

minbar or pulpit inside the mosque (in Spanish *alminbar*) for the tower attached to the building, which is called *almenárah*. From *sauma'h* the Spaniards made *zoma*. Father Figuerola, in his *Tratado contra el Alcorán* (a MS. work in my possession), fo. 40, *verso*, says "Zomas son unas torres altas y estrechas en que un Moro se subía para llamar los demás á la zala." The last word, *zala*, is likewise Arabic, and comes from *salát* (prayer).

³⁸ An inscription commemorating the building of this tower is still preserved on one of the interior walls. It bears the date of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 354, that is, four years after the accession of Al-hakem II.

³⁹ I think the author means "in the hand-writing of the Khalif Al-hakem," who is reported to have composed a book on the history of Spain, from which Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other eminent historians, borrowed considerably. This, too, would agree better with the reading of my copy, where it is said "in a book in the hand-writing of the Khalif Al-mustanser-billah."

⁴⁰ The word I have translated 'reservoir for purification' is *البيضاء* from *وضا*—which means 'to make ablutions.'

⁴¹ The text says, supplied with water from *بئر السانية* *bir as-saniyah*, that is, a well, the water of which is raised to the surface by a camel turning round. The word *azeña* has been preserved in Spanish to designate a water mill.

⁴² The word *الساقية* in Spanish *azequia*, is a canal for the purpose of irrigation or to convey drinking water.

⁴³ The Spanish words *caño*, *cañeria*, *cañada*, are all derived from the Arabic *قناة* *kandt*, which means 'a reed,' (in Spanish *caña*), and figuratively, a subterranean canal through which water is made to flow, a pipe.

⁴⁴ Rather 'cisterns,' for such is the meaning of *جواب* *jawáb*, the plural of *جوب* *júb* or *jib*, whence the Spanish *algibe*.

⁴⁵ These marble receptacles for water may still be seen in the cathedral of Cordova. The quarry whence they were extracted is likewise shown by the peasants at a few miles from the city.

⁴⁶ I find a description of this establishment in the Biographical Dictionary of Ibnu Bashkúwál, in the article 'Ahmed Ibn Kháled,' a poet who resided in it for a long time. It appears that it was chiefly destined for poor theologians, or students who came to Cordova from the provinces to study the law. Eminent literary men, poets, orators, and historians, were also admitted and honourably treated. The former received a daily allowance of food, and provisions of all sorts, besides a small sum of money; the latter received yearly pensions from the treasury, each according to his merits or station in life.

⁴⁷ Al-beládhori, an ancient geographer who described Spain in the fourth century of the Hijra, and Ibn Haukal, who copied him, say that the extensive plain of *Fahssu-l-bolútt*, close to Cordova, was

in their time entirely covered with the houses and tents of the African tribes, owing to the crowded population of the capital.

⁴⁸ Instead of the 'court of the mosque,' the author no doubt means 'in the spot, which, after the building of the addition, would have been appropriated to the court.'

⁴⁹ *Beyt-mál* signifies a treasury, and also a certain sum of money (one million of dinárs), according to Ibnu Khaldún, whose words are as follow: *بيت المال في اصطلاح عمال الدولة وقهارمتها*: "the *beyt-mál* among treasurers and governors is equivalent to one million of dinárs." In the present case the expression is used *per synecdochen*, as the Spaniards, when they want to extol the value of a thing, say "*Vale un Potosí*,"—it is worth a Potosí,—a mountain in South America where gold was found in large quantities.

⁵⁰ See page 220. For a plan of the mosque of Cordova, as it was in the times of the Arabs, the reader is referred to the drawings of Murphy, and the splendid work published by the Spanish Academy of San Fernando in 1780. In neither work, however, are the various additions painted in colours.

⁵¹ The word *علاج* *a'láj*, which I have translated by 'slaves,' is the plural of *علاج* *'alaj*, and means, properly speaking, 'a barbarian or foreigner,' and hence 'a Christian.' In the latter times of the Mohammedan empire in Spain the word *'aláj*, which passed afterwards into the Spanish *elche*, was applied by the Moslems to all those among their countrymen who held communion with the Christians.

⁵² This cistern, which occupies almost the whole of the court, is still preserved as in the days of Al-mansúr. It is built in the shape of a vault made with strong arches.

⁵³ The meaning of the word *مشاكي* *masháki* is entirely unknown to me. It is only by guess that I have translated 'supporters;' for if the author means a sort of frame, within which the wick of a Moorish lamp of this description is encompassed to prevent its sinking into the oil, they are generally made of lighter materials than lead, such as cork, wood, sometimes a very thin piece of tin, &c. It may also mean a sort of ring made of lead or wire, within which glasses or lamps of this kind are generally suspended.

⁵⁴ The *قنطر* *kintar*, whence the Spanish *quintal*, is a measure of weight of one hundred pounds. Most of the Spanish names for weights and measures are derived from the Arabic: for instance, *arroba*, a weight of twenty-five pounds, comes from *الربع* *ar-roba'*, which in Arabic means the fourth part of a *kintar*; *arralde* and *arrelde* are pounds, from *رطل* *rattl*; *xeme*, a span, is from *شامة* *shemeh*; *almud*, a measure for grain, is from *مد* *mudd*, which might itself be a corruption of *modius*; *cahiz* and *cafiz* are from *قفيز* *kafiz*; *aukiá*, an ounce, comes from *اوقيا* *oukiyyah*, and this seemingly from the Greek *οὐγκία*; *kilate*, a weight of four grains, from *قيراط* or *قيراط* *keparion*, a bean, and the weight of a bean; *danique*, a weight of two *kirats*, from *دانق*—*mizcal*, a weight of 1½ drachms, from

مثقال—*adarme*, a drachm, from درهم *dirhem*; *cantara*, a measure for wines and other liquids, is from قنطرة—*azumbre* and *zelein* from زنبيل *zunbel* and سلمي *salemi*, &c.

⁵⁵ According to Ash-shakandí (see p. 41) some of these lamps were Christian bells suspended from the ceiling in an inverted position, with their concavities upwards. I remember having read the same thing in Ibnu-l-abbár. Marmol Carvajal, (*Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 86,) while treating of Fez, says that in the great mosque called *Mesjidu-l-kairawín* there were some bronze lamps cast out of the materials of bells brought from Spain. In one of his expeditions against the Christians, Al-mansúr removed the bells of the church of Santiago, and brought them to Cordova. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 331.

⁵⁶ I have here omitted the translation of a long *kassidah*, by the Faquih and Kátib Abú Mohammed Ibráhím Ibn Sáhíbi-s-salát Al-welbáni (of Huelva), giving an account of this mosque.

⁵⁷ That is to say, during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. and that of his successors, Al-hakem II. and Hishám II., for these are the only three sovereigns of the house of Umeyyah who assumed in Spain the title of Khalifs.

⁵⁸ I am inclined to believe that Al-makkari made here a mistake, since the phenomenon which he describes is attributed by almost every Arabian geographer I have consulted to a globe of quicksilver placed in the centre of a circular hall in the palace of Az-zahrá, not in the mosque of Cordova.

⁵⁹ *Nashaku-l-azhár fí 'ajáyibi-l-aktár* is the title of a geographical work by Ibn Iyás. (See Preface.) I have collated this passage with a copy of that work in the Brit. Mus., No. 7503, fo. 9. The author gives likewise the dimensions of the mosque, and the number of lamps, which he calls تانور *tanúr*, (in Spanish *atanor*;) but adds no new particulars.

⁶⁰ Some of the ovals here alluded to are still remaining, but the inscriptions were carefully effaced when the mosque was transformed into a Christian temple. However, those in the *míhráb*, and in the angles near the tower, did not share the same fate.

CHAPTER III.

¹ I find that my MS. copy, as well as the printed editions of Ibn Khallekán, gives this passage somewhat differently. The breadth of the building is stated at fifteen hundred cubits, and the total expenditure at *fifteen millions* of dinárs.

² It is unnecessary to remark, that although no doubt can be entertained that this sumptuous city once existed, and in the site too which all authors agree in giving it, no remains of any kind are extant to remind the traveller of the scenes here described.

³ The word *أملة*; *zámilah*, whence the Spanish *azemila* is derived, means 'a beast of burden.'

⁴ *التبليط* from *بلط* 'to pave with large flags of stone.' To pave with bricks, or with pounded clay, as is generally the custom all through Africa, is called *تفريش* *tafrish*, from *farrasha*, 'to strew, to lay down any thing flat.'

⁵ The nineteen columns here said to have come from the country of the Franks were probably brought from Narbonne, a city abounding with temples and other monuments of antiquity, and which Hishám I. plundered of every material that might be appropriated for the building of the great mosque of Cordova. It is likely that those brought from Tarragona had a similar origin.

⁶ *السيجة* I believe means 'streaked marble,' or a sort of veined jasper, which the Spaniards call *marmol de aguas*.

⁷ According to the meaning given to the word *beyt-mál* in a former note (p. 500), the total expenditure upon this palace would have been fifteen millions of dinárs. But, by multiplying the twenty-five years of An-nássir's reign by three hundred thousand dinárs, which he is reported to have spent annually, I only obtain seven millions and a half, which leads me to suppose that Ibnu Khaldún committed an error when he said that a *beyt-mál* was one million of dinárs.

⁸ Instead of 'eighty *mudd* and seven *kafiz*,' I suspect that the contrary is meant by the author, since the latter measure is larger than the former. I find in the *Kitábu-l-'ayn*, an Arabic Dictionary of great repute among the Spanish Arabs, that the *kafiz*, whence the Spanish *cahiz*, was a measure for grain containing eight-and-forty *mudd*, each *kafiz* being equal to four *صاع* *sá'*, and each *sá'* equivalent to four *mudd*. At present the *mudd*, or *almud* as it is called in Spain, is the twelfth part of the bushel; and the *cahiz* is no longer used as a measure of capacity, but as one of extension. It is used to designate a piece of ground capable of receiving twelve *fanegas* (bushels) of corn in seed.

⁹ Instead of *أحمد اليوناني* 'Ahmed the Greek,' my copy and the epitome read *الفيلسوف* 'Ahmed the philosopher.' Such also appears to have been the reading in Mr. Shakespear's manuscript.

¹⁰ It is recorded both by Christian and Mohammedan writers that a Christian bishop was employed by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in several embassies to the sovereigns of Europe, and, among others, to Otho, Emperor of Germany. The bishop's name, however, was Recemundus, not *ربيع* *Rabi'*, which is a truly Arabic name. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, sæc. v. p. 404, *et seq.*

¹¹ This would imply that the fountain came from some city in the interior of Asia, not from Constantinople, as here stated, or else there was no necessity for its being transported by land to the sea shore.

¹² *البرنس*—*i. e.* 'the hall of familiarity and pleasure.' Instead of *ناصر الناصر* I read in one of the copies *ناصر الناصب* 'and the architect fixed it in the middle,' &c. Cardonne calls this hall 'the hall of the Khalifate.' See *Hist. de l' Afrique*, vol. i. p. 332.

¹³ I have already stated that the words *dár san'dh* meant 'house of construction,' and were applied by the Arabs to a yard for the building of ships, as well as to an arsenal where weapons were manufactured or stored in time of peace.

¹⁴ شاهين — which is described by Ad-demíri as a species of hawk. The word is Persian, and means 'royal.'

¹⁵ الجداة From the description which Ad-demíri gives of this bird I conclude that it is a 'kite.' He calls it "the robber among the feathered tribe, because it lives entirely upon the food which other birds procure, and which it steals from their nests."

¹⁶ The Emperor Leo having died in the very year of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's accession, it is probable that the pearl formed a portion of the offerings in the embassy afterwards dispatched by his son Constantine, or in that of Romanus. See App. A., p. xxiv.

¹⁷ The word which I have translated by 'arches' is حنايا the plural of حنية 'an arch of the horse-shoe form.' The author of the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah*, who describes also this hall, says that the gates were sixteen, eight on each side.

¹⁸ Al-makkari borrowed this from Ibn Iyás. See the work of that geographer in the British Museum, fos. 9 and 165, verso.

¹⁹ I read in the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* that the quicksilver came from Betrosh (los Pedroches), not far from Cordova.

²⁰ There must be here some mistake, for if the entire length of the mosque from *kiblah* to *jauf* (that is, from north-west to south-east,) was, as the author says afterwards, ninety-seven cubits, the aisles or rows of columns must have measured more than thirty cubits in length. However, as the three copies which I have used, as well as that in Mr. Shakespear's possession, offer the same reading, I have translated the sentence as I found it.

²¹ My Spanish manuscript computes their number at twelve thousand. Having often alluded to a Spanish manuscript in my possession written with Arabic letters, and purporting to be a description of Cordova and Az-zahrá during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah, I now proceed to describe it in a few words, as the information upon this topic may be of some utility, and works of this kind are but imperfectly known. The work, a volume in quarto, was formerly in the collection of Casiri, who, unable to read its contents, described it on the fly leaf as containing a treatise in Arabic on the cabalistical science. The contents of the book are various: 1st. A description of Cordova and its principal buildings during the time of its greatest splendour, entitled *Hadiz de Cordoba e de lo que era en tienpo de los Banu Umayya sacado de las cronicas de los alimes*.⁵ 2nd. Some chapters from the Korán in Arabic, with an interlinear version and a commentary in Spanish. 3rd. A few prayers and religious

⁵ There are two words in this title which are Arabic, not Spanish: *Hadiz*, which means 'a tale, a narrative preserved by tradition;' and *alime* from 'alam, 'a doctor, theologian, or learned man.'

instructions. 4th. Several drafts of deeds and contracts passed between Moriscos. The first article, to which I now allude, is imperfect at the end, and was probably bound with the other treatises long after it had ceased to be complete, for it bears all the traces of great antiquity, being probably written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, while all the other documents appear from a note at the end of the volume to have been transcribed at Huesca, in Aragon, in 1603. The author is nowhere mentioned, but he must have been a Mohammedan in heart, if not externally, for the work begins with the usual invocations to Allah and his messenger Mohammed. In the course of the narrative the works of Ibnu Hayyán and Al-fat'h Al-kaysí, two celebrated historians, are frequently quoted, and every thing tends to prove that it is a compilation from Arabian sources. However, viewed in an historical light, the work is of little or no value; besides being incomplete, it is in most instances fabulous, and generally exaggerated. It is evidently the work of some wretched Morisco, who, moved at the degraded condition of his fellow citizens living under the Spanish yoke, undertook to retrace to their minds the scenes of past glory and magnificence which surrounded the throne of the Khalifs.

Manuscripts of this kind are by no means uncommon; they abound in the Escorial Library, where Casiri often met with them, and invariably described them as being Arabic. There are upwards of one hundred in the National Library at Madrid; and it is natural to suppose that hundreds of them upon all subjects perished in the flames of the *autos de fé*. They were to be found as late as the seventeenth century all along the coast of Africa, whither the exiled Moriscos carried them. (See Morgan's *Mahometism Explained*, London, 1725.) The library of the University of Cambridge, those of Stockholm, Paris, and many others on the continent, possess a few of these interesting relics. The author of this note procured some for the late De Sacy, with whom he maintained a correspondence of several years on the subject. For further information upon this interesting topic the reader is referred to an article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for January, 1839, where a rapid sketch of the origin, progress, and probable causes of the Morisco literature has been given.

²² Mr. Shakespear has rendered حيص by 'black pulse,' and I have followed his translation; the word, however, is susceptible of various meanings, 'lentils,' 'pease,' or what the Spaniards call *garbanzos*.

²³ A. reads السطح المرمر—the epitome الصفح المرمره I think, however, that السطح المرمر is the right reading. مرمر is nothing more than the Latin word *marmor* arabicised.

²⁴ القوالب—the plural of قالب from قلب 'to turn.'

²⁵ All the copies read *Al-mansúr* (the victorious), but as there was no king of the family of Dhí-n-nún who assumed that title, I think that *Al-mámún* is to be substituted.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ When Ambrosio Morales wrote, the aqueduct here described was for the most part entire. It is now very much dilapidated, but such portion as remains is still used for the conveyance of water for culinary purposes to the city.

² The author here introduces a description of Cordova, which he professes to have read in an anonymous work in the East, but as it contains much which has already been translated, I have thought proper to suppress it in the body of the work, and insert it here.

“ Cordova is the capital of Andalus, and the residence of its Khalifs; it is a great and populous city, inhabited by Arabs of the noblest and principal families in the land, who are distinguished by the elegance of their manners, the superiority of their mind and wit, and the opulence and exquisite taste which they display in their meals, drink, dress, and horses. There thou wilt find doctors shining with all sorts of learning, poets endowed with every talent, lords distinguished by their virtues and generosity, warriors renowned for their expeditions into the countries of the infidels, and officers experienced in all sorts of warfare. The city of Cordova is divided into five cities or quarters immediately contiguous to each other, but separated by a high and strongly-fortified wall. Each of these five cities has within its precincts every thing that is requisite either for the comfort or the luxuries of its inhabitants, such as baths, markets, inns, shops, and trades of every description. Cordova is three miles in length and one in width;^e it is built at the foot of a mountain which commands it: in the third city, which now occupies the centre of the town, there is a bridge and a mosque, neither of which buildings have their equal in the world. The latter measures one hundred cubits in length, and eighty in breadth. It contains one thousand large columns and one hundred and thirteen brass chandeliers, the largest of which is capable of holding at least one thousand lights. There is besides in this mosque so much carving and inlaid work, and this so admirably executed, as to baffle all attempts at description. In the *kiblah*, especially, there are works of art which dazzle the eyes of the spectator. In that part of the mosque occupied by the *mihrab* there are seven arches resting upon columns of the most beautiful marble, and rising to such a height that both Christians and Moslems are continually expressing their admiration at its beautiful proportions. The jambs forming the arch at the entrance of the *mihrab* are made of four columns of inestimable value, two of green marble, the other two of lapis-lazuli. There is also a pulpit, which has not its equal in all the inhabited world; it is constructed with precious and aromatic woods, such as the Indian plantain, ebony, *bakam*, and aloes wood. It is said in the history of the Beni Umeyyah that this pulpit was built and carved in the space of seven years by the hands of eight workmen continually employed on it, each of whom received a *mithkal Mohammedi* as his daily wages, and that the total amount of expense incurred for it was one thousand and fifty *mithkals*. The tower is likewise considered one of the wonders of the world. It is very lofty, and wide in proportion, being entirely built of freestone, which gives it extraordinary solidity. On the top of it are three balls, which the people of Cordova call pomegranates, and which are supported on a spike of gilt brass rising high in the air. Two of these pomegranates are made of pure gold; the middle one is of silver. Above these rises a six-petalled lily, also made of gold, and on the top of all a smaller pomegranate, also made of the purest gold. The walls of the tower, both in the interior and externally, are ornamented with such fanciful drawings and ingenious work that it is quite out of our power to describe it. There is also in this mosque a large store-room full of silver and gold lamps to place on the above-mentioned chandeliers for the purpose of lighting the mosque, as well as a most beautiful copy of the blessed Korán, written, as it is supposed, in the hand of the Khalif Othmán. The entrance to the mosque is by twenty doors covered with Andalusian brass, highly polished, and kept in such a state of brilliancy and preservation that whoever looks at them at noon may fancy them so many suns. But what surpasses all this are the three columns of red marble in the body of the mosque, since any one may see plainly inscribed on

^e No doubt exclusive of the suburbs.

“ them, by the finger of the Almighty, in one the name of Mohammed, on the other the figure of Moses’ staff, and the sleepers of the cave, and on the third and last Noah’s crow; the whole of these extraordinary representations being the creation of the Almighty, and not in any way the work of man. As to the bridge of Cordova, it is a real wonder of art; seen from the river it presents the most beautiful aspect,—in fact, it may be said that no bridge in the world can be compared to it. It stands upon seventeen arches, each arch being fifty spans in width, and the intermediate space being also fifty spans. In one word, the interior beauties of Cordova baffle all description. As to the palace of Az-zahrá, which ‘Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir caused to be built near Cordova, on a plain which is only separated from that city by the river, we need not mention it here, since it is well known that its erection is the best testimony that can be adduced of the power and splendour of the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus. It has been described by orators and poets with the most elegant and brilliant metaphors, and there is no scholar in the East or West who is not acquainted with some of the poetical descriptions written by the learned of Cordova and other cities.”

The author then fills several pages with verses in praise of the palaces of Az-zahrá, Cordova, Seville, and Toledo, among which the most conspicuous is a long *kassidah* by an author called Ibn حمديس Hamdis, the Sicilian, describing a palace built in Seville by Al-mu’atamed, King of that city.

³ During the civil wars which preceded the accession of Suleymán to the throne of Cordova, the city was repeatedly plundered by the Berbers serving under the banners of the princes of the house of Idris.

⁴ Conde fell into the same mistake, no doubt misled by the authorities he consulted. See vol. i, p. 526.

⁵ كتاب الازهار و الانوار ‘the flowers and the lights.’ This work, which Al-makkari quotes more than once without giving the name of its author, appears to have been a history of Al-mansúr. The title is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah.

⁶ نيلوفر *Nileufar*, of which *nenuphar* is a corruption, is the ‘water-lily,’ a species of *Nymphaea*.

⁷ The word شنجول (which in another copy is written سنجلول) is not to be found in the Dictionaries; I believe it to be African. The author of the *Kitábu-l-iktifá fi akhbári-l-kholafá* says that it means ‘a fool,’ —احيق—and that ‘Abdu-r-rahmán was so called by the people owing to his profligate life and impious habits; his familiarity with common soldiers, and men from the lowest ranks of society; his drinking of wine, and other spirituous liquors, of which he made a constant and most immoderate use; and, above all, his impudence and folly in exacting from the people of Cordova an oath of allegiance, and causing himself to be appointed successor to the throne after the death of Hishám.

⁸ This Mohammed was the son of Hishám (not the Khalif), son of ‘Abdu-l-jabbár, son of ‘Abdu-rahmán III., surnamed *An-nássir lidín-illah*, the seventh sovereign of the house of Umeyyah. The particulars of his rebellion will be more fully stated in another part of this work.

⁹ كان لم يكن الحجون الي الصفا . . . انيس و لم يسر بركة سامر

بلي نحن كنا اهلها فنهلكن .:. كصروف الياي و الجود العواثر

This last verse reads differently in the collection of Arabian poetry to which I have alluded Note 21, p. 368.

بلي نحن كنا اهلها فابادنا .:. صروف الياي و الجود العواثر

The meaning would be thus altered: "Certainly we, who were its inmates, have been separated by the "revolution of days, and the passing away of generations." *Safá* and *Hajún* are the names of two hillocks in the neighbourhood of Mekka.

¹⁰ I have read in the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* that some armour inlaid with gold, which had belonged to Al-mansúr, became the property of an African monarch.

¹¹ The name of this *Wizír* was Abú-l-hazm (not Hazm) Jehwar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jehwar. Further mention will be made of him in the second volume of this translation.

¹² قلت يوماً لدار قوم تفانوا .:. اين سكانك العزاز علينا
فاجابت هنا اقاموا قليلاً .:. ثم ناروا و لست اعلم ايننا

¹³ يا دار فيك من كل دار .:. فجل الله منك في كل دار

¹⁴ Florez (*España Sagrada*, vol. iii. fo. 121.) gives the names of all the Christian churches which existed in Cordova during the time of the Mohammedan domination; I find, however, none called St. Mary.

¹⁵ Ibn Shoheyd is the same individual mentioned Note 168, p. 468.

¹⁶ استيناس says the text. *Saru* means 'a cypress tree,' but the word استيناس is not to be found in the Dictionaries.

¹⁷ One of the copies reads زبار—I have substituted زبار

¹⁸ I read in A. كانها يرشق من كاسها شبه لياً—my copy has كانها يرشق من كاسها شفه لياً. The former is, without doubt, the right reading.

¹⁹ Alluding, doubtless, to an image of the Holy Maid.

²⁰ My copy reads بزبوره—but زبور 'the psalter' is probably meant.

²¹ ولرب حان قد شمت بدارة .:. خمر الصباء مزجت بصرف عصيرة

في فتية جعلوا السرور شعارهم .: متصاغرین تخشعاً لكبيرة
 و القس مما شاء طول مقامنا .: يدعوا بعود حولنا بزيرة
 يهدي لنا بالراح كل مصفد .: كالخشف خفرة التباح خفيرة
 تتناول الطرفا فيه و شربها .: لسلافه و الاكل من خنزيرة

Instead of *بدارة* I read in the epitome *بديرة*—which appears to me more correct, and ought to be translated by 'the monastery.'

²² By *Al-báji* the author doubtless intends the celebrated theologian *Abú-l-walíd Suleymán Ibn Khalf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ayúb At-tojibí*, who, being originally from *Bájah* or *Beja*, a town in Africa, took the patronymic of "*Al-báji*." See Appendix A., p. vi.

²³ A celebrated theologian born in Spain, whose works were very much esteemed. See Note 52, p. 454.

²⁴ *At-tortoshí* means 'one from Tortosa,' a town in Aragon. I know of no author who had this patronymic except *Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-walíd Al-fehrí*, the author of the *Serúju-l-molúk*. See Note 8, p. 414.

²⁵ In A. *ابن شاس* The epitome reads *ابن ساش*

²⁶ One of the author's ancestors. His entire name was *Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-makkari At-telemsáni*. He was one of the tutors of *Ibnu-l-khattíb*. See Note 1, p. 302.

²⁷ *نياحة* from *ناح* 'to cry for the loss of a wife.'

²⁸ Such I believe to be the meaning of the word *تشاوم* from *شام* 'to be ominous.'

²⁹ The breaking up of the Cordovan empire took place soon after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the second son of the *Wizír Al-mansúr*.

³⁰ During the sway of the Khalifs of the house of *Umeyyah*, the *Kadí-l-jum'ah* or *Kadí-l-kodá* at Cordova was the head of the law in their dominions. But when their empire was overthrown, and their dominions divided among their generals, each small kingdom had a *Kadí-l-kodá*, who no longer acknowledged the authority of that of Cordova.

³¹ The new city of Fez, which some geographers call *Al-baydhá* (the white city), was founded by *Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk*, the first sovereign of the family of *Merín*. See *Marmol, Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 91.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

¹ The present book, the second in the original text, occupies fos. 30 to 43, *verso*, in the Rich MS. I have translated it entire, with the exception of such passages as I found repeated elsewhere, and the numerous poetical extracts with which the narrative is interspersed.

² *رويت لي مشارق الارض و مغاربها و سيبلغ ملك امتي ما زوي لي منها*—This is one of the numerous traditional sayings attributed to the Prophet. Ibn Salámah, who records it in his voluminous collection of traditions (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1482), refers it to 'Ayyeshah, the widow of the Prophet.

³ The word *صاحب* *Sáhib* means 'a lord, master, king,' &c. Its signification is very vague. It is frequently used to designate a sovereign ruling independent in a country, but who has not assumed the title of Khalif. It is also given to the king of a nation of infidels, as *Sáhib Konstantiniyyah* (the Emperor of Constantinople); *Sáhib Toleytolah* (the King of Toledo). Sometimes, too, it implies a governor, and such is no doubt the meaning intended in this passage; but as Roderic is lower down called also *Sáhib*, and the Arabian writers are at variance respecting Ilyán, I have preferred the more vague appellation of 'Lord.'

⁴ *يليان النصراني* 'Ilyán the Christian.' It is my intention to investigate, in the course of these notes, the country, religion, and deeds of this celebrated instrument of the conquest of Spain; but, before I proceed any further, I think it necessary to state my reasons for spelling his name differently from any other writer on Spanish history. It is well known that the Arabs write generally without vowels; the want, however, is easily supplied by the help of grammar and the dictionaries; not so with proper names, the reading of which, unless they are pointed, becomes a mere matter of guess. Hence it is that Ibn Khallekán, As-safadí, Abú-l-mahásen, and their best biographers, give always the spelling of geographical and proper names. The word *يليان* not pointed, may be read *Yalyán* or *Ilyán*, but by no means *Julian*, as the generality of the Spanish historians have written it; for had such been the reading intended by the Arabs, they would have written *يولييان* as in the words *يوسف* *Yúsuf*, *يوناني* *Yúnání*, *يوحانا* *Yúháná*, &c. In the present work the names of Julius Cæsar and of the Emperor Julianus are always written *يوليوش يوليانش*—This of itself would be sufficient to settle the reading

of the word *يليان* had I not repeatedly met with it in Ibnu Khaldún's history of the Berbers written and pointed thus, *يَلِيَان*—which at once dissipates all doubts that might arise with regard to it. Besides, both Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 77, *verso*), and Shehábu-d-dín Al-fásí (Ar. MS. in my possession) call this celebrated individual *الْيَان*—a word which, though differently written, is pronounced in the same manner, *Ilyán*. The *Cronica General*, attributed to Alfonso *el sabio*, but which, undoubtedly, was the work of converted Arabs and Jews, has likewise *Illan*; and lastly, San Pedro Pascual, who wrote in the dungeons of Granada at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and who must have heard the Mohammedans pronounce his name, calls him *Don Yllan*.

⁵ Roderic is again called *Ludherik*, the change of *l* into *r*, and *vice versa*, being frequent among the Arabs. In what follows I shall always call him "Roderic," in whatever way his name may be written.

⁶ The appointment of Músa to the government of Africa has been placed ten years later by some Arabian writers; but there can be no doubt that those who did so confounded his confirmation by Al-walíd, in A. H. 88, with his appointment by 'Abdu-l-malek, which happened ten years before. See App. E., p. lv.

⁷ As will be seen hereafter (App. E., p. lv.), Músa's appointment originated in the command given him by 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, Viceroy of Egypt, and brother to the reigning Khalif, 'Abdu-l-malek. This took place towards the end of the year 78, Músa not entering Western Africa until early the next year, a circumstance which accounts for the discrepancy here observed between the accounts of Al-homaydí and Ibnu Hayyán.

Directly after this passage there follows in the MS. another, conceived in nearly the same words, but placing Músa's nomination in 89, and making it proceed from 'Abdullah, governor of Egypt. I need scarcely point out the circumstance which gave rise to so erroneous a statement. After the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz (A. H. 86), 'Abdu-l-malek appointed 'Abdullah, another of his brothers, to succeed him, and it is probable that Músa, whose government of Africa was a dependency of Egypt, had to take the customary oath of allegiance to the new Viceroy.

⁸ The Arabian geographers divide the regions watered by the river Sús into *al-adúni*, or 'the nearest,' and *al-aksá*, or 'the remote.' The former was naturally that part which fell nearest to their possessions in Eastern Africa; the latter, that extensive country beyond the Sús, and bordering on Súdán. See Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 15, *verso*; Idrísí, *clim.* ii. *sect.* 11; Grammaye, *Africa Illustrata*, p. 18.

⁹ If the Khalif's share amounted to sixty thousand, the number of captives taken in these expeditions must have been three hundred thousand, since the fifth of all the spoil gained in war belonged by right to the sovereign.

¹⁰ Owing to the system of warfare adopted by the Arabs, it is not improbable that the number of captives to the specified fell into Músa's hands. It appears both from Christian and Arabian authorities that populous towns were not unfrequently razed to the ground, and their inhabitants, amounting to several thousands, led into captivity.

¹¹ This account is literally transcribed from Ibn Khallekán at the life of Músa Ibn Nosseyr (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758), or rather from the writers consulted by that biographer.

¹² The prayer which Músa is supposed to have uttered on this occasion was still repeated nine centuries afterwards by the Moriscos whenever the soil was threatened by a drought. I have it written in Spanish,

but with the Arabic letters, nearly nine hundred years afterwards. It is entitled لَا رُغْتَبَ كَا فِرْ
 مُوسَى فِيهِ ذَا نُصَيْرٍ قَرَأَ اشْتَبَ أَنْ أَفْرِيكَ إِشْ مِي أَقْرَلَنْتَ بَرْتِينْبُوشِ
 ذَا شَكَا

¹³ This disagrees with what is afterwards stated, that Músa besieged Tangiers, but could not take it. My copy adds *وطنجة هي قصبة ملك البربر* “and Tangiers was the capital or residence of the King of the Berbers.”

¹⁴ *ولم تكن قبله فتحت ثم استعلقت*—literally ‘it had never been opened before him, and was afterwards secured with locks;’ the word *fataha* meaning ‘to open a door,’ and metaphorically ‘to enter a town by conquest.’

¹⁵ Músa experienced little or no difficulty in enlisting under his banners the motley tribes of Berbers who inhabited the northern shores of Africa. A similarity of habits, the same love of war and plunder, the same roving propensities, and the existence of various traditions current amongst them, purporting them to be sprung from the same stock as the invaders,—a belief which the wary old general tried dexterously to strengthen,—rendered easy that which, under any other circumstances, it would have been next to impossible to accomplish. The Berbers, too, were sunk in the grossest ignorance; a few only professed Christianity. A considerable portion still worshipped idols, but the greatest number professed Judaism, a circumstance which the reader must bear in mind, as it will be found to have powerfully contributed to the invasion and conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans.

¹⁶ By the word *Rúm*, which I have translated by ‘Greeks,’ the author means the Imperialists, in whose hands were still some of the fortresses and ports lining the northern shores of Africa. The word was first used to designate the Romans of the lower empire and the people living in its dependencies. It became in time a synonyme for Christian, owing to the Greeks generally professing Christianity. However, Ibnu Khaldún, in his history of the Berbers (*Brit. Mus.*, No. 9575, fo. 48), condemns the use of the word in the latter acceptance. He says, “I do not recollect ever meeting with the word *Rúm* as applied to any nation or race of people inhabiting this country (Africa), at the time of its occupation by the Arabs, nor have I ever met with that word in the ancient works which relate the said events, whence I conclude that they were called so by antonomasia; since the Arabs of those days, not being acquainted with the Franks (Vandals) as a nation, and having no other people to deal with and make war upon in Syria but the *Rúm*, to whose empire they imagined all the other Christian nations to be tributary, thought that Heraclius, the Roman Emperor, was the King of all Christendom. Hence the name of *Rúm* was by them given to all the Christian nations.”

¹⁷ *الخزيني* The patronymic of an historian whose name and surname are unknown to me.

¹⁸ How far the dominions of the Goths extended over Africa is not clearly specified either by the Byzantine or by the Visigothic historians. That they kept possession of both Ceuta and Tangiers, which they considered as the keys of the Strait, and ruled at one time over the mountain districts of Gomera, may be inferred from Isidorus Pacensis, and the Monk of Silos; but, as I shall show hereafter, it is more than probable that, at the time of the Saracen invasion, the authority of the Gothic monarchs was slightly, if at all, acknowledged in Africa. My copy has here a very remarkable passage, which strengthens this conjecture: *فيها عمال لصاحب الاندلس قد غلبوا عليها و علي ما حولها*: "After this they (the Moslems) marched against the towns on the sea shore, in which were governors appointed by the King of Andalus; but these had lately shaken off his allegiance, and made themselves the masters of them, as well as of the neighbouring districts."

¹⁹ There is no mention whatever in the Arabian historians of the taking of Ceuta; this account is therefore the most probable. If Ilyán concluded a treaty with Músa (as afterwards stated), there was no occasion for the surrender of that city.

²⁰ The name of this monarch is written in some copies *غيطيشة*—in others *غيطيشة*—in a fragment of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah in my possession *غَيْطِشَة*. There can be no doubt, however, of its being meant for Wittiza, although there is no historical evidence of his ever having sent troops to Africa. That monarch was too much occupied in quelling rebellion at home,—or, according to other authorities, too deeply plunged in vice,—to attend to his dominions across the sea. It is probable that the author meant *Ejih* or Egica, who, according to the testimony of both Arabian and Christian writers, dispatched Theodomir (the Arabs call him Adfunsh) with a fleet to ravage the Mohammedan settlements along the coast of Northern Africa. Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14,) puts this event in A. H. eighty-four, which answers to A. D. 772; at which time Egica reigned alone, and had not yet appointed Wittiza his partner in the empire.

²¹ *توفي عن اولاد* 'he died leaving sons,' without stating their number; although lower down they are said to have been three. As to their being children when their father died, how could that be, when the same historian afterwards represents them as commanding armies?

²² The *Muktabis* is, as I have stated elsewhere, (Note 3, p. 310,) the title of an historical work by Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Hayyán, of Cordova, who flourished in the eleventh century of our Era. Roderic is generally believed to have been the son of Theodofred, Duke of Cordova, who was a descendant from Chindaswind.

²³ The writer here quoted is no doubt Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who says explicitly, *ان اخر ملوك القوط غيطيشة توفي عن ثلاثة اولاد اكبرهم الهند ثم رملة ثم اربطاس و كانوا صغاراً عند وفاة ابيهم فضبطت عليهم امهم ملك ابيهم بطليطلة و انصرف لوزريق و كان قائداً للهالك ابيهم بن يطين به من رجال الحرب فاحتال قرطبة*.

"They say that Wittiza was the last King of the Goths, and that he died leaving three male children, the

“ eldest Almond, the second Romalah, and the third Artabás, all of whom were very young when their father died. Accordingly, their mother administered the kingdom of their father in their name, and took up her residence at Toledo. In the meanwhile Roderic, who had been general of the forces under the King their father, revolted with such of the troops as would follow his party, and marched upon Cordova, where he fixed his residence.”

Roderic's accession to the throne is, like most events of that important period, enveloped in darkness; and amongst the contradictory accounts of the Spanish historians it is next to impossible to decide at what time and by what means Roderic accomplished his usurpation. *Rodericus tumultuosè regnum hortante senatu invadit*, says Isidorus (*Esp. Sag.* vol. viii. No. 34); but whether he did so after the death of Wittiza, as Sebastianus (*Esp. Sag.* vol. xiii. p. 478) states, and is here surmised by Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, or whether he succeeded in wresting the power from the hands of that monarch, and reigning conjointly with him, as Rodericus Toletanus (lib. iii. cap. xvii.) asserts, is not clearly ascertained. The latter opinion, however, appears the most probable, as by means of it we are enabled to reconcile the account of Sebastian, who gives Roderic a reign of three years, with that of Isidorus, who makes him reign only one.

²⁴ See Ambrosio Morales (*Cron. Gen.* vol. iii. p. 200), who mentions also this rebellion.

²⁵ The text says في هذه العدو الجنوبية 'along these southern shores,' meaning those of the Mediterranean. Ibnu Khaldún, the author from whom this is transcribed, was a native of Africa, and was residing in it at the time he wrote. In similar cases, whenever the coast of Africa is meant, I have translated by 'northern shore' or 'northern coast,' to avoid confusion. In general, the African historians designate the coast of their country under the name of *'udwatu-l-janubiyyah* (southern shore), to distinguish it from those of Spain, which they call *'udwatu-sh-shamaliyyah* (northern shore).

²⁶ The mountains of Gomera are a branch of the Atlas, so denominated after an African tribe called the Bení Ghomárah, who afterwards played so distinguished a part in the last wars of Granada. Their name was corrupted by the Spaniards into *Gomeles*.

²⁷ Ilyán is here distinctly called ملك البرابرة 'King of the Berbers.'

²⁸ و كان يدين بطاعتهم و بملتهم—literally 'he obeyed their sway, and followed their religion.'

²⁹ The author is right; most of the Arabian historians allude to some enmity having arisen between Roderic and Ilyán, which became the principal cause of the conquest. See Ibnu-l-khattib, (*apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 251,) the historians consulted by Conde, Cardonne, and Desguignes, and in general all those who wrote after the eleventh century of our Era. Those of an older date, if they mention Ilyán at all, say nothing about his misunderstanding with Roderic.

³⁰ This fable, which has found its way into most of the sober histories of Spain, was first introduced by the Monk of Silos, a chronicler of the eleventh century. There can be no doubt that he borrowed it from the Arabs, but it seems hard to believe that it was altogether a tale of their invention. There are facts in it which an Arab could not have invented unless he drew them from Christian sources; and, as I shall show hereafter, the Arabs knew and consulted the writings of the Christians. If Ilyán was Roderic's vassal,—if he was his *Comes Spathariorum*, or captain of his body-guard, (which some of the

Spanish historians have translated by *Conde de las Esparteras*!)—there is nothing improbable in his daughter being educated in the royal palace.

³¹ Another account calls him “Lord of Tangiers and Ceuta.”

³² *Yánir*, from *Januarius*. This is a further proof of what I have stated above, Note 30.

³³ Instead of *شذانقة* *shadhankah* I believe *shudhanikah* is intended; my copy reads *شذانقات* *shad-hánikát*. Both might be the plurals of *شذانق*—which seems to be a corruption of the Persian *سوزنق* *saudhanik*, ‘a species of hawk.’ I have in vain looked in *Ad-demíri* for a description of this bird.

I cannot pass in silence a very curious circumstance which I find recorded in the historical work of *Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah*, for a copy of which I am indebted to my friend Dr. Sprenger, who kindly transcribed it for me from one in the Royal Library at Paris. The work is but a short one, and the facts therein stated are very meagre; but, besides the author being himself a writer of the tenth century, he was (see Note 96, p. 460,) a descendant of *Wittiza* in the female line. *Ilyán* is there said to have been a merchant, and the cause of his enmity to *Roderic*, and his treason to the *Goths*, is

و كان سبب دخوله الاندلس ان تاجراً من تجار العجم يسي يليان كان يختلف من الاندلس الي بلاد البربر و كانت طنجة [منزله فولي] عليها و كان اهل طنجة علي [ملة] النصرانية و يجلب الي لوزريق عتاق الخيل و البزاة من ذلك الجانب فتوفيت زوجة التاجر و تركت له ابنة جميلة فامره لوزريق بالتوجه الي العدو فاعتزبه بوفاة زوجته وانه ليس له احد يترك ابنته معه فامر بادخالها القصر فرفعت عين لوزريق عليها فاستحسنها فزالها فاعلمت اباه بذلك عند قدومه فقال للوزريق ان تركت خيلا و بزاة لم ير مثلها فاذن له في التوجه فيها و بعث معها الال و قصد طارق

“And the cause of *Tárik*’s entering Andalus was this:—A foreign merchant, whose name was *Ilyán*, “was in the habit of crossing from Andalus to the country of the Berbers. The city of *Tangiers* “was his residence, and he ruled in it as master; the inhabitants professed the Christian religion. “ . . . This merchant used to bring to *Roderic* horses, hawks, and other productions of those “countries. It happened, however, that the wife of the merchant came to die, leaving him one daughter, “of great beauty; and *Roderic* having commanded him to repair to Africa, he excused himself with his “wife’s death, and his having no one to entrust with the care of his daughter while he was absent; “upon which the King ordered that she should be lodged in his own palace. But *Roderic*’s eye having “rested on her, he was taken in love with her charms, and he obtained the gratification of his wishes. “Upon the return of *Ilyán* to court, the girl apprised him of what had taken place; and *Ilyán* said to “*Roderic*, ‘I have in store for thee horses and hawks, such as thou never sawest before in thy life.’ “He then asked his permission to take away his daughter with him; and his request being granted, “*Roderic* suffered her to depart, after loading her with presents and money. *Ilyán* then went to see “*Tárik*, &c.”

³⁴ The Greeks are here called *Yúnán* or *Ionians*, a name which the Arabs gave to the ancient inhabitants of Greece.

³⁵ This is allusive to the general drought which is elsewhere said to have depopulated Spain. See p. 23.

³⁶ The Arabian geographers are very fond of comparisons of this sort; but in this, as in many other things, they only imitated the Greeks.

³⁷ The word employed here is تلسمان 'a talisman, a charm, spell,' &c.

³⁸ The word رحي *raha*, which means 'a mill-stone,' and also 'a water-mill,' was appropriated by the Arabs to any hydraulic engine. The Spanish verb *rajarse*, meaning 'to break down,' 'to crush,' is derived from it.

³⁹ Al-makkari has shown here great ignorance by confounding the wharf or bridge elsewhere attributed to Alexander (see p. 28), with the mole or road which connects Cadiz with the main land, (see p. 77.) There can, however, be no doubt that the author whose words are here introduced alludes to a viaduct by means of which water was conveyed to Cadiz from the main land across an arm of the sea, and the remains of which were visible as late as the seventeenth century.

⁴⁰ A long white stripe, probably a bank of whitish clay, which is visible at low water in certain parts of the Straits of Gibraltar, gave, no doubt, rise to this conjecture. See Tofiño, *Derrotero de las Costas de España*, p. 10.

⁴¹ I would willingly have suppressed this episodical account, more fitted for a collection of Arabian tales than for a sober history, were it not that it is to be found word for word in the ancient chronicles of Spain, and that I deemed it important to show the sources whence it originated. It is an error to suppose, as some modern critics have done, that the ridiculous fables which disfigure this part of the Spanish annals are the conception of the heated imaginations of the pious chroniclers of the middle ages; nor can they either be wholly attributed to the more fantastic minds of the Arabs. It was in the midst of populous cities like Toledo, Cordova, and Seville, and among the motley elements which formed their population,—Jews, Muzarabs, and Moors,—speaking a sort of jargon called *aljamia*, that these and other fables of the same stamp were forged and adopted by the Arabs, who, as usual, imparted to them an eastern colouring. The unravelling of the romantic portion of the Spanish annals is not my business at this moment, but it would greatly contribute to illustrate the history of romance in Europe.

⁴² The description of this figure answers to that of a statue of Hercules.

⁴³ كفال *kafâl* is 'a padlock.' In ancient Spanish writings the word *cafela* has an analogous meaning.

⁴⁴ This may be found word for word in Rodericus Toletanus (*De Reb. Hisp.* lib. iii. cap. xx.), in the *Cronica General* (cap. lv. fo. cc.), and in the authors who drew from either source.

⁴⁵ Roderic is called by this writer عريك *Erika* or *Eriko*.

⁴⁶ Rojas, Pisa, Roman de la Higuera, Lozano, and the rest of the historians of Toledo, have dwelt at full length and considerably improved upon this amusing legend, which is better known to the English reader through the poetical pens of Scott, Southey, and Washington Irving.

CHAPTER II.

¹ The author of the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* (Ar. MS. in my possession) says that Ilyán did not go himself to see Músa, but wrote him a letter, which he gives in the following terms. "Hasten to that country where the palaces are built of gold and silver, and those who dwell in them are like women, owing to the exuberance of their comforts and the abundance of their riches." Such were at that time, observes the author, the luxury and magnificence in which the Goths lived, that the candlesticks upon which they lighted their tapers were made of silver and gold; their land abounding with mines which yielded every where those precious metals, and the soil being capable of producing any fruit whatsoever.

As I shall often have occasion in the course of these notes to refer to the above work, which I have already slightly described in the Preface, I will give here a fuller account of its contents. The author divides it into seven ladders, each of which is further subdivided into various steps. The first treats of science in general. 2. Of the sciences and arts cultivated by the Arabs, and some of their usual names. 3. Of similes, expressions conveying a double meaning, ironical sentences, &c. 4. Of eloquence and elegance of style. 5. Of poetry and the rules of prosody. 6. Of genealogy. 7. Of history and the biography of poets. In this last division, the largest in the work, the author introduces a history of the Khalifs of the houses of Umeyyah and 'Abbás, beginning with Abú Bekr As-sadík, and ending with Al-muktafi li-amri-llah 'Abdullah, Khalif of the latter family; to which is appended, by way of supplement, a concise but valuable account of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, followed by a chronological history of the Sultáns of Cordova, and other Kings who reigned in various parts of Mohammedan Spain, under the following title: "Step treating of the rulers of Andalus from the conquest until the present time, being the year 557." مرقبة مقتضبة في ذكر ولاية الاندلس

من عهد فتحها الي وقتنا هذا و هو سنة ٥٥٧

² The text is too explicit to leave any doubt whatever.

³ This first expedition, commanded by Ilyán in person, is not mentioned either by the continuator of the *Chronicon Biclarense* or by Isidorus Pacensis, two contemporary writers. Many even of the Arabian historians omit it altogether; but this is not to be wondered at if we consider their mode of writing, at times laconic to excess, at others fastidiously diffuse. It is natural enough that if such a proposition was made to a wary old warrior like Músa, as that of invading a powerful and compact empire, the riches and resources of which had no doubt long been exaggerated by captives, he must, in the first instance, have suspected the man who, turning his arms against his own country, made him such an offer; and that in order to put his fidelity to the test, he should enjoin him first to invade alone the land whither he wished him to carry his arms.

⁴ The ninetieth year of the Hijra, or Mohammedan flight, began to be counted November 19,

A.D. 708. Ilyán's expedition must therefore have taken place in November or December, A.D. 709, shortly after Roderic's usurpation.

⁵ These words "to try conquest" show that the first incursion was undertaken merely to put Ilyán's fidelity to the test.

⁶ The word which I have translated by 'light troops' is *سرایا* *saráyá*, the plural of *سریة* *sariyah*, which means a body of light cavalry of between three and five hundred men.

⁷ *Taríf* Abú Zar'ah, or Abú Zor'ah, (since the word *سریة* admits of either pronunciation,) has often been confounded with *Tárik* Ibn Zeyád by the Christian historians, notwithstanding their being two distinct individuals, and their having invaded Spain at different times. The similarity of their names led, no doubt, to the mistake. Conde, who mentions both expeditions, that of the year 91, and that of the ensuing year, attributes the two to *Tárik*, and I need scarcely observe that this glaring mistake has since crept into the works of Dunham, Aschbach, and others of his translators or compilers. Had they consulted the Latin chronicles, they would have found the statement confirmed by almost every national writer of note; for, although his name is corrupted, there can be no doubt that he is meant by all: *Abú Zara* in Isidorus (sect. 34); *Abzuhura* in Monachus Albendensis; Rodericus Toletanus says *Taríf*, *nomine, cognomine Aben Zarcha*, a misprint for Abú Zarcha or Abú Zar'ah. Mr. Shakespear has read *Taríf*'s surname differently. He calls him Abú Dhūa, (*أبو ذؤان*?) but it is obviously either a fault of the copy or a mis-reading of the translator.

⁸ This is the exact number recorded by Conde (vol. i. p. 28) as having landed in Spain under the orders of *Tárik*,—a further proof that the work which that writer consulted read in this instance *Taríf*. But the Spanish translator was a poor critic. He made his blunder still more conspicuous by a note at the bottom of the page, stating that "as the copy of Adh-dhobí which he used (Bib. Esc., No. 1671,) is deficient or erased in that part of the narrative, one invasion only out of the two is mentioned by the generality of the Arabian historians who wrote after him." Did Conde mean that all the Arabian writers in the East as well as the West transcribed their narrative from the work of Adh-dhobí, a writer of the thirteenth century, and that too from the very copy now in the Escorial, which is a transcript of the fifteenth century!

⁹ This island is the peninsula of Tarifa. *Jezírah Al-khadhrá* (the verdant island) is the modern Algesiras. A small island at the mouth of its port is still called by the Spaniards *Isla verde*. The authors of the notes appended to the splendid edition of Mariana, (Valencia, 1770, vol. ii. p. 385,) being unable to reconcile how *Tárik*, who is reported in one place to have landed at Gibraltar, could possibly have also landed at a spot called *Jezírah Al-khadhrá*, imagined that the rock Calpe was by the invaders called 'the green island.' It is evident that the author of the note never visited Gibraltar, or else he would not have fancied that the sterile rock could ever have been called 'verdant' by the Arabs.

¹⁰ It is clear from the expression 'where the Arabs of our days keep their ships and their naval stores,' that Al-makkarí transcribes here the words of an historian of the seventh century of the Hijra, when the reigning dynasty of the Almohades considerably strengthened the port of Algesiras.

which they considered as the means of communication between their dominions on both sides of the channel.

¹¹ That the port of Tarifa took its name from the Berber Tarif is distinctly stated by Idrisi (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), Al-bekri, fo. 63, and Abú-l-fedá. The latter-mentioned geographer is very explicit: "جزيرة طريف منسوبة الي طريف احد موالي بني امية" and the island of Tarif took its name "from Tarif, one of the *maulis* of the Bení Umeyyah." Among the Christians, Rodericus Toletanus (*lib.* iii. *cap.* xx.) has words to the effect, *ad insulam citra mare quæ ab ejus nomine dicitur Gelzirat Tarif.* Conde, therefore, was guilty of an unjustifiable blunder in translating *Jezirah Tarif* by 'la isla del Puntal.' See *Geog. del Nub.* p. 95.

¹² واقام بها يوماً—My copy reads أياماً 'a few days,' which I suspect is the true reading, and agrees better with the words of Rodericus (*lib.* iii. *cap.* xxi.), *et ibi substitit donec ad se cognati et complices ex Hispaniâ advenerunt.*

¹³ The text reads thus: ثم مضي حتي اغار علي جزيرة 'after this he (Tarif) marched until he made an incursion into an island;' but I suspect that the article is wanting, and that 'Andalus' (also called by the Arabs an island) is meant instead of 'captives.' Mr. Shakespear (p. 58) says 'a captive.'

¹⁴ This year began on the 8th of November, A. D. 709. Ramadhán being the last month of the Mohammedan year, Tarif's invasion must have taken place between the 29th September and the 27th October, 710, which date must be substituted for the *August* or *September*, A. D. 710, as in my translation.

¹⁵ If reasonable doubts may be raised about Ilyán's expedition to Spain, that of Tarif is too circumstantially detailed to admit of any. Not only is it recorded by almost every Mohammedan writer who has related in detail the events attendant on the conquest, but it may be found even in the Christian historians, from Isidorus Pacensis down to Rodericus Toletanus; since those who make no mention of Tarif admit of two expeditions at the orders of Tárik, the similarity of the names giving rise to the mistake.

My copy is still more explicit, ثم دخل ابو زرعة و ليس بطريف—'After this entered Abú Zar'ah, who is not the same person as Tarif.' It is easily perceived that the circumstance of this Tarif having, as is usual among the Arabs, a *kunya* or appellation, (Abú Zar'ah,) and his being mentioned sometimes under his name (Tarif), and sometimes under his appellation (Abú Zar'ah), occasioned the error of modern writers, who thought they were two different persons.

¹⁶ I read in my copy, فصرموا عامتها بالنار و حرقوا كنيسة بها كانت عندهم معظمة 'they set fire to their corn-plantations and burnt down a church of great veneration among them.'

¹⁷ The Spanish version of Ar-rází, better known under the title of *La Historia del Moro Rasis*, gives a similar account.

¹⁸ Tarif's patronymic is differently given by the various writers I have consulted. Some call him