

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-bájí—" Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Búján,⁹ " who was Wizír of Al-mansúr, had conceived an enmity towards Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr " Al-hafíd, whom he envied and hated on account of the great favour he enjoyed with " Al-mansúr, and the great regard which that Sultán entertained for him on account of his " learning. Not knowing how to hurt him he decided upon administering poison to him, and " this he effected by bribing a man who lived with Ibn Zohr, and who gave it him in an egg. " There lived also with Ibn Zohr a sister of his, who, together with her daughter, was well " practised in medicine and pharmacy, and very expert in curing the diseases peculiar to their " sex, owing to which they had admittance into the harem of Al-mansúr, so that no child of " that monarch, or of his relations, ever was born within its walls that did not come through " the hands of Ibn Zohr's sister, or, after her death, of her daughter. This sister was present " when Ibn Zohr ate the egg, and she also tasted it, when all their science combined did not " save them from its effects. Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Búján died a violent death, " having been killed by one of his kinsmen."¹⁰

Among the best disciples of Abú Bekr Al-hafíd is counted Abú Ja'far Ibnu-l-ghazzál.

[Here follow several quotations from Ibn Zohr's poems which I have not translated.]

III. *Ibn Bájeh* (vulgo *Avempace*), fo. 142.

Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Yahya, surnamed Ibnu-s-sáyegh¹ (the son of the goldsmith), better known under the surname of Ibn Bájeh, the Andalusian.² He was the banner of his age and the phoenix of his time in the philosophical sciences, a reason why he was very much exposed to the shafts of malice, and became an object of hatred and envy to most of the people of his profession, who repeatedly attempted his life, although God always saved him from them. Ibn Bájeh was also versed in literature and in the Arabic language; he knew the Korán by heart, and was one of the most eminent physicians that ever lived. He was, likewise, an excellent musician, and could play very well on the lute.

⁹ بوجان Thus in the text, but, lower down, I find it written thus, بوجان

¹⁰ Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah does not give a list of Abú Bekr's writings, but he was probably the author of a medical work printed at Basle, 1618, 12mo., under the title of *De Regimine sanitatis*, and which Haller (see *Bib. Medicinæ*, vol. i. p. 397) attributes wrongly to his father.

¹ ابن الصايغ

² The text of the two copies I have consulted reads distinctly ابن باجة الاندلس 'the son of (born at) Bájeh in Andalus,' an expression not at all misplaced if we consider that there were two cities of that name, one in Spain (now Beja, in Estremadura), the other in Africa. See Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 50, and Marmol, *Descripcion de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 285, *verso*. But as no Arabian writer that I know of says that Ibn Bájeh was a native of that town, some, like Ibnu-l-khattib (*apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 77), saying that he was born at Cordova, others, like Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 681), at Saragossa, I am inclined to believe that the above is a blunder of the copyist, who wrote الاندلس instead of الاندلسي—an easy mistake.

Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibnu-l-imám, in the preface to his work entitled "a collection of the sayings³ of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-s-sáyegh Ibn Bájeħ," expresses himself as follows: "The present is a collection of all the sayings of Abú Bekr (may God show him mercy!) on the philosophical sciences, since such were his witticism and the elegance of his expressions on those abstruse and subtle topics that he was reckoned, while he lived, the wonder of his age, and the phenomenon of the world. Works on philosophical topics were then very common in Andalus since the days of the Sultán Al-hakem,⁴ who caused them to be bought for him in the East, together with other curious and valuable works, and to be brought to his dominions, where they soon spread among the studious. Al-hakem was, indeed, the first sovereign who caused the works of the ancient philosophers to be introduced into Andalus, (may God remunerate him amply for it!) for, before his time, no book of this kind ever gladdened the eyes of the studious, and if it did, it was to lead them astray, and to guide them into error, as happened in the case of Ibn Hazm, of Seville.

"Ibn Bájeħ," continues Ibnu-l-imám, "was the man of his time who worked most seriously and with the greatest attention at this sort of studies, surpassing all his predecessors, as well as Ibn Hazm, in the soundness of all his propositions, extensive reading, and clearness of judgment. The paths of knowledge in the aforesaid sciences became thus ornamented by this master (Ibn Bájeħ), and by another doctor, named Mélik Ibn Wahíb,⁵ a native of Seville, and a contemporary of Ibn Bájeħ, who contributed likewise greatly to the advancement of science, only that he (Ibn Wahíb) taught little else than the first elements of psychology.⁶ After this, Ibn Wahíb began to abstain from the study of philosophy, as well as from public conversation on the subject, owing to the great dangers which surrounded him and all those who followed those pursuits, and the risk of losing his life on account of it, for so elevated was the view which he took of the said sciences that he would, no doubt, have rendered himself obnoxious had he persevered in the study of them. He therefore now gave all his attention to the lawful⁷ sciences, in which he soon became the prince, or nearly so; although, owing to the reasons above specified, the light of philosophy did not shine upon his writings, neither was there found in them, as in the works of others, any thing hidden to be explained after his death.

"But to return to Abú Bekr. His natural inclination having early carried him away into the above difficult paths, he never ceased working with the greatest assiduity, travelling in

³ The word اقوال a plural of قول has often the meaning of 'speech, discourse, essay.'

⁴ Al-hakem II., surnamed *Al-mustanser-billah*, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., occupied the throne of Cordova from A. H. 350 to 366.

⁵ Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 216) mentions a distinguished theologian, named *Abu Abdala Melik ben Wahíb*, who was living in A. H. 514. He is, no doubt, the same individual here alluded to.

⁶ في اول صناعة الذهنية literally 'on the beginning of the fabric of intellect.'

⁷ العلوم الشرعية By lawful sciences the Arabs understand theology, law civil and canonical, and all those studies which are in some manner relating to the Korán.

“ search of knowledge, and bestowing his serious investigation upon all those propositions of
 “ the truth of which he was once convinced, (according as his circumstances allowed him, and
 “ the changes of his fortunes would permit,) until he strengthened himself in psychology, and
 “ in that branch of physics which, he thought, would lead him to the knowledge of those two
 “ faculties in his individual person⁸—one reasoning, the other discriminating and comparing,
 “ according to the limits assigned to it by the Omnipotent. Ibn Bájeħ consecrated, likewise,
 “ his time to geometry and astronomy, leaving behind him works which sufficiently testify his
 “ proficiency in those sciences. Respecting metaphysics, if truth be said, Ibn Bájeħ did not
 “ establish any new doctrine, nor is there any thing remarkable in his writings if we except a
 “ few loose observations in that epistle of his entitled *Al-waddá*, and in his essay ‘on human
 “ reason,⁹ besides a few separate hints in two more of his philosophical tracts. Yet these are
 “ exceedingly vigorous, and go very far to prove his proficiency in that illustrious science
 “ (metaphysics) which is the complement and the end of every other science. It was to his
 “ constant application to the above studies that Ibn Bájeħ owed all his attainments and his
 “ superiority in all the other branches of knowledge. But what will appear almost incredible
 “ is that Ibn Bájeħ should have strained every nerve to become possessed of those sciences
 “ which had been known and cultivated before him, and in which the paths of invention were
 “ entirely closed¹⁰ to him, and that he should have fallen short in his endeavours to ameliorate
 “ that science which is the complement of every science, and an object of desire to all those
 “ endowed with a brilliant disposition, or to whom God imparted his divine gifts. How-
 “ ever, with all this, Ibn Bájeħ was, of all his contemporaries, the most successful in pro-
 “ moting the study of metaphysics, redeeming it from the shadows which enveloped it, and
 “ bringing it to light, (may God show him mercy!)¹¹
 “ We shall begin this collection by an essay of his, written in a most compendious form,
 “ ‘on the extent of human nature,’¹² by way of proving what we have already advanced,

⁸ It is with great uncertainty that I have given the translation of this passage. The sentence is both obscure, and deficient in its grammatical construction. يدن الي حصول هاتين الصناعتين في نفسه صورة ينطق عنها و يفصل و [صورة] يركب فيما [تضي] المستولي علي امدها

⁹ *Conjunctio hominis cum intelligentiâ agente* is the title of a philosophical essay by Ibn Bájeħ. اتصال الانسان بالعقل الفعال

¹⁰ I here produce the text of this passage, which is rather ambiguous: ومن المستحيل ان ينزع في المتوطيات و ينفصل له انواع الوجود علي كمالها و يكون مقصراً في العلم الذي الضح .

I am not certain of having seized the real meaning of the words المتوطيات or العلوم المتوطيات which so often occur in this extract; the dictionaries being but of slight assistance when translating works on philosophical subjects.

¹¹ و عسي انه قد علق فيه مالم يعثر عليه All this is very obscure, and I regret that I had not the leisure to compare this passage with the copy in the Bodleian Library.

¹² الي نهاية من الوجازة Thus in the text; but I read الغاية الانسانية الي نهاية من الوجازة

“namely, his vast attainments in metaphysics and the other sciences which he cultivated. “We really think that after Abú Nasr Al-fárábí¹³ there was no man like Ibn Bájeħ for the “elevated¹⁴ manner in which he wrote and spoke on those sciences; for if we establish a “comparison between his essays and those of Ibn Síná,¹⁵ or Al-ghazálí,¹⁶ the two authors “who most promoted the study of that science in the East after Al-fárábí, we shall find “the balance inclining rather on the side of Ibn Bájeħ, especially if we bear in mind “the clearness and beauty of his expressions, and his aptitude in penetrating the writings “of Aristotle. Of this, however, there can be no doubt,¹⁷ namely, that the two above- “mentioned philosophers were, together with Ibn Bájeħ, those who united in themselves all “the learning and all the talents of their predecessors, distinguishing themselves by the “clearness of their dissertations, and competing in their works with the most celebrated “philosophers of antiquity.”

This Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibnu-l-imám was from Granada. He was an eminent writer, well versed in various sciences, and lived in great intimacy with Ibn Bájeħ, whose friend and disciple he was. Abú-l-hasan travelled to the East, and died at Kúss.

Among the pupils of Ibn Bájeħ the most celebrated was the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Roshd. Ibn Bájeħ died young, at the city of Fáris, where he was buried. I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-ishbílí that he saw there his tomb, and close to it that of the theologian Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí, known as the author of various works.

Among the remarkable sayings attributed to Ibn Bájeħ the following is one. “There are “things the knowledge of which is beneficial to man even long after he has learnt them— “namely, good actions, because they ensure him the rewards of Almighty God.”

Ibn Bájeħ wrote the following works:—I. A commentary on the treatise on sound by Aristotle.¹⁸—II. An essay on part of the treatise on meteors by the same.¹⁹—III. An essay on the book of generation and corruption by the same.²⁰—IV. An essay on the last

¹³ Abú Nasr Mohammed Ibn Tarkhán Ibn اوزلق Auzlagh Al-fárábí, so called because he was a native of Fárab, in Turkey, is reckoned to be the prince of Mohammedan philosophers. He wrote many excellent treatises on rhetoric, dialectics, music, and other branches of philosophy. See Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 716); Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 497; and *Philosophus auctodictatus*, by Pococke, *passim*.

¹⁴ قنون in the text; I have substituted قنون

¹⁵ Ibn Síná (*vulgo* Avicenna) is the surname of the celebrated Mohammedan philosopher and physician, Abú 'Ala Al-huseyn Ibn 'Abdillah ابن سينا Ibn Síná, born at Bokhará in three hundred and seventy (A. D. 980-1). His life may be read in great detail in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 121, and Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 193). See also Abú-l-faraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*, *apud* Pococke, ed. nov. p. 64; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 93; and the tract *de Viris illustribus apud Arabes*, wrongly attributed to Leo Africanus.

¹⁶ الغزالي Al-ghazálí is the patronymic of Abú Hámíd Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed At-túsi, a famous philosopher and divine, born in four hundred and fifty (A. D. 1058-9), or, according to other authorities, in four hundred and fifty-one. See Ibn Khallekán, who has given his life at full length; and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 375.

¹⁷ شرح كتاب السماع الطبيعي لارسطوطاليس و الثلاثة اية دون ريب

¹⁸ قول علي بعض كتاب الاثر العلوية لارسطوطاليس ¹⁹ الكون و الفساد

²⁰ الكون و الفساد

²⁰ الكون و الفساد

chapters of the book of the animals by the same.²¹—v. An essay on part of the book of plants by the same.²²—vi. An essay on natural propensities and their signs, beginning thus: ²³ “ If the causes and proofs of syllogisms are given—”—vii. An epistle entitled “ Fare thee well.”²⁴—viii. A short essay in continuation of the same subject.—ix. A treatise on human reason.²⁵—x. An essay on the resisting power, divided into several books, some of which contain the above essay on human reason.²⁶—xi. A treatise on the regulation of the individual.²⁷—xii. A treatise on the soul, intended as a study on the book of the fabric of intellect (or psychology) by Abú Nasr.²⁸—xiii. A few chapters on the public regulations and arrangements of a city, and the state of the individual, in which he introduced some excellent remarks on geometry and astronomy.²⁹—xiv. An epistle addressed by him to his friend Abú Ja'far Yúsuf Ibn Ahmed Ibn Hasdáy after his arrival in Misr (Cairo).—xv. Philosophical lucubrations, intended as answers to the questions proposed on the science of geometry by Ibn Seyid, the geometrician, which are generally found separate.—xvi. A discourse upon part of the treatise on the properties of simples used as medicaments by Galenus.—xvii. The book of the two experiments³⁰ upon the medicaments of Ibn Wáfíd, in the composition of which Ibn Bájeh was assisted by Abú-l-hasan Sufyán.—xviii. An epitome of the book of the intestines,³¹ a work by Ar-rází.—xix. A discourse on the extent of human nature.³²—xx. A discourse on those things in which there resides a power against the acting mind.³³—xxi. A discourse on the noun and the named.³⁴—xxii. A discourse on demonstrations.³⁵—xxxiii. The book of elements.³⁶—xxiv. An inquiry into the powers of resistance

²¹ كُتِبَ عَلَيَّ بَعْضُ كِتَابِ النِّبَاتِ لِارِسْطُو طَالِيَسٍ ²² كِتَابِ الْحَيَوَانِ

قَوْلُ ذِكْرٍ فِيهِ التَّسْتَوْقُ الطَّبِيعِيُّ وَ مَا هَيْئَتُهُ وَابْتِدَآءُهُ أَنْ يُعْطَى اسْبَابُ الْبَرْهَانِ وَحَقِيقَتُهُ

²⁴ رِسَالَةُ الْوِدَاعِ

²⁵ فِي اتِّصَالِ الْعَقْلِ بِالْإِنْسَانِ literally 'on the union of the reasoning powers with man.'

²⁶ تَدْبِيرُ الْمُتَوَحَّدِ ²⁷ قَوْلُ عَلِيٍّ قُوَّةَ النِّزْوَعْنِيَّةِ

²⁸ كِتَابِ النَّفْسِ تَعَالِيْقُ عَلِيٍّ كِتَابِ أَبِي نَصْرِ فِي الصَّنَاعَةِ الذَّهْنِيَّةِ I believe it to be the same

which is preserved in the Library of the Escorial, No. 909, with this title ²⁹ شَرْحُ الْإِسْغَوْجِيِّ

فَصُولٌ قَلِيْلَةٌ فِي السِّيَاسَةِ الْمَدِيْنَةِ وَ كَيْفِيَّةِ الْمَدَنِ وَحَالِ الْمُتَوَحَّدِ

³⁰ كِتَابِ التَّجْرِبَتَيْنِ عَلَيَّ اِدْوِيَّةِ ابْنِ وَافِدٍ This work is often quoted by Ibnu-l-beyttar.

³¹ اِخْتِصَارُ الْحَاوِيِّ لِلرَّازِيِّ ³² كَلِمٌ فِي الْغَايَةِ الْإِنْسَانِيَّةِ

³³ كَلِمٌ فِي الْأُمُورِ الَّتِي بِهَا يَكْنَى الْوُقُوفُ عَلَيَّ الْعَقْلِ الْفِعَالِ

³⁴ كَلِمٌ فِي الْبَرْهَانِ ³⁵ كَلِمٌ فِي الْأَسْمِ وَالْمَسْمِيِّ

³⁶ كَلِمٌ فِي الْإِسْطِقْسَاتِ

inherent to our mind,—what are they, to what end are they exercised, and how? ³⁷—xxv. The book of the temperaments and habits.³⁸

IV. *Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd* (vulgo *Averroes*), fo. 146, verso.

Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd,¹ that is, the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Roshd, was a native of Cordova, where he passed the first years of his life. He became eminent for his brilliant qualities, and distinguished for his ardour in the acquisition of learning. He attained the utmost limit of perfection in jurisprudence and in the science of controversy, which he learnt from the Faquih and Háfedh Abú Mohammed Ibn Razek. He was likewise greatly versed in medicine, and left behind him several excellent works remarkable for their contents; such as the *Kitábu-l-kulliyát* (the book of the whole),² in the composition of which he surpassed himself. Abú-l-walíd had contracted an intimate friendship with Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr, so that when he wrote the above work 'on the whole,' he desired his friend to write another 'on the parts,'³ that might be a sort of complement to his, and form a complete treatise on the science of medicine.⁴

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-bájí that the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd was endowed with a powerful reason, a clear understanding, and an acute mind.⁵ He learnt

³⁷ كَلِمَ الْفَحْصِ عَنِ النَّفْسِ النَّزْوَعِيَّةِ وَكَيْفَ هِيَ وَ لَمْ يَنْزِعْ وَ بَهَا ذَا يَنْزِعْ

³⁸ كَلِمَ فِي السِّزَاجِ بَهَا هُوَ طَبِي

Besides the works here enumerated, there are in the Escorial Library (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc. Cat.* vol. i. p. 178) five tracts, all in one volume, said to be the composition of Ibn Bájeħ. They are all written in the same hand, and, if we are to believe Casiri, by Ibn Bájeħ himself, in A. H. five hundred and twelve. But if such be the case there must be some mistake in the date, for Ibn Bájeħ having died in A. H. five hundred and thirty-three, or, according to other authorities, in five hundred and twenty-five, at the age, we are assured, of twenty-three, the book could not be written by him in five hundred and twelve, when he was, if we take the former date, ten, if the latter, only two years old. The subject, however, is worth investigation, for if the volume in question is really in the hand-writing of Ibn Bájeħ, it may justly be considered as one of the greatest treasures in the Escorial Library.

¹ The name of this physician being generally written thus, *أَبْنُ رَشْدٍ* without vowel points, has often been incorrectly read by translators. Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 369) wrote *Abulwalid ben Raxid*. Casiri mistook him for another author, named Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar *أَبْنُ رَشْدٍ* Ibn Rashid, who flourished a century after.

² *كُتَابُ الْكُلِّيَّاتِ* or *كُتَابُ الْكَلِيَّةِ* which is, I believe, that part of medicine appertaining to the body in general, in opposition to *أُمُورُ الْجَزِيَّةِ* meaning 'that science which treats of the cure of every member of man's body taken separately.'

³ *كُتَابُ فِي أُمُورِ الْجَزِيَّةِ* Ibn Zohr did really write such a work.

⁴ I have omitted the translation of part of the preface placed by Ibn Roshd at the head of his *Al-kulliyát*, and which Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah inserts here.

⁵ *حَسَنَ الرَّأْيِ ذَكِيًّا رَثَّ الْبِرَّةَ قَوِي النَّفْسِ* There is evidently a mistake here, which I have not the means of correcting.

medicine under Abú Ja'far Ibn Hárún,⁶ whose disciple he was for a considerable length of time, and from whom he acquired, besides, much of his learning in the natural and philosophical sciences. Ibn Roshd was first Kádí of Seville, and afterwards of Cordova; he enjoyed great favour with Al-mansúr, and became one of the principal officers at his court. He was likewise very much honoured and distinguished by An-nássir, the son of that Sultán. Abú Merwán Al-bájí says: "When Al-mansúr was in Cordova, making his preparations to carry on the war against Alfonso in the year five hundred and ninety-one (A. D. 1195), he happened one day to send for Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd. When he appeared before him the Sultán honoured him greatly, and made him come close to him, going even so far as to allot him for his seat the cushion where Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed,⁷ son of the Sheikh Abú Hafs Al-hentétí,⁸ the companion and friend of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and the third or fourth in rank among the Sheikhs composing the council of the Almohades, usually sat. This Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed was a great favourite with Al-mansúr, who had given him in marriage one of his daughters, by whom he had a son called 'Alí, who is at this moment the ruler of Eastern Africa.⁹ However, when Al-mansúr had thus placed Abú-l-walíd close to his person, and made him sit by his side, he began to converse at length with him upon different topics. After this Abú-l-walíd went out of the royal presence, seeing which the whole of the *talbes* who had been present at the interview, and those among his friends who had been waiting for him outside of the palace, congratulated him upon the high

⁶ This is Abú Ja'far Ibn Hárún التُّرْجَالِي At-turjálí, whose life is also in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 148. He was a native of Turjálah or Turricella (now Truxillo), a town which, the author observes, "was entirely peopled by Moslems, by order of Al-mansúr (Abú 'A'mir), who found it deserted in one of his incursions."

⁷ Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed الْحَضْرِي Al-hadhri was one of the ten (others say eight) Sheikhs who at first composed the council of the Almohades, and who assisted the Mahdí in the propagation, by the sword, of his religious tenets. (See Moura's *Karttás*, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 220.) He was the progenitor of a dynasty called by the African historians the Bení Abí Hafs. See *ibid.*, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 225.

⁸ The MS. reads الهَيْثَاتِي which is undoubtedly a mistake.

⁹ I can nowhere find an account of this prince. Both Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 126, *verso*) and Ibnu-l-khattíb (*apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 225, *et seq.*), who give the history of the African dynasty called the Bení Abí Hafs, say nothing of a Sultán of Túnis called 'Alí. What follows is a translation from the former of those writers. "Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Abí Hafs was appointed governor of the province of Túnis or Eastern Africa in 603 of the Hijra. After his death, which took place in 618, his son, Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán, was raised by the people to that dignity, but Al-mustanser, Sultán of the Almohades, whose vassal he was, not approving of his election, he was removed after an administration of three months, and the government transferred to his cousin, Ibráhím Ibn Isma'il Ibn Abí Mohammed. After the removal of the latter, in 620, the government of Eastern Africa was conferred upon Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, son of Abú Mohammed Ibn Hafs, who held it until 625, when, profiting by the troubles which attended the reigns of the last sovereigns of the family of 'Abdu-l-múmen, he made himself independent in his government. He was succeeded by his brother, Abú Zakariyyá, who reigned until 647, the period of his death, when the throne devolved upon his son, Abú 'Abdillah."

'Abdu-l-wáhed, therefore, had no other sons than 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Abdullah, and Abú Zakariyyá: if, besides, we bear in mind that Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah quotes Abú Merwán Al-bájí in this passage, the error becomes manifest, since that writer, having died in 637, could have known only the first three princes of that dynasty. I have, nevertheless, left it as in the text.

“ place which he occupied in the good graces of his sovereign, and the great distinction with
 “ which he had been treated. But Abú-l-walíd said to them,—‘ I do not see why you should
 “ congratulate me, for if the prince of the believers has bestowed his favours upon me in
 “ this manner, he has merely made me advance one step towards what I expect of him, and
 “ strengthened the hopes I have founded on him.’

“ The rivals and enemies of Ibn Roshd, on hearing of his being called to the presence of
 “ Al-mansúr, had given out that the prince of the believers had called him to have him
 “ executed; so that when Ibn Roshd came out of the palace safe, he ordered one of his
 “ servants to go to his house and tell his family to dress him a *kattá*¹⁰ and some young
 “ pigeons, and to have them ready when he should return, meaning to invite his enemies to
 “ partake of his repast, and thus to win over their hearts by his forgiveness.

“ Some time after this adventure Al-mansúr was really displeased with Abú-l-walíd Ibn
 “ Roshd, whom he caused to be exiled to Al-isalah,¹¹ a town close to Cordova, formerly
 “ inhabited by Jews, enjoining him not to move from it without his order. Al-mansúr
 “ punished at the same time several other distinguished and learned men, confining them,
 “ likewise, to different parts of his dominions; the apparent cause of his displeasure being
 “ that they had been accused of giving their leisure hours to the cultivation of philosophy
 “ and the studies of the ancients. Besides Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, the sufferers on this
 “ occasion were Abú Ja’far Adh-dhahebí,¹² the theologian; Abú ’Abdillah Mohammed Ibn
 “ Ibráhím, Kádí of Bejáyah;¹³ Abú-r-rabi’ Al-kefíf, Abú-l-’abbás Al-háfedh, and the poet
 “ Al-karábí;¹⁴ all of whom passed some time in exile. After this, Al-mansúr having been

¹⁰ Ad-demírí (Arab. MS. in my possession) gives the following description of this bird. *Kattá*, قطار which forms its plural in *kattawát* and *kattayát*, and the noun of unity *kattátun*, is the name for a bird so called by the Arabs because its cry resembles the noise produced by that word thus, *kattá, kattá!* It is of two kinds, one called *kodrí*, the other *júní*. The *kodrí* is of a dusty colour, and has the body covered with black and white spots, except the tail, which is of a yellowish hue, and short. The *júní* has the stomach, the wings, and feet, black, the rest of the body is grey spotted with bright yellow. This latter kind is larger than the *kodrí*, the proportion being this, that a *júní* is generally equal in size and weight to two *kodrís*. The *júní*, however, is inferior in voice to the *kodrí*, since it utters a confused and disagreeable sound from the throat, like that of a man who is gargling; while the *kodrí*, on the contrary, utters a distinct and intelligible sound. It is owing to this circumstance that this kind of *kattá* is called *júní*. The females lay their eggs one by one, sometimes they lay two, but three at most; this being the reason why poets have called the bird *ummul-thaláith* (the mother of the three). Jeuharí adds a third species, which he calls *kattát*.—The habits of this bird are these: when it wants to drink it rises before day-break from its nest, and flies towards the rising sun a distance of seven days’ march, then it comes down suddenly upon the water, and takes a *nahla*,—a word meaning ‘the first draught of a camel or of a sheep.’ When it has thus quenched its thirst, it remains for two or three hours in the neighbourhood of the water, flying about, when it returns to drink a second time. Such, at least, is the account given by Al-wáhedí in his commentary upon the poems of Abú-t-tayyeb Al-mutennabí.

¹¹ اليَسَالَة

¹² The life of this individual, who was also an eminent physician, is to be found in Ibn Abí Ossaybí’ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 148, verso. His entire name was Abú Ja’far Ahmed Ibn جرج (Jorj?) Adh-dhahebí. He was a physician to Al-mansúr (Abú Ya’kúb), and to his son, An-nássir. He died at Telemsán in A. H. 600.

¹³ بجاية This might be intended for Bejénah. See a preceding Note, p. 359.

¹⁴ القرابي

“ convinced, through the testimony of several of the most learned and influential inhabitants of Seville, that Abú-l-walíd's literary and scientific pursuits were not such as had been represented to him, pardoned Abú-l-walíd and his fellow sufferers, and recalled them from their exile in the year five hundred and ninety-five¹⁵ (A. D. 1198-9).

“ Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí, one of the above-mentioned individuals, became after this one of the favourites of Al-mansúr, who appointed him to the charge of watching over the writings and the studies of the physicians and philosophers of his court. He used to say of him,—‘ Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí is like the purest *dhaheb* (gold), which, instead of losing, gains in quality in the melting pan.’” The Kádí Abú Merwán further says, “ And to prove the great affection and esteem which Al-mansúr entertained for Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, it is only requisite to say that whenever the former summoned him to his presence for the purpose of conversing with him, or inquiring into some particulars about the sciences which 'Abu-l-walíd cultivated, he always used to give him the affectionate term of brother.” The same writer states that “ Ibn Roshd having once composed a work on zoology, in which he described every species of animals, giving the habits and peculiarities of each, said, in treating about the giraffe, ‘ I have seen a quadruped of this sort at the King of the Berbers,’ thereby meaning Al-mansúr, and that when the passage was reported to that monarch he considered the expression ‘ King of the Berbers ’ as an outrage, and was highly incensed on account of it. It is further said that this was the principal cause which brought on Al-mansúr's displeasure, and his order for Abú-l-walíd's exile; and they relate that the excuse given by Ibn Roshd was that it was a slip of the pen, and that he had meant to write *Málek al-barreyn*¹⁶ (the king of the two countries), meaning thereby Africa and Andalus.”

The Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd (whom may God forgive!) died at Morocco at the beginning of the five hundred and ninety-fifth year of the Hijra, and the first of the reign of An-nássir. Abú-l-walíd lived to a very great age, and left a son named Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, also a physician, and who was much versed in the practical part of medicine. Abú-l-walíd left also other sons, who applied themselves to the study of theology and the law, and became Kádís of towns and districts. Of the remarkable sayings attributed to Ibn Roshd the following is one. “ Whoever studies anatomy, his merits with the Almighty are increased by it.”

The following are the works written by Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd :—I. *Kitábu-l-tahssíl*, or an exposition of the various opinions entertained by the companions of the Prophet, the tábi's and the second tábi's, as well as of the arguments advanced in favour of or against their respective sects or schools, and a declaration of the principal passages, forming, as it were, the cream of contradictory opinions.¹⁷—II. A book entitled “ Prolegomena on the religious law.”¹⁸—III. The book of maturity for the law student.¹⁹—IV. The book of the whole, being

¹⁵ I suspect this date to be mistaken, since it is stated lower down that Ibn Roshd died at the beginning of that very year.

¹⁶ The word بربر may be easily changed into برين

¹⁷ كتاب التحصيل This work, as most of the following, was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

¹⁸ كتاب البدمات في الفقه

¹⁹ كتاب زهاية الجتهد في الفقه

a commentary upon a poem written on the science of medicine by the Sheikh and Reys Ibn Síná, and known as the *Arjúzah* of Ibn Síná.²⁰—v. The book of the animals, compiled from the treatises on physics and metaphysics by Aristotle.²¹—vi. The book of necessity on logic, following as a model the "Exposition of metaphysics" by Nicolaus.²²—vii. Exposition of the metaphysics of Aristotle.²³—viii. An exposition of the book of ethics by the same.²⁴—ix. An exposition of the book of the posterior analytics by the same.²⁵—x. A commentary on the book of physical auscultation by the same.²⁶—xi. A commentary upon the treatise on the heavens and the world by the same.²⁷—xii. An exposition of the treatise on the soul by the same.²⁸—xiii. An exposition of the book of the *estokisát* (elements) by Galenus.²⁹—xiv. An exposition of the treatise on the temperament of bodies by the same.³⁰—xv. An exposition of the treatise on the physical powers by the same.³¹—xvi. An exposition of the treatise on the causes and symptoms of diseases by the same.³²—xvii. An exposition of the treatise on bleeding by the same.³³—xviii. An exposition of the first book on fevers by the same.³⁴—xix. An exposition of the first part of his work on the simples used as medicaments.³⁵—xx. An exposition of the second half of his work on the forms of creation.³⁶—xxi. A book entitled "Destruction of the *Teháfet*," being a critique on the *Teháfet* by Al-ghazálí.³⁷—xxii. A book entitled "Open roads of

²⁰ كتاب الكليات See Háji Khalfah, voc. *Arjúzah*. Copies of this work may be found in the Escorial Library. See Catal., Nos. 798, 826, 858.

²¹ كتاب الحيوان جوامع كتب ارسطوطالس في الطبيعيات والالهيات

²² كتاب الضروري في المنطق ملحق به كتاب تلخيص الالهيات لنقولوس

²³ تلخيص كتاب ما بعد الطبيعة لارسطوطاليس

²⁴ تلخيص كتاب الاخلاق لارسطوطاليس

²⁶ تلخيص كتاب السماع الطبيعى لارسطوطاليس

²⁸ شرح كتاب النفس لارسطوطاليس

³⁰ تلخيص كتاب المزاج

³² تلخيص كتاب علل و امراض

³⁴ تلخيص كتاب الحميات

³⁶ تلخيص النصف الثاني من كتاب حيلة البرو

²⁵ تلخيص كتاب البرهان لارسطوطاليس

²⁷ شرح كتاب السماء و العالم لارسطوطاليس

²⁹ تلخيص كتاب الاسطقسات لجالينوس

³¹ كتاب القوي الطبيعية

³³ تلخيص كتاب تعرق

³⁵ تلخيص اول كتاب الاودية المفردة

³⁷ كتاب تهافت التهافت رد فيه علي كتاب اتهافت للغزالي Abú Hámid Al-ghazálí At-túsí is

the same Mohammedan divine mentioned above, p. xv. His life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*) He wrote, among other things, a work entitled تهافت الفلاسفة (ruin or destruction of the philosophers), in which he refuted the opinions of Mohammedan philosophers, and accused them of impiety. Háji Khalfah, who mentions alike the treatise of Al-ghazálí and the critique that Ibn Roshd wrote on it, has given us part of the prefaces to both works. (See *Kashfu-dh-dhamín*, voc. *Teháfet*.) This work of Al-ghazálí, which was afterwards translated into Hebrew by a Spanish Jew, named Rabbi Moses, is preserved in the Escur. Lib. (No. 628), together with many other of his philosophical and metaphysical treatises. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 184, 202, 377, 462, et passim.

direction on the science of elementary jurisprudence."³⁸—xxiii. A short treatise entitled "A review of the different opinions entertained by people respecting the harmony that exists between philosophy and religion."³⁹—xxiv. Serious questions on the book of the posterior analytics by Aristotle.⁴⁰—xxv. A commentary on the book of analogy by Aristotle.⁴¹—xxvi. An essay on the mind.⁴²—xxvii. Another on analogy.⁴³—xxviii. An inquiry whether the intelligence that resides in us has or has not the power of comprehending an object independently of another; this being the problem which Aristotle undertook to resolve in his treatise on the soul, and which we likewise discussed in our exposition of the said treatise.⁴⁴—xxix. An essay to prove that what is believed by the dissenters and the theologians of our sect on the existence of the world is nearly the same thing.⁴⁵—xxx. An essay entitled "A review of the opinions entertained by Abú Nasr in his treatises on the science of logic," which are in the hands of every scholar, and of those of Aristotle on the same subject, together with an estimate of the remarks on that science to be found scattered in the books of Aristotle, and a calculation of the improvements which science may have received from their contrary opinions.⁴⁶—xxxI. A discourse on the union of separate intellect with man.⁴⁷ xxxii. Another discourse upon the union of intellect with man.⁴⁸—xxxiii. Answers and inquiries between Abú Bekr Ibn Tofayl and Ibn Roshd on the classification of simple medi-

³⁸ كتاب منهاج الادلة في علم الاصول

³⁹ فصل المقال فيما بين الحكمة و الشريعة من الاتصال

⁴⁰ المسائل الهامة علي كتاب البرهان لارسطوطاليس This title, and the preceding, form only one in the text; but I think they ought to be separated as above.

⁴¹ مقالة في القياس ⁴² مقالة في العقل ⁴³ شرح كتاب القياس لارسطوطاليس

⁴⁴ كتاب في الفحص هل يبني العقل الذي فينا و هو البسي بالهيدلاني ان يعقل الصورة
الفارقة باخرة او لا يكن ذلك و هو المطلوب الذي كان ارسطوطاليس وعندنا بالفحص عنه
في كتاب النفس

⁴⁵ مقالة في ان ما يعتقد المشاؤون و ما يعتقد المتكلمون من اهل ملتنا في كيفية وجود
العالم متقارب في المعاني I am not sure of having seized the right meaning of the words
المشاؤون and المتكلمون in this title.

⁴⁶ The title of this work is written very incorrectly in the text; it reads thus: مقالة في التعريف بجهة نظر
ابي نصر في كتابه الموضوع في صناعة المنطق التي بايدي الناس و بجهة نظر ارسطوطاليس
فيها و مقدار ما في الكتاب كتاب من اجزا الصناعة [المنطق?] الوجودية في كتاب ارسطوطاليس
و مقدار ما زاد لاختلاف النظر يعني بها

⁴⁷ مقالة ايضاً في اتصال العقل بالانسان ⁴⁸ مقالة في اتصال العقل بالفارف بالانسان

their cure. He lived in the times of Hishám Al-muyad-billah, whose physician he was. He also paid great attention to the analysis of simples, and the discovery of their several properties. He wrote a commentary on the books of Dioscorides Anazarbæus,² wherein he described every one of the simples of which the Greek physician had given the names, explaining at the same time, with much clearness and precision, their qualities and their use as medicaments, tearing the veil and dissipating the obscurity in which most of them were formerly enveloped. In the preface to his work, Ibn Joljol says as follows:

“The books of Dioscorides were first translated from the Greek into Arabic by Estefan, son of Basil³ the interpreter, who completed his task at Baghdád during the reign of the 'Abbasí Khalif Ja'far Al-mutewakkel.⁴ Honeyn, son of Is'hák,⁵ then corrected the version made by Estefan, and purged it from the errors it contained. Having afterwards substituted Arabic for such of the Greek names as had been suffered to remain for want of the translator knowing their equivalent in Arabic, he gave his work to the public. Such names of simples, however, as Honeyn found without an equivalent in Arabic he left in the Greek language, trusting that God would send after him people acquainted with their properties, and who would give them names, since it is an ascertained fact that simples receive only their nomenclature either through the common consent of the people of a country, who have observed their properties and the effects they produce, or by derivation, or otherwise, but always by a sort of mutual consent. Estefan,⁶ therefore, trusted that there would come after him other naturalists, who, being acquainted with the properties of medicaments, the names of which in Arabic were unknown in his time, would denominate them according to the custom of their days, and that by these means what was before unknown would become known.

“This version of Estefan,” continues Ibn Joljol, “such as it was, with some of the simples having equivalent names in Arabic and others not, was brought to Andalus; the learned of this country, as well as those of the East, studying by it until the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir, son of Mohammed, Sultán of Andalus, when an ambassador from Armánus,⁷ Emperor of Constantinople, came to Cordova with letters and presents from his master. This event took place, if I am not mistaken, in the year three hundred and thirty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 948-9). There was, among other valuable things sent by Armánus, a copy of Dioscorides' work, beautifully written in the old Greek language, the same that the ancient Ionians wrote and spoke, and having besides drawings of plants beautifully executed and illuminated with the most vivid colours. The Emperor of

² ديسقوريدوس العيين زربي

³ أصطفن بن بسيل The life of this physician is also in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, fo. 68.

⁴ The tenth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás. He reigned from two hundred and thirty-one to two hundred and forty-seven (A. D. 845-861).

⁵ On this Honeyn or Honayn the reader may consult the *Arabica Philosophorum Bibliotheca*, apud Casiri, vol. i. p. 251, as well as Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, fo. 80, verso.

⁶ Instead of Estefan the sense requires Honeyn.

⁷ This *أرمانيوس*, Armánus, or Arménus, as his name must have been pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, can be no other than Romanus, son of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who reigned from A. D. 948 to 963.

“Constantinople sent at the same time a copy of the work of the historian Orosius,⁸ an excellent history of the Romans, in which were described the events of ancient times and the actions of former kings, and many other curious and important events. In a letter accompanying the presents, the Emperor Armánius, alluding to this copy of Dioscorides, observed to An-nássir, ‘the books of Dioscorides ought to be translated into Arabic by a man well versed in the Greek language, and acquainted also with the properties of simples; without this requisite the merits of this wonderful composition will never be duly appreciated and brought to light.’ He added, ‘Unless thou find, O king! in thy states a man properly qualified to undertake this version, the advantages and merits of these books will for ever remain in obscurity. As to the books of Orosius, being written in Latin, I have no doubt but that thou wilt find in thy states a man who can read that language, and translate the work into Arabic for thy own use.’⁹

“It happened, however,” continues Ibn Joljol, “that there was no Christian among those who resided in Cordova at the time who could read and understand the language of the ancient Greeks, so that the work of Dioscorides remained untranslated in An-nássir’s library. In the meanwhile the learned of this country made use of Estefan’s translation, which, as I have remarked elsewhere, was brought from Baghdád. At last, when An-nássir, some years after this event, returned the embassy of Armánius, he desired that monarch to send him a man well learned in the language and literature of the ancient Greeks, who should teach them in Cordova to some of An-nássir’s slaves, and thereby enable them to make a suitable Arabic version. This request was readily granted by Armánius, who dispatched to Cordova a monk named Nicolaus,¹⁰ who arrived in Cordova in the year three hundred and forty of the Hijra (A.D. 951-2). There were at that time in the capital several eminent physicians, men of the greatest learning, who burned with desire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the books of Dioscorides, and dive into the sense of the passages that remained still obscure and unexplained in the translation, as well as to find the equivalent names of the plants in Arabic. Among those who most eagerly desired an opportunity to gain a sight of that precious work, and who, owing to the esteem in which they were held by the Khalif, could at any time go to the palace and enter the library, was Hasdáy Ibn Bashrút,¹¹ the Israelite. With this man the monk Nicolaus formed an intimate acquaintance,

هروسيس صاحب القصص⁸

⁹ The history of Orosius was certainly translated into Arabic. I find it often mentioned by Ibnu Hayyán (Bodl. Lib., No. 137), Al-bekrí (Arab. MS. in my possession), and by Makrizí (Brit. Mus., 7317). These authors, however, do not agree as to its title. The former calls it أخبار الروم لهروشيش الاندلسي—Al-bekrí, in his description of Egypt,

ترجمة كتاب هروسيس—while the latter, who undoubtedly borrowed his information from Al-bekrí, whom I find he copied in most instances, with a very slight verbal alteration, calls it

الاندلسي في وصف الدول و الحروب

نقولا¹⁰

¹¹ No doubt the same individual called Rabbi Hasdai ben Isaac Sprot by Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, tom. i. pp. 29, 239. Ibn Abí Ossaybi’ah, who gives his life, fo. 138, verso, says that he enjoyed great favour with ‘Abdu-r-rahmán III., of Cordova, whose physician he was.

“ and, in the course of time, explained to him all the obscure passages in the books of Dioscorides. Hasdáy was likewise the first physician who made in Cordova the antidote called “ *al-fárúk*,¹² and determined the proper plants that ought to enter into its composition.¹³ Nor “ was Hasdáy the only physician who worked on the books of Dioscorides; other eminent “ men laboured sedulously to re-establish the right reading of the names of plants, and to find “ their equivalents in Arabic. Of this number were Mohammed, known by the surname of “ Ash-shajjár,¹⁴ another man called Al-busábísí,¹⁵ Abú 'Othmán Al-jezzár,¹⁶ known by the “ surname of Al-yábisah,¹⁷ Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd, the physician, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Is'hák “ Ibn Haytham,¹⁸ and Abú 'Abdillah As-sakílí (of Sicily), who knew and spoke Greek well, “ and was besides an eminent physician and botanist. All the above-mentioned individuals “ were contemporaries of the monk Nicolaus, and lived, in the days of the Khalif Al-mus- “ tanser,¹⁹ in Cordova, where I knew them in my youth, and profited by their lessons and “ experience. I also saw and knew the monk Nicolaus, who died in the first year of the “ reign of Al-mustanser-billah Al-hakem. However, through the united efforts of those illustrious physicians, the translation of the books of Dioscorides was purged of the manifold “ errors with which it swarmed, the obscure passages were made clear, all the names of plants “ and simples were satisfactorily explained, with the exception of a few, which did not “ exceed ten in number, and the people of Cordova, the capital of Andalus, could at last “ read the very words of the Greek naturalist translated into their own language, and know “ the equivalent terms for all and every one of the simples described in his works.”

Ibn Joljol adds: “ Having from my earliest youth shown the greatest inclination to “ become well acquainted with the *materia medica* (by Dioscorides), which is the foundation “ of the knowledge of compound medicaments, I was led to investigate the subject with the “ utmost care and attention. This I did until God, in his infinite bounty, was pleased to “ grant me the means of attaining the object of my wishes and accomplishing my purpose, “ which was to preserve the names and description of many medicaments which I feared “ would be forgotten, and the advantages resulting from them lost to mankind, since God “ has created the means of restoring health to the body of man by disseminating them in the “ plants which cover the surface of the earth, in the quadrupeds that move on it, in the fishes “ that swim in the water, in the birds that fly through the air, and in the mineral substances

¹² تریاق الفاروق

¹³ My translation here differs from that of De Sacy; the text says علي تصحيح الشجارية التي فيه

¹⁴ الشجار from *shajar*, a tree or plant, means 'the botanist.'

¹⁵ البسابسي The copy in the Bodl. Lib. reads البسابسي

¹⁶ Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (fo. 133, *verso*,) gives the life of a physician named Ahmed Ibnu-I-jezzár, but his surname was Abú Ja'far, not Abú 'Othmán.

¹⁷ اليابسة Perhaps ابن Ibn is wanting.

¹⁸ See Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 137). Ibn Haytham, who was a native of Cordova, and gained much fame in his profession, left several works.

¹⁹ I believe the author means here An-nássir instead of Al-mustanser.

“ that lie hidden in the bowels of the earth; and by permitting that all these things should be appropriated to the cure of diseases, as a proof of his extreme mercy and kindness.”

Ibn Joljol left the following works:—I. A commentary on the names of the simples used in medicine which occur in the books of Dioscorides; written at Cordova, in the month of Rabi²-l-akhar of the year three hundred and seventy-two (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 982), under the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn Al-hakem.—II. Another work treating of those simples which may be used in medicine, but are not mentioned in the books of Dioscorides.—III. A *risáleh* (epistle) entitled “ Declaration of the errors committed by physicians in the cure of diseases.”—IV. A bibliographical work, dedicated to the Khalif Hishám, containing the lives of eminent physicians and philosophers born in Andalus, or who practised in that country.

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the historical work of Waliyyu-d-din Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún

Al-hadhramí Al-ishbilí Al-málekí, entitled تَرْجِمَانُ الْعَبْرِ وَدِيْوَانُ الْمَبْتَدَأِ

وَالْخَبْرُ فِي أَيَّامِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْبُرْبُرِ وَمَنْ عَاصَرَهُمْ مِنْ ذَوِي السُّلْطَنِ الْاَكْبَرِ

“ *The interpreter of the instructive records, and the collection of the subject and the predicate, on the history of the Arabs, the Berbers, and their contemporaries who had extensive empires.*”

SUCH is the title of a general history which the above-mentioned author seems to have written for Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, surnamed Al-mutawakkel-billah, Sultán of Africa, of the dynasty of the Bení Abí Hafs, and which, if we attend to the various information it contains, to the importance of the subjects treated in it, and the philosophical spirit which reigns through the work, may well be called one of the most complete and best-written histories that ever issued from the pen of an Arabian writer.¹

Two volumes, out of the many which compose this invaluable production, are in the Library of the British Museum. No. 9574 contains the *mákaddamát* or prolegomena. It is a large quarto, containing one hundred and ninety-nine folios, written in the Maghrebí or Western hand, upon thick brown paper. The age of the MS. is nowhere stated, but, if I am to judge from its general appearance, I do not hesitate to say that it was written before the sixteenth century of our era. The transcript is executed in a large, plain, legible hand, such as that of a professional copyist would be; the titles

¹ The reader may consult the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 268, vol. v. p. 148, and vol. viii. p. 226; De Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* vol. ii. pp. 387, 393, 401, and *Relat. de l'Egypte*, p. 509; *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxi. p. 153, *et seq.* Volumes of Ibnu Khaldún's work are to be found in Oxford, Cambridge, Leyden, Paris, and the principal Libraries of the Continent. Nowhere, however, is the work to be found complete in Arabic, although copies of a Turkish translation are not uncommon.

of all the chapters are written in blue, red, or green ink, and the first leaf, part of which has been torn, is richly ornamented with gold. The text also is pointed throughout,—a circumstance of no little value in a work like the present, which is written in a highly figurative style, full of metaphorical expressions and idioms borrowed from the African dialects,—and the transcript seems not only to be faithful, but is undoubtedly the work of one well versed in the grammar of his own language. The margins of the manuscript are filled with the scribblings of a late possessor, but these are in most instances of little or no importance. The volume is defective at the end, wanting one, or at the most two leaves, the last one being also very much damaged. I find, likewise, that the volume has since been bound and paged wrong, and that in order to follow the narrative it is necessary to shift continually from one end of the volume to another. In the short extracts that I am now going to give I had to follow these numbers, 125, 120, 119, 117, 118, 116, 141, &c. However, with all its imperfections, I consider it to be one of the most valuable Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum. It is bound together with a fragment of Al-júzi's history described elsewhere. See Preface, and Note 2, p. 403.

No. 9575 is a volume in folio of two hundred and four leaves. To judge from the title-page, it would contain the sixth and seventh part of Ibnu Khaldún's work. But, upon close examination, I find that its contents are the end of the second book and the greater part of the third. It begins with the fourth *tabakah* or division (the last in the second book), treating of the tribes of Arabian origin which settled in Africa; and, at fo. 40, proceeds to the third book on the history of the Berbers, which occupies all the rest of the volume. The transcript,—which from the note at the end appears to have been executed by a certain 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Mohammed Abi-s-sa'ádát Ibn Mohammed Hejázi, of the sect of Sháf'í, who terminated it on Friday the twenty-first of the month of Rejeb, A. H. one thousand and ninety-four (June, A. D. 1683),—is written in the Egyptian hand upon thick glazed paper. The titles of the chapters are written in red, and the genealogical trees of the respective tribes are drawn with tolerable accuracy. Proper and geographical names are occasionally pointed, and the *هنا بلغ القباله* ('thus far reaches the collating'), which now and then appear on the margins of the volume, show that some care was taken in its transcription. Nevertheless, faults both in the text and in the spelling of proper names are frequent, a circumstance which renders this volume much less valuable than the preceding.

The following extracts on the civil and military offices of the Arabs are taken from the first of the above-described volumes, out of a long chapter of the third *mukaddamah*, which Ibnu Khaldún consecrated exclusively to that object, entitled *فصل في مراتب الملك و السلطن و القابه* 'chapter treating of the charges of the kingdom, and those of the Sultán, and their names.' This I had translated entire with the view of including it in this Appendix, as the information we possess on the civil and military offices and the general system of administration of the Arabs is exceedingly scanty; but the fear of swelling this volume beyond its proper limits makes me abstain from it, and merely extract such passages as are most calculated to throw light upon the present narrative.

Fo. 125, *verso*.—The charge of *Wizír* (*wizárah*) among the Bení Umeyyah of Andalus was at first preserved in its primitive state, and in the very acceptation of that word.² It was, however, divided afterwards into several separate offices, each of which was intrusted to the

² The word *وزارة* means 'the act of supporting a weight.' A *Wizír* (or *Wazír*, as it ought to be written and pronounced,) is, therefore, a man who relieves his sovereign from the cares of government.

care of a *Wizír*. For instance, the financial department was given to one *Wizír*; the writing of the correspondence to another; the inspection of memorials from people who considered themselves wronged or oppressed to another; the defence of the frontiers, and the provision and equipment of the troops stationed on them, was placed under the superintendence of another. These *Wizírs* had a room allotted to them, where they sat in council on cushions prepared for them, and from which they issued orders in the Sultán's name, each in his own department. They were presided over by one chosen out of their number, who sat also on a cushion higher than his colleagues, and was distinguished by the appellation of *Hájib*. It was the duty of this latter functionary to act as messenger from the council to the Sultán, going to and from, and communicating to the assembled body the intentions or the wishes of the sovereign. Things continued in this state until the empire of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown, when the office of the *Hájib* rose so much in dignity and importance as to become superior to any other office in the state. So much was this the case that the petty rulers (who shared among themselves the dominions of the Khalifs) not unfrequently assumed the title of *Hájib*, as we shall have further occasion to observe.

* * * * *

The Almohades at first being rather inclined to the nomadic life, neglected this as well as other offices of the dynasties that preceded them; but when in the course of time they acquired a taste for the life in cities, they began to assume different titles, and to give the name of *Wizír* to the holder of a charge, which at first was preserved in all its purity. After this they took for a model the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah, and imitated their conduct in all the affairs of government, giving the title of *Wizír* to that officer who had under his care the curtain or screen in the royal chamber, or who stood by it in order to announce to the Sultán the visitors, and those who entered his presence for the confirmation of a sentence, or to address him, as well as the poets and literary men who frequently attended their court. In this manner they exalted the charge of *Hájib* as much as they wished; things having since continued in the same state until our present time. God is the supreme ruler!

Fo. 120, verso.—*Al-hajábah* (the charge of the *Hájib*). We have already stated that the title of *Hájib* was exclusively given under the empire of the Bení 'Abbás to that officer who screened the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects, and who shut his door or opened it to them according to the will of the sovereign, and at the hours appointed by him. The office then was not only one of great distinction, but even superior in authority to all others, since the *Wizír* himself had to apply to its holder in order to obtain an interview with the Sultán. It continued to be such during the reign of the succeeding Khalifs, and is still so at the moment we write. In Egypt, however, it is subordinate to the highest office of the state, which is that of the *Náyib*. Among the Egyptians the *Hájib* is that officer who moves before the Sultán, and who stands behind him on state occasions, or when he gives audiences to his subjects.

During the government of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus, the name of *Hájib* was given to that officer whose duty was to screen or veil the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects, and to be a sort of intermediary between his sovereign and the *Wizírs*, or their inferiors, as we have

observed elsewhere. As long as the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah lasted, the office of the Hájb was one of the highest importance in the state, as thou mayest read in the histories of Ibn Hadíd and other Hájibs. So great were the honours attached to that post, that when the attacks upon that dynasty commenced, the usurpers assumed the title of Hájb, as did Al-mansúr and his two sons after him. Even the rulers of petty kingdoms who came afterwards, and who, not content with usurping the titles, assumed also all the power of royalty, far from relinquishing the title of Hájb when they possessed it, assumed it upon every occasion, regarding it as an honourable distinction. So much was this the case, that the most powerful among them by the extent and the nature of his dominions would not hesitate, after assuming all the titles of royalty, to add to his other titles those of Hájb³ and *Dhú-l-wizárateyn*, or the holder of the two offices, that of the sword and that of the pen,—meaning by Hájb ‘he who screens the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects,’ and by *Dhú-l-wizárateyn* ‘he that unites in himself the two powers, the civil and the military.’

The dynasties that swayed over Western and Eastern Africa had, at first, no office of this name, owing to the nomadic habits which prevailed among their rulers. It is true that instances may be pointed out among the Fátimites of Egypt at the time of their greatest splendour, and when they became accustomed to the life in cities, but these are of very rare occurrence. When the Almohades came afterwards, all their pretensions to civilisation were not sufficient to make them assume for themselves the proper titles, nor to make the necessary distinction between the charges of the state, nor to suit the names of these to their functions. They had no other office at their court but that of the Wizír, which title they at first gave to the Kátib or secretary, who transacted business with the Sultán, or who accompanied him, as Ibn 'Attiyyah and 'Abdu-s-salám Al-kúmi. The inspection of accounts, and all other branches of the financial department, were also committed to him. After this they gave the title of Wizír to all those who composed the government of the Almohades, as Ibn Jámi' and others, but they never had either the name or the charge of Hájb among them. When the Bení Abí Hafs took possession of the empire, the principal offices of the state remained in the hands of the Almohades; no material change was therefore made in the institutions, and the highest post in the state was that of the Wizír, who was at the same time a counsellor; this functionary was called by them ‘Sheikh of the Almohades,’ and his duties consisted in the appointment and removal of governors, the provision and maintenance of armies, and all other military affairs. The keeping of public accounts was intrusted to an officer called *Sáhibu-l-ashghál* (the master of the occupations), because he attended to the receipt and payment of funds, to the counting of all sums that came through his hands, and to the imposition of taxes, as well as to the chastisement of the excesses committed in the levying of the same. Such were the functions of the *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*. During the empire of the Almohades the office was made exclusive to people of their sect, and was seldom conferred upon any other. The office of the pen was then committed to a Kátib, who had under his care the writing

³ The author is mistaken. Those governors who, like Kheyrán, Zohayr, and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, rose in the provinces of the Cordovan empire after the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, did not assume the title of Hájb merely because they considered it an honorific one, but because, though all-powerful in their states, they pretended to derive, and to hold their authority, only from the Bení Umeyyah, whose cause they upheld against the intruders of the house of Idrís.

of the correspondence, and to whom the secrets of the state were intrusted; but as the office of the Kátib was not one of their assumption, and the correspondence was not written in their own native language, it was always given without any restriction of family or sect. The Sultán, moreover, when his empire extended, and his palace became full of applicants, saw the want of a *Kaharmán*,⁴ chosen from among the servants of his household, to put order into his family, to superintend the giving of alms and gifts, to guard his treasures, to take care of his stables, and to issue the proper orders to the revenue collectors whenever money was required for the expenses of his household. To these duties an officer was appointed whom they called Hájib. Sometimes, even, if this functionary had a handsome hand-writing, the Sultán would intrust him with the writing of the royal cipher upon dispatches; if not, he would give that charge to another.⁵ Things continued in this state, (the Sultán all the while screening or veiling himself from his subjects, and the Hájib being a sort of intermediary between the Sultán and all the people holding posts under his government,) until, in the course of time, the direction of military affairs was intrusted to him as well as the presidency of the council, and the office became thus gradually the highest in the state, and that which united the most extensive and varied powers.

* * * * *

As to the Andalusians of our days, they give the name of *Wakíl* to that functionary who is intrusted with the keeping of the accounts, the private expenses of the Sultán, and other pecuniary concerns; their *Wizír* exercises the same functions as in former times, with this difference, that the department of the correspondence is also intrusted to him. The Sultán, moreover, generally affixes his own cipher to the diplomas and dispatches, so that there is no office for this purpose, as in other dynasties.

FO. 141, verso.—*Khattatu-l-ashghál*. This is the office of the keeping of the accounts and the collection of the taxes. In former times it was customary for the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah (as we have stated elsewhere) to confer it upon liberated slaves, and upon Christians or Jews,⁶ but when the Bení 'Abbás succeeded them it was made one of the duties of the *Wizír*, as happened in the case of the Bení Barmek, and of the Bení Sahl.⁷ After this the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah, in Andalus, and the 'Obeydites, in Africa, made it again a distinct and separate office. The Almohades, moreover, seldom appointed to it any other than people belonging to their sect, and the holder of the office was by them intrusted with

⁴ قهرمان is the name of a fabulous Persian hero. It means likewise an infuriated lion, and is used metaphorically for treasurer, or confidential servant, a steward or *major domus*.

⁵ Ibnu Khaldún seems to have filled a similar post under Mohammed Ibn تافرأكين Táferákin, governor of Túnis.

⁶ The text says اهل الذمة—that is, the Christians or Jews living under the Moslems in the exercise of their religion. See Note 27, p. 398.

⁷ Individuals of the former family filled the charge of *Wizír* under Hárún Ar-rashíd, and of the latter, under Al-mámún.