

a river called *Nahr Ilyán*, which appears to be the same as the Guadaleão of Menezes, *Hist. de Tangere*, pp. 6, 92, *et passim*, as well as of a palace (*Kasr Ilyán*), and of an aqueduct (*'Ayn-Ilyán*); which that geographer observes were so called after a king who ruled in those districts when the Arabs settled in the country, and who was much beloved and respected by his subjects, on account of his justice and praiseworthy conduct.

'Okbah invaded Africa twice,—the first time in A.H. 46, under the Khalifate of Mua'wiyah Ibn Abi Sufyán; the second in A.H. 62, under that of his son Yezíd. In his first expedition 'Okbah did little else but retake the city of Cyrene, which had fallen into the hands of the Berbers; but, on his return to Africa, he traversed the whole continent from Alexandria to Tangiers, and his victorious progress was only arrested by the waves of the Atlantic, into which, finding no more land to conquer, he is reported to have madly plunged his horse. From the appearance of 'Okbah before the walls of Ceuta in A.H. 62 to the year 90, when we first hear of Ilyán on the stage of Spanish history, only twenty-eight years elapsed, which does not render it at all improbable that the Ilyán who made peace with 'Okbah, and he who led the Arabs into Spain, were, as Al-bekrí affirms, one and the same person.

III. This point once settled, it remains for me to investigate what were his country and religion. As to his country, most of the Arabian writers call him a 'Berber,' but some a 'Rúmi' (Roman). Among the Christian authors, some, like Mendez de Silva (*Poblacion de España*), say that he was born in Italy; others, as Rustant (*Hist. de los Arabes*, p. 20), that he was a Greek, and a traitor to the Emperor of Constantinople; some have gone so far as to make him a Goth, and a scion of the royal blood of Spain. It is evident, however, that those among the Arabian authors who called him a Berber, were misled by the titles of 'King of the Berbers,' 'Prince of the tribe of Ghomárah,' &c., under which the African writers generally designate him; whilst those who, like the Archbishop of Toledo, made him a connexion of Roderic, did it without the least shade of authority. In my opinion those writers who call him a *Rúmi* are nearest the truth; since, according to the meaning of this word among the African historians, (see p. 511,) it may equally mean 'a Roman' and 'a Greek.' Ilyán no doubt belonged to that mixed population,—the relics of all the nations that had empires on the coast of Africa after the fall of Carthage,—Romans, Numidians, Vandals, and Greeks,—a people in whose hands were all the ports and fortified towns at the time of the Saracen invasion, and whom the African historians invariably designate under the collective name of 'Rúm,' because they were thought to be the subjects of the Roman empire. As to his religion, all the Mohammedan writers, without one exception, agree in making him a Christian, *النصراني*—a fact which renders inadmissible the suggestion brought forward by some of the writers, "that Ilyán had, previously to his treason, forsaken the Christian religion and embraced that of his "allies."

IV. Was Ilyán an independent prince, or a tributary of the Gothic kings? is a question by no means so easy to answer. That the Goths claimed the supremacy over a portion of the African coast, appears to be an ascertained fact; but whether this claim arose from any real possession of that country gained at an early period, or from the want in which the Greek governors of the ports of Africa, at the time of the invasion of the Arabs, must have found themselves, of a powerful ally, is a point which is far from being settled. Rodrigo and the Monk of Silos tell us that the Goths ruled in Tingitania; but neither in the Byzantine nor in the Visigothic historians are the origin and cause of their power explained. What meagre facts we possess we have from the Arabian historians. We are told that at the time of the invasion of Africa by 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'd (A.H. 27), a Greek named Gregorius, who held his court at Subeytalah, was governing that country from Tripoli to Tangiers, in the Greek emperor's name. Gregorius having been killed at the battle of Ya'kúbah, another Greek general succeeded him, whom the African authors call *Artiyún Hawájah*. After his death, which was quickly followed by the fall of

Carthage and other important places, we no longer hear of Greek supremacy; for, although the emperors of Constantinople made some efforts to regain their African dominions, either their fleets foundered at sea, or their armies, wherever they landed, were utterly destroyed. In the confusion that ensued, such among the Greek governors as still retained possession of the cities intrusted to their care,—and in this number Ilyán as well as a certain Requila or Rixila must be counted,—seeing the tempest gathering over their heads, must naturally have looked up for assistance to the Gothic monarchs, and become tributaries to their empire. Still the ties which united them with Spain must have been so weak as to be easily loosened, according as their fear or private interest dictated. On the appearance of the conqueror 'Okbah before the walls of Ceuta, Ilyán went out to meet the Mohammedan general, and succeeded by his hasty submission in arresting the progress of the victor through his estates. Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 96, *verso*,) adds, that he led the Arabian general to the countries watered by the river Sús, and to the regions inhabited by the Al-mulaththamún, or the wearers of the veil called *latham*, the whole of which 'Okbah subdued. It is even asserted by Shehábu-d-dín Al-fásí, an African historian of note, that 'Okbah, after his entrance into Tangiers, another city under Ilyán's sway, having expressed a wish to cross over to Spain, that chief dissuaded him from the undertaking, on the plea that it would be madness to thrust himself with his army into the midst of a populous empire, unless he had previously subdued the whole of his African enemies. (See *Not. et Ext. des MSS. de la Bib. du Roi*, vol. ii. p. 157.) In the period of time which elapsed between Ilyán's treaty with 'Okbah and the arrival of Músa to take charge of the government of Africa, the Berbers, under their queen, Káhinah, defeated the Moslems in several encounters, and took from them most of their strong places. During this interval Ilyán seems to have shaken off the yoke of the Arabs, for we are told (p. 253) that Músa was obliged to send against him, to Tangiers, his freedman Tárík, whilst he himself besieged Ceuta, a city which, being relieved by troops from Spain, made a stout defence. We are also told that, after the death of Wittiza, Ilyán surrendered; and here we may surmise that, seeing the sceptre of the Goths pass into the hands of an usurper, and instigated, perhaps, by the legitimate heirs, he made his peace with the Arabs, and opened to them the gates of the Peninsula; to which may be added, that Músa, who had long been thinking of invading Spain, could not accomplish his purpose otherwise than by gaining possession of Ceuta, and thereby becoming master of a sufficient number of vessels to transport his troops to the opposite shore. On the surrender of Ceuta, the Arabian general, therefore, after taking hostages from Ilyán, imposed upon him the condition of providing him with a certain number of vessels, while he himself joined in the enterprise, as the best means of dethroning the usurper and restoring the sons of Wittiza to the throne of their father.

It is therefore natural to conclude that Ilyán or Ælianus, if at all dependent upon the Gothic monarchs, was not, properly speaking, their subject. The title of *Comes Spathariorum*, which Rodericus and other historians give him, he may have had, as it was the custom of the Visigothic kings to confer upon their vassals honorific titles. It is by no means so easy to account for the title of 'foreign merchant,' which Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, an historian of the tenth century of the Hijra, gives him, unless his having a fleet, and his being the means of transmitting to Spain the several productions of Africa, suggested that idea to the Mohammedan writer,—a suggestion which derives no small strength from the fact that the vessels furnished to Tárík by Ilyán are elsewhere said to have been 'merchant vessels.'

v. I shall not stay to consider the part taken by Ilyán in the conquest of Spain, as there is nothing in that event, as related by the Mohammedan writers, which tends in the least degree to impair the historical evidence which I have adduced in his favour. That he should be made to invade first, and merely with his own troops, the country whither he advised Músa to carry his arms, is not only probable, but highly consistent with the prudence shown on every occasion by that wary general, who, according to Ibnu

Khaldún (fo. 96), had previously received several hostages, in whose number was a son of the Christian chief. That he should accompany Taríf, and land with him at Tarifa,—that he should also make part of Tárík's expedition,—be present at the battle in which Roderic's army was defeated, and advise Tárík upon the best course to be followed,—that he should afterwards return to Africa, lead Músa to Spain, and be at the siege of Carmona,—are all facts which contain not the least shadow of improbability.

Upon Ilyán's ultimate destination and end, all the Arabian historians which I have consulted keep silence; and after the siege of Carmona, which was taken by a stratagem of his own device, we no longer hear of him. It is probable, however, that he returned to his government of Ceuta, and died in possession of it, though a tributary to the Arabs; for I read in Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 96, *verso*, the following particulars. "After the death of Ilyán, the Arabs took away Ceuta from his people [his heirs], and "settled in it. After this came the civil war kindled by the wretch Meysarah, and the propagation "of his heterodox doctrines, which numbers of Berbers of the tribe of Gomera and other tribes em- "braced; when, profiting by the dissension between the Berbers and the Arabs, the Berbers of Tangiers "attacked Ceuta, and expelled from it the Arabs, destroying the city and converting it into a desert.

"In this state Ceuta continued, until مَاجِكُسْ Májikus? (Al-bekrí, fo. 76, writes his name مَاجِكِنْ "Májikan,) one of their noblest chiefs and bravest warriors, the same who built the city of مَاجِكِسَة "Majkisah, and gave it his own name, came and settled in the deserted city, the ancient inhabitants "returning to it from every part of the country. This Májikus, however, having listened to the voice "of the Arabian theologians and doctors, was in time converted to Islám. After his death, a son of "his, named 'Issám, succeeded him, and ruled for some time. 'Issám was succeeded by his son مِجْبَر "Mujir, (مِجْبَر Mijbar or Mujabbir in Al-bekrí,) after whose death a brother of his, or, according to "other authorities, a son, named Ar-radhí, inherited his power."

I have now given all the evidence to be found in the writings of the Arabian authors to which I have had access. There can, however, be no doubt that much more might be collected from works now either lost to us, or lying forgotten upon the shelves of some library; and had we a copy of a history of Ceuta which 'Iyádh Ibn Músa Ibn 'Iyádh Al-yahsebi, a Granadine writer of the twelfth century, who was a judge in that city, is reported to have written under this title, الفنون الستة في أخبار سبتة, 'the seven divisions on the history of Ceuta,' we might hope to see some of the obscurity which still covers the deeds of Ilyán entirely dissipated. As it is, there is nothing improbable in these events, attested as they are by the greater number of the Arabian historians; for although it may be objected that neither the Monk of Balclara, a contemporary writer, nor Isidorus Pacensis, who wrote forty-two years after these events, nor the ancient historian whose account I have given translated in the Appendix E., mention one word about Ilyán, the omission may be easily accounted for: on the part of the Arabian writer, from an unwillingness to give to an infidel any share in the glorious undertaking; and on that of the Christian chroniclers, because they either did not attach any great importance to it, or were the partisans of Wittiza,—a presumption which, with regard to Isidorus, is by no means unjustifiable, though by him Ilyán might well be included under that clause, *qui cum eo æmulanter fraudulentè ob ambitionem regni advenerant*. No. 34, sub Æra DCCXLIX.

⁴⁰ I have already shown in a preceding note (Note 63, p. 525,) that both the present town of Medina-Sidonia and the city of Xerez were called *Shidúnah* or *Sidonia* by the Arabs. It is therefore next to impossible to decide which of the two places is here meant, as it is an almost general custom of the Arabian authors to call a city by the name which it may happen to have at the time they write, without

stopping to consider whether the events they describe preceded the giving of that name or not. Some remarkable instances of this kind occur in the course of this translation, where *Calpe*, *Julia-Transducta*, and *Arriaca*, are always mentioned under their Arabic names, *Jebal-Tárik*, *Jezirah Al-khadhrá*, and *Wáda-l-hajárah*. If Músa landed at Algesiras, as it is generally believed, Medina-Sidonia lay on his way to Carmona; but he must also have passed through Xerez, especially if he went "along the sea coast." Perhaps Xerez having been already taken and plundered by Tárik, Músa would not enter it. Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General* say positively that the city taken by Músa was Medina-Sidonia; but in this, as in other instances, their authority cannot be of much weight, since their works are a mere compilation from the Arabian historians. *E de alli vino a un lugar fuerte que abia nonbre Sidia e de alli adelante ovo nonbre en Aravigo Medina Sidonia e esta yaze entre la mar e la villa que llamaron Xerez la que en Arabigo es dicha Assidonia*, fo. ccvi.

⁴¹ Carmona is elsewhere said to have been taken by Tárik; but this account seems the most probable. The town, however, might have been slightly garrisoned, and retaken by the Christians.

⁴² This is differently related by Ar-rázi. He says that a body of Ilyán's retainers having gained admittance into the city, disguised as pedlars, opened at night one of the gates to the Arabs.

⁴³ *Deinde venit Hispalin* (says Rodericus Toletanus, lib. iii. cap. xxiii.) *in quá Gothorum substiterat multitudo, quæ ante Gothorum adventum, a Silinguis, Vandalis urbs regia habebatur, sed Gothi ab ea mutaverunt curiam in Toletum.*

⁴⁴ My copy reads شهرًا—that is to say, 'some months,' which is undoubtedly the true reading. The siege of Seville lasted but one month, but Merida, owing to the strength of its walls and the vigorous defence of its inhabitants, arrested for a considerable time the progress of Músa. See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 321; Rodericus Toletanus, *Rer. in Hisp. Gest.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii; Borbon, *Cartas*, p. lxii.

⁴⁵ دبابة is the war engine called *musculus* by the Romans. *Dabábah* comes from *dabba*, which means 'to creep as a reptile.'

⁴⁶ Compare Conde and Cardonne, who relate this with some slight difference. The words ماشة ماشة *Al-eshah méshah* offer no meaning whatever in Arabic. They are no doubt Latin, but so much corrupted as to leave no room even for conjecture.

⁴⁷ فبنت عنه معاولهم و عدتهم Ar-rázi says that the Arabs were undermining a tower, when they were surprised by the Christians: *e quando los Moros cababan la torre vinieron los Cristianos de fuera de aquel lugar, &c.*; and lower down, *desde entonces pusieron a aquella torre, "torre de la encomienda."* This last passage affords me another proof in favour of the authenticity of the Spanish version; for where is the scholar who does not at first sight perceive that the translator read برج الشهادة 'the tower of testification' (martyrdom), instead of برج الشهداء 'the tower of the martyrs.' The word *borj* (tower) has passed into the Spanish *borge*.

⁴⁸ *'Ayd Al-fitr*, which is also called *'Aydu-s-saghír* (the lesser festivity), is the passover of the Mohammedans, which begins immediately after the expiration of their solemn fast of Ramadhán, that is, on the first day of Shawwál. On such occasions it is customary for the Moslems to put on their most costly garments, to dress their beards, &c. This no doubt led to the story of Músa's beard, which is repeated by Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General*. On this day, A. H. 94, which answers to the 10th of July, A. D. 712, Musá is said, lower down, to have taken Merida, but this date is no doubt erroneous; for if Músa landed in Ramadhán 93, as the author asserts, how could he have spent upwards of one year in the reduction of a few towns? On the other hand, if Músa left Spain for Africa in Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year (A. H. 93), how could he, in the short space of three months, go from Merida to Toledo, have an interview with Tárik, proceed to Saragossa, which he besieged and took, invade Catalonia, conquer part of Galicia, and, lastly, return to Algesiras, to embark for Africa?

Both Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General* have adopted the date of 94, but the authors consulted by Conde (vol. i. p. 44) and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 322), Ibn Habíb, the author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb*, Al-homaydí, Adh-dhobí, in fact, all Arabian writers who mention the siege of Merida, refer it to the year 93. It is therefore quite clear, that either Al-makkarí or the author he quotes was mistaken, and that the date here assigned is an erroneous one; but as I make a point of never altering the text, I have suffered it to remain.

⁴⁹ *Hinna* or *henná*, whence the Spanish words *alheña*, *aliño*, *aliñar*, &c. are derived, is the shrub called *cyprus* or *privet*, a decoction of whose branches is used by the Arab women to dye their nails and eyelids.

⁵⁰ عرْفَج according to Ibnu-l-beyttar is a plant which grows in the deserts of Arabia, and has the branches of a deep red.

⁵¹ The whole of this passage may be found in the work of Rodrigo, and in the *Cronica General*, as well as in Casiri, Conde, and Cardonne.

⁵² Some writers pretend that Egilona, Roderic's widow, was in the city when it surrendered to Músa. They say also that Músa found considerable spoil, and, among other things, a string of matchless pearls. Egilona must on this occasion have become Músa's slave, since two years after she married his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

⁵³ 'Abdu-l-'azíz did not take up his residence at Seville until, by his father's departure, he was left in the supreme command of the conquered lands.

⁵⁴ The same observation which I made at Note 48 may be applied to this date. All these events happened in A. H. 93.

⁵⁵ و دخل جليقية من فجع نَسَبَ الي طارق Músa could not go from Merida to Galicia, passing by Buitrago, without going first to Toledo. I think, therefore, that من فجع نَسَبَ اليه is to be read instead, as in another instance which will afterwards occur.

⁵⁶ Other writers say "with a stick." Some add that he had him cast into prison, and whipped in the presence of his army.

⁵⁷ The origin here assigned to this table is far more probable than the gratuitous supposition of Gibbon, who imagined it to have been formerly in Jerusalem, to have been carried away by Titus at the sack of that city, and, lastly, to have fallen into the hands of the Goths at the taking of Rome by Alaric.

⁵⁸ كرايس in A.—B. reads كراسي the plural of كرسي 'a throne, a chair.'

⁵⁹ The word which I have translated by 'altars' is remarkable—الذابح *i.e.* 'sacrificing places.'

⁶⁰ I need not advert to the contradiction. If the table was found, as here stated, at Toledo, how could a city be called *Medīnat Al-meydah* from the fact of Solomon's table being found in it? Ibnu Hayyān, however, is not the only writer who says that the precious relic was found at Toledo. Idrīsi (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1) confirms the statement, and Al-makkārī himself has elsewhere quoted the words of a writer who entertains the same opinion; but is it likely, I ask, that the Bishop Sindered, and those who accompanied him in his flight, should have left behind them so valuable an object?

⁶¹ Said elsewhere (see Appendix E., p. lxxix.) to be a dining table, without feet. Nothing about this is to be read in the ancient writer there translated.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ It is probable that, after the taking of Saragossa, Músa penetrated further into the country. Conde, or rather the historians consulted by him, make Músa follow a route different from that of Tárík. They say that the Berber general proceeded eastwards, while Músa journeyed northwards to Salamanca and Astorga; whence, following the course of the river Douro, he joined Tárík before the walls of Saragossa. This is more probable; a man of Músa's ambition could not well consent to follow the track of his lieutenant, and enter cities already plundered by him. From Saragossa Músa is reported by the same historians to have followed the northern bank, while Tárík ravaged the cities on the opposite side.

² The MS. in the British Museum has صخرة البندون—my copy ابندون—which is undoubtedly meant for Avenione (Avignon). This applies not to Tárík himself, but to the Berbers who came with him to the conquest of Spain; for, as I shall show hereafter, no invasion of the French territory was made until nearly ten years after the battle of Guadalete.

³ A farsang is generally computed at three miles.

⁴ It has been asserted by several Arabian historians that Músa crossed the Pyrenees and penetrated into France, but as no mention whatever of this invasion occurs in the Christian writers of the age, who cannot be all accused of negligence, I am inclined to believe that the whole account originated in a mistake. When the Arabs first invaded Spain they gave the name of *Afranj* (Franks) to the people dwelling on the eastern branch of the Pyrenees, and that of *Jalalkah* (Galicians) or *Bashkans* (Basques) to those of the western. It is owing to this reason that we see writers of the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, when the distinction must have been better understood by them, still calling Catalonia and Upper Aragon, *Ardhu-l-faranj* (the land of the Franks); Galicia and Asturias, *Ardhu-l-jalalkah* (the land of the Galicians); and Navarre and Biscay, *Ardhu-l-bashkans* (the land of the Basques). All the countries lying beyond the Pyrenees were at the same time designated by the generic appellation of *Ardhu-l-kebirah* (the great land or continent), owing, no doubt, to their calling Spain an island; and when the author chose to refer to France in particular, the words *Ardhu-l-faranj*, or in later times, *Afaranjah*, were used. Catalonia having been frequently overrun, even conquered by the French in the first century after the invasion, this contributed no little to rivet upon it the name of *Ardhu-l-faranj*, which it retained, conjointly with Upper Aragon, even long after it had ceased to be a Mohammedan province. It is therefore probable, not to say certain, that the authors who assert, like the present, that Músa invaded the French territory, had no other foundation for their statement than the name of *Ardhu-l-faranj* (land of the Franks), generally given to Catalonia.

⁵ One of the copies reads "sons of Israel,"—the mistake is evident.

⁶ This inscription is given by the author of the *Ja'ráfiyyah*, who says that it was found at Narbonne. Cardonne, (vol. i. p. 94,) who treats of this column, but without giving the inscription, says that it was erected by Músa to fix the limit of his conquests.

⁷ One of the copies reads "Granada," but it is evidently a mistake.

⁸ Another account says that they were equestrian statues of massive silver. See Cardonne, vol. i. p. 105, and Conde, vol. i. p. 55; both of whom borrowed it from An-nuwayrí.

⁹ The Arabs not unfrequently imagined that the names assumed by the Christian monarchs were like those of their own sovereigns, patronymics or family names. It is therefore not an uncommon thing for them to call all the kings of Asturias, *Ludherik*; those of Castile, *Adfunsh*; those of Aragon, *Jaymish*; those of France, *Károlah*, &c.

¹⁰ بلديون *Beladiun*, 'the inhabitants of towns.' This name is given by the Arabian genealogists to certain tribes of Arabs who lived in cities, and were thereby considered less illustrious than the Nomadis.

¹¹ These towns are said elsewhere to have been reduced by Tárík's lieutenants, but the present account appears to be more authentic. In general it is difficult to say which cities were taken by Músa and which had surrendered to Tárík before his arrival; since the Arabian writers have often attributed to one the conquests of the other. As to the Christian authors, they are of little or no service to us: Isidorus Pacensis and the continuator of the *Chronicon Biclarense* throw no light whatever on this subject, and the loss of Spain, like all national catastrophes, is by them painted in two strokes. As to Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General*, they give generally more details, but their works being translations or compilations from Arabian sources, their evidence loses much of its value in settling any contested point. Were I called upon to choose between these contradictory opinions, I would follow the latter, since the difficulty might easily be removed by supposing Malaga, as well as Granada and Tudmír, to have fallen, like Beja, into the hands of the Christians during the period of time which elapsed between their reduction by Tárík's lieutenants and the arrival of Músa. It must also be borne in mind that the army commanded by Tárík, diminished as it must have been by the severe contest in the plains of Xerez, must have been insufficient

to garrison all the towns taken from the enemy, and that no occupation of the country could therefore take place. However this may be, Adh-dhobí and the writers consulted by Conde declare positively that Murcia was taken by 'Abdu-l-'azíz, (not 'Abdu-l-'ala, as in the translation,) who, after making war on Theodomir, concluded with him a treaty of peace in the month of Rejeb, A. H. ninety-four (A. D. April, 713). If the treaty which Casiri has given at full length (vol. ii. p. 105), translated from Adh-dhobí, be an authentic one, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity, the point is at once settled.

¹² دار الكفار 'the house of the infidels,' that is, the country where they were the stronger and the more numerous.

¹³ If Mugheyth went to Damascus after the taking of Toledo, in order to announce to the Khalif the taking of the Gothic capital, as is stated by Adh-dhobí, he could hardly be back, much less if he left Spain by the command of Músa, as Conde asserts, vol. i. p. 48.

¹⁴ There is no evidence of Galicia having been conquered on this occasion; Músa only went as far as Lugo, and Tárik did not go beyond Astorga.

¹⁵ البغارة—my copy البغارة—I have frequently met with this word written both ways, and applied to a particular district. I believe the latter is the right reading, and means 'the enemy's land,' 'the seat of war,' from *ghaza*, 'to make war.'

¹⁶ بارو in A. I read بارو in my copy, as well as in Dr. Lembke's manuscript; I have, however, followed the former reading.

¹⁷ صخرة بلاي 'The rock of Pelayo,' probably 'la Sierra de Covadonga.' The Spanish word *sierra*, meaning 'a chain of mountains, a wild and mountainous district,' comes from *sehrah*, 'an uncultivated tract, a desert,' not from the Latin *serra*, 'a saw,' as some writers have thought. Hence 'Sierra Morena,' that chain of mountains which divides Andalusia from Castile, is a compound of two words, one Arabic, *Sierra* (*Sehrah*), the other Latin, *Morena* (*Mariana*). In the present case the author ought to have said, "to what was afterwards called the rock of Pelayo;" but it is seldom that the Arabian writers trouble themselves about these niceties.

I have already observed that by 'Green Sea' the geographers of that nation mean generally that part of the ocean which washes the north-western shores of the Peninsula, at times the whole Bay of Biscay. Treating of this sea, Ibnu Khaldún, in his historical Prolegomena, fo. 43, says that it was called 'Green Sea' owing to the tinge of its waters. The remainder of it, towards the north, was called 'Sea of Darkness.' If this account be true, it would prove a strong argument against the natives of the north-western provinces of Spain, who believe their country never to have been subdued by the Moslems.

¹⁸ I have nowhere met with the name of this messenger, for Abú Nasr is what the Arabs call *kunyah*, (in Spanish, *alcurnia* and *alcuño*.) an appellative. I suspect that Mugheyth and Abú Nasr are one and the same person, as that general might well have received, on his return to the East, the honorific surname of 'father of victory,' which is the meaning of those words.

What mountain this is which Músa is said to have crossed by a pass named after him, I have been unable to ascertain. I believe the author means that Músa crossed the mountain by the pass of Tárik (Buitrago). فقطع الجبل من فم المنسوب إليه [طارق] See Note 55, p. 543.

¹⁹ 'Abdu-l-'aziz was Músa's second son; his eldest was 'Abdullah. He had besides, Merwán, 'Abdu-l-'ala, and, if Al-makkarí be right, a younger one named 'Abdu-l-malek. It would also appear, to judge from his appellative (Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán), that Músa must have had a sixth son, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán.'

²⁰ I find that Adh-dhobí, and the author translated in the Appendix E., p. lxxviii., agree in this date; but it seems improbable that Músa should have stayed so long on the road from Spain to Damascus, since he did not arrive in that capital until nearly eighteen months after.

²¹ If Tárík landed on the rock to which he gave his name in Rejeb, A. H. 92, it is evident that this date is mistaken; for, in order to make up three years and four months, which he is reported to have staid in Spain, it would be necessary to place his invasion in Ramadhán 91, that is, one year earlier. The author whose words are here transcribed undoubtedly mistook Tarif for Tárík.

²² See Appendix E., p. lxviii.

²³ This seems to have been another of Músa's sons, but I have not met with his name elsewhere. See above, Note 19.

²⁴ The text says *لما قفل* "when he was travelling in company with Mugheyth," for the word *kúfelah*, whence the Spanish word *cáfela* is derived, means 'a caravan, a troop of people journeying together for convenience or protection.' The prisoner here alluded to is no doubt the same elsewhere called Ludherik, and who is said to have been presented to the Khalif by Merwán, son of Músa. See Appendix E., p. lxxxiv.

²⁵ According to the most authentic accounts, Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek succeeded his brother Al-walíd on the fifteenth day of Jumáda ii. of the year ninety-six, namely, on the 25th of February, A. D. 715. See Al-makín, *Hist. Sar.* p. 73, and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 435.

²⁶ Yezíd Ibnu-l-muhlib was a general, who, during the reign of Suleymán, obtained great victories over the Persians, and conquered the provinces of Tabaristán and Georgia. He was the son of Muhlib Ibn Abí Sofrah, another Arab general, who, in A. H. 67, under the Khalifate of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, had made war on the Azrakis, or followers of Náfi' Ibnu-l-azrak. See Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. pp. 60, 63, 74, *et passim*; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 437; and the Appendix E.

²⁷ This anecdote is undoubtedly borrowed from the author of the *Ahádithu-l-imámati wa-l-siyásati*, a fragment from which is given at the end of this volume. See Appendix E.

²⁸ *وأستملك رجلاً لا يعرفون غير خبيرك وشرك*—that is, 'people who know not how to appreciate thy merits towards thy country, but who judge thee merely from thy behaviour to them.'

²⁹ The word *غلام* *ghalam*, which I have translated by 'slave,' means, properly speaking, 'a page, a genteel and comely youth.' It is the origin of the Spanish words *galan* and *galantear*, which have passed into almost every language of Europe.

³⁰ By Greeks (Rúm) the author means that mixed population, Greeks, Romans, and Vandals, whom the Arabs found in possession of the fortresses along the northern coast of Africa. See Note 16, p. 511.

³¹ Compare the Appendix E., p. lxxxviii., and Conde (vol. i. p. 59), who likewise translated this passage from other sources. The learned Spaniard however was in this, as in most of his versions, any thing but faithful; he rendered *مراكب* 'vessels' by bodies of infantry (*escuadrones de á pié*), a meaning which that word never had.

³² *Wáda-l-korá* (the valley of the hamlets) is the name of a town and district in Arabia. The word *wáda*, in the dialect of the Eastern Arabs, means 'a valley,' the bed of a dry torrent. Among the Western Arabs, however, it was, and is still, always used to designate a river.

³³ This is not exact, for if the historians consulted by Al-makkarí place the death of Músa in 97, there are many more who refer it to the year 98. (See Conde, vol. i. p. 68.) Others, like Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758), and Adh-dhobí, *apud* Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139), say 97 or 99.

³⁴ See above, Note 19.

³⁵ The word *mauli* signifies here, that Músa was adopted by the tribe of Lakhm.

³⁶ Bekr Ibn *ويل* Wayil was the seventh descendant in a straight line from Rabi'ah, son of Nezar, son of Ma'd, son of 'Adwán, &c. Owing to this, some historians have given to Músa the patronymic Al-bekrí.

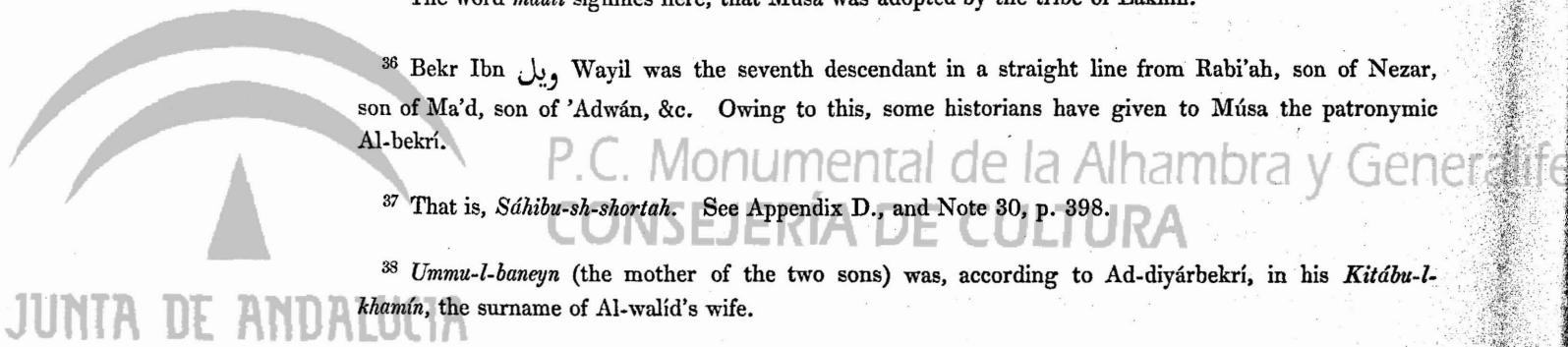
³⁷ That is, *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*. See Appendix D., and Note 30, p. 398.

³⁸ *Ummu-l-baneyn* (the mother of the two sons) was, according to Ad-diyárbekrí, in his *Kitábu-l-khamín*, the surname of Al-walíd's wife.

³⁹ Temím Ad-dárá is one of the traditionists who enjoy most reputation among the Mohammedans.

⁴⁰ According to Adh-dhobí, *apud* Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139), *Mo'arek Ben Maron*, a grandson of Músa, is reported to have left a history of his father's exploits.

⁴¹ I have shown elsewhere (see Note 38, p. 536) the unsoundness of this statement.





JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

A P P E N D I X .

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

VOL. I.

APPENDIX.

A.

The Lives of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr, Ibn Bájeħ, Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, and Ibn Joljol; translated from the work of Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, No. 7340 in the British Museum.

Ibn Abí 'Ossaybi'ah and his work being sufficiently known to Oriental scholars through the extracts published by De Sacy at the end of his *Relation de l'Égypte, par Abdallatif, Médecin Arabe de Baghdád*, Paris, 1810,¹ I shall only prefix here a few preliminary observations on the copy of that work preserved in the library of the British Museum.

The MS., which once formed part of the Rich collection, is a quarto volume containing two hundred and seven folios, written in a clear but rather small Eastern hand upon thin glazed paper. From a note at the end of the volume it appears that the transcript was made at Isfahán, and finished on Monday the 20th of Rejeb of the year one thousand and seventeen (Nov. A. D. 1608), by a certain Ibn Mohammed, who was a Shiite,² not a follower of the sect of Sháfe'i, as stated in the manuscript catalogue of the Rich MSS.

The volume is written with tolerable correctness, and enriched with marginal notes, which add very much to the value of the work. These are generally explanatory of the subjects treated, or refer to facts which escaped the author's attention, the copyist having in most instances given the sources whence he derived his information, as the historical works of Abú-l-faraj, Al-makrizi, As-soyútti, and others.

I. *The Life of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, fo. 143, verso.*

Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-'ala Zohr Ibn Abí Merwán 'Abdi-l-malek³ Ibn Mohammed Ibn Merwán Ibn Zohr learnt medicine under his father; he excelled in the

¹ See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* voc. *O'ionn*; *Abdallatíphi Historiæ Egypti Compendium*, à T. White, Oxon. 1800; *Biographie Universelle*, voc. *Abi Ossaba*; Reiske, *Miscellanea medica ex Arabum monumentis*, in the collection entitled *Opuscula med. ex monim. Ar. et Ebraeor.*, published by Gruner, p. 56; Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli autori Arabi*. There is, however, a fact which Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah himself states, and which has been overlooked by all the above-mentioned writers; namely, that Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah was a pupil of the celebrated Spanish physician and naturalist Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, surnamed Ibnu-l-beyttar, a native of Malaga, whom he knew at Cairo in six hundred and thirty-seven (A. D. 1239-40).

² في يد الحقيير الفكيير ابن محمد الشفييع ملا زين العابدين

³ The MS. reads 'Abdu-l-hakem, but it is a mistake. See a preceding note, with the genealogical tree of the Beni Zohr (p. 336, No. 36).

knowledge of medicaments simple and compound, and in the treatment of diseases, gaining great reputation in and out of Andalus by the wonderful cures he performed. Physicians studied medicine by his works, and there was no one in his time who could rival him in any of the branches of that science. Many anecdotes are related of him, and of his sagacity in detecting diseases and applying the proper remedies,—qualities which none of the physicians who preceded him ever possessed in a higher degree.

Abú Merwán entered the service of the Sultáns called *Al-mulaththamún* (the wearers of the veil), from whom he obtained at once honours, distinction, and great riches; he was in their service when the Mahdi, who is the same person as Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Túmart,⁴ entered Andalus in company with 'Abdu-l-múmen,⁵ and began to spread his creed, and to level for himself the road to the empire, until, at last, his words spread about, and his power was extended by the conquest of various countries and the subjection of their inhabitants, who all came to swear obedience to him. The Madhi, in fine, went on conquering and subduing until the supreme power fell into his hands, and he became thus the ruler of an extensive and well-known empire.

However, when 'Abdu-l-múmen had thus strengthened himself in power, and assumed the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful), when he had taken possession of the treasures of the West, he began to distribute them with the utmost prodigality, to show justice, and to honour science, surrounding his court with the learned. One of those whom he distinguished above the rest was Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, whom he appointed to be his chief physician, trusting his person entirely in his hands, and bestowing on him honours and gifts even far beyond his expectations. Indeed Ibn Zohr was very much esteemed by 'Abdu-l-múmen, with whom he always enjoyed great favour, being preferred by him, and distinguished above the other eminent. It was for the use of this Sultán that Abú Merwán composed his celebrated antidote of the seventy simples (*Teryáku-s-sabáyini*),⁶ which he afterwards reduced to ten, and lastly to seven only, which last composition is known by the name of *Teryáku-l-antolah*.⁷

It was told by Abú-l-kásim Al-mu'ájeyni⁸ Al-andalusí that upon a certain occasion the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen was in want of a slight purgative, but being unwilling to take any of the draughts used for that effect, he consulted Ibn Zohr on the subject. Ibn Zohr went to a vine

⁴ I read in the text *يومرت* *Yúmart*, but it is decidedly an error. However, I find the name of this conqueror differently spelt in the various works consulted by me. Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 399) writes it thus, *تومرت*

Túmurt; Ibn Khaldún *تومرت* *Túmarta*; the author of the history of Morocco *تيومرت* *Tiumart*; the Kartiás *Túmart*; Moura, Conde, and De Sacy, *Tomrut*.

⁵ The author is mistaken. Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Túmart, the founder of the religious sect and dynasty of the Almohades, was never in Spain, but lived and died in Africa. It was not until the time of his successor, 'Abdu-l-múmen, that Spain was subdued. Perhaps the word *دخل* (entered) is here intended for the moral rather than the material idea.

⁶ *ترياق السبعيني*

⁷ *ترياق الانتلة* The word *antolah*, quasi *anthora*, is a corruption from *ἀντιφθορά*.

⁸ *المعاجيني*

in his orchard and dug a deep hole round it, he then irrigated it with water in which he had previously diluted a strong purgative, by which means the stump and branches of the vine imbibed that substance, and the fruit became equally impregnated with it. By that time 'Abdu-l-múmen was attacked by fever, and Ibn Zohr brought him a bunch of those grapes, prescribing to him to eat of them. 'Abdu-l-múmen, who had the greatest confidence in his physician, did not hesitate to eat of the grapes as he was told; Ibn Zohr then said to him, "That is sufficient, O Commander of the Faithful! thou hast eaten ten grapes that will purge thee so many times."⁹ He then told him of his contrivance, and 'Abdu-l-múmen, finding the remedy as efficacious as Ibn Zohr had predicted to him,¹⁰ soon after recovered,—a cure which very much increased the Khalif's affection and regard for Ibn Zohr.

I was likewise told by Muhiyyu-d-dín Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-'arabí At-táyí Al-hátemí, an inhabitant of Murcia,¹¹ that as Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr was one day going from his house to the palace of the Commander of the Faithful in Seville, he met on his way, close to the baths of Abú-l-kheyr, and not far from the house of Ibn Maumel, a patient who was suffering from dropsy;¹² his belly was very much swollen, his face had turned yellow, and he was in continual agony. Ibn Zohr asked him to take him into his house, that he might examine him and see what was to be done. Having observed attentively the symptoms of the disease, Ibn Zohr was going to give his opinion, when he perceived over the bed and close to the patient's head an old pitcher, out of which the sick man generally drank his water. This Ibn Zohr desired to be brought down, and said to the patient, "I must needs have that pitcher broken, that I may see what it contains." When the patient heard this, he exclaimed, "By Allah! I have no other, but it shall be broken:" he then ordered one of his servants to dash it against the wall, when, to the astonishment of all the by-standers, a large toad was discovered lying at the bottom of it, having for a considerable length of time lived and grown in the pitcher. Ibn Zohr then said to him, "Thou art cured, O man! I need not prescribe for thee, thou hast been all this time drinking poisoned water." The man, of course, recovered.

And I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-lakhmí Al-bájjí¹³ the following anecdote, which he held from a trustworthy friend. There

قام عبد المؤمن علي عدد ما ذكره ¹⁰ هي تخدمك عشرة المجالس ⁹

¹¹ Some volumes of poems, and a work on monastic life, by this author, are preserved in the Escorial Library. (See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 122, 222, *et alibi.*) Ibnu-l-'arabí died in six hundred and thirty-eight of the Híjra (beginning 22nd July, A. D. 1240).

¹² سوقنية

¹³ The life of this individual, from whom Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah seems to have derived most of his information respecting the Bení Zohr, occurs in Al-makkarí (part i. book vi. fo. 171); the author being there counted in the number of the illustrious Andalusians who left their native country to travel in the East. His entire name was the Kádí Abú Merwán Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Shari'ah Ibn Refá'h Ibn Sakhar Ibn Semá'h Al-lakhmí. He used the patronymic *Isábili* and Al-bájjí; the former denoting that he was a native or resident of Seville, the latter that he belonged to an illustrious family long domiciliated in Spain, and known as the Bení Al-bájjí. Al-makkarí observes that the Bení Al-bájjí were a noble stock, whence issued several learned theologians and authors renowned for their writings; but that it is important not to confound them with another family,

lived at Seville, in Ibn Zohr's time, an eminent practitioner named Al-fár,¹⁴ who had written a very excellent work, in two volumes, on the simples used as medicaments. Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr was exceedingly fond of green figs, and used to eat immoderately of them; Al-fár, on the contrary, never ate any, or if he did it was only once a year: he used often to say to Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr, whenever he saw him eating that fruit, "if thou persist in eating "green figs thou wilt soon be attacked with a very bad *na'lah*,"¹⁵ a word meaning 'an abscess' in the language of the Western people. In reply to this, Abú Merwán used to say to him, "if thou do not eat figs thou wilt be often subject to fever, and wilt at last die from "a constipation in the bowels."¹⁶ Ibn Zohr's words were prophetic; Al-fár died of the disease which Ibn Zohr had announced to him. But the most extraordinary thing was that Ibn Zohr himself died from an abscess in one of his sides. This is, no doubt, the most remarkable instance of prophetic sagacity ever known of two physicians.

They say that on the first appearance of the disease which caused his death, Ibn Zohr began to take medicine, and apply plasters to it, but, seeing that the medicaments produced no effect, and the disease did not abate, his son, Abú Bekr, said one day to him, "O father! "if instead of such medicament thou wert to use so and so, and then add such a drug, and, "mixing it, thou didst prepare such a medicament, thou mightst, perhaps, recover;" and Ibn Zohr answered him, "O my son! if God has decreed that what is manifest should be altered, "I need not prepare medicines, since whatever remedies I may employ, his decrees must be "fulfilled, and his will finally executed."

Among the disciples of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr in the practice of medicine, the most eminent was Abú-l-huseyn Ibn Asdún,¹⁷ better known by the name of Al-masdúm,¹⁸ and Abú Bekr, son of the celebrated theologian and Kadí Abú-l-hasan, who

called also the Bení Al-báji, to whom belonged the celebrated writer and theologian, Abú-l-walíd Al-báji, for these were originally from Bájah (Beja), a town of Africa, not far from Cairwán, while the former took their patronymic from a town of a similar name in the west of Spain.

Abú Merwán left Spain for Syria, and landed at 'Akka (St. John of Acre) on the sixth day of Ramadhán, A. H. six hundred and thirty-four (3rd May, A. D. 1237), taking up his abode at the college of 'A'del. He then made his pilgrimage to Mekka, and settled on his return at Cairo, where he met with Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah. Although not a physician himself, Abú Merwán must have known many particulars respecting the family of the Bení Zohr, some members of which he must have known in his youth; and on this account the information which he communicated to their biographer is exceedingly valuable. Abú Merwán died in six hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1237-8), on his return from his second pilgrimage.

¹⁴ الفار

¹⁵ نعلة This must be one of the many words introduced by the western Arabs. It was in all probability borrowed from some of the native dialects of Africa, which, according to the testimony of various historians, were spoken in all their purity in many districts of Spain where the Berbers had settlements. Ibn Khallekán says that Zohr, one of the ancestors of this physician, died of a similar disease.

¹⁶ الشناج

¹⁷ اسدون

¹⁸ الصدوم means a man attacked with a certain disease called *sodám* or *sidám*, which asses and horses have on the head. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah has also given (fo. 148) the life of this physician, who was a native of Seville, and died in five hundred and eighty-eight (A. D. 1192-3).

was Kádí of Seville; Abú Mohammed Ash-shidhúní (of Sidonia or Xerez), and the austere theologian. Abú 'Amrán Ibn Abí 'Amrán. Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr died at Seville, in five hundred and fifty-seven¹⁹ (A. D. 1161-2), and was buried out of the gate called *Bábu-l-fatah* (gate of victory).

Abú Merwán Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr wrote,—I. *Kitábu-t-teysír fi madúwáti wa tadbíri*²⁰ (the leveller of the difficulties in the art of applying medicaments and preserving health), which he dedicated to the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Murashshid.²¹—II. *Kitábu-l-aghdiyati* (the book of aliments),²² which he wrote for Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí.—III. *Kitábu-z-zínah*²³ (the book of ornament), which he wrote for the use and instruction of his son Abú Bekr, and which treats of remedies used as purgatives, and how and in what quantity they ought to be taken. Ibn Zohr wrote this work for his son, who was then very young, and about to undertake his first tour through the country, releasing his father from the fatigues of his profession.—IV. An essay on diseases in general.—V. An epistle which he addressed to a physician of Seville, treating of the leprosy and the morpew.²⁴—VI. *Kitábu-t-tadhkirah* (the book of warnings), in which he reminds his son Abú Bekr of the first things to be attended to in the cure of diseases.

¹⁹ The copy in the Brit. Mus. says only five hundred, the remainder of the date being left out; but that in the Bodleian Library gives that of five hundred and fifty-seven, which agrees well with the date fixed by Ibnu-l-abbár, *opud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 132, c. 2. The same writer makes Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr a native of Seville; but other historians fix his birth at Hisnu-z-zahar, or Peñafior, a town in the district of that capital.

²⁰ كتاب التيسير في مداواة و تدبير which, more freely translated, means 'a manual of medicine and the art of preserving health.' (See p. 198 of this translation, and Háji Khalfah, *voc. Teyzir.*) This is the same work which Doctor Paravici, assisted by a Jewish physician named Jacob, translated into Latin (A. D. 1281) from an intermediate Hebrew version, for the use of John Dandolo, Doge of Venice. It was first printed in that city by the brothers Joannes and Gregorius de Forlivo in 1490, in folio, under the following title, *Liber Theicrifi dahalmodana vahaltadabar, cujus est interpretatio rectificatio medicationis et regiminis: editus in arabico a perfecto viro Abumaruan Avenzohar, et translatus de hebraico in latinum Venetiis a magistro Paravicio, ipso sibi vulgarizante, magistro Jacobo Hebreo, Anno Domini Jesu Xpi. 1281.* In the subsequent editions the title of the work is more correctly printed *Theysir*, but the author's name is variously disguised "Abimeron Abynozohar, Abhymeron Abinzohar, and Abynmeron Abyçohar." It was reprinted in 1496 and 1497, with the colliget of Averroes; and there are, besides, several other editions of the sixteenth century: Lugd. Bat. 1531; Venice, 1514, 1542, and 1553. It was republished, with a commentary by J. Colle, in Venice, 1628, in quarto, under the following title, *De cognitu difficilibus ex libro Avenzoharis commentatione.* Another work, attributed to this Ibn Zohr (*De curâ calculi*), was printed at Venice in 1497, as well as one entitled *De regimine sanitatis*, Basilea, 1618, in 12mo.; but I am inclined to think that the former was not composed by Abú Merwán, but by his father, Abú-l-'ala Ibn Zohr, while the latter is evidently that of his son Abú Bekr.

²¹ ابن مرشد

كتاب الاغدية =

²² كتاب الزينة This work is not mentioned by Háji Khalfah.

²⁴ بهق *bahak* means, properly speaking, 'any white spots that come out in the skin.' It comes from the Hebrew בַּהַק which means 'a freckle,' &c.

II. *Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr*, fo. 144.

Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr Al-hafíd,¹ or the celebrated and illustrious Sheikh, physician, and Wizír, Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Abí Merwán Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr. He was born and educated at Seville under the eye of his father, from whom he learnt medicine and other sciences, which he considerably contributed to advance by his works. He was a middle-sized man, well made, muscular, and strong, and had a clear complexion; he lived to a great age, preserving, to the very last, his strong frame and firm step, although some time before his death he became deaf. He was deeply versed in traditions, and knew the Korán by heart: he also gave his attention to the study of literature and the Arabic language, and so great were his attainments in this branch that there was scarcely a man in his days who could compete with him in the knowledge of his own language, and people used to say of him that he had reached perfection both in medicine and in literature. He likewise studied poetry, and excelled in it, as can easily be proved by some of his *muwashshahát*,² which are sufficiently known, and are remarkable, above all things, for the beauty of the conceptions, than which none finer ever entered the mind of a poet. To the above-mentioned accomplishments Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr united that of being very strict in the fulfilment of his religious duties, sound in his doctrines, magnanimous in his actions, and a lover of virtue; he had likewise the gift of eloquence, and could speak very fluently. As long as he lived he knew of no rival in the science of medicine; he became known, and his fame spread, all over Andalus, and even out of that country.

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-bájí, an inhabitant of Seville, what follows. "I was told by the Sheikh, physician, and Wizír, Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr, that, when young, he took lessons and worked for seven years with my grandfather, 'Abdu-l-malek Al-bájí, reading with him the book entitled *Al-madúnah*,³ treating of the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, the composition of Sahnún, and that he likewise read with him the book entitled *Musnad*, by Ibn Abí Sheybah."

I was also told by the same person (Abú Merwán Al-bájí), who held it from Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr himself, that he was exceedingly muscular and strong, so much so that he could draw a bow weighing one hundred and fifty Sevillean pounds, which have sixteen ounces, and each ounce ten drachms; that he could play very well at the game of chess; and, lastly, that there was no physician in his days who could equal him in the knowledge and practice of his art; that he was the servant of two different dynasties, having first, together with his father, served the Almoravide Sultáns towards the end of their empire, and having afterwards entered that of the Almohades, or the sons of 'Abdu-l-múmen, as they are otherwise called. His father having died in 'Abdu-l-múmen's lifetime, Abú Bekr succeeded him in his appointment,

¹ الحفيد He was called *Al-hafíd*, to distinguish him from his great grandfather, who bore the same name and surname. See Note 36, p. 337, where the word *Al-hafíd* has been printed *Al-hafídih* by mistake.

² On the meaning of this word see Note 19, p. 367.

³ See p. 213. This work was much used in Spain by law students.

and after the demise of that Sultán passed into the service of his son, Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf, and then into that of his grandson, Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb, surnamed Al-mansúr. After the death of the latter Ibn Zohr entered the household of his son, 'Abdullah Mohammed Anássir, but he did not serve him long, for he died soon after.

The death of Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr (whom may God forgive!) took place in the year five hundred and ninety-six at Morocco, whither he [the Sultán?] had gone on a visit. He was buried at the spot called "the cemeteries of the Sheikhs." Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr was nearly ninety years old when he died.⁴

The same author says "Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr was extremely sagacious in the discovery of diseases, cautious and expert in the application of medicine, an excellent regulator of health,—qualities which he evinced when still young: for instance, one day his father Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr happened to write a prescription for the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen for a purgative which he stood in need of; his son, Abú Bekr, having by chance perused it, said, "This simple must be replaced by another, as this remedy would not suit 'Abdu-l-múmen's constitution." This remark having been communicated to his father, he said, 'O Commander of the Faithful! Abú Bekr is right,' upon which he effaced from his prescription the name of the simple objected to by his son, and the medicine, when prepared agreeably to Abú Bekr's instructions, proved most beneficial to the Khalif. Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr composed the *Teryáku-l-khamseyní* (the antidote of the fifty simples), for the use of Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb Al-mansúr."

The author continues. "And I was told by a trustworthy friend that Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr had an intimate friend belonging to the tribe of Al-yanáki,⁵ in whose company he used to sit for many an hour playing at chess. This man was one day at Abú Bekr's house playing a game with him, when Abú Bekr, observing that his friend was rather thoughtful, and not in his usual good humour, said to him, 'What is the matter with thee? Thou lookest anxious and distressed, as if something was preying on thy mind; let us hear the cause.' 'Willingly,' answered this friend. 'I have a daughter who has been wedded to a youth, who is shortly coming to fetch her; I want three hundred dinárs for her marriage portion.' 'Very well,' replied Abú Bekr, 'go on playing and never mind that, for I have with me three hundred dinárs all but five, and they are at thy service.' The friend went on playing for a while, and when, after some time, he begged leave to retire, Abú Bekr gave him the sum as agreed. Shortly after, however, he returned, bringing back the three hundred dinárs all but five, which he gave to Abú Bekr. 'What is the meaning of this?' said the latter to him. 'I have sold an olive plantation of mine for seven hundred dinárs, and I now come to pay thee the sum which thou wast generous enough to lend me, as I have still four hundred remaining.' Ibn Zohr then said to his friend, 'Keep that sum and spend it for thy use; for when I gave it thee I never intended to have it back again: keep

⁴ The author of the *Kartás*, who refers the death of Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr to the twenty-first day of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. five hundred and ninety-six (2nd October, A. D. 1200), says that he was ninety-four years old when he died.

⁵ من بني الينافي

“ it, I say.’ The friend remonstrated, and would not accept of the gift, saying, ‘ Thank God, I am not in want of money, and have enough to live upon ; and it is my maxim never to accept of a favour which I cannot return.’ ‘ Art thou my friend or my enemy?’ inquired Ibn Zohr. ‘ I am thy friend, and thou art dearer to me than any other man,’ answered the friend. ‘ Well, then,’ retorted Ibn Zohr, ‘ two friends ought to have only one common purse, and when one of them wants money he ought to ask the other for it.’ Still his friend persisted in returning him the sum, when Ibn Zohr, growing impatient, said to him, — ‘ By Allah ! unless thou take it back we shall quarrel for ever, and I shall never speak to thee as long as I live.’ The man then put up his money, and thanked his friend Abú Bekr for his generous action.”

The Kádí Abú Merwán Al-bájí says, “ It is well known how Al-mansúr conceived the idea of destroying every work treating on logic⁶ and philosophy in his dominions, ordering such as could be found to be publicly burnt, and how he laboured to abolish the study of those sciences by persecuting all those who were addicted to them, and causing all those who were convicted of reading such works, or keeping them in their libraries, to be severely punished. When he first thought of this he commissioned Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr Al-hafid to this effect, and intrusted him with the execution of his orders, for, although he well knew that Ibn Zohr himself was seriously devoted to the study of logic and philosophy, and had in his library many works on those sciences, yet he feigned not to be aware of it, not choosing to prosecute him on account of it. Abú Bekr, however, executed faithfully the task intrusted to his care ; he searched the booksellers’ shops all over Seville, taking care that there should not remain one single work treating on the above subjects, to the great mortification of the lovers of those sciences. There happened to be at Seville a man of rank who hated Ibn Zohr, whose favour at court he envied. This man, who had much malice in him, drew up an accusation, purporting that he was certain that Ibn Zohr, notwithstanding the Khalif’s injunctions to the contrary, persisted in giving his attention to the study of the prohibited works, a large number of which he was known actually to possess. This declaration, confirmed by several witnesses, who signed their names to it, was then sent for the perusal of Al-mansúr to Hisnu-l-faraj, a castle not far from Seville, where that Khalif was then residing. Hisnu-l-faraj⁷ was a fortress built by Al-mansúr, two miles from Seville, on a spot where the air is so salubrious that wheat is stored and kept for a space of eighty years without being spoilt : it was Abú Bekr who selected the spot, recommending Al-mansúr to build on it, and retire thither in certain seasons of the year. However, while Al-mansúr was staying with his court at this place the written accusation was brought to him. Having perused it, he instantly ordered the author of it to be seized and cast into prison, which was done : all the witnesses who had signed it then took the alarm and fled. On this occasion Al-mansúr is said to have exclaimed,— ‘ By Allah !

⁶ علم المنطق is logic, sometimes dialectics.

⁷ It is now called San Juan de Alfarache, from a church consecrated to St. John, built on the site of the old mosque. In the division of the lands about Seville, made after the conquest of that city by St. Ferdinand, this village was still called *Hesnalfarache*. See *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, Bib. Egerton, in the Brit. Mus., No. 478.

“ when I intrusted Ibn Zohr with this commission I did it in order that people should not speak of him and accuse him ; and, by Allah ! were all my subjects to sign this declaration, and bear witness that Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr does what he is accused of in this paper, I would still say that it was not true, so well do I know Ibn Zohr’s soundness of mind and strict religious principles.”

The following anecdote I hold from Abú-l-’abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed of Seville. “ Ibn Zohr had two pupils to whom he used to teach medicine ; they went to and from his house, receiving his lessons for some length of time, and reading before him works on that science. One day, as the students came up to him at the usual hour, Ibn Zohr, who was then engaged in conversation with Abú-l-huseyn, better known under the by-name of Al-masdúm, observed in the hands of one of them a small book, treating of logic, which they, no doubt, meant to study. No sooner did Ibn Zohr cast his eyes on the book than he exclaimed, ‘ What is that ? ’ and, taking the book from the student’s hands, began to peruse it. Finding that the book treated on the prohibited science, Ibn Zohr first threw the volume into a corner of the apartment, and then went up to the delinquents, intending to beat them. The students fled, but Ibn Zohr, without stopping to put on his shoes, followed them into the street, they running as fast as they could, he following them, until, seeing he could not overtake them, and that he had gone to a considerable distance from his house, he left off the pursuit and returned. The students, dreading his anger, were some days without coming to Ibn Zohr for their lessons ; but at last they took courage and presented themselves to him, apologizing for having brought to his house the obnoxious book, which, they said, did not belong to them, nor had they ever entertained the least idea of reading its contents, but that, as they were coming to him that day, they happened to see it on their way in the hands of a story-teller,^s—that a broil ensued among the audience,—and they, profiting by it, rushed among the crowd and possessed themselves by force of the book in question, which they had brought to his house, ignorant of its contents. Ibn Zohr feigned to admit their excuse, and proceeded to give them lectures on medicine as usual, with this difference, that after some time spent in that occupation, Ibn Zohr generally bade them repeat a part of the Korán, enjoining them to read when at home commentaries upon that divine work, as well as traditional stories respecting the Prophet, and other works on theological subjects, but, above all things, to be very strict in the fulfilment of their religious duties, and not to forget any of the instructions he had given them. The youths complied with their master’s instructions, and when, some time afterwards, Ibn Zohr perceived that their minds were properly trained, he one day brought out to them a copy of the very work on logic which he saw in their hands, saying, ‘ Now that you are prepared for the perusal of that work I have no objection to read it with you,’ and he immediately began to expound it to them, which filled the youths with amazement.” I have mentioned this anecdote in order to show the soundness of Ibn Zohr’s mind, and the strictness of his religious principles.

^s رآه مع حدث في الطريق وهم قاصدون اليه فهزوا بصاحبه و عثوا به و اخذوا منه الكتاب
admits, I believe, of no other translation.