the translation,) my copy and the epitome read المَغْرِبِ *Al-mughrib*. I find the same reading in the printed copy of Hájí Khalfah, vol. ii. p. 161, but there can be no doubt that the real title of this work is as given at p. 318: العَرَبِ فِي إِخْبَارِ مَحَاسِنِ أَهْلِ الْمَغْرِبِ (the speaker according to the rules of the Arabic grammar on the narrative of the brilliant actions of the inhabitants of the West). The author is the same Abú Yahya Alyasa' or Alisa' mentioned at p. 20, and Note 28, p. 318.

²³ Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf الورَّاق *Al-warrák* (the paper-merchant) wrote for the use and by command of Al-hakem 'Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Cordova, several works on the history and geography of Africa. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 460.) He died, according to Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 137), in the year three hundred and sixty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 973-4). Both Al-bekrí and the author of the *Karítás* repeatedly quote him, but he must not be confounded with another African historian also called *Al-warrák* (Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek), who flourished towards the middle of the sixth century of the Hijra, and is frequently mentioned by the last-named historian.

²⁴ Tahart or تَهْرْت *Tahort*, which Al-bekrí writes *Tihart*, is a town of that part of Africa called central Maghreb. (See *Edrisii Africa*, by Hartmann, p. 201.) According to Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. ii. pp. 314 and 319) it was at one time the capital of a kingdom founded in those districts by the Bení Rostam.

²⁵ Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, in his *Bib. Repert.*, speaks of a history of Sijilmásah or Sijilmesa, written by this *Al-warrák*.

²⁶ Nakúr, or rather Nokór, is the name of a considerable district and city in Africa. The latter, according to Al-bekrí, fo. 68, owed its foundation to Sa'íd Ibn Idrís Ibn Sáleh.

²⁷ بَصْرَةَ *Basrah*, a city in Africa. It is often called *Basrah-l-maghreb* (Basrah of the West), to distinguish it from Basrah in Mesopotamia.

²⁸ The entire name of this theologian is 'Abdullah Ibn Mes'úd Ibn Gháfil Al-hadheli. He was one of the ancestors of the celebrated historian Mes'údí. See D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or. voc. Massoud*.

²⁹ Khodheyfah, or more correctly Hodheyfah, is a very common name among the ancient Arabs. I find no less than seven companions of the Prophet in Adh-dhahebí's dictionary whose first name was Hodheyfah.

³⁰ B. reads 'Omar instead of 'Ammár. I do not find his name in Adh-dhahebí's dictionary, but Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 516,) gives the life of a famous theologian, whom I believe to have been the grandson of this companion, since his name was Abú 'Amru Ibnu-l-'ala Ibn 'Ammár Ibni-l-'orbán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibni-l-hassín At-temímí Al-mázíní.

³¹ Hishám Ibn 'A'mir Ibn Umeyyah Al-ansári An-najári was one of the companions of the Prophet; he inhabited Basrah, and died a martyr, fighting against the infidels. See Adh-dhahebí, *loco laudato*, fo. 176.

³² Abú Bekrah (the father of the maid) is the surname of Nafi' Ibnu-l-hareth Ibn Kaladah Athakefí. He is classed by Adh-dhahebí (*loco laudato*, fo. 186,) among the companions who inhabited Basrah.

³³ By Hejáz the Arabian geographers designate that part of Arabia where the city of Mekka stands: Tehámeh is the district north of Mekka; Táyef a city of Arabia, anciently called Wah. See Abú-l-fedá, *Arab. Desc.* p. 64.

³⁴ Adh-dhahebí (*loco laudato*, fo. 94, *verso*.) mentions a companion of the Prophet who died at Damascus, and whose names and surname were Abú-l-walíd 'Ibádah Ibnu-s-sámah Ibn Kays Ibn Asram Ibn Fehr Ibn Tha'lebah Ibn Kaukal Al-khazrejí. This seems to be the same individual mentioned at p. 173 as the husband of Ummu-l-harám, the authoress of the tradition related by Ibn Hazm; only that his first name is here written 'Ibádah instead of 'Obádah.

³⁵ Both copies and the epitome in the British Museum read here أبو الدردجا as I have written it, but I am inclined to believe that it is a mistake, and that ^{دردآ} Abú-d-dardá or dordá, which is the surname of ^{عويبر} 'Ouimar, son of Málik, who belonged to the tribe of the Bení-l-hareth, sons of Al-khazrej, ought to be substituted; if so, he was one of the companions of the Prophet, and practised as a physician at Damascus. See Adh-dhahebí, *loco laudato*, fo. 189, *verso*.

³⁶ According to Adh-dhahebí (fo. 176) the entire name of this companion was Abú 'Obeydah 'A'mir Ibn 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-jerráh. He was Amín or inspector of Damascus. I ought to observe that the word ^{امين} Amin has been preserved in the Spanish *Alamin*.

³⁷ No less than fourteen companions of the Prophet, whose first name was ^{معان} Mo'ádh, are to be found in Adh-dhahebí's dictionary. One among the rest is represented as having inhabited Damascus for some time. His name was Mo'ádh Ibn Jebel Ibn 'Amr Ibn Aus Al-khazrejí As-solamí. See *ib.*, fo. 162, *verso*.

³⁸ Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán was closely related to the Prophet; he was the first Khalif of the house of Umeyyah.

³⁹ Adh-dhahebi (*loco laudato*, fo. 47, *verso*.) gives a short notice of this companion, whose patronymic he writes thus العبدوي instead of العبدوي as in Al-makkari. He was one of the bravest Arabian warriors in the first wars of Islám, and he often attacked alone one thousand cavaliers. He was killed during the siege of Misr, though some pretend that it was not till after the taking of that city, where he was appointed by 'Amru Ibnu-l'áss to the command of his guards; others again believe him to be the same individual who was killed by Radhúyah, who mistook him for 'Amru.

⁴⁰ 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás was the cousin of the Prophet, and one of the most esteemed traditionists. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Abbas*.

⁴¹ 'Abdullah Ibn Zobeyr, who was proclaimed Khalif at Mekka, after the death of Huseyn, in the year 62 of the Hijra. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Abdalla*, and Al-makin, *apud* Erpen. fo. 55.

⁴² The author no doubt intends Abú 'Alí Isma'il Ibnu-l-kásim Al-kálí, the rhetorician, who was a native of Baghdád, but settled in Córdoba during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136, c. 1, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 430.

⁴³ There are various authors of this name: Casiri (vol. ii. p. 88) gives, after Ibnu-l-khattíb, the life of an eminent physician and poet called Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Hání; but unless he be mistaken in the place of his birth, which he says was Cordova, and the year of his death, which he places in A. H. 576, he cannot be the person here intended. My MS. of Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions another illustrious author and poet whose name was also Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hání, who was a native of Ceuta, but as it does not state either the year of his birth or that of his death, I am not sure that he is the person intended. Ibn Khákán, in his *Mattmah* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 168), gives likewise the life of a poet named Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Hání. Lastly, Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 679,) treats of a celebrated poet called Abú-l-hasan or Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Hání Al-azdí Al-andalusí, born in Seville in A. H. three hundred and twenty-four (A. D. 935-6), and killed near the city of Barca, in Africa, in three hundred and sixty-two (A. D. 972-3), whom he styles the *Mutennabí* of Andalus. But the same difficulty exists with respect to this as to the two other individuals I have mentioned; they were born in Spain, and the author alludes unquestionably to one born out of it, but who, like Isma'il Al-kálí, settled in that country. Be this as it may, Ibn Hazm, the author of the present epistle, having died in 456, it is probable that the individual here alluded to flourished at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century of the Hijra.

⁴⁴ Ahmed Ibn Abí Táhir was, according to Háji Khalfah (*voc. Tárikh Baghdád*), the first author who wrote the history of Baghdád, his native city. It was continued after his death by Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn 'Alí, known by the surname of Al-khattíb Al-baghdadí, whose life is to be found in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 33). The life of Ahmed Ibn Abí Táhir, who was a doctor of the Sháf'í sect, and bore the patronymic of Al-isfaráyni, (from اسفَرَايْن *Isfaráyn*, a city in Khorassán, not far from Nisábúr,) is likewise in Ibn Khallekán. (See *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 25.) He was born in A. H. 344, and died, according to Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 27), in 406. His surname was Abú Hámid.

⁴⁵ Neither of these names occurs in Hájí Khalfah under the head of the historians of Basrah. However, the life of the former, whose entire name was Abú Zeyd 'Omar Ibn شبة Shabah An-namarí, occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 502), where he is said to have been the author of several historical works. Ibn Shabah died in two hundred and sixty-two (A.D. 875-6).

⁴⁶ Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tárikh Kúfah*) mentions two histories of this city; one by Abu-l-huseyn Mohammed Ibn Ja'far Ibn Mohammed, known by the surname of Ibnu-n-najjár (the son of the carpenter), a native of Kúfah, who died in four hundred and two of the Híjra (A.D. 1011-12); the other by Ibn Mujálid. Instead of شبة Sheybah, B. reads شبة Shabah. If so, he is the same author mentioned a few lines higher up, and Note 45. His entire name was Abú Zeyd 'Omar Ibn Shabah.

⁴⁷ Hamzah Ibnu-l-hasan Al-isfahání wrote, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tárikh Isfahán*), a history of Isfahán in several volumes. He wrote also a critique on the poems of Al-mutennabí, which is in the Esc. Lib. See Cat., No. 470.

⁴⁸ I believe this author to be the same whom Hájí Khalfah calls Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Al-maussilí (from Mossul), and who is reported to have written a history of that city.

⁴⁹ Several Spanish Arabs, bearing the name of Ibn عبدون 'Abdún, are mentioned in Casiri's *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, but none seem to answer the description of the present. One is Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún, who, with a body of sailors and emigrants, is said to have built, in A.H. 297, the city of Wahrán (Oran), in Africa, (vol. ii. p. 2, and Al-bekrí, fo. 37.) Another is the famous historian and poet 'Abdu-l-majíd Abú Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún, the author of a poem on the history of the Bení Al-aftas, kings of Badajoz. (See a preceding note, p. 370.) Al-makkarí (Book v. fo. 116) mentions another individual named Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún Al-'adúwí Al-jebelí, an inhabitant of Cordova, who left Spain for the East in the year three hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 947-8), and who, having become an excellent astronomer and physician, was appointed director of an hospital at Fustát. He returned to Spain in three hundred and sixty (A.D. 970-1), and was much distinguished by Al-hakem II. and his son Hishám II. But these three individuals being natives of Spain, the observation cannot be applied to them.

⁵⁰ Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Radd*) mentions several critiques upon the doctrines of Abú Hanífa, written by doctors of other sects, but I find none attributed to Ahmed Ibn Tálib At-temímí Al-cairwání.

⁵¹ Ibn عبدوس 'Abdús, I believe, is Sa'id Ibn 'Abdús, whose death Conde records in the month of Safar of the year one hundred and eighty (April or May, A.D. 796), on his return from the East, whither he had travelled in order to take lessons from Málik Ibn Ans and other distinguished theologians. His birth-place is not stated there, but if he be the same individual here mentioned, he must have been a foreigner, although residing in Cordova.

⁵² Mohammed Ibn Sahnún. A work on jurisprudence by this author is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1157.

⁵³ ازهد الناس في عالم اهله 'men are always circumspect or shy about their own family.'

⁵⁴ لا يفقد حرمة النبي الا في بلادہ Compare St. Luke, chap. iv. verse 24.

⁵⁵ الأوس Al-*aus* and الخزرج Al-*khazraj*, or rather Al-*khazrej*, were two principal stocks of Arabs.

⁵⁶ The words which, for want of a more suitable expression, I have translated by a periphrasis, are these: حمي الوطيس علي البائس a proverbial expression, which, literally translated, means, 'the oven of war burnt fiercely against the presumptuous.' It might be very well translated into Spanish by 'Aqui fué Troya.'

⁵⁷ The text says, و طوق مالم يتقلد, 'they will put round his neck a collar which was not his.'

⁵⁸ There are in Hájí Khalfah several works on this subject, all bearing the title of الهداية *Hedáyah* (direction); but I have found none attributed to 'Isa Ibn Dínár, who, according to Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 269), was a distinguished theologian, and died universally regretted at Toledo in two hundred and twelve (A.D. 827).

⁵⁹ By Ibn Kásim the author means, no doubt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the author of the *Madúnah*, and one of the most beloved disciples of Málík Ibn Ans. His life is in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 370.

⁶⁰ كتاب الجدار في الاقضية and كتاب البيوع — كتاب الصلاة are the titles of these works, neither of which is mentioned by Hájí Khalfah.

⁶¹ موطأ *Mowattá*, which other writers spell *Mautta*, is the title of a collection of Mohammedan law by the celebrated theologian Málík Ibn Ans, the founder of one of the four sects considered orthodox by the Mohammedans, which was introduced into Spain and Africa in the third century of the Hijra. See a preceding note, p. 403, as well as D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Maoutha*, *Malek*, &c.

⁶² Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Baki Ibn مخلد *Mokhlid* is slightly mentioned by Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 316). Al-makkari (Part i. Book v. fo. 101, *verso*,) gives his life in the following terms: "Baki Ibn Mokhlid Ibn Yezid Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán, of Cordova, one of the most famous traditionists of his age, is well known as the author of several collections of traditional sayings and commentaries on the Korán. He travelled to the East, where he met several learned men, and profited by their lessons, collecting traditions from the mouths of no less than two hundred and thirty-four doctors. He was born in Ramadhán of two hundred and one (April, A.D. 817), and died in Jumáda II., two hundred and seventy-two (A.D. 885-6). He was excessively abstinent and modest, and scrupulous in performing his religious duties."

⁶³ According to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 409), 'Abdu-r-razzáq Ibn Hamám As-san'ání was one of the principal theologians and traditionists of his time. He died in two hundred and eleven (A.D. 826-7).

⁶⁴ Instead of Sa'id, A. reads 'Alí. I have chosen the former reading, because I believe this author to be no other than Abú-l-hasan Sa'id Ibn Mansúr Ibn Mes'úd, a famous grammarian and traditionist,

whose life occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 263). I ought, however, to observe that the names and surnames of this writer, as they are given in my MS. copy of the said work, differ from the printed index. He is called Abú-l-hasan Sa'íd Ibn Mansúr Ibn Mes'úd المجاشعي Al-mujáshi'i, known by the surname of الاخفش الاوسط *Al-ahkfashu-l-ausatt*, to distinguish him from two other writers also called *Al-ahkfash*.

⁶⁵ Háji Khalfah (voc. *Ah'kám*) mentions several works entitled *Ah'kamu-l-korán*, among which four are written by Spanish Arabs, although none of them has the surname of Abú Umeyyah, or the patronymic Al-hijári (from Guadalaxara).

⁶⁶ Abú-l-hakem Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd Al-bolúttí (*i. e.* from *Fahsu-l-bolútt*, a district close to Cordova, see p. 450, Note 19,) is the same individual whom Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 103,) erroneously designates by the name of *Monderus Ben Said Al-thouthí*, and whom he calls *Præfectus aulae Abdelrahmani*. On his return from the East, whither he had gone in A. H. three hundred and thirty (A. D. 941-2), Mundhir was appointed to the place of Kádí-l-kodá, or supreme judge of Cordova, by 'Abdu-rahmán III., who distinguished him much, owing to his profound learning and great piety. Al-makkari, (Part I. Book v. fo. 97, *verso*,) who mentions him among the illustrious Moslems who left Andalus to travel in the East, gives some interesting details on the life of this theologian. I shall transcribe the passage elsewhere. The title of his work الابانة من حقايق اصول الديانة is not to be found in Háji Khalfah.

⁶⁷ Abú Suleymán Dáúd Ibn 'Alí Ibn Khalf, of Isfahán, surnamed Adh-dháherí, because the doctrines he preached were ظاهر *dháher*, *i. e.* consisting rather in external than internal practices, was the founder of a sect, after him called the Dháherites. He was born in Kúfah in two hundred and two (A. D. 817-8), but resided most of his life in Baghdád, where he died in two hundred and seventy (A. D. 883-4). His life is in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 222. See also Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Arab.* pp. 29 and 299; D'Herb. voc. *Daud, Thaherites*, &c.; and De Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* tom. ii. p. 423.

⁶⁸ Abú Mohammed Kásim Ibn Asbagh Ibn Yúsuf Ibn ناسيج Nássij, or more correctly نسيج Nasij, was a native of Baena, a town in the neighbourhood of Cordova, but passed most of his life in the latter city, where he died in three hundred and forty (A. D. 951-2). His life occurs in Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), together with a catalogue of his works, in which are the titles of this and following compositions. See also Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139); and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 427-41, *et seq.*), who fixed also his death in 340, but, with his usual carelessness, makes him, a few pages after (p. 486), the preceptor of Hishám II., who was not born until 366. A more ample notice of this writer will be given in the second volume of this translation.

⁶⁹ By Isma'il the author no doubt means the famous traditionist Abú Is'hák Isma'il Ibn Is'hák Al-azdí, of Basrah, who, according to Háji Khalfah (voc. *Ah'kám*), wrote a work on the same subject.

⁷⁰ كتاب البجني—instead of which two of the MSS. read المجتني—and the epitome البجني The meaning is nearly the same; neither of these titles, however, occurs in Háji Khalfah, but I find in

the Bibliographical Index by Kheyr, that the author alluded to wrote a work entitled *الـمجـتـنـي* *Al-mujtaní*, which he dedicated to Al-hakem II., Sultán of Cordova, and which contained two thousand four hundred and ninety traditional stories, divided into four parts.

I have already made several quotations from the Bibliographical Index of Kheyr Ibn Khalífah (Arab. MS. in Bib. Esc., No. 1667), and as, in the course of these notes, I shall often have occasion to refer to it, I shall give a description of it, together with a short analysis of its contents. It is a middle-sized folio of about four hundred and seventy pages, written in a large, clear, Maghrebí or Western hand, in the year seven hundred and twelve of the Hijra (A. D. 1313). The author, who flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra, is there said to be Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Kheyr Ibn 'Omar Ibn Khalífah Al-andalusí. The contents of the work are totally dissimilar to those announced by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 71). I recollect that when I first read the description of a manuscript said to contain an account of seventy public libraries existing in the Peninsula under the Arabs, with catalogues, too, of the works preserved in them, and the names of the authors, &c., I felt a great desire to see it, and made a journey to the Escorial on purpose. The reader may judge of my disappointment when, upon inspection, I found it to be a species of memorandum book, in which the author had put down the titles of all the works he had read in the various departments of science, and the names of the masters to whom he was indebted for his learning. At the end of the volume the writer names those doctors

who had given him permission to quote from their works or their conversations, *الذين اجازوا له لفظاً* *al-dín ajazawá lah lufzá* and classes them under the towns of their birth in the following order: 1. those of Seville; 2. those of Cordova; 3. Almeria; 4. Malaga; 5. Algesiras; and, 6. Granada, and other cities of Mohammedan Spain. I need not say that there is not the least mention made in the work—which I perused entirely, taking numerous extracts, from which I now borrow—of any public library existing in Spain, and yet, on Casiri's authority, this mis-statement has not only been repeated over and over again, but has frequently been adduced as a convincing proof of the high intellectual culture of the Arabs! As it is, the production is a very valuable one, since it gives us the titles as well as the names of the authors of books which are sought for in vain in Háji Khalfah's Bibliographical Dictionary, a work particularly deficient in the literature of the Spanish Arabs.

⁷¹ *الـمـجـتـنـي* *al-mujtaní* is, according to Háji Khalfah, the title of a voluminous work on traditions by Mujiddu-d-dín Ibn Yatímah, whose death is not recorded in the copy in the British Museum.

⁷² *كتاب في فضائل قریش و كنانة* *Kitáb fí fuzáil qarísh wa kánána* Háji Khalfah gives no account of this work, which I find mentioned by Kheyr, *loco laudato*.

⁷³ The transcription of the Korán is subject among the Arabs to certain rules, defined by a particular branch of literature, which they call *'ilmu-n-násikh wa-l-mansúkh*, (the science of the copy and the original.)

⁷⁴ Abú 'Omar (*al. 'Amru*) Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr is the same author mentioned at p. 37. His life may be read in Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 148), as well as in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 847), and in the *Mattmah* by Al-fat'h, fo. 147. He died at Xativa in four hundred and sixty-three (A. D. 1069). Háji Khalfah (*voc. Istidhkár* and *Tamhíd*) gives the titles of these two works, which, together with many others, chiefly on religious subjects, are preserved in the Escorial Library. (See Catalogue, Nos. 1699, 1803.) A collection of proverbs and remarkable sentences, made by him, is also in the Library of the British Museum, No. 9564.

⁷⁵ كتاب الكافي في الفقه و مذهب مالك و اصحابه These two works appear to be the same which Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 138,) calls *Pandectæ Hispanæ* and *Historia Scholarum*, translating اصحاب by 'disciples,' instead of 'companions' of the Prophet.

⁷⁶ Náfí' Ibn Abí Na'ím and Abú 'Amrú Ibn Abí-l-'olá are two out of the seven founders of as many schools of reading the Korán. Their lives occur in Ibn Khallekán. See *Tyd. Ind.*, Nos. 516 and 767.

⁷⁷ Hájí Khalfah, who mentions this work in his Bibliographical Dictionary, (voc. *Bahjah*), describes it as being only one volume, divided into one hundred and twenty-four chapters: he adds that it was very much esteemed and consulted for law-suits. A copy of the work is in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., No. 106.

⁷⁸ كتاب جامع العلم و فضله و ما ينبغي في روايته —B. adds بيان after جامع

⁷⁹ The life of this author occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 358). See also Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 142), who made a patronymic of the word *Háfedh*, which means 'traditionist,' and called him Abú-l-walíd *Alhaphedi*; and De Sacy, (*Chrest. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 325,) who read *Ebn-alfardh* instead of Ibnu-l-faradhí.

⁸⁰ The title of the work here attributed to Ibnu-l-faradhí is المختلف والموتلف في اسماء الرجال which, literally translated, means 'what is different and alike in the names of men.' The science of writing and spelling proper names forms among the Arabs the subject of a particular study, being a branch of the science of genealogy. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Mokhtalef* and *Mutalef*.

⁸¹ Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 412,) gives the life of a famous theologian and traditionist named Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-ghaní Ibn Sa'id Al-azdí, but instead of Basrah he makes him a native of Cairo, where he died in four hundred and nine (A. D. 1018-9). He is there said to have composed various works on genealogy, and among others that which is here mentioned.

⁸² There are various authors with this name in Casiri's *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* One is Ahmed Ibn Sa'id Al-bájí (vol. i. p. 466, c. 1), another Ahmed Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ibráhím Al-hamdání (vol. ii. p. 140, c. 1), a third is Ahmed Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Alí Al-kanttari (vol. ii. p. 141, c. 1), and, lastly, the same author mentions (vol. ii. p. 134, c. 2,) a writer called Ahmed Ibn Sa'id Ibn Hazm Al-montejili. One of the ancestors of Ibnu Sa'id was also called Ahmed. Perhaps he is the person here alluded to, but as both Ahmed and Sa'id are very common names among the Arabs, and the patronymic is wanting, it is impossible to decide which of the above-mentioned individuals the allusion regards. Hájí Khalfah does not give the title of this work among the histories of the companions of the Prophet.

⁸³ Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, in his Bibliographical Index, mentions a work on traditions by Abú Ja'far Mohammed Ibn 'Amrú Ibn Músa Al-'okaylí, entitled الضعفاء و المتروكين من المحدثين 'a treatise on those among the traditionists who erred or were guilty of omissions in their writings.'

⁸⁴ Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 661,) speaks of an author, a native of Spain, named Abú Bekr Al-hasan Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mufarraǵ Al-kaysí, who wrote several works on jurisprudence and traditions.

⁸⁵ Abú Sa'id Al-hasan Ibn Abí-l-hasan Yesár Al-basrí, one of the most illustrious among the tábí's, and a famous traditionist. See his life in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 155.